

biggest killer in Uganda may well be malaria. Since 1995, malaria has been killing 2 million Africans every year, doubling the rate since 1992. According to the Ugandan *Crusader* on July 3, "Malaria has become part of life in almost all of Uganda. Many of our people, especially the rural poor, suffer and die from malaria. Due to inappropriate treatment, malaria has become pandemic in the blood of its victims."

But as Charles Atwoki Kagenda states in his interview (see p. 43), Ugandans are dying of *neglect*. Annual per-capita expenditure on medical services is \$5, reports the *Economist* (see **Figures 8 and 9**).

And Uganda, despite its climate and rich agricultural potential, is not without hunger. Daily caloric supply per person has been incrementally, but nevertheless falling since 1986 (**Figure 10**). A drought in north and northeastern Uganda this year brought 2.1 million people to the brink of starvation, reported Minister for Labor and Social Services Paul Etiang on March 10. Uganda asked the donor community for emergency food relief, because the government had no reserves. The food crisis was exacerbated by the uprooting of peasants in the north to "protected villages" where they are no longer able to cultivate their farms, but have to live on concentration-camp-level daily rations.

The nation's many orphans are also under-fed, it would appear. In Kampala, on July 22, "a group of hungry street children attempted to march into President Yoweri Museveni's State House, where they were received with a beating by security guards at the main entrance. The kids, numbering about 100, . . . carried placards reading 'Museveni come to our rescue; we are dying of hunger,'" reported the *Kampala Monitor*.

The national budget

It is at the point of presentation of the national budget that the "two economies"—the globaloney one of the *London Economist* and the national economy of Uganda's dying people—intersect. Here it can be seen that the dictates of the "globaloney" economy, and the geopolitical dictates of London take priority.

Priority #1—the Debt: Following the Structural Adjustment Program of the International Monetary Fund since the late 1980s, Museveni has devoted his government to paying Uganda's debt service as a top priority. In 1993, Uganda's payment on debt service reached a high of 64.7% of its total revenue from exports of goods and services (**Figure 11**). Donor funds—\$750 million pledged for this year—are being recycled to pay the debt.

Despite this, and despite substantial write-offs of debt and other forms of write-downs, Uganda's debt has continued its steady rise (**Figure 12**).

Priority #2—the Military: Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Finance Emmanuel Tumusiime-Mutebile announced in his presentation of the budget on July 3 that there

Rewards for the marcher-lord

The International Monetary Fund and World Bank on April 22 made Uganda the first beneficiary of its debt-reduction plan. The announcement came earlier in February from British Chancellor for the Exchequer Kenneth Clarke, who said that Uganda qualified because it is one of the "good-performing countries with a sufficient track record."

The idea, according to IMF spokesmen, is to "reward" those countries that have followed strict policies of debt repayment and debt reduction. Although Uganda's debt has not been reduced (see **Figure 12**), IMF-World Bank confidence in Museveni is such that Uganda came in as a selected beneficiary anyway. The debt reduction scheme will begin in 1998. Under the plan, Uganda will have \$68 million of its \$3.4 billion debt sliced off the top.

Although the money thus freed up is allegedly to be used for "schools, hospitals, and other social purposes," there is no indication in Museveni's track record so far to show that a drop of such monies will reach their officially designated destinations—a fact that cannot be unknown to the donors.

Although Germany and Italy proffered weak protests that the Museveni government spends too much on its military, the debt reduction scheme will be used by Museveni to free up funds for his continuing military assaults on the region, which now include targets of Central Africa Republic, Sudan, and Kenya, not to mention Museveni's desire to put down insurgencies inside the country.

Uganda's winning the first debt reduction from the IMF-World Bank is but the latest break to Museveni's government from the Paris Club of creditor nations and their IMF-World Bank duo.

Denmark is today Uganda's number-one donor, with the United Kingdom, Japan, and the United States also among the leading donors. For 1997, a total of \$800 million was pledged to Uganda, a whopping sum for an African country, nearly commensurate with the \$2.5 billion pledged to Ethiopia over two years.

Efforts have also been made to reduce the overall debt. Since 1988, a total of \$151 million has been forgiven outright, and the debt stock has been reduced by another \$181 million since 1993. This compares with Kenya, which has nearly twice the debt, but has received no debt-stock reduction or cancellations of any size in the 1990s.