

**THE LECTURE OF THE INSPECTOR GENERAL OF POLICE,  
MAJ. GEN. KALE KAYIHURA, TO STUDENTS AT THE UPDF  
SENIOR COMMAND AND STAFF COLLEGE, KIMEKA**

**DATE: WED. 23/07/2009**

**COURSE: 05/2009.**

**TOPIC: THE ROLE OF POLICE IN INTERNAL SECURITY AND COUNTER**

**PRESENTATION**

My presentation will be under four heading:

1. Genesis, nature of the police as an institution.
2. The role of the police in the history of Uganda, from the colonial period to today.
3. What are we doing to build the police as a lead agency in internal security?
4. Conclusion
5. Q and A

**1. Genesis of the Police as an institution**

When we talk about police what are we talking about really?

Police as an institution is really a phenomenon of the industrial revolution in Europe. It emerged as an urban force. The coming up of industries and concentration of people attracted criminality hence insecurity of the people ranging from simple crime and murder (Homicide), generating conflicts-one group of people attacking the another.

So vigilantes started coming up, which later started organizing themselves into night guards (watchmen) and this was the precursor of the police.

Later on Sir Robert Peel become the father of modern police as an institution that's why you hear of Bob, which is derived from Robert.

In Europe, you don't find the police as a national institution. Police is found in the cities like the London Metropolitan Police which is only for London city.

France and Francophone countries, am glad we have officers from Rwanda here, the police is part of the military, they are called Gendarm- am I wrong, an officer from Rwanda says Gendarme sir. Yah he has corrected me that is France. They are found in France and the colonies of France (Francophone) maybe the officer will tell us the difference between that and the traditional military in term formation, doctrine and deployment. They are more linked to military than say DPP because they have the judicial police.

Now this is deferent from the English system (Anglophone) where there is clear demarcation between the military and police. In the Anglophone, the police is more or less a civil institution that is why I am on contract with the Public service. The military is not pert of the public service. The civil nature is in line with what I told you that police really emerged from the people

While the traditional role of the military is war and deal with the enemies from outside the walls of the cities- the invaders- becomes the states began on city states. Meanwhile within the walls of the cities it was the work of the police.

## **2. Examples of Police models around the world**

There were different models, even within these models; there are models with civil elements combined with paramilitary in one organization, with the best examples of the gendarme and the Karamaniri of Italy who are very elite forces although they are part of the police. Then you have a model in basically civil although they may have pistols, they will not go out with guns like AK47 but largely dealing with violent crimes is the work of military police. In Netherlands police mainly performs two roles- the traditional military police role and to deal with riots and violent situations like our MPPU here works. The Nepal has a model where you have what we call armed police and all of them are established by the Act of parliament. Armed police is separate from both the civil and the military police.

Now the model that we have is where civil and armed bodies are forced under one organization like it is in Britain, like when I visited the Anti-riot unit which is full of ex-marines- huge men. Intact I have been looking around the country for huge men like that but unfortunately in UPDF they are not very many. The idea is that they do not use the gun but intimidate people by their size. If you see some huge men, I want to deploy them in Anti-Riot, but they are armed from the non lethal to weapons like teasers which are meant to chock and they can cause death due to chock and then rubber bullets when shot at close range can kill.

Rubber bullets when shot at close range will kill you. I had that experience and I have been a victim of rubber bullets at Makerere University.

Even in Britain, although the concept is civil police, there are those who are armed from lethal to non-lethal. Even a baton can kill someone if hit at a particular spot. Someone can use his arm to kill. A stone can kill, it is lethal.

In our case, the modern police forces of East Africa are based on the fused model because you minimize having to bring the army when there is no crisis. Deploying the army on the streets of Kampala is a sign that things have gone wrong and it will discourage investment. That is why the wisdom is that we should combine the two, with the best example being the Tanzania Police, where the police work very closely with the army and that is why the FFU even has anti air craft weapons. Here there is a debate whether the police should have SMG. That it is militarizing the police and this is my biggest problem.

Recently the President gave me a directive that we must build the MPPU into a field force unit, similar to Tanzania (FFU) and Kenya (GSU). In Kenya the GSU is the lead agency in fighting cattle rustling yet in our case it is the military, which is not a good thing that the police does not have capacity to fight cattle theft, although we are rectifying that.

What I am saying is that the model we have is a fused one and we need obviously to educate parliament on that. They do not even bother to find out because they take a priority position. Having Inspector General of a military rank is normal because if you look at a big part of the world they are military people, or individuals with military background, whether America, Europe or Asia.

In 2006 when we had EAPCCO, there were only military men and the only misters were those of Uganda. I have been fighting this, why do you call yourselves Misters instead of Commissioners or Superintendents because that is what the British also call themselves. I did some research that the Colonial British Officers called the Ugandan officers Misters because they considered the Ugandan officers too low to be given those ranks which would be equating them with the British officers. Nobody has rectified that and I am trying to do so. These are some of the revolutions I am trying to achieve.

So you have got the point that there is no one model, there are different models and ours is this one.

After 9/11 and Mumbai attacks, those countries are not the same again because of terrorism. Now the concept of the army not being involved in internal security is gone in those countries. In Mumbai the police was completely overwhelmed and even the military commandos took time to dislodge those few terrorists. All these years we have been suffering terrorist attacks from ADF, Kony and so on. Obviously the theatre has changed and therefore the model has to be redeveloped and everybody has gone back to the drawing board.

After the Mumbai attack the Prime Minister said they now have to rethink both the organization of the police and intelligence because it has been a traditional thing yet the theatre has changed.

To end this point – these are the models. I have given you what our model is and the world over, internal security is in a state of flux and every body has gone to the drawing

board because security threats and crime are intertwined. Even you, I hope you are discussing it as commanders.

We must now rethink the model. Police is going to be the lead agency as it should. We are going to rethink as an institution and also as it operate with other agencies, particularly the military.

### **3. Police in the history of Uganda**

The Police in Uganda was introduced as a highly operational force and was the major actor in internal security, both at the level of intelligence – special branch was the ISO of the colonial government and was in the Police.

The first Police Force was called the Uganda Constabulary deployed in Karamoja. So that was the colonial period and we came to Obote 1 until 1966 when we had a crisis. The police remained highly operational, even CID was not what we see now; it was highly effective but not these ones who put on ties in every situation. The reason why CID does not put on uniform is because they are intelligence officers who put on depending on the situation like a chameleon which changes color depending on the environment. Our CID of today is always in ties in all situations including when going to look for information in a Manyata of a Karamojong.

I have told them not to put on ties in every situation. If you are investigating white color crime in an office then put on a tie. But when going to investigate crime in the village say among the Baralo put on suka and carry a stick. So that was why the force during those older times was so operational in all respect – intelligence, investigation and preventive policing.

### **4. Building the Police as a lead agency in internal security**

By 1966 Police was still almost the same. After that the military comes in and begins taking over police role; and the role of police becomes contested.

During Amin's time, it was all over. Even parish chiefs were soldiers. Corporals and Sergeants were gombolola chiefs. The traditional police role was undermined as there was no rule of law and there was turmoil.

Obote II tried to revive the police role. He established the Special Force which was very vicious and dedicated. They used to terrorize us in Luwero. I only got one guy called Ogole - a tall guy and he is now working in Karamoja and is a very good officer. But the Force was built on sectarian line hence it was disbanded although a few are still around. So if you look at the history, you can see that the Force was initially highly operational, and then it started gradually going down. During Obote's time it went up a bit, but when NRM came in it went down again. From 1986, the quality of the police was low because a lot of them were sent away because they were ineffective as others were recruited on sectarian means.

IGP Odomel tried to build a professional Force but using the model of the Netherlands. They tried to build the MPPU but not to the level of the colonial period – which was an operational Force that was sent to Karamoja and Bunyoro. They were the once who suppressed those rebellions. I am not celebrating that but I am just marveling the correct concept that the British had in building the Police. They had intelligence, investigation and preventive operational Force.

Odomel did not really address the operational part because I really believe it could not handle internal insurgencies. We could not build the capacity of the police at the same time build that of the army. The choice was made since we have got a ready force as if the threats we were facing were externally based. The rebellions you remember which we tackled were externally based and were from all corners of Uganda UPM, WNBF, UNLCFI, ADF, Force Obote Back, and UPA, name them.

So obviously the army, the decision was made that lets build a ready force, which is reliable, to handle the internal problems. Later on in the 1990's the ASTU was taken

over by the military temporarily because Police was not really able to handle the armed cattle rustling. There was again the external element from the Pokot and Turkana.

Now where we have reached, as the laws were done by 2001 although we still had the problem of Kony, a decision was taken that the police should build and make it operational, that was why General Katumba was deployed. It was not to make the Police vote for the President in the next Presidential election. That was absolutely absurd. It was to build the Police into a lead agency for internal security. General Katumba did his part and later on after the restructuring of the military he was reassigned back into the army as the commander of the Land Forces. Then I heard that I was also to go and make a contribution to building this force. I tell you it is a big challenge, you see, every organization has got an organization culture, whether NRA, UPDF, TPDF, Kenyan Army and Police they have organizational culture. Even the police have got its organization culture based on its own ideology. Changing that is not easy, first of all especially when we came to government the perception that it's the UPDF to handle everything, meanwhile the police was just there as civil servants. Police posts and stations are closed at 500pm, can you imagine that. People go home, an operational officer switching off his phone. UPDF was there policing Kampala. All these including Karamoja have been the army. It was because of the challenges we had but not by design.

So now we have to make the police the lead agency; that is the challenge. We are doing that as we also attend to other problems of the country.

The core functions of the police are (Article 212 of the constitution):

- To protect life and property
- Ensure law and order
- Detect and prevent crime
- Cooperate with other security agencies, civil authorities and the population at large. The security of the country is based on mass mobilization.

So we have got to build the police, re-orient them to be operational. That requires training. You find in the police some body last attended a course 20 years ago when joining the Force as a Constable or Cadet. He has not done any other course except may be a seminar here or there, at UMI. In fact when we were taking over command of ASTU we were looking for who could command, we got those who attended cadet course in the military at Gadafi garrison some 15 years back and many of them had even forgotten how a gun looks like.

So the problem is that the operational capacity of the police is not there. When we were organizing ASTU command and wanted to borrow some soldiers from the army, there was the outcry that I was militarizing the police, we became cautious. We reopened police posts and stations which had been closed and had to secure the neighbors to Karamoja to stop cattle raids. We have been struggling with that but again the biggest problem is getting operational commanders.

At the level of preventive policing we have a big challenge from the senior command to junior command. The materials for training are there, we have better trainable material than the army and this one I will tell you because I am a military man. In terms of education, and although they say we are the most corrupt institution in the country but I don't even know who is doing this.

But any way, I now have company because the Kenya police have been the most corrupt and Tanzania police is the next and Uganda police is the last. So I said oh, this is good, they are our friends. In fact I thought I was the worst in East Africa.

Recently the Uganda Bureau of Statistics said corruption in the Uganda police is coming down and this is obviously because of me, because I have put in place the mechanism – the Professional Standards Unit and introduced the Political Commissariat and I my self I have been putting effort to improve the institution that is why recently we had recruitment of 4,000 constables and 400 cadets. We concentrated them in Kampala and formed them into what we now call the 'Formed

units' and it has helped as now you do not see the military police so much in these riots because of these young men and women.

Recently there was a problem where the President bashed us but even in the army it happens. Some army officers were happy that ah, now he has got it! But how many times has the president arrested army officers including senior officers? In fact I told him that I had arrested them anyway but he said you know our culture. Take them and we must expose them to the public because justice must be seen to be done. It is not business as usual. Police is not what you think because I know UPDF you despise the Police.

Since 2006 in Karamoja we have been planning together in fighting cattle rustling and we agreed under a joint plan that we secure the districts neighboring Karamoja from Agoro in Kitgum to Bukwa . Although the military is still there, it is largely the ASTU. We secured them against raids and attacks from Karamoja and also law and order – normal life.

Once the military gets out of the picture that means that normalcy is coming back. ASTU must now completely occupy the line from Agoro to Bukwa and the military elements that are still there are relieved to go deeper into Karamoja. Secondly, we must also start deploying in some places in Karamoja to back up the army in recovering guns and countering raids and protecting the kraals.

What we are still not sure about is what the centre of gravity is – should we go for the guns first or protect the kraals. The debate is still going on about this.

The role of the Police in Karamoja now is increasing. The first is ASTU and the second is that since December 2007 we have deployed to secure the roads and urban centers there. Recently we got more vehicles, now we have 17 of them on the high ways of Karamoja. Of course Karamoja is big, 27,000 sq km; even those vehicles are not enough.

Karamoja is very rich. Don't know whether you have had a lesson on Karamoja? Someone should come and tell you about the resources of Karamoja really. There is even suspicion of oil and the live stock if properly managed is a big wealth. The cows, goats and camel of Somalia and Ethiopia earn a lot of income from the exports to the Middle East. That would be the same case with Karamoja.

The army is still the lead agency in Karamoja but even then the role of the Police is increasing as we build capacity. ASTU is going to deploy in key positions to track and block the rustlers, and deploy at the urban centers and highways. They will also open up the country side like at the 43 counties. We have started training 3,000 personnel, 1,500 of them from karamoja and the rest from the neighboring districts to fill the gap in the ASTU units. They will be given military training for three months, so that we can be able to stop the raids.

The CID must be deployed to the region because it is performing poorly there. The Dog unit and metal detectors must be provided too because most guns are now hidden in the manyattas and we must become more sophisticated in our operations. We are also asking the Prisons department to start up so that the Karacunas who are arrested are handled properly for their transformation. By October, we should have dealt with the raids so that that part of the country is brought into the national economy.

I have been telling Policemen that there is a linkage between securing Karamoja and their welfare, so they should consider that they are on a noble mission. How do they get enough salary if the economy remains undeveloped? If Karamoja remains a consumer of the national economy, then their welfare is in problems. This is where political education comes in. Political education is neutral whether in which country because it makes you see the linkage between personal welfare and national security and development. It sounds obvious but it is not. We must stabilize this country and the region. We must build capacity to enable us deal with these problems even if it will mean militarizing the Police, there is nothing wrong with that.

In the case of Uganda, we have taken so long, since 1966, to go the normal way. However, since 1986 but especially 1995 when we had a new constitution and the beginning of creating normalcy in the country after defeating the numerous rebel activities. The process is taking place where the Police are being built as the lead agency in internal security. I have made my objective that in the remotest possibility that Kony comes back, I will not want that Police runs away from the country side.

I hope that in my rather unstructured presentation I have fulfilled the objective for which this topic was designed.

I thank you.