



EVOLVING GLOBAL ECONOMIC SECURITY AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR AFRICA



A Synthesis Report of the Proceedings

ACODE Policy Dialogues Paper Series No.36, 2022

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

ACODE	Advocates Coalition for Development and Environment
ADF	Allied Democratic Forces
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CSOs	Civil Society Organization
DP	Democratic Party
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEC	Green Economy Coalition
GNP	Gross National Product
Hon	Honourable
KY	Kabaka Yekka
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MoFPED	Ministry of Finance, Planning, and Economic Development
MTF	Multilateral Trading Facility
NAADS	National Agricultural Advisory Services
NARO	National Agricultural Research Organization
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NRM	National Resistance Movement
PSST	Permanent Secretary and Secretary to the Treasury
RECs	African Regional Economic Communities
STON	State of the Nation
UGX	Uganda Shillings
UIRI	Uganda Industrial Research Institute
UN	United Nations
UPC	Uganda People's Congress
UPDF	Uganda People's Defence Force
WHO	World Health Organisation

Executive Summary

On March 22, 2020, the Advocates Coalition for Development and Environment (ACODE) and the Independent Magazine convened a dialogue on evolving global economic security and its implications for Africa held at Protea Hotel in Kampala. The dialogue was organized at the peak of the rising prices for commodities in Uganda mainly arising from the effect of COVID-19 and the effect of the Russia-Ukraine conflict coupled with multiple and varying security threats to African interests. The dialogue was supported by the Hewlett Foundation and Green Economy Coalition. It attracted participation from different stakeholders, namely; academia, CSOs, Development Partners, Government Ministries Departments and Agencies, Members of Parliament, the Uganda People's Defence Force, the Uganda Police Force, Internal Security Organisation, External Security Organisation, the Media, Uganda Local Governments Association (ULGA), and Urban Authorities Association of Uganda (UAAU), African Union, African Regional Economic Communities (RECs), think tanks, and other international partners.

Issues from the dialogue

During the dialogue, key issues were raised by the presentations and discussions:

Definition of Security: There was a consensus from all stakeholders who participated in the dialogue that the definition of security transcends traditional state security and the mere absence of war and, it encompasses human security, security for land, and other needs which all have a bearing on state security. Food security, energy security, land security, employment, environment, and health among others were said to be critical for security. Security and development are intimately linked and should be looked at in terms of human security which is central to all social changes and development.¹

Definition of Economic Security: Economic Security has been defined as the ability of individuals, households, or communities to meet their essential needs sustainably and with dignity; including food, shelter, clothing, health care, education information, livelihoods, and social protection. Economic insecurity distinctively affects the vulnerable, marginalized, and less advantaged around the globe, who face an unmatched challenging path to financial and economic stability. The absence of economic security drives individuals, households, and communities into devastating poverty and strips them of their dignity and worth. Such individuals or communities are

1 <https://www.un.org/humansecurity/what-is-human-security/>

potential threats to security both at the national and the global level.²

Climate change and security: It was observed that areas affected by climate change in the African continent are always at risk of security challenges as exemplified by Nigeria the area occupied by Boko Haram in the North East of Nigeria is affected by climate change; and so is Al Shabab in Somalia and the insecurity in Darfur in Sudan as well as Mali. Regarding access to water, it was observed that there is an increasing reduction of water all over Africa. It was predicted that between 1990 and 2025, Uganda will have lost half of its water. River Tana is the biggest river in Kenya but all the water is going to the Indian Ocean and yet the communities are complaining of a lack of adequate water which has led to conflict among communities.

Education and security: Education was conceptualised as the most powerful weapon that can be used to change the world. Countries such as Israel were noted to be benefiting from decisions that they made over 73 years ago to invest in education. Their innovations and technological advancements had helped to support sectors such as agriculture through High-Tech irrigation methods among others that have propelled Israel to be among the leading exporters of Agricultural produce and products and yet; nearly half of their country is a desert. It was observed that Africa was investing less in education compared to the rest of the world.

Health and security: Just like education, health was conceptualized to be an important aspect of national security. Uganda's expenditure on health was at 3.8 per cent compared to Israel's 7.5 per cent, while the U.S expenditure on health was at 17 per cent. In Israel, a new approach to health care was reported to have been adopted and physicians were being paid based on the number of healthy people in their catchment area (that do not come to the health facilities). Under this approach, physicians were therefore focusing on sensitization on nutrition and physical exercises. Previously, Physicians in Israel were being paid per number of visits by patients to the health facilities.

Environmental security: There is a lot of deforestation (conflict on the environment) and Africa's focus should be on how to rebirth vegetation tree cover because the use of wood fuel is untenable. It was noted that Uganda had a challenge of land fragmentation and that this had an impact on the environment. There was increased human activities in swamps which left a huge impact on the environment.

Unfair treatment of Africa: It was observed that discussions on matters of global security, should focus on international behaviour or the treatment of

2 ICRC. (2020). Economic Security Strategy 2020/2023. International Committee of the Red Cross. International Committee of the Red Cross. Retrieved May 15, 2022, from <https://www.icrc.org/en/document/introduction-economic-security>

Africa by the rest of the world including, globalisation and the unintended consequences of the actions of international players. This sort of treatment was witnessed at the height of the COVID-19 pandemic when rich countries denied African countries access to vaccines by prioritizing the health of their people first at the expense of Africans. Africa, therefore, needs to look at alternatives such as import substitution and should invest in science, technology, and innovations to generate solutions for their problems.

The sovereignty of states: State sovereignty is invaluable and there is a need to have a relook at the idea of sovereignty and the invariance of the issues of preventing and pre-empting war outside the terms of the UN Charter.

Recommendations

- i. Regional Integration: African governments should ensure accelerated economic and political integration of Africa as well as a deeper reflection on the strategic insurance and security of Africa to have better negotiations with the rest of the world.
- ii. Human Security: African governments should adopt the Human Security approach. African governments should deliberately invest in interventions that will ensure that citizens are free from want and free from fear. Investing in government intervention that will guarantee human security will go a long way in reducing conflicts on the African continent, particularly the conflicts that are not international. The Human Security approach can be implemented in tandem with the State Security approach.
- iii. Industrialization: African governments, Uganda inclusive, should embark on industrialization of their economies to resolve the issues of scarcity, poverty, and unemployment.
- iv. Human Capital Development: African governments should prioritize investments in human capital development, particularly education. Countries such as Israel, Malaysia, and Singapore among others have forged their way to development by investing heavily in the quality of education of their citizens.
- v. Investment in Research: African governments should appropriate money in their national budgets to support Research. They should also invest in Science, Technology, and Innovation.
- vi. Protection of Environment: Governments should come up with a set of policies that ensures that government and businesses understand that healthy forests, soils, and rivers are the bedrock of all economic prosperity. There is no sustainability in a dead climate. Governments and

other organisations and private institutions should be empowered to drive systemic change so that environmental and social improvements become central to politics, economics, and business decisions. If we do that our economies are realigned for the benefit of people and realigned for the benefit of nature.

- vii. Water Management: African governments should adopt best practices involving the re-use of waste water for irrigation and human consumption. African governments should also encourage their citizens to harvest rainwater. If access to water is improved, it will go a long way in lessening conflicts among African communities and hence, a more secure Africa.

1. Background to the Dialogue

This is a synthesis report of the dialogue on evolving global economic security and its implications for Africa. The African continent has become increasingly important to global economic security and will continue to rise in importance in the coming decades. Together African countries represent approximately 16 per cent of the global population and 60 per cent of Africa's population is under the age of 25. By 2050, the population of the continent is expected to double to 2 billion people. Poverty and social injustice have long been drivers of insecurity in Sub-Saharan Africa. In some countries, this is further exacerbated by armed insurgencies and terrorist groups who feed off widespread frustration, especially among young people. Economic growth on the continent is forecast to continue at healthy average rates of 5 - 7 per cent per annum.¹ Africa's security landscape has undergone a dramatic transformation during the past two decades. The threats to African interests have become more diverse, diffuse, and complex. And to counter these challenges, Africa needs a new vision of engagement and partnerships, and re-conceptualization of our diplomatic, development, and defence toolkit on the global stage.²

1.1 The Problem

There are multiple and varying security threats to African interests. Extremist groups continue to haunt many countries in the region.³ The civil war in Ethiopia has displaced 2 million people, has contributed to massive human rights violations, and risks the onset of famine in the northern Tigray region. The Gulf of Guinea is the world's global hotspot for piracy. Drug trafficking is an enduring concern in West and Central – West and East Africa. And cyber criminals are operating across the region. The Sahel, Lake Chad Basin, Somalia, eastern DRC, and Mozambique are facing the brunt of extremist threats. Russian mercenaries are operating in the Central African Republic and have been asked by the Malian government to render services in the Sahel. China has a base in Djibouti and has built, operated, or funded at least 46 commercial ports across the region. The US has officially more than 10 sites where some 6,000 soldiers are deployed.⁴ China is expanding

1 7 trends shaping the future of peace and security in Africa. <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2016/06/7-trends-shaping-the-african-security-landscape/>

2 Africa's Security Challenges: A View from Congress, the Pentagon, and USAID <https://www.csis.org/analysis/africas-security-challenges-view-congress-pentagon-and-usaid>

3 Security Challenges in Africa: 2021 and Beyond: Countering Violent Extremism by Refocusing on Communities. <https://www.usip.org/events/security-challenges-africa-2021-and-beyond>

4 <https://www.theafricareport.com/153780/how-china-and-the-us-are-fighting-over-africa/>

its economic and military presence on the continent. Today China is Africa's largest trading partner. Russia has signed more than 20 bilateral military cooperation agreements with African states since 2015.

Simultaneously, Africa's future is threatened by violent extremist organizations and regional conflict from violent extremist organizations in the Sahel to Al-Shabaab in Somalia, to the humanitarian crisis that has engulfed the Tigray region in Ethiopia. These conflicts diminish fundamental human rights, weaken regional stability, and challenge hard-fought progress on the continent.

The climate indicators in Africa show continued warming temperatures, accelerating sea-level rise, extreme weather and climate events, such as floods, landslides, and droughts, and associated devastating human and food security impacts.⁵ By 2030, it is estimated that up to 118 million extremely poor people (i.e., living on less than US\$ 1.90/day) will be exposed to drought, floods, and extreme heat in Africa if adequate response measures are not put in place. This will place additional burdens on poverty alleviation efforts and significantly impact human security.

Much of the reference to Africa in international forums have focused on the continent's natural wealth. All these challenges notwithstanding, African governments, regional blocks, academia, and civil society have not adequately contributed to setting and influencing the global agenda on the African security agenda. Thus, African thinkers, like other scholars worldwide, have the potential to contribute to global security agenda setting and paradigms that underpin and constitute the global security debates. Unfortunately, many African intellectuals and academic institutions including International Relations, Strategic Studies, and Peace and Conflict Studies are net consumers rather than influencers of the African Security Agenda.⁶ It was because of this background that ACODE and its partner the Independent Magazine organised this dialogue.

1.2 Objectives of the Dialogue

The overall objective of the dialogue was to identify the common security interests in Africa's geopolitical setting and how to constructively engage in the emergent global security dimensions. The dialogue was thus intended to contribute to strengthening the African voice in the international

5 Climate change triggers mounting food insecurity, poverty and displacement in Africa. <https://public.wmo.int/en/media/press-release/climate-change-triggers-mounting-food-insecurity-poverty-and-displacement-africa#:~:text=%22During%202020%2C%20the%20climate%20indicators,droughts%2C%20and%20associated%20devastating%20impacts.>

6 Samuel M. Makinda. African thinkers and the global security Agenda. https://ke.boell.org/sites/default/files/rethinking_global_security_publication.pdf

security debate. It sought to explore and discuss how global and regional organizations could further collaborate to reduce Africa’s vulnerability in the global security arena.

1.3 Participant Attendance

The dialogue attracted participation from different stakeholders including academia, Members of Parliament, Security Agencies, Foreign Missions, the African Union, African Regional Economic Communities (RECs), CSOs, Development Partners, Government Ministries, Departments, and Agencies, the Media, think tanks and other international partners. Attendance of the dialogue was both physical and virtual. In total, 50 participants attended physically, 31 of whom were female, while male participants were 19. There was a total of 27 participants who attended the dialogue virtually. Table 1 provides a summary of participants’ physical attendance, while Table 2 provides a summary of virtual attendance by participants.

Table 1: Summary of Physical Attendance by Participants

Gender	18-30 Years	31-59 Years	60 Years-Above	Total
Male	07	10	02	19
Female	04	27	00	31
Total	11	36	00	50

Table 2: A Summary of Virtual Attendance by Participants

Gender	Number
Male	20
Female	7
Total	27

2. Opening Statements

The opening statements were given by the Executive Director of ACODE while the official opening was given by Maj. Gen. Jim Muhwezi, the Minister for Security. The highlights of their statements are as follows:

2.1 Remarks by Dr. Arthur Bainomugisha, the Executive Director, ACODE

- The Executive Director of ACODE, Dr. Arthur Bainomugisha, welcomed all participants and thanked them for honouring ACODE’s invitation to

attend the dialogue. He also thanked the Minister for Security Major General Jim Muhwezi for sparing time from his busy schedule to officiate at the dialogue. He emphasized and encouraged participants to discuss ideas and issues but not individuals.

- He emphasised the need for having such dialogues building on the lessons from the ACODE State of the Nation (STON) Platform that had an honest and candid discussion and generated policy ideas for improving policymaking, implementation, and evaluation.
- Arthur recognized the keynote speaker, Dr. Joseph Shevel, an expert on Global Security from Galilee Institute in Israel. He added that Galilee Institute had signed Memorandums of Understanding with many governments in Africa including Uganda to train Africans in several specialized areas such as agriculture and security.
- On the justification for the dialogue, he reiterated that Africa is at the tail end of the world order in many development indicators despite its huge potential. He noted that with its population of approximately 1.2 billion people, Africa remains the poorest continent in the world, marginalized and isolated from international affairs. Africa has become a hunting ground for other foreign powers such as France which has engineered conflict in regions such as Central and West Africa. Quoting Kwame Nkrumah, Arthur retorted that “for too long Africa had spoken through the mouth of others and it’s time Africa spoke through the mouth of its daughters and sons.”
- Dr. Bainomugisha said that although Africa has had many security challenges, it was time to strategically position the continent to emerge stronger. Before COVID-19 struck, Africa had 8 of the 10 fastest growing economies in the world. However, this trend has been reversed by the disruption caused by the pandemic. Citing the case of Uganda, he noted that the pandemic slowed down the annual economic growth from 6.5 to 3.0 per cent. He, however, noted that there is hope that Africa’s economy is likely to rebound after COVID-19. This requires the continent to identify and address its security challenges. He concluded that Africa should be strategizing and taking advantage of the existing opportunities to create wealth rather than surviving on handouts.



Figure 1: The Executive Director, ACODE Dr. Arthur Bainomugisha making his statement at the dialogue

2.2 Official Opening by Maj. Gen. Jim Muhwezi, Minister for Security

- The minister thanked the conveners for inviting him to participate in the dialogue.
- In his remarks, the Minister noted that Africa's security challenges cannot be erased from its colonial history. Maj. Gen. Muhwezi said that the concept of security has since evolved to involve the preservation of states against foreign aggression, protecting national territorial integrity and the regimes in power, threats to the security of persons, human rights, human dignity, and wellbeing. Quoting Professor France Stewart, the Minister asserted that security and development are intimately linked and should be looked at in terms of human security which is central to all social changes and development.
- Security must be about the enlargement of our people's choices to lead healthier and fuller lives to void of economic, social, political, environmental, and crime insecurity. Security is, therefore, a cornerstone of the development of any country. Overall, national security is the capacity of a country to control both domestic and foreign conditions that the public believes are necessary for it to enjoy its self-determination, autonomy, prosperity, and well-being.

- The global dimension of security began taking prominence in the September 11 terrorist attack in the U.S. Africa as a continent in the evolving global security first experienced external influence during the period of the slave trade; which was followed by the direct colonization of the continent that was completed in the Berlin conference in 1884.
- According to the Minister, colonization marked the beginning of development in Africa. He added that colonialists intentionally neglected the industrialization of Africa and only turned African economies into producing raw materials for industries in Europe. This caused Africa to produce what it does not need and consume what it does not produce. This was reinforced by colonialist education that focused on literacy rather than scientific and technological innovation. The colonial governments built brutal and anti-people armies to enforce obedience to the colonial government by the natives.
- Neocolonialism and post-independence Uganda can be used to analyze Africa. The governments that took over after attaining independence were not qualitatively different from the colonial ones. Power was put in the hands of the weak, opportunistic and non-revolutionary leaders. The colonial distortions of the economy were left intact and untransformed when Uganda got independence in 1962. The World Bank continued to play a vital role in the management of the economy. The Federal constitution/ Independence constitution that was made in Lancaster House in the UK remained a foreign document, the army only changed names from King's African Rifles to Uganda Army with no changes made to its management structures or aspirations. It remained a colonial army in essence. The social structures established by colonialists such as the education system and religion were never changed. Sectarianism is based on one's nationality or tribe crystalized.
- Uganda's political parties were formed on sectarian grounds. For instance, one had to be Anglican to be a member of the Uganda People's Congress (UPC), a Catholic to attain membership in the Democratic Party (DP), and a Muganda to become a member of the Kabaka Yekka Party (KY). This sort of background gave rise to political and military conflicts in post-independent Uganda. Examples are the abrogation of the independence constitution, the military coup of 1971, and the bush war from 1981 to 1986.
- After capturing power in 1986, the NRM was interested in changing the status quo through the 10-point program that was based on four principles namely patriotism, Pan Africanism, social-economic transformation, and democracy. Presently, the threats have changed to terrorism, organized crime, and cyber terrorism among others. African

countries continue to isolate themselves and are disadvantaged when it comes to negotiations with the rest of the world. The solution lies in the accelerated economic and political integration of Africa as well as a deeper reflection on the strategic insurance and security of Africa.

- Other African leaders have been proposing the United States of Africa. However, he opined that this was not possible because Africa is too big with each country having a different outlook. He, however, submitted that regional integration is a possibility, especially political and economic. He added that the admission of the Democratic Republic of Congo as a member of the East African Community would guarantee the region a population of approximately 200 million people that would make the block stronger in international negotiations.
- The minister acknowledged that there were other evils that Africa needed to deal with such as corruption. He advised that Africa should embark on industrialisation of her economies to resolve the issues of scarcity, poverty, and unemployment. Africa needs to build strong democratic institutions that promote people's rights and build ideologically focused leadership to guide the population.



Figure 2: The Minister for Security, Maj. Gen. Jim Muhwezi officiating at the Dialogue

2.3 Keynote Address by Dr. Joseph Shevel, the President of the Galilee International Management Institute, Israel

- Dr. Shevel, said it was a pleasure being at the dialogue and thanked the conveners for inviting him to deliver the keynote address. His keynote address was about the evolving global security challenges and implications for Africa.
- Dr. Shevel informed participants that Galilee International Management Institute has a program on National Security that focuses on; the economy, social cohesion, and environment rather than the orthodox military hardware and tactics.
- Regarding to the war between Russia and Ukraine, he predicted that the economy of Russia would collapse and that President Putin may pay a heavy price. When Putin attacked Ukraine, they probably thought that in one week or two they would have defeated Ukraine, but as witnessed, the situation is not like that because Russia's economy has been dealt a heavy blow because of the sanctions imposed on Russia.
- Dr. Shevel quoted Nelson Mandela as saying Education is the most powerful weapon that can be used to change the world. He said that when Israel attained independence 73 years ago from the British, a decision was taken that every child must go to school and if a child is not going to school, the father must go to jail. According to Dr. Shevel, Israel today enjoys the outcomes of this decision, as all the children are in school. Israel is currently ranked second in the whole world in terms of investment in education, despite the security challenges, especially from their neighbor Palestine. He emphasised, that education is security in itself. In his presentation, he highlighted that Africa as a continent is investing less in the education sector. In terms of university education, the number of universities is growing in other parts of the world but in Africa, it is not as much. If Africa agrees that education is a very important aspect as far as security is concerned, then the continent should invest more in education.
- According to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), Israel's economy is losing 8 per cent because of the COVID-19 pandemic. As a result of heavy investment in education, Israel's economy is at USD 400 billion yet it does not have natural resources such as Oil and diamonds that most countries boast of. In comparison, Uganda's economy is at USD 32 billion. Israel's population is only 9 million people compared to Uganda's 41 million people. Dr. Shevel emphasized that if Israel can do it, Africa can achieve what Israel has achieved if the continent invests

in education. Israel's GDP is bigger than most of its neighbors' that are blessed with Oil as a natural resource. Most of the Israeli export is now high-tech. While Uganda's export earnings are only USD 3.1 billion, Israel's export earnings are more than USD100 billion.

- On health expenditure, Dr. Shevel said that health, just like education, is an important aspect of national security. He observed that Uganda's expenditure on health was at 3.8 per cent compared to Israel's 7.5 per cent, while the U.S expenditure on health was at 17 per cent although one per cent of the American citizens are not insured. Dr. Shevel noted that in Israel, health insurance is mandatory. He cited an example of a new approach to health care where Israel is now paying physicians based on the number of healthy people in their catchment area (that do not come to the health facilities). Under this approach, physicians focus on sensitization on nutrition and physical exercises. Previously Physicians in Israel were being paid per number of visits by patients to the health facilities. According to Dr. Shevel, the Galilee International Management Institute signed an agreement with the World Health Organization (WHO) to roll out this approach to the rest of the world.
- On Climate change, Dr. Shevel noted that while there are no deserts in Uganda, it is still important to talk about it because countries that are neighbouring Uganda such as Kenya already have deserts like in the Turkana area in the North of Kenya where 40 per cent of the livestock have already died. Water bodies have been shrinking over the years. For example, Lake Chad in 1972 was the size of Lake Victoria, equivalent to the size of Israel which is 22 square kilometers; today Lake Chad is dry. Can what happened to Lake Chad happen to Lake Victoria?
- Regarding deforestation, he noted that tree coverage in the world is at 31 per cent with Sweden leading other countries at 69 per cent, Africa on average is at 23 per cent, and Uganda at only 15 per cent. Kenya is even worse with a tree coverage of 6 per cent. Not only do we cut trees but also the trees suffer from climate change.
- Concerning access to water, Dr. Shevel observed that between 1990 and 2025, Uganda will have lost half of its water. Tanzania is even worse. There is an increasing reduction of water all over Africa. In Djibouti, there is no water at all. River Tana is the biggest river in Kenya but all the water is going to the Ocean and yet the communities are complaining of lack of adequate water and there are casualties because the communities are fighting against each other over water. Communities have been displaced for the same reason. Ninety per cent of the water from Mzima Springs under mountain Kilimanjaro

bordering Tanzania is going to the ocean and only 10 per cent is the sole base of Mombasa. On the African continent, areas affected by climate change are at risk of security challenges, for example, in Nigeria the area occupied by Boko Haram in the North East of Nigeria is affected by climate change; Al Shabab in Somalia and the insecurity in Darfur in Sudan as well as Mali.

Solutions

As part of his key note address, Dr. Shevel proposed several solutions to the security challenges of Africa such as:

- Develop a Water Management System. Citing the example of Israel, he noted that 90 per cent of the water is reused. He said in Israel water flushed from toilets is recycled and used for crop irrigation. In contrast, only one per cent of water is used to irrigate crops in Uganda. Besides, using purified water crop irrigation, Israel has adopted digital irrigation and the plants receive the water according to their different levels of needs using satellite technology. He added that there is absolutely no reason why such technology cannot be used by Uganda to boost her agriculture. Despite half of Israel being a desert, they are the world's leading exporters of Agricultural produce.
- Invest in Research and Development for Agriculture. Israel allocates 4.5 per cent of its budget to research and development, which is by far the highest in the world. The United Kingdom allocates only 1.7 per cent to research and development. As a result of Israel's investment in research and development in the Agricultural sector, for instance, an average Israeli cow produces a minimum of 50 liters of milk per day. The trick is in the management and nutrition, which is also digitalized. For Israel, the responsibility of investment in agricultural research is not left to the government alone. The private sector invests a substantive amount of money to support research and development from the sale of their agricultural products. For Uganda, 50 per cent of crop harvests are lost through poor post-harvest handling.
- Invest in Science and Technology. The Education Sector should invest more in science and technology. As a result of its investment in Science and Technology, Israel has 63 High-Tech companies quoted on the NASDAQ stock exchange compared to UK's 5, India's 3, and France's 2 companies. All this achievement by Israel was attributed to their decision to invest in education. Today, Israel has innovated a medical pill with a built camera that a patient can swallow to help the doctor diagnose the problem in the patient's stomach without having to perform a surgery on the patient or open up the patient.

- Invest in generating clean and renewable energy. Dr. Shevel cited the example of Israel where he noted that every house there must have a solar panel, without which the owner of the house cannot be granted a permit. He said because Africa has the same sun as Israel, this can be replicated in Africa.
- As a way of contributing to peace, Galilee International Management Institute contributed to a peace plan whereby the government of Nigeria will give 10,000 square kilometres of land in Borno State to Boko Haram militants. Galilee will be contributing for free the know-how to develop the most advanced agriculture as a demonstration for learning for the whole of West Africa. Similar interventions have been replicated in the conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea. The main risk for African countries is that more population will be frustrated with farming, sell their land and migrate to the cities, which is likely to contribute to insecurity in the cities.



Figure 3: The Keynote Speaker, Dr. Joseph Shevel delivering the keynote address

2.4 Discussion of the Keynote Presentation - Minister of State for Internal Affairs, General David Muhoozi

- The discussion of the keynote address was done by the State Minister for Internal Affairs, Gen. David Rubakuba Muhoozi. As part of his discussion, Gen. Muhoozi wondered whether the current state of affairs (The Russia-Ukraine conflict) reflects a multipolar or collaborative world and whether the current global affairs are dictated by ideas or self-interest-based.
- Gen. Muhoozi noted that the definition of security transcends traditional state security and the mere absence of war rather, it encompasses human security, security for land, and other needs which all have a bearing on state security. He concurred with the keynote speaker that food security, energy security, land security, employment, environment, and health among others were critical for security, adding that these highly securitised subjects should be looked at within the lenses of national interest; an aggregate of both state and people's interests.
- He noted that discussions on matters of global security should also focus on international behavior or the treatment of Africa by the rest of the world including, globalisation and the unintended consequences of the actions of international players. This sort of treatment was witnessed at the height of the COVID-19 pandemic when rich countries denied African countries access to vaccines by prioritizing the health of their people first at the expense of Africans. Africans should invest in science and technology to generate solutions for their problems. While concurring with the keynote speaker on water usage, resource crunch, and diseases without borders, Gen Muhoozi emphasised that these have become the new security challenges with repercussions for Africa.
- General Muhoozi singled out the issue of sovereignty as invaluable. He noted that economies were stricken due to COVID-19 and were trying to recover. Before the economies could recover, the war between Russia and Ukraine set in. He emphasised the need to have a relook at the idea of sovereignty and the invariance of the issues of preventing and pre-empting war outside the terms of the UN Charter. He stressed that Africa needed to look at alternatives just as the keynote speaker was emphatic when he talked about import substitution. He encouraged Africans to be more action-oriented and do less of the talking. He added that Africa needs to invest in technology, science, and innovation.

- He reiterated the relevance and connection of security to employment and industry as well as in Agriculture. He noted that Uganda's had a strategic location in the corridor with good rain and soils that give it the potential to improve agriculture.
- On water management, Gen. Muhoozi encouraged Ugandans to consider water harvesting from rain even before thinking of water reuse as suggested by the keynote speaker. He added that Africans should be tapping all the sources of water and conserving water for today and the future.
- In regards to Energy, he noted that investment in renewable sources of energy was among the critical needs of Africa and emphasised that the continent should take advantage of the abundant sun.
- On environmental security, he said Africa's focus should be on how to rebirth vegetation tree cover and that the use of wood fuel is untenable. The General observed that the keynote speaker did not mention wetlands and the effects of human activities on wetland bodies in his presentation. He noted that Uganda had a challenge of land fragmentation and added that it affected the environment.
- Gen. Muhoozi also emphasized the importance of Education (formal and non-formal education) and the need to conserve our environment. He suggested that the Government of Uganda should consider rewards and sanctions to ensure compliance with the preservation of the environment. He also called for innovativeness in environmental conservation and the need to have the support of all leaders and citizens in a bid to conserve the environment.
- On the aspect of deeper collaboration among African states, he agreed with the comments made by the Minister of Security regarding the aspect of regional integration. He added that the idea of collaboration had been bogged down by non-complementarity and emphasised the importance of the need to go further than the current efforts that they had made as to the East African community if we are to realise the benefits of collaboration. General Muhoozi emphasised the need to become proactive in ensuring that the continent is secure, in case of future shocks from global action.
- In his concluding remarks, he reiterated the need for stakeholders to come up with deliberate efforts to mitigate the effects that come with globalisation such as COVID-19 and the conflict in Ukraine. He applauded the Commission of Uganda for their decision to abstain from the UN General Assembly vote on Ukraine noting that the action signals an opportunity for dialogue between the protagonists so that

the effects of that conflict on the world including Uganda and the continent of Africa are mitigated.



Figure 4: Minister of State for Internal Affairs, General David Rubakuba Muhoozi discussing the keynote address through the virtual platform

2.5 The Evolving World Order and its Impact on the Great Lakes Region - Andrew Mwenda, CEO Independent Magazine

- The focus of Andrew Mwenda's presentation was on International Relations. In his presentation, Mwenda noted that the lack of a higher authority in the international system was the main cause of global insecurity. To provide more clarity in his argument, he gave an example, that if the United States of America for instance bombed any country, there was no international police for that country to run to for rescue, adding that the United Nations does not have a standby army. Mwenda stated that the lack of a UN standby force has led some states to live in fear and caused other countries to develop particular military capabilities as insurance in case of external aggression.
- On the issue of political security, Mwenda noted that the current global political challenges could likely result in a nuclear war. Citing the example of the Russian invasion of Ukraine, he noted that powerful nations such as Russia are not comfortable with neighbours who are friendly to a hostile military association called NATO.

- Quoting a British Geographer Hufford John McKINAN, he predicted that whoever ruled Europe especially Russian Europe would control the heartland and whoever controlled the heartland would rule the world's island; meaning Euro-Asia, and whoever ruled the world's Island would control the world. Based on this, he argued that America could have influenced the crisis in Ukraine to stop Russia from roaming the world.
- He noted that the Russia-Ukraine conflict could have serious implications on global security. He quoted authors Barbara Tuchman of "The Guns of August" and Christopher Clark of "The Sleepwalkers: How Europe went to War in 1914" who published on the First World War. He said there are lessons from these books that war can break out when leaders on either side are not committed to avoiding them. He further said that wars can sometimes take long because leaders find it difficult to back down for fear of looking weak before the eyes of other states. Citing the examples of Iran, Cuba, and North Korea, he predicted that Russia could suffer the worst sanctions.
- He further said that Russia risked attacks from NATO in any case they mistakenly fired into NATO base or their allies. He opined that in the ongoing war in Ukraine, even the slightest of mistakes had the potential to trigger or escalate the situation and that meant every continent including Africa would not survive the war, especially considering that both Russia and the United States of America have nuclear weapons as part of their arsenal and could destroy each other seven times and over.
- He further said that Russia, which possesses the most powerful international nuclear weapon (Tsar Bomb) with a retention capacity of 3,800 times the capacity of the bomb that was deployed in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, is a global threat. Mwenda said if this is not taken into consideration, it could lead to an escalation that cannot be stopped. He opined that the biggest challenge is not Russia because it does not have the population and technological resources to be a potential threat to the United States. He further stated that China poses the biggest threat considering the size of its economy, its population, and its innovations in technology.
- The problem of liberal delusions. Part of the problem of the United States according to Andrew is its liberal delusions. He said there is a misconception in the Western World that wars are caused by the internal characteristics of states. While disputing this, he noted that it was irrational to expect every country in the world to become a liberal democracy because they have different cultures, different histories, different politics, and many other things. He also said that it

is important for countries to recognise each other's interests, which is the bedrock for international security. He said the perception that the Russian government must therefore be eradicated is the major cause of conflict between Russia and the West.

- He said, attempts to force a particular form of government in Russia and China were the biggest threat to world peace and that Africa cannot avoid getting affected by this confrontation. He added that since China is the largest trading nation in the world; the largest importer and largest exporter, it needs to import large volumes of raw materials into its factories and it needs to export a lot of products to the world market. He further noted that because of this, China needs freedom of the seas for its goods to move around and it also needs to sustain influence in the areas in which it gets its raw materials and where it sells its products. America on the other hand is the global power that controls the oceans. Any attempts by China to build a blue-water navy would be viewed by America as an offensive even if the former is building it for purely defensive purposes and therefore leading to conflict.



Figure 5: The CEO of the Independent Magazine, Mr. Andrew Mwenda making a presentation on the Evolving World Order and its Impact on the Great Lakes Region

2.6 Transition to a green economy and its implications for Africa - Stewart Wesley, Country Director Green Economy Coalition

The presentation on transition to a green economy and its implications for Africa was made by Mr. Stewart Wesley, the Country Director of the Green Economy Coalition.

- Mr. Stewart started his discussion by contextualising security which he said included, freedom from danger and threat, having enough food, water, clean air for all, a healthy bio-environment (good soils, biodiversity, and pollutants are managed), a supportive climate and a safe stable society (fair human wellbeing prevails). For all these to happen, he said, there was a need to have a healthy environment, which is essential to long-term security. Citing the example of Northern Somalia, Mr. Wesley said climate change affects soil fertility and causes conflict. He said that a green economy includes ensuring sustainable prosperity for everyone, and social, environmental, and climatic stability, which are the bedrock of security.
- He noted that a green economy enables people to enjoy and create prosperity, promotes equity within generations and between generations, safeguards, restores, and invests in nature the bedrock of which our lives stand, and supports sustainable consumption, and sustainable production. The green economy is tied to integrated, sustainable, and resilient institutions. Ultimately such a green economy is based upon social contracts between governments and people which give ordinary citizens a say about what happens in their area and it elevates environmental sustainability above that of financial profit.
- On the need for a green economy, he noted that the world was facing multiple series of interconnected challenges; and that climate change was growing faster. He said that unless addressed urgently, temperatures would rise one and a half degrees in the next decade. He added that nature was in crisis, and that biodiversity extinction was happening at an alarming rate. He observed that 75 per cent of the earth's surface was substantially degraded. He said inequalities in nations and threats to national democracies were undermining global cooperation in dealing with climate change and environmental destruction. He further noted that the systems, the roles through which we lived, and the economies were fundamentally broken. He emphasised the need for a new social contract that gives ordinary citizens a say in the economic decisions being made in their name.
- He talked about the five policy themes that Green Economy Coalition works on and he began his explanations starting with the bottom.

At the bottom there is nature; we need a set of policies that ensures that government and businesses understand that healthy forests, soils, and rivers are the bedrock of all economic prosperity. There is no sustainability in a dead climate. Above that are people; if people do not gain from a green economy, it just won't happen! So, the greening must be fair, we need to ensure a just transition, particularly for people, informal workers, and marginalised communities.

- Our current economic systems have left too many people far behind and thereby creating tensions that could result in conflict. Stewart emphasised the need to work quickly to green our sectors to transform our food, and energy, to modify our transport and infrastructure. We need to work on financial mechanisms to diversify our capital markets to increase resilience responsibility and sustainable investment. We need to invest in things that matter and we need to have a government structure that rewrites our institutions, that rewrites the metrics of performance so that we are no longer blind to the environment so that we are no longer blind to social inequality; it's no longer just about growth, and it's no longer just about GDP but its everything underneath.
- Africa has got some particular challenges today. We have got land degradation, deforestation, biodiversity loss, and extreme vulnerability to climate change and we are seen as consequences of these not just in the last few years but for the last twenty to thirty years. We are seeing drought, humanitarian crisis, and water pollution and this is leading to insecurity as people struggle for their very lives. Yet we are in a continent of amazing opportunities. Winston Churchill once called Uganda the Pearl of Africa and I believe him but Africa as a whole continent has amazing potential. Seventy per cent of the population in Sub-Saharan Africa are under 30 years old. It's got 30 per cent of the world's mineral reserves, 90 per cent of chromium and platinum, 65 per cent of the world's arable land, and 10 per cent of the world's internal renewable water sources. We have in most African countries 30-50 per cent of total wealth based on nature. Over 70 per cent of people in Sub-Saharan Africa depend on forests and woodlands for their livelihoods. The land is a massive asset and a lot of this asset is being lost through illegal activities. The stream of benefits that we are gaining as a continent is declining over time. One finger to put here is that Africa is losing an estimated USD 195 billion of natural capital through illicit financial flows, illegal mining, illegal logging, illegal trade in wildlife, unregulated fishing, and environmental degradation. The flow out is massive.

- So, the time for intervention is now. On a planet level, science is clear we need to do something quickly to stop environmental change and climate change. We know that the economic metrics are no longer fit for purpose. COVID-19 just recently has blown away decades of economic orthodoxy creating new space for genuine change. We are seeing support for action growing across all areas of society from school children to central bankers, people are asking for change. Therefore, a green economy requires a fundamental shift in the way that we think, in the way that government prioritises social and environmental goals above financial ones. This is necessary but realising it, is not enough. We need to take action to move towards this and without it, progress towards the sustainable development goals will be patchy, inconsistent at its best, and economic, environmental, climate, and social challenges will continue to intensify.
- The Economic Paradigm. Our economies are self-perpetuating ideological systems, the components of which reinforce and stabilise each other. This creates a locking effect where actors are unable to fundamentally change the direction of the system as a whole. To achieve transformative change, we need to open up this system to allow the emergence of new approaches. The GEC, therefore, adopts a multi-level approach that intervenes across the society to offer alternatives to the prevailing paradigm, build demand for a just transition and shape the institutions and policies needed to deliver real changes. So, as a coalition, we bring together organisations and institutions with multiple perspectives and a wide range of expertise. We do not pretend as a secretariat that we have the call on the truth but what we would argue is that together collectively as the people of civil society and private entities, governments, and institutions together we can develop that truth. And there is a couple of things that we need to do. The first is to build sustained public demand to drive political priorities over the long term in ways that help decision-makers to account. This will change the values, structures, and behaviours that bind us to the current economic system.
- The two fundamental objectives of GEC; one of these is related to people - the amplification of social demand for systemic economic reform and the second is the supply of policies that work. On the left-hand side, we have indigenous knowledge and momentum. Ugandan people and Ugandan institutions and Ugandan businesses have the knowledge, the will, momentum and so they have the desire for change in Uganda. On the flip side, we need policies that will enable that to work. So, what the Green Economy Coalition does is that it tries to bridge the people-policy divide. It is a complex process that requires

adaptability, diversity, and responsiveness and it requires a broad social demand for change. Society will either react positively to the policies you made or they won't and they will resist them. If we impose policies and say this is what we must do and people do not buy into it, it won't work because people will resist, they see it as irrelevant, unimportant so getting this tango is a dance between people and demand and policies that work is critical. And policies that are not informed by the realities or diversity of people's lives are therefore much less likely to be effective. We, therefore, urge the generation of the widespread public support to sustain political priorities beyond electoral cycles, create space and demand for business innovation and promote the adoption of more sustainable lifestyles. So that our theory of change is fundamentally embedded in building inclusive social demand.

- Let us talk about what it looks like to work in Africa. We have hubs around the world three in Africa, we also have new ones and we have new ones that we hope should be growing in other countries. What we have now are in Uganda, Senegal, Kenya Tanzania, and Rwanda. In each of these cases, the dialogue process is led by local partners who work with small enterprises, policy makers, civil society organisations, and civil society groups to identify issues relevant to the transition to green economies. Each dialogue process is led by local partners who work with small enterprises, policymakers' civil society organisations, and civil society groups to identify issues relevant to the transition to green economies. In each case, the dialogue processes have led to policy changes, and new networks emerge which have speed-up the transition to greener more inclusive economies. For example, in Uganda, a cross-sectoral partnership of business, communities, and civil society organisations have come together for the first time to develop a coherent comprehensive catchment management plan for the river Rwizi together with the Ministry of Water and Environment. In Senegal, the major issue is overfishing and neglecting the inland agriculture so here, coastal fisheries and inland farmers are working to develop better fish and farm management systems to assure sustainable food supplies. In South Africa, big changes are happening in the energy sector. ESCOM power supply is being broken up and this is creating a new reality across different areas of South Africa. Again, the key issue here is small enterprises are looking for ways to go green and unlock green finance for green economies.
- On the one hand, we are looking to create social demand for economic reform and take that into catalysing systemic policy change. The two are critical. Therefore, GEC sees four pathways to impact; building a critical mass of demand; telling stories that inspire that give meaning

to a much greater sense of economy beyond GDP; influencing policy; and building a coalition of people, businesses, and government to say this is our agenda and we will make it happen. In summary, security in Africa is based on inclusive citizen-led dialogues that empower new social movements and call for greening and fair exchange. The heart of the people should be about this is our land, we want our country to be better and we will commit to doing that. Secondly, catalyse a shift in expectations and narratives around economic purpose. Change the narrative to a more sustainable green future. Thirdly, empower governments and other organisations and private institutions to drive systemic change so that environmental and social improvements become central to politics, economics, and business decisions. If we do that our economies are realigned for the benefit of people and realigned for the benefit of nature. This is the basis of security.

- In conclusion, there is a need to think about security issues in the acute security issues as chronic today. As we talk about Ukraine, we are talking about an acute issue. Underlying that is a chronic issue. The Green Economy Coalition is building a fundamental resilience that is built on sustainability where we can be chronically well so that we do not get acute system failures arising.

2.7 Uganda's Economic Security in the Context of the Evolving Global Challenges - Joseph Enyimu, Ag. Commissioner for Economic Development Policy and Research, MoFPED.

The Presentation on Uganda's Economic Security in the Context of the Evolving Global Security Challenges was made by Mr. Joseph Enyimu, the Acting Commissioner for Economic Policy and Research at the Ministry of Finance, Planning, and Economic Development. He said that the Ministry was watching for several unfolding global developments including the COVID-19 pandemic and its impact. He said there are two impacts apparently, and they are the disruption of global supply chains; and a surge in commodity demands and prices.

- He also said the Ministry was also watching challenges related to climate change. Mr. Enyimu noted that the harsh weather in Europe and parts of the USA are driving the demand for energy for heating. He further said the government was observing the military conflict between Ukraine and Russia, and migration, some of this triggered by this conflict. He made reference to the refugee situation saying the dynamic across the continent and the globe is likely to increase the refugee population in Uganda. He said these factors combined, may

push up imported inflation raising prices affecting things like essential commodities such as soap, and cooking oil in Uganda. He said these are things that matter to ordinary citizens. He said the government is managing the transmission mechanism for that is the prices and of course, we are managing in terms of the foreign exchange noting that the shilling has held, and is very stable compared to other East African currencies.

- The other aspect would be the markets. The developments globally are both a threat to certain existing markets but they also present an opportunity. Many African countries import a lot of food and with the shortage, in terms of grain and cereals associated with the major global suppliers there is going to be a shock but that shock can be an opportunity for substitution and we think that Uganda could be a good candidate if we can make our adjustments appropriately to fill in that gap.
- The other transmission mechanism is in terms of financial flows. As global inflation picks up, we are seeing investors withdrawing their investments in capital markets around the world and taking them to greener pastures such as the US. But also, with the unfolding humanitarian situation, we foresee a reprogramming of development assistance by our traditional partners, some of them have to deal with problems back home and we are already seeing some scaling back in their commitments around the continent, falling back on their commitments. We are chiefly working with project finance, so that is not hitting home yet.
- On what developments and their transmission mechanism mean for our economic security, Mr. Enyimu noted that there are threats in terms of macroeconomics. He said this affects both the wealthy and low-income persons. He said it affects the value of their savings and their purchasing power. This of course translates into welfare, so that is one of the threats that is being monitored and prudently managed.
- The other one is that we are currently in a phase of strengthening our regional economic integration with many no-tariff barriers being scaled down, and we are seeing our exports picking up. But these global developments could impact the prospects and so it is a threat that we are monitoring and deploying public investment accordingly.
- The other critical area is of course fiscal space. On the account of COVID-19 and other related developments, we suffered a revenue shortfall in the first eight months of about eight trillion shillings now that impacts are a range of issues including service delivery which matters

for all of us. We have experienced this with different public services and if we are not able to finance that, it has long-term implications.

- The fourth threat is in terms of our human capabilities, we noticed that prolonged lock-down for example, with schools, has cost children two years of education and that can be a long-term scar to recover from that child that has dropped out of school that is a lot of human capital sacrificed and so there is need to strategically address that threat and make good on recovering those losses.
- Finally, we see a threat in terms of environment and natural resource degradation. We are on record for being the youngest population in the world and we have done a good job in terms of bringing down mortality in Uganda but fertility has not come down as fast, so our population is growing fast and it is putting a lot of pressure on our natural resources and so the whole idea of environmental governance, managing urban growth is a threat that we have to keep monitoring and we are planning accordingly.
- What are we doing at MoFPED to mitigate the threats discussed? I will just highlight five generic points. In terms of the long term, Uganda is focused on delivering socio-economic transformation, and that is essentially moving more of our factors of production to sectors with a higher return on investment. So, within the context of the current and upcoming budget, we are looking at diversifying the base of the economy, we are deploying a lot of public investment in bringing to fruition the oil and gas sector, and we are also looking at developing the local supply of steel. You know as a country, developing construction is a very big area and so we are lowering that cost because it will eventually affect things like housing deficit and also regarding the infrastructure gap we are trying to close, and then finally mobilising development savings. The development needs that Uganda has, the taxpayers are not able to finance them, not even our development partners. It is about mobilising the savings that regular Ugandans have. That's why there is a big push to really close down on the subsistence economy but also scale down on the informal sector. If we can mobilise these savings and channel them to the investment gaps that we have, our development stands a better chance, so that is one way we are addressing that.
- The other area we are working on mitigating is governance and accountability. There are different approaches to this but from the perspective of the ministry of finance, we are taking on the automation of government. We think that by developing very robust IT systems and

being able to account for and track our decisions and our resources, we can seal off some leakages and bring to account those that need to be.

- The third mitigation area is to do with the demographic dividend. Uganda has a very young population and there is a need to turn this population into a real asset for our development. Skilling the young people and supporting their entrepreneurial abilities by diversifying opportunities are critical for transforming urban centres into growth engines. He further said that the government was investing in the human capital development program noting that it accounts for nearly 25 per cent of the national budget.
- We are focusing on maintaining the competitiveness of our economy and there we are sustaining our infrastructure agenda to bring down the cost of production. We are very grateful that when these global developments were happening, we had already front-loaded investment in energy and transport. It would have been a disaster if we had those gaps in the current situation so we are very grateful that we had that foresight.
- Finally, we are focused on lowering the cost of capital. As we try to industrialise you need to be able to deliver long-term financing. You know commercial banking cannot finance our industrialisation agenda because it is based on short-term deposits; you need some low-cost long-term deposits and so how we mobilise our pension savings and our development finance institutions to respond to this investment agenda is something we are actively working to mitigate those risks. With those done, we think that the economic security situation of the country is within manageable hands and together we can work to secure livelihoods and jobs and prosperity of the country.



Figure 6: The Representative of the PSST, Mr. Joseph Enyimu, the Ag. Commissioner for Economic Development Policy and Research at MoFPED making a presentation on Uganda's Economic Security in the Context of the Evolving Global Challenges

3. Plenary

3.1 His Excellency Joseph Rutabana, Rwanda High Commissioner in Uganda

- His Excellency Joseph Rutabana noted that although Africa has been experiencing armed conflict for a long time, presentations made had opened his eyes to the reality of other security threats from the socio-economic aspect. He appreciated the presenters, starting with Hon. Maj. Gen. Jim Muhwezi; gave participants a very good perspective of traditional security and that we cannot detach colonial history from what is happening now and at the same time showed us other socio-economic state security issues such as human rights among others. He also thanked Dr. Joseph Shevel for his presentation. He concurred with Dr. Shevel that Africa can achieve what the State of Israel achieved after 1948.
- While concurring with Dr. Shevel on education, he noted that Israeli's system of education that the first Israeli Prime Minister Ben Gurion introduced which focused on Science, Technology, Engineering and

Mathematics (STEM) had made it possible for Israel to rank number one in terms of per capita and terms of engineers and scientists. He encouraged governments in the African continent, particularly in the East African Region to adopt the Israeli approach to transformation.

- On Re-use of Water in Israel, he admitted that what Dr. Joseph Shevel mentioned was very true. In Gen. Muhoozi's submission on water management, he noted that African countries need to invest in rainwater harvesting observing that most countries in Africa already have a lot of water that is instead destroying our habitat. Lastly, I learnt a lot from the presentation made by Stewart about the green economy where I did not have enough knowledge, but he gave us a very good perspective of what a green economy is. A colleague from the Ministry of Finance gave us the current status of finances and economic situation in Uganda which we appreciate.

3.2 His Excellency Dr. Aziz Ponary Mlima, The High Commissioner, Tanzanian High Commission in Uganda

- Dr. Ponary said every conflict in the world has roots in geopolitics, geo-interest, geo-economics, and national interest.
- He said Africa needs to look into the aspect of research and development as well as education.
- Another panel discussant talked about climate change and the environment as threats to security. So, if we are keen to make sure that our planet earth is safe, our politics and everything else needs to look into the element of geoeconomics and geopolitics so that we have a stable and peaceful world.

3.3 Hon John Ken Lukyamuzi, President of the Conservative Party and former Member of Parliament

- Responding to Gen. Muhwezi's submission on the importance of promoting regional integration to enhance security, Mr. Lukyamuzi said it was not enough to just talk but act. He said regional integration should not be promoted by just pronouncement but through dialogue among the citizens of Uganda. He said citizens should be encouraged to participate in the decision-making process; whether or not they want to integrate with the rest of the regions. He noted that while the world is becoming more and more insecure every day, Africa's response to that challenge has been catastrophic. Citing the case of Uganda, he said while the country is independent, there is still a lack of opportunity of governing ourselves properly. There is misrule by political parties in Uganda for instance political parties are treated

as NGOs and yet the constitution states that political parties should participate actively in the affairs of the state. As we speak now there is a total decay in constitutional governance. Deforestation in Uganda and Africa is a big problem, President Museveni signed resolution 40 in 1992 under agenda 21 to protect all existing forest covers; as we speak now, forests in Uganda are in danger and part of the danger to our forests is the reigning government.

3.4 General David Muhoozi, Minister of State for Internal Affairs

- By extension, terrorism is a global threat and it needs a global collaborative approach because by the events of this year, speaking about Uganda you can see that we cannot be an island. A threat that emanates from a neighbour can threaten our security. Speaking about ADF, in particular, but also speaking about the Al Shabab which is in Somalia but to which we have been a victim in the past, in 2010 in particular. I think the key is in collaboration in many things including prevention and that is through sharing intelligence and then of course a response to terrorism. Speaking about ADF, the UPDF decided to take the war to the source of the problem, of course in liaison with the Congo government. Gladly we were allowed to go there and pursue the ADF from the safe havens of Eastern Congo where they were organizing training and doing all sorts of things in freedom to threaten the neighbourhood including Uganda.

3.5 Professor Charles Kwesiga, Executive Director, Uganda Industrial Research Institute

- Visiting Israel helps one to fully appreciate Africa's development paradox where we have plenty of everything but we are still not developing. Thanks to all the presenters who were assuring us with the message it can be done.
- He noted that over-dependence on foreign technology is one of the biggest threats to our countries as witnessed in the COVID-19 pandemic. Second, is the allocation of resources; I am glad to hear MoFPED talk about their priorities and indeed there are other good priorities but how do you emphasize such priorities? Then you take me back to Multilateral Trading Facilities (MTF). We need to reconcile that message with reality otherwise, I recommend all the presentations and urge all of you who haven't been to Israel to make an effort and go and go see for yourselves. The first thing that hit me when I visited there for the very first time was to see how Israel is busy turning a desert into farmland then I return home and I find my country turning farmland into desert.

3.6 Agather Atuhaire, Representative of the Executive Director for the Centre for Constitutional Governance.

- She noted that she was glad that security in broad terms was being talked about in a broader sense, not the security that we have been told about that the NRM brought in absence of war and people can sleep peacefully in their homes; security of food and people being able to go to school and accessing healthcare is indeed important. My questions are directed to the Honourable Minister for Security, General Jim Muhwezi.
- On Israel's model of agricultural transformation, she noted that in Uganda, over 70 percent is still in subsistence farming and we are still using rudimentary tools. It must be the 2016 elections when one of the presidential candidates were giving out hoes in this era and age; when people can't even afford a hoe. So that now we are already getting a lot of benefits from Agriculture without investing in it, honourable minister why isn't the government investing in agriculture? General Muhwezi called it sloganeering I am glad he said that it's not us on their side. We have invested in Operation Wealth Creation, NAADS, and in NARO where is the problem?
- On education and health. I did research about three months ago and you know you go out there and you find the situation worse than you left it I mean than you imagined. Teacher Pupil Ratio in some schools where I went was one to a hundred. Then you have pupils who have no classes. I went to a hospital where a woman was giving birth and failed to push and the only option was C-section but there was nothing to operate the woman on. She was told to move from Masindi Health Centre IV to Masindi Hospital or Hoima Hospital which was about an hour and by the time she got there the baby had died and the woman eventually died. The hospitals do not have drugs and I visited quite many. How can we talk about this sort of broadened security when Ugandan citizens cannot access quality public education and health services? I picked these up from Dr. Shevel because he talked about those three; we cannot have security without them.
- The Minister for Security started by talking about the NRM coming into power to change the status quo, what happened? When you see the status quo now as NRM, as a minister in the current government, does it justify what you said you said you were going to do? Are you satisfied with what you have done so far? Are you going to keep hiding behind colonialism, and neocolonialism forever?

3.7 Dr. Moses Isooba, Executive Director, National NGO Forum

- I want to just highlight perhaps two or three things on the implications of the global war on Africa. One I think it is an opportunity for Africa to be exemplary in this mediation. I think we have been involved in such work that we have done well in Abyei district in the conflict between Sudan and Southern Sudan, then Migingo Island between Kenya and Uganda as well as conflicts between Somalia and Kenya, and these were sorted out through either shadow diplomacy. The mediation and adherence to the of the International Court of Justice. And now this allows us as a continent to step in and be the big brother and play the mediation role in this Ukraine crisis because the members of the United Nations Security Council have already expended their political capital. I do not think that they have the justification to be able to be mediators in this conflict. I am glad that the Minister for Internal Affairs did mention and appreciated the way Uganda voted at the UN General Assembly and it is important to take it one notch higher, and ensure that we can take advantage of that.
- The second is that because of this conflict, there is going to be food insecurity because Russia, and Ukraine are grain producers. It also provides us with an opportunity for inter-country trade as African countries and I think again looking at opportunities it is something that we need to take note of.
- My last comment is that when you look at the UN architecture right now, I think it is past its sale valid date. What we see now is a failure of the UN architecture. We are now in a war that should not have happened if all the parties were truly wedded to the UN charter and other foundational documents. The failure of that means that we have a United Nations that is highly polarized and again it is an opportunity for Africa to reset the button because of the current situation.

3.8 Mrs. Patience Batetsi Mbopi, for Executive Director, Give and Give Foundation

- Listening to this dialogue makes me feel that yes, it is possible for Africa to transform and I came here believing that it is possible. But one thing that comes to my mind is the leaders and the people who are in attendance, especially Hon. Jim Muhwezi; they have attended these dialogues but when we look on the ground there is nothing substantial to come back home to. So how is the government of Uganda positioning itself to be able to align itself with this kind of concept? Then how do they intend to bring it down to an individual because we are talking about it as a topic but then how do we bring it down

to the individual so that they are also beneficiaries? Then how are we dealing with corruption? We need to talk about corruption because you are the same people who talk nicely in conferences and dialogue and yet continue to appear in the media for corruption allegations.

3.9 Dr. Joseph Shevel

- I have three comments, first of all, Stewart in his presentation talked about drought and I want to remind you that there was a seven-year war in Syria, half a million people died, and two million refugees because of a lack of water. There were three years of drought and I agree with Stewart. The other thing he talked about is land. Land is one of the resources that is used but there have been changes in the 18th and 19th centuries when the wave became capital, industry, those who were advanced, those who had capital, industry, and those with machines. Today, what is the wealth in the world? The richest countries are those with data! Land is not an issue anymore even capital is less important. The richest companies and the richest countries are those with data. And this is why Professor Kwesiga and I yesterday we talked about educating 3000 students with UIRI and Galilee Institute. The last comment is about the presentation made by Andrew Mwenda whereby he mentioned that the US and Russia are pretty much at the same level. No! He probably forgot that the GDP of the US is 24 trillion dollars and how much is Russia compared to the US? Russia's GDP is only 4 trillion. That's 24 and 4 how can you compare? Even China is only 14 trillion dollars. Lastly, Andrew made mention of Tuchman and but there is also Herman Kahn who was a strategic expert and wrote a book titled "think the unthinkable". What do we today think is unthinkable? Putin might use nuclear weapons as Andrew said; so that is the book. Think the unthinkable! We have to take into consideration the unthinkable and what might happen? Who knows?

3.10 Response to questions by General Jim Muhwezi, the Minister for Security

- I am going to be brief because I am late for another meeting. I will not say what I wanted to say because of time. But I will say thank you to all of you for your contributions. Apart from the questions, all your presentations were fantastic and I agree with them. The broad interpretation of security that's how it is, that's how we interpret it these days. It is no longer the absence of war; it is looking at these aspects of life as I said in my opening remarks. So, unfortunately, the questions are a bit local they are Ugandan questions. My old friend Hon. Lukyamuzi has not changed I thought after so many years he had grown older and changed. We were together in parliament but he is still the same. He is asking how can we talk about regional integration

when we are not allowing people to decide how they would like to be integrated. This is a local issue here and that is what he is talking about (federal system of governance). But we are talking about integration as a strategic method for our security and this answers some other questions that someone asked us. Uganda or Tanzania or any other country alone cannot plan for strategic security. People are not talking about not being secure on land, sea, air, and space. Besides, no country in Africa can invest in space. We do not have the money but if we integrated, we can have the capacity to also have space security. That is what I was talking about regarding integration for strategic reasons. Having a centre of gravity and federal cannot help us in this aspect.

- Deforestation and protection of the environment; I had wanted to talk about it. The challenge facing our environment is the aspect of survival, our people are looking for food. So, when we are trying to protect the environment, we have to balance it up with people living. Interference in our internal affairs affects us. We have a history which I talked about which is colonial and we are doing our best to put our house in order but people are telling us to run! not just run but run fast, even when they took years to get stable.
- Refugee influx in Uganda. Uganda is now hosting 1.4 million of our comrades, our African friends whom we must host. Unfortunately, in an area the refugees are being hosted, it's hard to ensure stability as well as protect the environment.
- Yes, I agree with Professor Kwesiga on over-dependence on foreign technologies and so on. Agatha my young sister or my daughter, I have seen her on television now I have seen her face to face and she has not changed also. She is talking about Ugandans involved in subsistence agriculture being at 70 per cent and yet subsistence is now at 39 per cent. Yes, you are asking why we are not investing in agriculture and the answer is that we are moving in the right direction. If you have been following, and if you talked to my brother from the Ministry of Finance, he can explain to you about the parish development model, where we are taking government programs to the parish level. We have 10,594 parishes and that is where we are taking development. We do not want to pass it through ministries, districts, through sub-counties, we want to take the money right to the parish and cause production there targeting the 39 per cent of Ugandans that are still trapped in the subsistence economy.
- Education. The keynote speaker was talking about education and the high commissioner talked about STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics), which is where we are going as a

country. We have already emphasized the teaching of science in Uganda. We have increased the salaries of all scientists. In the next budget, all scientists will be paid a salary of not less than 4 million shillings per month, which is going to be attractive, it's going to attract people to study sciences, it's going to bring back Ugandans' who have been leaving the country to go and work in other countries. Agather, you know that when we came to power in 1986, our tax collection was UGX 5 billion. How many trillions are we collecting now in taxes? The government of Uganda is currently collecting UGX 18 trillion.

- I was the minister for primary education in 1997 and we had only 1.7 million children enrolled in primary education. When we introduced UPE we got 7 million. Over 5 million were not accessing school because they could not afford it. So, these are developments in the right direction. We cannot jump, we need to move slowly because of our condition, but we are moving in the right direction and given a chance of non-interference.

4. Closing Remarks by Dr. Bainomugisha, the Executive Director, ACODE

Ladies and gentlemen, I would like to take this opportunity to thank the Minister for Security who was our chief guest. He had to run through an engagement and come to be with us at the dialogue. I want to also thank the Minister of State for Internal Affairs General David Muhoozi who discussed the keynote address. I want to thank our keynote speaker Dr. Joseph Shevel for steering the debate and taking us to the global stage and sharing the Israel experience. I would also like to thank all the panellists for discussing this very well. I am extremely thankful to the representative of the PSST, MoFPED for discussing economic security in a very short time because you see we have said security is holistic.

After 1945, the whole concept of security was broadened to include human security away from state security and so we now talk about economic security, water security, everything is security but in all that it is the individual who is important and central. So, ladies and gentlemen on behalf of ACODE, I would like to inform you that we have reignited our policy dialogues. They should be very brief (two hours) but also very focused.

The honourable minister today we looked at security at the global scale but we will have several fora to talk about security at a smaller scale we

will be making policy recommendations for policy at International, national, regional, and the global stage. And what comes out of this is that we would want to situate. Africa should not be a bystander in global or international affairs but be an active participant. And I like the discussion that came out of this dialogue that this is an opportunity for Africa to take advantage when the giants are fighting; we need to equip ourselves and occupy our space; when they come to sit on the chair that they had vacated, we will tell them no, we are already seated. So, Africa must take a firm step and sit at the high table of international affairs. And I want to thank the young man who said in this dialogue that Africa can now help end the war between Russia and Ukraine because war is bad by all definitions and all efforts must be marshalled to end the war. Now that Africa especially Uganda voted to abstain at the UN General Assembly, we have the advantage of bringing the inconvenient truth to bring sanity in the international community.

Dr. Arthur Bainomugisha thanked the government of Uganda for tirelessly working hard to ensure that the border between Uganda and Rwanda was opened. The closure of the border had affected the economy of neighbouring districts such as Kisoro coupled with the fact that some lives were lost. Our survival as African people is through regional economic integration. With a big voice, we can negotiate on the international stage. So, ladies and gentlemen, I want to thank you and promise that we are going to synthesize the discussions and recommendations which we will share with you as well as bring them to the attention of the government so that they can continue to think and prepare so that Africa does not disappear.

5. Recommendations

- i. Regional Integration: African governments should ensure accelerated economic and political integration of Africa as well as a deeper reflection on the strategic insurance and security of Africa to have better negotiations with the rest of the world.
- ii. Human Security: African governments should adopt the Human Security approach. African governments should deliberately invest in interventions that will ensure that citizens are free from want and free from fear. Investing in government intervention that will guarantee human security will go a long way in reducing conflicts on the African continent, particularly the conflicts that are not international. The Human Security approach can be implemented in tandem with the State Security approach.

- iii. Industrialization: African governments, Uganda inclusive, should embark on industrialization of their economies to resolve the issues of scarcity, poverty, and unemployment.
- iv. Human Capital Development: African governments should prioritize investments in human capital development, particularly education. Countries such as Israel, Malaysia, and Singapore among others have forged their way to development by investing heavily in the quality of education of their citizens.
- v. Investment in Research: African governments should appropriate money in their national budgets to support Research. They should also invest in Science, Technology, and Innovation.
- vi. Protection of Environment: Governments should come up with a set of policies that ensures that government and businesses understand that healthy forests, soils, and rivers are the bedrock of all economic prosperity. There is no sustainability in a dead climate. Governments and other organisations and private institutions should be empowered to drive systemic change so that environmental and social improvements become central to politics, economics, and business decisions. If we do that our economies are realigned for the benefit of people and realigned for the benefit of nature.
- vii. Water Management: African governments should adopt best practices involving the re-use of wastewater for irrigation and human consumption. African governments should also encourage their citizens to harvest rainwater. If access to water is improved, it will go a long way in lessening conflicts among African communities and hence, a more secure Africa.

Pictorial



ABOUT ACODE

The Advocates Coalition for Development and Environment (ACODE) is an independent public policy research and advocacy think tank based in Uganda. ACODE's work focuses on four programme areas: Economic Governance; Environment and Natural Resources Governance; Democracy, Peace and Security; Science, Technology and Innovation. For the last eight consecutive years, ACODE has been ranked as the best think tank in Uganda and one of the top 100 think tanks in Sub-Saharan Africa and globally in the Global Think Tanks Index Report published by the University of Pennsylvania Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program (TTCSP).

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