

KANGURA



WHY HAS THE OAU NOT INSTITUTED A TRIBUNAL TO TRY THOSE WHO MURDERED HABYARIMANA AND NTARYAMIRA MEMBERS OF OAU.



◆ **THE ONE WHO KNOWS AND SUPPORTS THE KILLERS OF HABYARIMANA AND NTARAMIRA**

◆ **"HE IS THE WORLD DEVIL" - SAYS THE RWANDA AND BURUNDI REFUGEES AS HE HAS REFUSED TO RECOGNISE THEIR EXISTENCE AND RIGHTS TO LIVE IN THEIR COUNTRY PEACEFULLY**



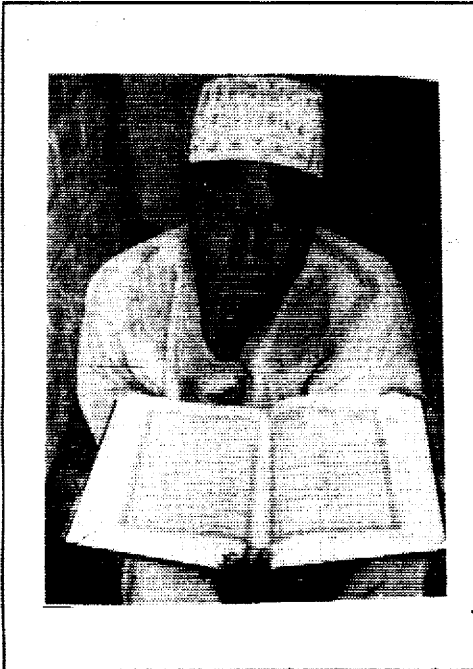
◆ **THE USA AND BRITAIN ARE USING MUSEVENI TO KILL AND DESTABILISE EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICAN COUNTRIES LIKE RWANDA, BURUNDI, SUDAN, ZAIRE AND KENYA**

◆ **AFRICA: - CLINTON FORM OF DEMOCRACY IS ACTUALLY RECOLONISATION**

◆ **KANYARUSHOKI CHAIRMAN OF RDR IN OAU. THE SECOND STEP FOR RWANDESE REFUGEES**
◆ **THOSE WHO HELPED RPF TO TAKE OVER POWER AND CAUSE A LOT OF SUFFERING IN RWANDA ARE NOW USING THEIR POSITION AND MONEY TO INFLUENCE THE OUTCOME**

◆ **OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL IN ORDER TO KILL ALL THE RWANDESE ELITE RICH AND**

EDITORIAL



Why is the UN always wrong on its reports? : Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International

Let's talk about the wrong report from the Human Rights Watch.

When the U.N. is wrong nothing can be done, as happened in Rwanda, Burundi and Somalia.

The O.A.U. is not without blame either. An example is when the Kenyan Head of State took issue, with the OAU for not instituting an inquiry into the shooting of the plane where the presidents of Rwanda and Burundi were killed.

Why is the Human Rights Watch concerned about the Rwandese army in exile and didn't show any concern when Britain, U.S. and Uganda helped RPF to attack Rwanda and killed one million people.

Countries like France, South Africa,

Zaire and China know that the Amnesty Report and Human Rights Watch are wrong in their reports yet they keep silent - perhaps the U.S. and U.K. are behind these false reports.

- The U.N. has sent a new team to Zaire to investigate the truthfulness of this report and the Zairean authorities wanted exactly this - Let's wait and see if the report will be the same and if no solution is found, no one knows what will happen between the Hutus and Tutsis. Perhaps President Clinton will save the lives of his sweetheart Tutsi kazi.
- Tanzanians, Zairians and Kenyans will be willing to keep the Rwandese as refugees until when?
- In need can always be bought by those in arms and are suffering as long as they have great determination like Hutus.

BY HASSAN NGEZE

Clinton is the World Devil- says Rwanda and Burundi refugees as he refuses to recognise their existence and rights

RWANDAN PRISONS: LIFE AS PUNISHMENT

In its effort to bring those guilty of massacre to justice, the Rwanda government jailed about 65,000 persons in about regular prisons and irregular places of detention in the nearly six months from its installation in July until the end of December. In the first three months of this year, it has jailed more than 65,000 others, for a total of over 130,000 detainees. The pace of arrests has clearly increased in recent weeks. Now it amounts to about 4,500 people a week, or one hundred for every commune in the country each week. Patterns of arrests have not been uniform, as local authorities and security forces have targeted certain areas and population groups. In one sector of Musambira commune for example, virtually all the young men have been detained, while many others have been arrested in the Kigali communes of Gikomero, Gicumbi and Gikoro. Some communes of Cyangugu have also reported recent increases in arrests. A significant number of persons who held authority under the old government-even including many who had been reappointed to their posts by the new government-have been detained on charges of genocide in the last few weeks, including burgomasters, communal councilors, judges and teachers. Given that the genocide was in the last few weeks, top down, it is not surprising that arsenious of local importance have been accused of participating in the killing. But those charged most recently had not only

been permitted to remain at liberty for months but had even been invested with authority by the new government. That so many of this category should suddenly fall under suspicion has provoked concerns that the arrests may be motivated more by political considerations than by the requirements of justice.

Of the seventeen prisons in Rwanda, only four are fully used. While some parts of other prisons are open, these institutions require repairs before they can accommodate larger number of inmates. In the meantime, the four prisons at Kigali, Gitarama, Kibuye and Butare are so overcrowded that simply being confined there is cruel and inhuman punishment.

According to the international Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), which monitors conditions in 135 places of detention in Rwanda, the density in some prisons is such that four inmates occupy every single square meter of floor space in the open courtyards. The ICRC warns of risks of major epidemic outbreaks and of serious tensions between detainees that may result in violence. Well over a thousand people have died in detention since September. In Butare prison in the six weeks from the end of November through the first week of the new year, the extraordinary high death toll of 166 prisoners was recorded.

In one of these prisons, an elderly survivor of the genocide has been imprisoned on the charge of having been

too close to the old authorities, even though he is Tutsi. He is no longer young enough or strong enough to provide for his needs in the harsh prison society, so he seeks to buy the space to sit down.

The several hundred female detainees occupy quarters separate from the men and enjoy somewhat more room. But the 300 or so male inmates under the age of fourteen are housed with the adult male population and suffer from the same conditions of overcrowding.

Horrible though conditions are at the regular prisons, which are under the supervision of the Ministry of Justice, those at the brigades, communal lockups and other irregular places of detention are even worse. One March 17, 1995 soldiers at the Muhima brigade forced more than sixty persons into a room far too small to accommodate them. During the night they begged to have the door opened because some were dying for lack of oxygen. The guards refused to open the room until the next morning. At that time they found twenty-two persons had died of suffocation. Four others were so ill as to require hospitalization and two of them subsequently died. The officers and guards responsible for this incident have been arrested.

Prisoners are not often beaten or otherwise mistreated in the regular prisons when Ministry of Justice personnel are in charge. But on one recent visiting day at

Butare prison, when the regular director was away, the person in charge made the prisoners kneel throughout the visit, supposedly in order to distinguish them from the visitors. According to reports from detainees, confirmed often by wounds, scars and other evidence, detained persons are sometimes beaten before arriving at prison, either en route or at some

intermediate place of detention such as a military brigade, communal lockup, or residence occupied by soldiers.

Faced with the crisis of overcrowding, the Minister of Justice decided that repairs to existing facilities would take too long and asked instead for international help in building four temporary prison camps to permit immediate transfer of some

detainees out of the four most crowded prisons. While planning was going forward, other members of the government voiced objections and at this time, the project is stalled. No other solution to the problem of overcrowding has been proposed.

THE WRONG REPORT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH ARMS PROJECT

After a year in exile, the perpetrators of the Rwandan genocide have rebuilt their military infrastructure, largely in Zaire, and are rearming themselves in preparation for a violent return to Rwanda. Waging a campaign of terror and destabilization against the new government in Kigali, they have vowed, in the words of one official of the former Rwandan government, Col. Theoneste Bagasora, to "Wage a war that will be long and full of dead people until the minority Tutsi are finished and completely out of the country". Several members of the international community, including France, Zaire and South Africa, have actively aided and abetted this effort through a combination of direct shipments of arms, facilitating such shipments from other sources, and providing other forms of military assistance, including training.

This report, which is based on four months of field investigation in central Africa, presents evidence of continuing arms shipments and other forms of military assistance to the forces of the ousted Rwandan government in Zaire. This assistance has continued despite an international arms embargo on Rwanda, imposed by the United Nations in May 1994, and despite the fact that the recipients are accused of the gravest of crimes, the crime of genocide.

Human Rights Watch calls on the international community to strictly enforce the existing arms embargo by placing United Nations monitors at key airports in Zaire, to extend the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) to include the Rwandan refugee camps in Zaire, and to disarm the armed forces and militias affiliated with the ousted Government of Rwanda in Zaire. Human Rights Watch also calls on France, Zaire and South Africa to fully disclose the nature of their military and security assistance and arms transfers to the ousted Rwandan government, and to provide full information on training activity, by their own military trainers and/or at their own military bases, involving members of the ousted Rwandan government's armed forces and militias.

Over a horrific period of three and a half months in the spring of 1994, hundreds of thousands of Rwandan men, women and children were murdered during a violent campaign of genocide led by the Rwandan government, armed forces and Hutu militias. The victims were mostly Tutsi, as well as Hutu politicians and community leaders who had shown a willingness to form a more democratic government that respected the rights of all Rwandans. At the height of the genocide, the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) renewed a military offensive against the government in Kigali. It succeeded in defeating the government forces and winning control over the country mid-July, thus effectively halting the genocide. The defeated government and army, in fear of retribution for the crimes committed, led a mass exodus of the Hutu population into neighbouring countries, causing a

refugee crisis unprecedented in scale and the speed in which it occurred. The international community, which had shamefully stood by during the height of the genocide shifted into action only after waves of refugees began sweeping across the border into Zaire in July 1994. Among the refugee population were the bulk of those responsible for the genocide.

Ensnared in refugee camps, primarily in eastern Zaire, the perpetrators of the Rwandan genocide have regrouped, rebuilt their military infrastructure, and succeeded in asserting their control over the civilian population in most of the camps during the last year. Acting with impunity, these forces rule over the refugee population through intimidation and terror, effectively preventive the return of refugees to their homes in Rwanda, while inducting fresh recruits into the former Rwandan Armed Forces (FAR) and militias. Emboldened by military assistance, including arms from France and Zaire, among other countries, they have openly declared their intent to return to Rwanda and, in the words of one ex FAR commander, Col. Misonera, "kill all Tutsi who prevent us from returning". Currently, the ex-FAR has an estimated troop strength of 50,000 men in over a dozen camps, and has brought the militias more tightly under its control. These forces have launched cross border raids to destabilize the already precarious situation in Rwanda and to obtain information and experience for a future offensive against the current government in Kigali. In addition, the ex-FAR and Rwanda Hutu militias have aligned themselves with Hutu militias from neighbouring Burundi, inflaming an already tense situation inside Burundi and threatening to regionalize the conflict.

As they prepare to resume fighting, members of the ousted Rwandan government, ex-FAR and militias continue to enjoy impunity from arrest and prosecution for their alleged involvement in last year's genocide. An international tribunal established to try Rwandans for genocide, other crimes against humanity and war crimes in 1994 has yet to hand down its first judgments. Rwanda's shattered judicial system is ill-equipped to prosecute the estimated 35,000 people who clog the country's jails on suspicion of participation in the killing. This lack of accountability has meant the absence so far of an effective deterrent to a resumption of the genocide, and has fueled the political and military ambitions of former Rwandan officials and their extremist Hutu followers. Undaunted by fear of prosecution, they hold audience with journalists.

United Nations agency staff and representatives of non governmental organizations (NGOs) in the camps and towns of eastern Zaire, in the Zairian capital Kinshasa, and in Nairobi, the capital of Kenya, too boldly justify their actions. Some have travelled to foreign countries seeking assistance for their military cause. They have been disturbingly successful in this endeavour.

The ex-FAR and militia auxiliaries have access to sufficient funds to buy weapons on the open market. Most of Rwanda's hard currency and financial assets were taken out of the country by officials of the puppet government and officers of the ex-FAR and militias when they fled the country last summer. Additional money and assets in foreign

countries (including at least Kenya, Tanzania, Zaire and the Netherlands) controlled by the ousted Rwandan government continue to be available to its leadership in exile. A racket in looted goods, including Rwanda government vehicles, provides profit for the civilian and military officials who fled Rwanda to Zaire. Cash income generation schemes run by former Rwandan civil and military authorities both in the civilian refugee camps and local Zairian communities provide for the maintenance and salaries of officers and troops.

The international arms embargo, imposed by the UN Security Council against Rwanda on May 17 1994, has presented the only nominal obstacle to the ousted Rwandan government's quest for arms. The embargo has not been actively enforced, however, and shipments of arms have reached the ex-FAR in Zaire during the last year, mostly via the airport at Goma in eastern Zaire. These military supplies have not only enlarged the ex-FAR's stockpiles for future conflict but boosted its morale.

The report is based on a field investigation by a researcher of the Human Rights Watch Arms Project in Rwanda, Zaire, Tanzania and Burundi from November 1994 through March 1995. Additional material was collected in South Africa in January 1995. The researcher gained regular access to former Rwandan government officials, military commanders and bases, and was able to observe ex-FAR and militia training.

On the basis of the evidence outlined below, we conclude that Zaire forces close to president Mobutu Sese Seko have played a pivotal role in facilitating the re-emergence as a powerful military force of those directly implicated in the Rwandan genocide. Zaire has offered the former Rwandan government armed forces and allied militia shelter and protection, and rather than arresting those suspected of crimes pending their indictment for trial by the International Tribunal, has permitted them freedom of movement. In addition, the government of Zaire has permitted its territory and facilities to be used as a conduit for weapons supplies to the ex-FAR (detailed below), and private cargo companies based in Zaire have acted under contracts with Zairian officials to transport a large quantity of these weapons.

Zaire has a history of support for the ousted Rwandan leaders. President Mobutu of Zaire and president Juvénal Habyarimana of Rwanda were staunch allies, for example in their political struggles against president Museveni of neighbouring Uganda. Zaire sent troops into Rwanda to aid the FAR in its fight against the RPF's invasion from Uganda in 1990 and helped train Habyarimana's newly-created Presidential Guard. Following the ouster of the Rwandan government in July 1994, the Zairian authorities have been on record as refusing to tolerate the existence of any Rwandan government-in-exile in their territory, and have proclaimed Zaire's "political neutrality" in the Rwandan civil war. Nevertheless, Human Rights Watch was able to interview officials representing the Rwandan "government-in-exile," such as prime minister Jean Kambanda, in Goma and Bukavu during the course of the investigation, and officials of the Habyarimana government were still declaring openly on April 26, 1995 that the "Rwandan

government-in-exile" was based in Zaire.

Behind Zaire stands France, a former colonial ruler in Africa that continues to wield enormous economic, political and military power in the continent. France was the main ally of the Habyarimana government until July 1994. It sent in 300 troops to support the government after the invasion by the RPF in October 1990 - a force later reduced to 170 soldiers - and provided military training to the FAR. In early 1993, after a new offensive by the RPF, France increased its military presence in Rwanda to 680 troops, ostensibly to "protect French citizens and other foreigners," although French troops were seen assisting the FAR in combat against the RPF. Even after the departure of French uniformed soldiers with the arrival of U.N. forces in December 1993 (under the Arusha Accords), France continued to provide training to the militias. After the start of the genocide on April 6, 1994, France dispatched 460 troops to evacuate its citizens, but failed to take action against its allies who had launched a genocide rampage against the Tutsi population. Following the defeat of the Habyarimana government in July 1994, France has continued to support the ousted leaders in exile, as described below.

Other countries, like South Africa, the Seychelles and China, have also either provided weapons support to the ex-FAR and militias, or have facilitated the supply of arms from consistency private sources.

The descriptions of arms shipments provided in this report are not exhaustive but merely indicative of the arms and ammunition which the ousted Rwandan government forces in Zaire have received during the post-embargo period of 1994-95.

Human Rights Watch holds that arms abusers of Rwanda should not receive grants and other forms of military assistance. The international community should in particular withhold aid and assistance to the perpetrators of genocide. Certain allies of the ousted Rwandan government, however, appear to have been guided more by geopolitical and financial than moral or legal considerations during the past year. While public scrutiny and adverse international opinion may have discouraged open foreign support of the ex-FAR, clandestine support has continued. Some of the countries that had armed the Rwandan government prior to the genocide and the international arms embargo now operate through middlemen and rely on false end-user certificates to conceal the final destination of weapons. While the indirect flow of arms to the perpetrators of the genocide may have slowed their resupply, the rapid re-militarization of the ex-FAR and militia that has taken place underscores the abiding threat of a resumption of the genocide campaign in Rwanda. Through this report, and the specific recommendations it makes Human Rights Watch seeks to contribute to further international measures aimed at bringing the perpetrators of the Rwandan genocide to justice and thereby preventing a continuation of the bloodshed that engulfed Rwanda in the spring of 1994.

II. THE ROLE OF FRANCE

Arms flows to the FAR were not suspended immediately by France after the imposition of the

RALLY FOR THE RETURN OF REFUGEES AND DEMOCRACY IN RWANDA.

Within two days, RPF will be celebrating its entry into KIGALI town after a four year war. It will be a year since RPF conquered the Rwandan territory but still with an uphill task to win the hearts of the Rwandan people.

Indeed each territorial gain of RPF coincided with an exodus of people, and

arms embargo on May 17, 1994. Rather, they were diverted to Goma airport in Zaire as an alternative to Rwanda's capital, Kigali, where fighting between the FAR and the rebel RPF as well as an international presence made continued shipments extremely difficult. Some of the first arms shipments to arrive in Goma after May 17 were supplied to the FAR by the French government. Human Rights Watch learned from airport personnel and local businessmen that five shipments arrived in May and June containing artillery, machine guns, assault rifles and ammunition provided by the French government. These weapons were taken across the border into Rwanda by members of the Zairian military and delivered to the FAR in Gisenyi. The French consul in Goma at the time, Jean-Claude Urbano, has justified the five shipments as a fulfillment of contracts negotiated with the government of Rwanda prior to the arms embargo. In the view of Human Rights Watch, these shipments constituted a clear violation of the U.N.-imposed embargo, and are all the more to be condemned because the recipients were carrying out a campaign of genocide at the time.

In an interview with the Human Rights Watch researcher, the French consul also mentioned several other shipments of arms that arrived at Goma airport for the FAR in the May to July period from sources other than the French government. Despite this, the government of France is not known to have reported these shipments to the Committee set up by the U.N. Security Council under Resolution 918 (1994).

In mid-June 1994, as the Rwandan government in Kigali was on the edge of collapse the French government announced plans to dispatch 2,400 troops to Rwanda for humanitarian purposes. On June 22, the U.N. Security Council authorized the French intervention in Rwanda, called "Operation Turquoise." The next day, an advance team of French combat troops arrived in Goma and Bukavu to lay the groundwork for the French intervention. Soon after, the French government, without prior U.N. approval, declared its intention to carve out a "safe zone" in southwestern Rwanda. It was to this zone that the rump government and the majority of the Rwandan armed forces and militias retreated following the fighting in Kigali and the RPF's military advance. Under French protection, the FAR and militias were able to extend their control over the vast population that was quartered in the safe zone. The rump government moved its radio station into the zone where it continued without interference to incite Hutu to kill in its broadcasts.

For the duration of Operation Turquoise, the FAR continued to receive weapons inside the French-controlled zone via Goma airport. Zairian soldiers deployed in Goma at the time assisted in the cross-border delivery of arms. Some of these weapons arrived from Kinshasa, the Zairian capital, apparently from Zairian stocks, while others came from outside Zaire. It is unlikely that the French military authorities present in the zone, who conducted regular patrols as the border post between Goma and Gisenyi, and had a continuous presence at Goma airport, were not aware of these weapons entering the safe zone. Yet the French authorities neither made an attempt to interdict these shipments nor reported them to the

was it not for the French military operation codenamed "OPERATION TURQUOISE", RPF HAVE inherited a ghost country.

According to conservative estimates, the number of refugees is more than 3 millions and the number is still rising. One should add the internally displaced people and those who sleep in bush to escape arbitrary

Committee set up by the Security Council under Resolution 918.

After the defeat of the Rwandan government and the subsequent refugee exodus into Goma in mid-July, French military leaders told the United Nations Assistance Missions for Rwanda (UNAMIR) that French troops had disarmed the Rwandan forces crossing the border into Zaire and had handed over their weapons to the Zairian authorities. Given French knowledge of ongoing Zairian arms support of the FAR, the French decision to hand these weapons over to Zairian authorities was hardly appropriate.

French forces began withdrawing from Rwanda in mid-August. Local Rwandan gendarmes and administrators in the Cyangugu area of the French-controlled zone have told Human Rights Watch that they had arrested two prime suspects in the Rwandan genocide from that area, known locally as "Prime" and "Sebastien," in addition to many others, and handed them over into French custody during Operation Turquoise. These authorities added that these detainees were then escorted in to Zaire in French vehicles as the French troops withdrew from Rwanda, and were subsequently released. In the Cyangugu as well as the Gikongoro area of the French-controlled zone, UNAMIR officers claim to have seen lists, prepared by French authorities in the zone, of persons accused locally of genocide or other criminal activities, some of whom had been detained. Departing French troops did not hand over these lists to UNAMIR forces, however, and they released jailed prisoners before U.N. replacements arrived to take over from French command.

Moreover, Human Rights Watch was able to confirm that French forces left behind at least one weapons cache in the Rwandan town of Kamembe in the safe zone for militia and ex-FAR personnel who remained. Our researcher visited this cache in Kamembe, which contained over 100 assault rifles and overall machine guns, on two occasions in August and September 1994, after having been informed of its existence by members of the defeated Rwandan army and gendarmerie, as well as UNAMIR officials.

According to U.N. officials, the French military flew key commanders, including Col. Theoneste Bagasora and Interahamwe militia leader Jean-Baptiste Gatete, and crack troops of the ex-FAR and militias out of Goma to unidentified destinations on a series of flights between July and September 1994. Human Rights Watch has received allegations that Hutu military and militia personnel continued to receive military training at a French military facility in the Central African Republic after the FAR's defeat. Human Rights Watch learned from Hutu leaders that on at least one occasion members of Hutu militias from both Rwanda and Burundi travelled on an Air Cameroon flight from Nairobi to Bangui, capital of the Central African Republic, via Douala, Cameroon, between October 16 and 18, 1994, to receive training from French forces there. Based on evidence it had acquired on its own, in late 1994 the government of Burundi asked the governments of France and the Central African Republic for official explanation of the kind of "education" being provided in the CAR to young Hutu men known to have links to the Hutu militias

arrests by RPF operatives. Many of those are found in the prefectures of Butare, Gikongoro, Cyangugu, Gisenyi, Kibuye, Gitarama And Ruhengeri.

VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

Up to the cold blood and horrible massacres of Kibeho carried out by the RPF

Army, the KIGALI Government has relatively succeeded in hoodwinking the international public opinion and convincing it that there was no violation of human rights in Rwanda. However just to mention one example more than 100.000 people are detained in overcrowded prisons, on a blanket charge of genocide without any file. In this regard, Rwanda has the highest world record in the rates of detention. Indeed, it is a shame for RPF to take advantage of the unfortunate April 1994 massacres in order to get rid of any real or potential political opponent, thereby monopolising all the political, military and administrative power.

The continuing gross violations of human rights in Rwanda has been confirmed among others by Human Rights Watch, usually favourable to RPF, the International Federation of Human Rights (I.F.H.R.) in its report dated April 1995, Amnesty International in its reports of April 1995 (AFR 47/05/1995) and April 1995, by CLADHO by the chief Prosecutoe of Kigali Chief magistrate cpurt, NSANZURWERA Francois Xavier in his press releas made in Brussels on the 11th May 1995 as well as by the district councils of GISENYI, and GITARAMA in the presence of the Minister of Internal Affairs.

RDR is very much concerned about the fate of people who escaped KIBEHO massacres and are currently facing large scale harassment.

Nowadays, it is a crime in Rwanda to have survived the KIBEHO massacre, no matter the circumstances that led you in camp.

Despite the assurances given to them by western ambassadors accredited to Kigali that they would not be persecuted if they surrender and leave the camp, survivors of kibeche HAVE DEARLY PAID RIGHT FROM THE MOMENT THEY GOT OUT.

SOME WERE KILLED ON the way to BUTARE, where everybody had to transit, others were summarily killed on their arrival at home in the communes of HUYE, MUGUSA, RUSTIRA, NYADISINDU etc... Others were thrown in jail, while others simply dissappeared.

Regarding imprisonments, the minister of internal affairs of KIGALI regime declared on May 26, 1995, in a council been so many arrests that all the available space in detention places had been exhausted.

Similarly the division commander of BUTARE, Major KATABARWA, declared in the presence of minister Pie Mugabo in RUSATIRA commune, that the international community should not bother about the RPA killing incthamwe. This took place after the discovery of 27 bodies in the communal jail of RUSATIRA.

As for dissappearances, they are in thousands and the phenomenn is not yet over. According to some press reports, released on 22nd June 1995, there may be

about 60.000 former KIBEHO camp residents who are yet to be accounted for.

RDR appeals to the international community which had hurriedly whitewashed the kigali GOVERNMENT AFTERR kibeche MASSACRES IN THE FAMOUS report of international commission of inquiry, (RDR has since expressed its disappointment over the same) to ask the same government to throw the light on the whereabouts of those unaccounted for the people.

Rather than looking for the false pretexts, here are the real reason behind the non return of Rwandese refugees.

RDR would like to make it abundantly clear for instance, that Rwandese refugees did not flee for fear of reprisal for the April massacres.

Indeed, before those massacres there was over 1 million displaced people feeing RPF massacres, even after the signing of the Arusha Agreement.

Therefore spreading that those refugees are hostages of militiamen amounts to ignoring that the displacement of people started with the very first attack of Rwanda by RPF in October 1990

SITUATION IN REFUGEES CAMPS.

Rwandese refugees, on top of the psychological torture of being labelled indiscriminately criminals, have to face multiples challenges, one after the other.

In Burundi, the about 250.000 refugees are paying heavily for the hutu rebellion against the Burundi just army, on top of incursions by RPA in northern Burundi.

The existence of these massacres of Rwandese refugees in Burundi has been confirmed by UNHCR, NGOs as well as Amnesty International in its latest report of June 1995 (AFR 20/12/95, pg 2).

In April 1995 they fled in thousands towards Tanzania only to be repulsed without mercy.

As if these incidents were not enough, these refugees are now a matter of political bargaining between the two minority regime in Rwanda and Burundi. The latest visit of Major General Kagame Paul in Burundi early June 1995 following another one by the prime Minister, is to be seen in this framework.

In Zaire, besides the chronic shortage of food (in average a family of 6 gets 2 kg of beans, 4kg of maize flour, and 4kg of maize per couple of weeks), rwandese refugees are now faced with a mounting hostility from the local people.

This animosity has increased with the vote in May 1995, by the Zairian parliament, of a resolution, calling for an unconditional departure of rwandese refugees, as well as the recent trouble in MASISI region between local BAHUNDE tribesmen and rwandese immigrants.

I would like to stress that those are rwandese immigrants who settled in Zaire very long ago, many of them before the

independencies of the two countries, and not refugees of 1994, as erroneously reported by a section of the press and that clashes between the two ethnic communities started very long before the arrival of rwandese refugees of 1994.

This confusion fuelled further the animosity against rwandese refugees.

The frequent threats of raids in camp by the RPA, (the last having been uttered by none other than Major General Kagame Paul, Vice president and Minister of Defence, on May 14, 1995, in RWAMATAMU Kibuye) adds to their anxiety. In Tanzania once again, the vote by the national parliament of resolution calling for an unconditional return of rwandese refugees, as well as the deportation back to Burundi, of rwandese refugees who had managed to sneak into Tanzania after the bloody attacks on their camps in norther Burundi, has sent them into panic.

The recent expulsion by Tanzanian authorities, of thousands of Burundi hutu refugees, at the time of serious bloody confrontation in their country, is also a source of concern for rwandese refugees.

Given this painful situation it is clear that rwandese refugees are eager to go home, because their life in camp is far from being a green pasture. What they are asking for is only security guarantees.

SPECULATION ABOUT AN INVASION OF RWANDA

The information about an invasion of Rwanda by rwandese refugees was released first by a British Ngo. Later on, the information was relayed by a british shadow minister, by human Rights Watch, and by Amnesty international.

RDR has twice refuted these reports, whose sole aim was to prepare the international community to accept the lifting of the arms embargo imposed on Kigali by the UN in May 1994.

Without coming back to all these reports, RDR would like to point out some of the serious loopholes in the latest report, i.e. the one of A.I.

1. The report seems to know so well the location of the arms caches (pg 4, last paragraph) and even the UN seems also to share that information. What is UN waiting for in order to seize those arms and get a red handed case against Zaire and former RGF?
2. It is alleged that 4 British pilots admitted having flown 36.5 tons, in November 1994 (pg 5) in GOMA having been tricked into believing that they were for former RGF. How did they ascertain that they belonged to former RGF? Were they ever charged in court for violating the UN embargo? What about the owner of the carrier?
3. The report frequently talks about countries of origins of the cargo planes

without mentioning the registration number. Was it difficult for the informer to put down that important detail?

4. If the shipments were so secret, why should the former prime minister, KAMBANDA Jean, make the long journey, from BUKAVU to GOMA, to receive the cargo? Couldn't he delegate somebody less noticeable?

Besides, the so called leader of Interahamwe, who accompanied the former PM to GOMA, has never led Interahamwe in his life, as the second in command of the FAR is well known and in any case different from the one mentioned by the report.

Beyond these inaccuracies, RDR would like to strongly deny the serious accusations about the involvement of refugees in political killings inside Rwanda.

1. The latest well known political killing in Rwanda was the one of the late RWANGABO P. Claver, prefect (district administrator) of BUTARE.

His escort, an RPA soldier surprisingly survived the ambush unscratched. UNAMIR investigators, as well as journalists, were prevented by RPF from interrogating him. Was it to cover Hutu militia?

2. Concerning the killing of the bourgmestre of GISHIOMA, the report quotes UNAMIR saying that "Irap (that killed him) could only have been placed by persons with specialist knowledge (pg 17)

Does it mean the Hutu militiamen are the only ones with specialist knowledge about the land mines? What about RPA?

3. Lastly, RDR has never, since its inception, advocated for blanket amnesty, for all crimes committed in the ethnic conflict (pg 11). To the contrary, the Rwandese refugee community in East Africa condemned publicly any maneuver to grant a unilateral amnesty before the verdict of the ITR in its memo dated February 10, 1995, pg 4, second paragraph. This could have shielded RPF elements as well as against any legal action.

Therefore, while advocating for the arms embargo against FAR, human rights organizations should boldly tell us what to do about the KIGALI government which is known for human rights violations (see A.I report of April 1995).

Is it buying arms for making peace or war?

POLICY OF ETHNIC EXCLUSION

RPF dominates all the State powers in Rwanda and is carrying out a policy of political and ethnic exclusion:

1. The entire army leadership, is

dominated by RPF. The high command is exclusively made of former members of a foreign army.

2. RPF has got a permanent vote of 13 members (on top of the President), out of a cabinet of 19 members.
3. Out of 18 directors general (permanent secretaries), 16 are RPF Tutsi.
4. RPF has got more than 40 votes out of 70 in the so called national assembly.
5. More than 3/4 of the Rwandese foreign service are RPF members.
6. Out of 10 presidents and vice-presidents of parliamentary commission, 8 are Tutsi.
7. Out of 17 directors of cabinet (5 are yet to be appointed), 14 are Tutsi.
8. Out of 5 head of department in the PM's office, 3 are Tutsi.
9. All presidential advisors are Tutsi.
10. Out of 60 interim directors of parastatals and semi-public companies, 58 are Tutsi.
11. Out of 10 prefects (district administrators), 6 are RPF Tutsi members.
12. Reliable sources indicate that this trend goes down up to the lowest administrative level of commune, where virtually all bourgmestres are members of RPF.

Strange situation in a country where Tutsi are only 9% of the population (1991 population census).

This RPF monolith administration does not obviously inspire confidence among refugees, and this is the reason behind the persistence of the crisis.

RDR supported, right from the beginning, the creation of the international Tribunal of Rwanda in order to try master-minders of the April 1994 massacres.

However, RDR is very much concerned about the multiplication of the savage lists off suspects, circulating virtually in all countries of asylum of Rwandese refugees.

RDR is particularly worried by persistent rumors about the kidnapping of people listed as suspects, and their subsequent imprisonment until they are tried.

Yet, some of those listed do not have any substantial charge, apart from the fact that somebody is a "criminal", or a member of MRND or CDR party.

POLITICAL DIALOGUE WITH KIGALI GOVERNMENT

With a view of breaking this deadlock, RDR is convinced that there is no alternative to dialogue. This deplores many of some UN observers in GOMA or the separation between militia and an army

men on one hand and civilians on the other hand will not solve the refugee problem.

RDR would like to seize this opportunity to stress that instead of concentrating all efforts in monitoring Rwandese refugees, the international community should address the real issues impeding the return of refugees, i.e. the lack of a conducive atmosphere back home and not the intimidation by fellow refugees.

Whatever the case, refugees will never give up their inalienable right to return in their motherland.

In this connection, RDR wrote a letter on May 11, 1995 to the PM of the Kigali government, seeking dialogue with representatives of refugees. RDR went on and suggested that negotiations start with July 1995.

On May 15, 1995, RDR released another appeal not only to the Kigali Government but also to the international community in order to make this dialogue a reality.

On 20th June 1995 on the eve of the departure of the Rwandese delegation to the 31st summit of OAU in Addis-Ababa, the spokesman of the government and Minister of Information, declared that this government is "ready to negotiate with whoever wants it".

On the 12th June 1995, the Minister of Foreign Affairs responding to a question of the journalists on the issue of negotiating with RDR, declared that RDR is a brain child of MRND party, while his members are fascist, nazis and criminals.

On June 24, 1995, reacting to a question of a journalist of Radio Rwanda, the Minister of Information changed his mind, and pointed out that "there would be no negotiation in any way".

On the issue of the letter of RDR to the PM, seeking dialogue, he reacted angrily that the President of RDR is well known MRND dignitary and that RDR recruits among criminals", before rectifying by saying that he is not sure whether all of them are criminals".

Instead of responding to the substantive issues, the Kigali Government hides itself behind its deep seated hatred against any opposition, in order to delay the advent of an era of peace, reconciliation and democracy in Rwanda.

In conclusion, RDR is appealing to all peace loving people, to impress upon the Kigali Government, on putting in place the necessary confidence building measures, that could enable the return of refugees.

Short of this, the country heads for more chaos.

For RDR
RZABANDORA Chris
Director of Information

Office of the Prime Minister

NTAKIRUTIMANA J.D.

P.O. Box 1334, KIGALI

Your Excellency the Prime Minister
KIGALI

RPF regime, in a bid to strengthen its stronghold on the power, makes nice speeches, while in actual facts pursuing a policy of exclusion and revenge. The social and political management of the country by RPF is doomed, for it is based on the domination of one ethnic group over the other, as if the painful experience of the defeated regimes are not enough lessons.

For this reason, I would like to inform you that I can no longer work for such a regime and resign my post henceforth.

Forced to silence, the MDR party assists powerlessly to the constant degradation of the situation in the country: summary executions, tortures, arbitrary arrests, interference in the running of the judiciary, suspension of political party activities,

double language on the tedious problem of refugees, repression of private press, free activities of extremist groups etc..

RPF army abandoned barracks and live within the population, terrorising it. Cadres of RPF, whose duty is to instill political education into the population, organises rackets and arrest any Hutu on their black list.

Faced with this situation, our party MDR, has denounced the dictatorial tendency that is taking roots and put forward realistic solutions, in order to get out of the deadlock that our country goes through, after the tragedy of April-July 1994.

Instead of taking advantage of those advices and readjust accordingly, RPF reacted by terrorizing MDR party supporters and jailing local elite, in order to behead the leadership of the party.

Moderate elements within RPF, as well as governments that support the Kigali

regime (the more prominent one being USA and Netherlands) must rise to their responsibilities by making the necessary pressures, in order to bring RPF to more political realism.

Failure to do so, they are condoning a regime that has institutionalized double-language, sectarianism, and hypocrisy as a system of governance, which is likely to lead to a new tragedy in the short term.

They have become death beds, and favours instead the extension of existing prisons and the construction of new ones.

Those are: Excellency the Prime Minister, the reasons behind my resigning as director of cabinet.

Please accept, Excellency the Prime Minister, the expression of my highest consideration.

NTAKIRUTIMANA J.D
Director of the Cabinet
Office of the Prime Minister

DID YOU KNOW?

It is approximately nine (9) years since Kampala fell in the hands of NRM/A. As tradition with the people of Uganda, there was a big jubilation particularly in Kampala. Little did they know that they were celebrating and welcoming a ruthless, ambitious, most corrupt and dictatorship government in the name of NRM/NRA. The so called Broad-based government!

'WHO IS WHO'

- Maj. Gen. Mugisha-Muntu son of Muntuvera- Army Commander.
- Maj. Gen. Fred Rwigyema-Former Overall Commander NRA and Deputy minister of Defence.
- Maj. Gen. Paul Kagame-Former Director of counter intelligence NRA and currently Vice President and minister of Defence Republic of Rwanda.
- Lt. Col. Muteka-Chief of personnel and Administration NRA.
- Late Maj. Dr. Bayingana-Former chief of medical services and member of High command RPF.
- Capt. Patrick Karegyeya-NRA deserter and currently director of Anti-Smuggling Republic of Rwanda.
- Mr. Augustin Ruzindana-inspector General of government Uganda.

Dear readers more names to come in the next issue.

KNOW UDF

UDF was formed at a time when the International Community had been foiled by the nation that Lt. Gen. Museveni had outstandingly managed the affairs of Uganda or so it appears to be, UDF has a tremendous responsibility to clearly outline the dark truth of Museveni's

WHAT ABOUT MUSEVENI?

At one time he was quoted as saying, his revolution (NRM) is not a revolution for Uganda but a revolution for Africa and that

mismanagement, not of Uganda affairs only but his threat to the security and integrity of the whole Eastern and Central African region.

The degree of discontent felt by the Ugandan population including those in positions of authority, demonstrates the height of the destruction Museveni's change has bestowed Uganda.

Uganda can no longer stand aloof while its future is being gambled away by one man's ambition. It is very clear that Museveni has had a spell of continuous gambling on the running of Uganda's Social Political and Economic Affairs. Starting as a ruthless fascist with Marxist thinking Museveni came to power determined that the road to Uganda's future lay in the Utopian Marxist ideology. Copying ideas of great Utopian like Mao Tsetung Museveni started operating on what he termed as a Ten Point Programme.

In the process, he started steering the Ugandan economy to the medieval economic set up of barter trade which unfortunately he realized later after misusing a lot of the country's resources, that it was extremely outdated and could not adequately supplement the recent advanced monetary state.

It is notable that under his ambitious plan

his fighters will fight anywhere in Africa to establish a change cognizant with his thinking. Today we currently realize that,

(which he has not dropped any way) association with personalities like Gaddafi reached its peak. At one moment he even duped Gaddafi into thinking that the invasion of Rwanda on October 1st, 1990 was destined to further the ambitions of the Third Universal Theory founded by Gaddafi. This resulted into Gaddafi's visit to Uganda few weeks after Rwigyema and his RPF had been given instructions by Museveni, to invade Rwanda. Gaddafi was taken for a ride.

As a schemer of proven ability Museveni knew that his trend of world events dictated that alliance with (US) supremacy would be the only possibility of staying in power. Aware that he is not capable of winning genuinely contested elections in Uganda, and aware that US was becoming the Universal Policeman of the time, the only solution was to play servant/master game, gain favours while buying time to fulfill his long dreamt ambitions of the God-father of the region a king with a vast empire. Today he is more capitalist than even the founders of capitalism. Little has the International Community taken serious in consideration of Museveni's rhetoric.

that statement has started taking toll in Rwanda, Burundi, Kenya, Sudan, Zaire and will be expanding. The presence of NRA

officers in Rwanda; like Lt. Col. Alberta Tees Katakwa in Eastern Uganda, is a clear testimony of this assertion.

UDF has a clear evidence of hatched up plans from Uganda State House destined to destabilize the government of Burundi, Kenya and Zaire. Information clearly shows that the death of president Habyarimana was not simply an internal tragedy but a plan of Museveni, Mugisha Muntu, Kagame, USA, Britain and Belgium. Museveni is quoted to have stated in a meeting in Entebbe that, he would do his best to thwart the progress of "Rwanda Peace talks" to give RPF enough time to re-mobilize. Intelligence reports also indicate that within a period of two months before the slaying of Habyarimana, increased supply of both arms and men was noted between Uganda and RPF Zone. It is also indicated that after the failure of Maj. Innocent Bisangwa (a Tutsi and chief body guard to Museveni) on August 18, 1992, to illegally purchase Tow missiles from US, another successful venture was done and this is the missile that hit the president jet carrying the president of Rwanda and Burundi.

We bet no clear account of the events of

this fatal accident will ever be disclosed because of its implications to both Museveni and some highly placed states.

We also have reports that the killings of Habyarimana would not have been the solution to RPF's Victory. The fact that the opportunity struck earlier than planned, place the triumph of RPF at risk. Therefore, plan to completely discredit the Hutu government plan. This had been successfully used in the war against Obote II government in Uganda when the system of revolutionary violence was used. Innocent people of Luwero were massacred and writing in blood and in the northern languages, were left either on the victims clothes or houses. The blame went to the UNLA, Obote's government's force and yet perpetrators were Museveni's NRA.

In Rwanda the same happened. Whilst the bodies of most victims appeared with hands tied Kandooya - a system of tying a victim only characteristic of NRA and invented during their bush war in Luwero, the blame went to the Hutu militia only. Of course, few recruited Hutu youth paid to do the job, were unleashed on the innocent civilians and the world was set to believe that the huts alone were responsible of

massacring up to half million people. Even well placed media personalities were paid to give deceptive information regarding the Rwanda massacre. Although RPF had all the arms to capture Kigali, this genocide was tactfully allowed to continue unchecked.

Today no one is willing to state how many of those assumed half a million dead were Huts - this is because a large number of those casualties were Huts which completely erases the claim of tribal genocide from question. The question will then be, what was the motive?

Museveni was also quoted as saying, he does not want to be a consumer of ideas but a contributor, meaning he was determined to become a force whose ideas would be consumed in Africa. We have of course met such people before in international political history - ruthless, barbarous and determined to export their wild ambitious by force to other countries. History of people like Stalin, Hitler, Mussolini etc. send chilling feelings down our spines when we remembered their plan. Museveni is not an exception.

MUSEVENI'S PLANS TO ANTAGONISE NEIGHBOURING STATES.

The current Western political wave democratisation through the world, has left Museveni in a state of confusion hence driving him at a fixed point. Museveni with his philosophical beliefs of Marxist thinking has brought him a puzzle after the break of USSR from communism to capitalism way of thinking. This has created a growing rift in Museveni's minds between Western and Eastern block ideology.

Museveni's ambitions and dream all along, was to wage expansion wars against neighbouring states with intent to create an empire of his own.

The USA Campaign to change USSR's mode of politics did genuinely reveal asceticism of the prospects for political pluralism in the whole world's present conditions. This has made a turning point for Museveni, whereby his optimism to gain support under the pretext of a socialistic way of thinking cannot be any more.

After the seizure of the power, Museveni imported a lot of sophisticated weapons in Uganda hoping that he would get market after creating chaos in the neighbouring countries.

One of the promises to his fellow Hima-Tutsi who fought shoulder to shoulder with him during his bush war in Luwero triangles was that he would support them both weaponry and physically strength to go back to Rwanda and topple the government through the barrel of the gun.

Museveni had many recruits in the army

both indigenous and which the government could not economically sustain save alone controlling them. the only alternative was to arm a batch of them and tell them to cross the border to Rwanda in October 1990.

In 1987 Museveni's army tried to cross Kenya border to mount war against the Republic of Kenya, but unfortunately for him, his army was replaced by the mighty army in Kenya.

That was the beginning of expansionism of his dream about the empire and him as an Emperor.

Museveni knew very well that he had dishonoured the Nairobi "Peace talks" under the chairmanship of his Excellency the president of Kenya Daniel Arap Moi, so his initial plans were to support any coming up dissident that could fight and topple the government of Kenya.

It goes without any saying that since Museveni took over the instruments of powers in Uganda, he has been training rebels from various countries. To mention a few, the Mwakenya, ANCS, Zairious and currently the SPLA all have their bases in various parts of Uganda. Museveni is trying to deceive the whole world by pretending more especially to win Kenya's mutual relationship through trade co-operation, somehow Uganda's economy may improve but worse still Kenya shall experience chaos thereby promoting Museveni's initial and intended plan. His plan in this issue, is that he wants all big trade installations to shift from Kenya to Uganda.

This shall be the beginning of supporting clandestinely and uprising dissidents against Kenya government.

Once there is any instability in any neighbouring states, then his flooding guns shall find a hot-cake market for sale. In October, 1990 the RPF invaded Rwanda from Uganda, a total strength of about five thousand (5,000) troops all well armed from the smallest weapon to the biggest support weapon moved from Uganda across Rwanda carrying out an unacceptable extent aggression.

Even if Mr. Museveni denied knowledge about the invasion by stating that, invasion was completely unacceptable and a flagrant abuse of Uganda's hospitality by refugees who escaped from camps and from their places of work, they could not escape the government's knowledge to know where and how the weapons and transport were acquired, leave alone the information of movement all along from Kampala central to Southern Uganda across the border. It is crystal clear that any body that accepts or adopts Museveni's condition accepts "Willful genocide" conditions.

The task that confronts Uganda's today is the NRA/NRM denial of people's freedom of speech, assembly, association etc. the culture of silence and fear due to the rule of the gun and gun dictatorship. Denial of multi-party democracy and changing NRA/NRM ten point programme that has caused a tragic erosion of law and justice. Some leaders have described democracy as the "government of the people by the people and for the people" others have

called it "the balance of official forces" and others a government that allows freedom of speech, religion and political opinion that allows freedom of speech, religion and political opinion that upholds, the rule of law and majority rule and the respects, the rights of minorities.

NRA/NRM has completely failed to observe the basic human rights and fundamental freedoms of the citizens. The Democratic Party (DP) pressure group,

under the chairmanship of Mr. Kagwa assisted by Robert Kitaro the Secretary general of DP, have tried to demonstrate the concept of freedom by calling public rallies at the City Square Kampala but all thwarted by the NRA/NRM government forces.

It is our hope and conviction that we will soon see a revival of Uganda's democracy through a political pluralism. There is a confirmed assurance that even better

parties will come into being in the process of removing dictatorship and restoring human rights in the new coming Uganda. Salutations to all those pressure groups opposed to NRA/NRM army personnel, Lecturers and students of Makerere University, traders, peasants and workers all who are advocating for multi-party system in our beloved country Uganda for Unity, Peace and tranquillity.

MULTI - PARTY SYSTEM MUSEVENI

Museveni has failed to lift the ban on multi-party activities due to so many factors that cannot allow him dictate his terms ruling.

He knows very well that he is not a

popular politician he is not a competent leader and knows very well that he is bound to fail and collapse miserably in NRM in such way very many shall be left with dry tears on their cheeks the adage of

remembering to pull the blanket to cover one self when it is already at dawn" What more exploitation do Uganda's want to know other than such?

RWANDAN GENOCIDE - WHO TO BLAME?

On 1st Oct., 1990 over than five thousand 5,000 rebels invaded Rwanda from Uganda. All these troops were armed with all sorts of weapons including armoured vehicles and sophisticated communication gadgets.

These troops were led by Tutsi high-ranking NRA officers namely Maj. Gen. Fred Rwigyema Maj. Dr. Bayingana, Lt. Col. Bunyenyezi, Maj. Stephen Ndugute, Capt. Sam Dwaruhanga, Capt. Alex Ruzindana, Capt. Musitu etc. The invasion

started with bad omen because the first group all of a sudden disagreed on leadership and killed each other. This was followed by another group which was stung by the swarms of bees. The victims of bees included Lt. Dec. Kanamugire and Sgt. Minami the pay master.

Thousands and thousands huts in Kibeho camp were massacred by the RPF soldiers on Saturday 22nd April 1995. A soldier a Tutsi dominated Rwanda Patriotic Army (RPA) was quoted saying that "we are

getting impatient with these people" Either they surrender and we take them to jail or we go in and take them out. We are ready for them but we are just waiting for orders from Kigali," he said.

Reports have put the number of Hutu refugees massacred by RPF soldiers in the Kibeho camp between 8,000 to 12,000 up from 4,000 earlier reported by the BBC and Aid workers.

AS TUTSI GIVE THE HUTU CHILLING WARNING PRESIDENT MOI SLAMS HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS.

President Daniel Arap Moi criticized human rights organizations for employing standards when dealing with human rights issues particularly in Kenya.

The president was very right as a true African experienced leader and indeed a peace loving President. the president was

reacting over the Kibeho camp genocide in Rwanda. He emphasised the need for the International community to identify the root cause of the genocide in countries such as Rwanda. He recalled that the Rwanda massacres took place soon after a group of people from neighbouring country invaded

Rwanda. Although president Moi did not disclose the name of the neighbouring country, it is crystal clear that the country he meant was Uganda and NRA soldiers in the name of RPF.

RPF/A - WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

The world is putting forward the question to Mr. Bizamungu and Mr. Kogame the meaning of RPF. How can a "Patriotic" front or Army carry out a wanton killing on innocent citizens of the same nationals. The world has totally failed to understand the difference between NAZI of Hitler

NRA of Lt. Gen Museveni and RPF of Maj. Gen. Kagame. "This policy of revenge by RPF regime in Kigali is strongly condemned. There is no way RPF could rule Rwanda when they have no feelings or sentiments for the Rwanda people" The RPF regime was "responsible for the

massacres in Rwanda, although somebody has been assisting them in covering up to their atrocities commented by the John M. V. Karuhanga movement Executive Chairman based in Sweden (RNLM).

PRESIDENT MOI SAID "WHY HAS THE OAU NOT INSTITUTED A TRIBUNAL TO TRY THOSE WHO MURDERED HABIAREMANA AND NTANYAMIRA, PRESIDENTS OF TRIO MEMBER COUNTRIES OF OAU.

President Moi said last month the idea of forming an OAU conflicts resolution force. Addressing the OAU session in Addis Ababa, President Moi said the formation of such a force would be in contravention of the OAU charter. The charter says that the OAU shall adhere to the principle of the peaceful resolution of the conflict by dialogue negotiation and arbitration.

In the connection, president Moi made it clear that Kenya was not prepared to support such a military force. He added that such a force would kill ordinary people and jeopardize their human rights. President

Moi reiterated that African problems should have home-grown solutions.

He added that the answer to Africa's problems was not in New York or within the Western capitals. As an example, president Moi pointed out that Mozambique's problem was solved locally through dialogue and added that he had played a role in the peace process. At the same time, President Moi thanked President Eduardo Dos Santos of Angola and Dr Jonas Savimbi for dealing with their countries' problems through peaceful negotiations.

He also praised President Omar Bashir of Sudan and Dr John Garang, the leader of the SPLA, for extending a cease fire in the Sudan. As regards Somalia, President Moi said that General Mohammed Aided had made a step in the right direction.

The Kenyan Head of State took issue with the Organisation of African Unity for not instituting an inquiry into the shooting of the plane where the presidents of Rwanda and Burundi were killed. President Moi said that Kenya was attacked unfairly regarding human rights whereas no Kenyans had run away as a refugee.

KANGURA

THE INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL IS MEETING NEXT MONTH IN ARUSHA, TANZANIA.

Those who helped RPF to take over power and cause a lot of suffering in Rwanda are now using their position and money to influence the outcome of the

international tribunal in order to kill all the Hutu elite, rich and those in the military.

Only the educated Hutu, rich and those in the military are to be tried. The idea is to

put in jail all those presumed who are opposed to RPF.

The USA and Britain use Museveni to kill and destabilise countries in East and Central Africa like Kenya, Rwanda, Burundi, Sudan and Zaire.**When democracy means recolonisation**

The debate about bringing democracy to Africa is really a discussion about recolonising the continent, argues Barry Crawford.

When the cold war ended, a new "conditionality" was imposed on Africa by the Western powers. It was variously described as "good governance", "transparency", and democracy. Warren Christopher, the US secretary of state, described the West's new policy towards Africa as a step forward from the old-Cold War relations: "During the long Cold War period, policies towards Africa were often determined not by how they affected Africa, but by what advantage they brought to Washington or Moscow." Christopher promised that the Clinton administration would make a clean break. Henceforth 'an enduring commitment to democracy and human rights' would be the hallmark of America's relations with Africa (Economist, 29 May 1993).

However it was presented, the new policy of bringing democracy and human rights to Africa reflected a new assertiveness in the West dealings with the continent. Seizing upon its ideological victory over communism, the West took the moral high ground and lectured Africa about responsible government. In all the discussions about the corrupt and despotic nature of African governments, the West record of making Africa's worst despots was largely overlooked.

Stalinism was not the only casualty of the end of cold war. Africa socialism and the politics of African liberation were also discredited. This has prevented resistance to the imposition of Western austerity programmes from having any clear political expression. I have endured economic stagnation during the 'lost decade' of the eighties, most African politicians were all too aware of the social costs that austerity programmes entailed. Yet the absence of any alternative strategies prevented opposition to the programmes from acquiring any political momentum.

The western powers were in a position to renegotiate their relations with Africa on terms even more favourable to themselves. It is in this contest that the African Democracy Debate must be seen.

The constituent assembly elections held in Uganda on 28th March, 1994 consolidated power in the hands of Yoweri

Museveni's ruling organisation, the national resistance movement (NRM). Britain and the other Western powers are happy to pay lip-service to the merits 'no party' or 'movement' democracy. Museveni boasts about having the full backing of the American and British government, for his version of democracy. Museveni has said that his government is under no pressure whatsoever and will continue to receive aid and assistance from Western Donors' "minutes of security meeting held in state house Entebbe, 26th September, 1992".

Museveni is a favoured African leader of the nineties. Edward Clay, the British High commissioner in Uganda, sung the country praises in the run-up to the March 1994 elections:

In 1990 when Douglas Hurd... first talked about good governance, he mentioned Uganda as a case in point, a pretty example, where greater efforts are being made in an evolutionary way, which we approve, to improve the standard of government, to try to make government responsible to the wishes and interest of the people who are governed and try to involve the people in the process of government... We have already made known that we will help with some of the cost of the elections: we have said Britain will provide ballot papers which will be done according to the requirement of the (constituent assembly) commission. We will support that. For the moment, it's not for us to choose for Ugandans what mode of elections to follow.

(Sunday Vision, 21st November, 1993).

Yet the political process under way in Uganda gives the lip to Western claims that democracy and 'transparency' are the corner stones of their policy towards Africa in the post-cold war period (see 'how Britain helped rig the Ugandan elections', pg. 6). Western sponsorship of African leaders is not determined by a commitment to foster democracy in Africa. Rather, it is all about establishing a new set of clients relationships, since the old ones have been rendered obsolete with the passing of the cold war.

As long as Western interests are being prioritized, any form of government will do. High commissioner Clay can say that it is not for Britain to dictate to Ugandans what mode of elections to follow, but Britain has already adopted president

Museveni as its man in Uganda. This has nothing to do with Museveni's commitment to democracy and everything to do with the fact that he has proved willing to force through crippling austerity measures in the name of structural adjustment programmes, and has the military capacity to enforce order in the face of the sharply deteriorating living standards which have resulted.

Uganda's subordination to western diktat is becoming even more pronounced, three decades after Uganda won its independence from Britain. Of course, the end of colonialism did not free Uganda from foreign intervention. The constitutional arrangements which Britain instituted as Uganda's independence in 1962 frustrated the development of a nationalist programme and a coherent Ugandan state.

Although Britain considered Milton Obote, the nationalist leader, to be a moderate, it sort to place constraints upon his ability to advance any form of African socialism which might threaten British interest. The preservation of the institution of the Kabaka (king) of Buganda, was intended to serve as a moderating influence upon the nationalists, since the authority of the Kabaka rested upon old ties of kinship and upheld arrangements which were rooted partly in African custom, and partly in colonial practices. By getting nationalist arrangement on a federal form of government which respected these arrangements in Buganda, the scope of Ugandan nationalism was restricted.

The federal arrangement along with Uganda's narrow economic base, gave rise to instability from the outset. Tensions between the nationalists and the Kabaka poisoned Ugandan Politics. By 1966 the situation became untenable and resulted in Obote seizing state power and abolishing the federation. His subsequent nationalisation measures put his government on a collision course with Britain. Obote's 'left turn' placed him on the wrong side of the cold war divide, and subsequent British backing for Idi Amin's military coup came as no surprise. Amin's loyalty to Britain had been tried and tested in Kenya, where he had fought the anti-colonial liberation movement, the Mau Mau.

Yet Amin in turn was also compelled to

nationalise to preserve the economy. By that his regime had become an embarrassment to Britain. It took eight years and the deaths of some three hundred thousand people before the rule of Amin was brought to an end. Attempts at bringing about civilian government finally gave rise to the re-election of Obote, in late 1980. While the second Obote administration received British support, Museveni's dissident army received British contacts from as early as 1984. By the time his forces entered Kampala and seized power in 1986, it was assured of British backing. British recognition for Museveni's military government was immediate. For the second time, Britain had backed a military takeover in Uganda.

British backing for Museveni has been substantial. The civil service is trained largely with British assistance. Britain initiated a rehabilitation project at the institute of public administration in Kampala in 1989, at a reported cost of \$400,000. In March 1990, the British minister for overseas development, Linda Chalker, officiated at the opening of the first face of the project and announced a further \$450,000 grant for the project's completion (new vision, 9 March, 1990).

Museveni rewarded Britain by selling off state assets at knockdown prices. In July 1992, the government released a list of over 100 enterprises due for immediate privatisation. Before doing so at home, the government advertised the affected enterprises in the foreign media, in particular the London Guardian. It also secretly sold his companies without tendering. The Agricultural Enterprises, together with its six subsidiaries, was sold for \$7.6m - although the value of its assets was put at \$36m. The government also agreed to take over responsibility for the company's debts which amounted to \$4.2m.

How Britain helped rig the Ugandan elections

The British government boasts about its role in helping Uganda along the road to democracy. Barry Crawford asks what gives Britain the right to lecture Uganda about democracy?

The British government has praised Uganda's constituent assembly elections, held on 28 March 1994, as the fairest in Uganda's history and a major step towards democracy. President Yoweri Museveni's "No Party" democracy, in which political parties are banned, has been given the British seal of approval as a serious attempt to achieve political progress and transcend the tribal and regional divisions which have plagued Uganda since independence in 1962. Britain has presented itself as a supportive, though non-interventionist, player in Uganda's democratic awakening.

But what is Britain doing interfering in the democratic process of a sovereign state? What gives British politicians the right to

Kampala has become a haven for foreign investors who are rushing in to make a quick killing.

The sound economic management with which the Western powers credit Museveni is lost on the swelling numbers of unemployed Ugandans. Between June and September 1992, over 1000 senior and middle level officer posts in the civil service were axed. All told, a total of 60,000 men and women got the chop. They have to look for work in the minuscule private sector or go to till land in the villages.

Meanwhile Museveni has continued to mortgage Uganda to foreigners. The Kampala International Hotel is now in the hands of Sheraton, and the East African Steel Corporation at Jinja is leased to a Taiwanese company for an annual \$100,000 - 'chicken-feed', as some commentators put it (New African, September 1992).

Facing the Western line has only impoverished Uganda further. When Museveni seized power in 1986, Uganda ranked as the twelfth poorest country, with a per capita income of \$230. A Structural Adjustment Plan, instigated by the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, was implemented the following year. By 1993 Uganda ranked as the world's fourth poorest country (after Mozambique, Tanzania and Ethiopia) with a per capita income of \$170.

Uganda's export earnings were \$466m in 1986; by June 1992 they stood at \$177m. Uganda's debt rose from \$1.2 billion in 1985, to \$2.7 billion in 1992. Yet foreign donors have stood behind Museveni. In 1991, foreign aid accounted for 86 per cent of government spending. An Oxfam report of December 1993 presented the situation in stark figures. Social welfare indicators are among the worst in Africa infant

lecture Uganda about "good governance" and democracy? Imagine what uproar there would be if a group of African politicians took it upon themselves to advise Britain about how to manage their government crises.

The suggestion that democracy has been advanced by one iota in Uganda thanks to Britain's tutelage of the existing government is laughable. Behind the sham of democratic elections, Britain is overseeing the consolidation of a military dictatorship and the prostration of Uganda before the West.

The elections might have been "free" in the most technical sense of the word. But they offered little choice for Ugandans. The "no party" arrangement was designed to stifle political debate. There was never any doubt that Museveni's National Resistance Movement (NRM) would be returned to power.

mortality is 118 per thousand live births. The introduction of user-fees in the health sector has resulted in falling hospital attendance and a consequent rise in mortality. Increased fees for education and inadequate public investment in schools has led to a crisis in education, with an increasing number of children-especially young girls-being withdrawn (Multilateral debt as an obstacle to recovery; the case of Uganda; paper prepared for European NGO Meeting on multilateral debt, (The Hague, 4 December 1993). Meanwhile military spending continued to grow. The world Bank estimates that it constituted at least 53 per cent of total government spending in 1992.

Alongside his compliance with Western economic prescriptions, Museveni has revived the debate around the restoration of the various historic kingdoms of Uganda. The ceremonial coronation of Ronald Mutebi as the thirty-sixth Kabaka of Buganda took place in July 1993. While the King has no formal political power, the revival of the institution is likely to set a precedent and mark a revival of 'traditionalist' in line with contemporary Western thinking about Africa, which blames much of Africa's economic failures and political instability on African Nationalism, and favours a return to traditionalism.

Western intervention in Uganda, spearheaded by Britain, has reduced Uganda to a Western client state. The Ugandan people are having to pay high price for the implementation of the austerity measures demanded by western institutions. As Museveni's compliance with these programmes earns him stronger western backing, so the abrogation of the Ugandan's sovereignty continues.

The elections were a fraud. But they were praised by the British government, which has been a strong supporter of Museveni ever since he seized power in 1986. Britain is an unashamed apologist for the "no party" system, and presented the constituent assembly elections as an important stage in a process of creating representative government. By providing the ballot boxes and help foot the bill for the elections, Britain's role has boosted the international standing of NRM.

Britain's backing has given legitimacy to a regime which few Ugandans support. Museveni's men shot their way to power in 1986, six years after starting a guerrilla war against an elected government. In the 1980 elections which brought Milton Obote to power, Museveni's party had won just one seat. Museveni himself came a poor third in the constituency he contested. Nevertheless, it appears that Britain

developed close ties with Museveni as early as 1984 when he was still a dissident guerrilla leader.

Once in power, Museveni received immediate recognition from Britain, and has basked in the warm glow of British approval ever since. He has proved to the western powers that he is their man. Socialist rhetoric notwithstanding, Museveni has complied to the letter with the terms given by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. His willingness to further still go down the austerity road in the post-Cold War nineties has sealed this relationship with the West.

The process of removing political parties from debate dates back to the toppling of Milton Obote's government by a military coup led by Brigadier Basilio Okello on 27 July 1985. Okello was ousted in turn by Museveni's National Resistance Army (NRM) in 1986. Opposition parties were restricted and later banned as the 'Aims of the Revolution' proclaimed.

"The establishment by force, if necessary, of a one-party 'popular democracy' in Uganda ... democracy is to be defined at all times solely by the National Resistance Movement and the high command of the National Resistance Army ... only NRM is allowed to operate in the country such that the other political parties, i.e. UPC, DP, CP and NLP, will cease to exist as required by the revolution". (Quoted in Uganda Peoples' Front/Army Open Letter, June 1989, Document No. 12).

During the first six years in office, Museveni consolidated his power by waging war upon dissident forces and repressing all opponents. The NRA

numbers anything between 100,000 and 300,000 men. According to a United Nations report, Uganda's military expenditure in relation to expenditure on human development is the third highest in the world, behind Iraq and Iran.

The assault on political opponents was wide-ranging. The regions of the north and east of the country were strongly opposed to Museveni. The defeat of dissident armies and the subjugation of the civilian population was achieved through a brutal 'pacification' programme. Indiscriminate massacres were conducted by the NRA in Gulu district in October and November 1988. During July 1989, a scorched earth policy was implemented by the special brigade mobile forces of the 80th battalion under Major Katagar in the districts of Kumi and Soroti. Several hundred villagers were butchered.

In one incident at Kumi, 60 youths were crammed into rail wagons and died. Their deaths were put down by various witnesses to either suffocation or incineration. The commander of the army, Major General Salim Saleh publicly apologised to the people for the incident but went on to say that this admission was in itself a clear manifestation of openness and democracy by the NRM government. In fact, Salim Saleh could openly admit to the killing because Museveni had no intention of bringing those responsible to trial, having blamed the atrocities on the rebels who were hiding among the population (New African, November 1989).

In order to crush dissident forces, the authorities issued leaflets to villagers instructing them to evacuate their homes

and move to settlement camps. Their food stocks were destroyed. Those who refused to move were presumed to be dissident and were liable to be shot on sight. In an interview with Caroline Lamwaka of new vision Museveni spelled out the strategy:

"It is precisely because of what we insisted on, this separation of law-abiding citizens from those who happen to be bandits. Therefore, people who were opposing us on this issue were actually murderers of civilians. Because they wanted civilians to be killed."

(Lamwaka) "On the issue of evacuating the population?"

(Museveni) "Yes on the evacuation policy. So those who are opposing us are actual enemies of the population whether they know it or they don't know, whether they are conscious or not, or whether they are aware or not aware. The end result of the position of opposing our evacuation plan was actually to have the population killed accidentally or even sometimes by design by some undisciplined elements. (27 June 1989).

In Kasese district alone, around 120,000 villagers were evacuated (New Vision, 23 February 1990).

Operation Pacification resulted in over 700 deaths in the north. Commenting on this, the minister of state for defence, Major General Tinnyefunza, was uncontrite:

The NRA took few captives in battles because most of them were simply sent to heaven. I would not mind killing 700 or 7,000 if they behaved in such a manner as to become military targets. (Citizen, No.45, 22 May 1991).

Campaign Against Militarism briefing

Museveni himself has bragged about NRA massacres as after a slaughter at Corner Kilak:

The rebels attacked us (NRA soldiers) at a place called Corner Kilak, 20 miles south of Kilgum town. They came in wild, singing and shouting. Our people massacred those chaps. They approached our troops frontally. This gave us a very good chance because they exposed themselves: on Sunday (January 14 1987) we surrounded them and massacred them. We massacred them very badly. (The Standard 21 January 1987).

The dissident movements, with the exemption of the Lord's Resistance Army, have all been defeated. In the process, civilian populations have suffered terrible abuses. The NRA is reported to be the worst culprit. There are widespread reports of NRA looting, torture, abduction and rape in villages in regions where dissidents were pursued. Fear of the NRA has prevented villagers from cultivating their lands. In the area east of the Nile, this has resulted in the famine since independence (The people, 14 October

1992). In November 1990, a helicopter crashed at Kitgum town barracks; it had been overloaded with bags of simsim, the local staple, confiscated from villagers as part of an NRA scorched earth police (Weekly Topic, 11 January 1991).

In addition to waging war against dissident, harsh expression has been meted out to unarmed political opponents. At a public meeting in the northern town of Kitgum, the district attorney presiding over the meeting took offense at a contribution from a civilian who was beaten unconscious by the district attorney's bodyguards (The Monitor, 11-15 February 1994).

Reports of atrocities in Gulu emerged in the wake of the NRA's "panda gari" operation. Some 18 northern political leaders, including Democratic Party organising secretary Zachary Olum, were and severely tortured. Major General Tinnyefunza, commander of the operation and minister of state for defence, said that the leaders were arrested for preaching political pluralism in their home areas (The Citizen, 29 May 1993). In January 1992 the party's secretary general, and its national

publicity secretary were put on trial for treason. When the DP threatened to hold an illegal rally in May 1993, Museveni responded, saying "If they want to see dead bodies, let them go ahead with the rally". (Daily Nation, Nairobi, 8 May 1993).

Next in the firing line was the Uganda Peoples Congress (UPC), the one time ruling party of Milton Obote. The party's assistant secretary general and 16 other officials were arrested and detained in January 1992. By issuing treason charges against political opponents, the regime was able to institute detention without trial for 15 months. Over 1000 people were detained in this manner in the first quarter of 1991, according to a Uganda human rights report (The Citizen, 29 May 1991).

There are also accounts of NRA hit squads. Before the former secretary of the Uganda Airlines Association, Ochieng' Odoi Obenge, was able to implicate the government in using the airline to run South African arms to Croatia, he was shot dead by unknown white gunmen. NRA officers appeared suddenly from nowhere and took his body. Soldiers prevented an

independent autopsy and then cemented the body into the ground, so preventing a funeral (New Africa, August 1992).

The press has not escaped either. A cabinet minute of 1990 is instructive: "It was now clear that the government had to take ruthless measures to clean up the field of journalism, and to ensure that Uganda journalists grasped the tenets of national aspirations ... we will not tolerate any journalist insulting or ridiculing the National Resistance Army (NRA) for whatever reason". (Minute 40, 'Freedom of the press', third meeting of the Uganda cabinet held on 1 February 1990).

Editors of Uganda Confidential, the Citizen, the Guide, Economy, and Mulungu were all arrested and charged with various offenses (New African, April 1992). In August 1993, the government alleged that private newspapers published government secrets, and directed all government departments and parastatals to withhold advertisements from the private press. The commissioner to the constituent assembly, Stephen Akabwai, said he will be giving marks to the stories written about the constituent assembly (Weekly Topic, 27 August 1993).

The local government elections of March 1992, indicated the kind of democracy Museveni had in mind. Apart from arresting and charging opponents with treason, other restrictive practises were implemented. Instead of a secret ballot, voters were made to queue up behind their chosen candidate, thereby exposing themselves to harassment. The candidates themselves were not allowed to campaign, and had to leave election gatherings before presentations about them could be made. Despite all this, the Uganda people still managed to express their party political allegiances.

The Constitutional Commission presented a draft constitution to Museveni on 31 December 1992. Predictably, it recommended suspending party activity for at least seven years after which time a referendum would be held on the issue. Once elected, the constituent assembly would open a constitutional debate in which multi-party democracy would be considered. Yet the framework within which the recent constituent assembly elections were conducted left nothing to chance.

The demarcation of the electoral constituencies was rigged to favour the NRA. Museveni appointed an old schoolmate of his, Stephen Akabwai, as electoral commissioner, empowered to demarcate constituencies and supervise the whole electoral process. He took all of three weeks to demarcate 214 new constituencies. Opposition figures accused him of under-representing areas where opposition parties enjoy support, such as the densely populated Busheyi, Masaka and Mbale districts. The 137 737 voters in

county Nakifuma, in Eastern Iganga, were all in one constituency. In the western district of Bukungiri, there was boundary shifting, allegedly to reduce opposition to Amama Mbabazi. Museveni's right hand man. All opposition candidates in Mwenje county were set to eliminate each other, having them lumped in one constituency.

Despite this, the Ugandan electorate produced a verdict which may prove problematic for the NRM. Official figures gave 144 of the 214 seats to the NRM. (While candidates stood as individuals and were not permitted to state party affiliation, the candidates indicated whether or not supported a 'movement system' as opposed to multi-partyism.) There are an additional 74 seats required to make up the full complement of this constituent assembly. Of these, Museveni is entitled to nominate 10 personally, while NRA is to nominate 10 more.

The NRM has gained the numbers to win the arguments, but not the consensus it needs to justify its aim of abolishing other political parties. Some 85 per cent of Uganda's seven million registered voters turned out to select the individuals offered. In the north and north-east, NRM candidates did very badly. Nearly three quarters of existing parliamentarians lost. Betty Bigombe, the notorious Minister of Pacification Resident in the North, was beaten into third place.

Aside from the defeats of prominent NRM figures, the NRM had failed to achieve its central objective - the destruction of opposition parties. The NRM's losses were to a large extent the UPC's gains. The UPC has re-emerged as a credible organisation. Ugandans also used their vote to discredit the governments economic policies - Museveni's whole economic team was rejected, including the Minister and deputy Minister of Finance. Further more, the assertions that "no party democracy" is needed to transcend tribal and regional allegiances looks hollow, since the elections have exposed a deepening of the divide between the southern and western regions on the one hand, and the northern and eastern regions on the other.

In fact, tribal thinking resides at the top of the NRM, as evidenced by Museveni himself:

"I know the weakness of every tribe in Uganda ... The Acholi are like sheep being prepared for slaughter. They are so ignorant that even if you put a knife on their throat, they will not believe that you will kill them... The only difference between the Acholi and the Baganda is the former are not thieves and liars" (Minutes of security meeting held in State House Entebbe, 26 September 1992).

Uganda confidential, a government mouthpiece, echoes this tribal thinking: "Great tribes like the Baganda thrive by assimilating other people from other

inferior tribes, while inferior tribes diminish because of this lack of scientific vision and instead keep[in shrinking isolation... Similarly superior cultures of people like the Banyarwanda... thrive because of their ability to modernise just like the Japanese, Chinese, etc., (6-11 April 1994) Museveni just happens to be from the Banyarwanda tribe.

Meanwhile, Britain has become an International Public Relations voice for Museveni. The Foreign Office is only too keen to a moderating gloss over reports which expose the undemocratic and repressive nature of the regime.

Under President Museveni, however, while sporadic abuses have come to light, in general the situation has taken a substantial turn for the better. We believe Museveni personally is committed to a full restoration of human rights and a democratic government in which all views can be freely and peacefully expressed. Britain's aid programme have reflected this improvement; our aid is designed to reconstruct the Ugandan economy, devastated by so many years of civil war. It is also directed at areas which are essential if the state is to be fully rehabilitated, such as the police, the judiciary and the civil service. We have also helped the Constitutional Commission which is working to construct and appropriate democratic constitution for the country." (Letter from H. Elliot, East African Department, Foreign Office, 3 July 1990)

Referring to a letter from a Ugandan exile in London, whose mother was burned to death by Museveni's forces Baroness Chalker offered her defence of Museveni:

"While it is true that the Acholi suffered victimisation at various times during the Obote and Amin regimes this is not the case under the NRM. The current Director of Army Intelligence, e.g., is himself an Acholi and the north and east of Uganda can no longer be described as rebel-affected areas. While both soldiers and civilians do indulge in rape and robberies, the penalties are severe, and especially so for soldiers who not infrequently are sentenced to death if guilty of robbery with a weapon. The fundamental problem suffered by Uganda's population today is economic, which is the result of economic destruction caused by preceding regimes. Aids is also a serious problem ...

The progress of Uganda to a full plural democracy is still some way to go but we will continue to do what we can to encourage the process and to let president Museveni know if we have any misgivings. he can be in no doubt about our determination to support those countries striving for sound economic management and pursuing good government policies. (Letter to Brian Sadgemore MP, 20 December 1993).

According to Douglas Hurd multi-partyism is alive and well in Museveni's

one party state.

Political parties have not been banned in Uganda, although their activities have been constrained for some time. Faced with party political activity earlier this year, the National Resistance Council passed a resolution to give legal form to the informal understanding which limits such activity. We are and others lobbied strongly against this and the enacting bill has not been tabled.

And so too is respect for human rights.

There is no doubt that abuses still occur but we believe the Ugandan government is committed to maintaining better standards and the situation has improved. The insurgency is all but over and the National Resistance Army is handing over

responsibility for law and order to the police. Military expenditure is down and plans are underway for a large scale demobilisation of National Resistance Army soldiers, to which the World Bank and donors (including the UK) are contributors. (Uganda Democratic Coalition Newsletter, November-December 1992)

Ugandans seeking refugee status in Britain have been refused on the grounds that Museveni has proclaimed an amnesty for exiles. The return of the former opposition figure, Otema Alimadi, was used to show that Ugandan exiles had nothing to fear. Yet Museveni withdrew the amnesty on 12 April 1988 and Britain continued to deport exiles to Uganda, as Apire Okot was to find out. He was

deported and immediately arrested on arrival. He was driven to his home village, accused of being sent to Uganda to spy for dissidents, tied up, beaten and left for dead by the NRA. Since the implementation of the British Asylum and Refugees Act in mid 1993, 170 Ugandan asylum-seekers have been refused recognition.

Far from aiding the democratic process in Uganda, British interference is the main obstacle to the Ugandan peoples realising their aspirations for democracy. For the British government any form of government will do in Uganda so long as its interests are served. When Britain talks about bringing democracy to Uganda what it means is bringing Africa under western diktat.

Uganda-from colonisation to recolonisation

Early history

Fourteenth century

The region encompassed feudal Kingdoms, notably the Uganda, Bunyoro, Toro, Ankole and Kigezi.

Nineteenth century

Buganda replaces Bunyoro as the dominant regional power.

Colonialism.

1862

Explorers Spoke and Grant, and later Stanley, pave the way for European missionaries' arrival in Uganda.

1877

June: British establish Church Missionary Society at Mengo, near the place of King (Kabaka) Mwanga of Buganda.

1879

February: French missionaries establish base at Rubaga Hill, nearby.

1886

Mwanga displays hostility toward missionaries by having 32 Christians burned to death on pyres. Germany dispatches Karl Peters to make contacts with the Kingdoms to prepare the ground for annexation. This strategy changes with the

1890

Anglo-German Treaty which gives Britain the protectorate of Zanzibar Islands, and places Uganda under its sphere of influence. Uganda placed under Captain Lugard of the British East Africa Company. As the Company nears bankruptcy, the British government views Uganda, the source of the Nile, as strategically important. Sir George Portal becomes the new governor.

1893

Portal proclaims the Protectorate of

Uganda, which embraces the four Kingdoms and other tribes to the north and east.

1900

Britain begins to implement indirect rule, by having new agreements signed by the kingdoms: Buganda in 1900 (after Mwanga had banished to the Seychelles), Toro in 1901, Bunyoro and Ankole in 1903. Britain begins to draw southerners into administrative positions, while recruiting Acholi and Langi from the north into the armed forces.

1902

A considered part of certain Uganda (Kisumu, Naivasha, Bungoma and Rudolf) is ceded to Kenya at the behest of Sir Charles Elliot, Governor of Kenya. The region is being considered for the settlement of Zionist Jews.

1910

Belgium, Germany and Britain fix borders in Congo, Uganda and German East Africa.

1920s

32,000 Indians brought to Kenya and Uganda by the British to work on the Mombasa-Lake Victoria rail link.

1921

British establish Legislative Council, modest Africa representation is later permitted.

1928

PE Mitchell, who later became governor of Uganda, remarked: 'Regret it as he may, no Director of Education can resist the demand for clerks, carpenters, shoemakers and so on - trained in European methods to meet European needs. These men are not being trained to fit into any place in the life of their own people, but to meet the

economic needs of a foreign race'. (Quoted in W. Rodney, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa pg 273)

1929

Cotton provided 80 per cent Uganda's exports.

1933

Makerebe College begins to educate to 'school certificate' level.

1936

Due to small size of white settler community, African children receive 89 per cent of public education money, the highest percentage in British Africa.

1937

Sugar restriction agreement imposed on British East Africa colonies. Ugandan sugar export volume in 1938 is two thirds down on 1936 volume.

1947

Cotton-growing peasants demonstrate against Indian owned cotton gins and outside the Buganda Kabaka's palace. (Under colonial practice, cotton ginning was barred to Africa.)

Ugandan nationalism

While nationalism, anti-colonial sentiment was evident from the 1920s onwards, nationalism was not expressed in any organized political form until the 1950s. The late development of Ugandan nationalism is due in part to the relatively benign nature of Uganda's colonial experience. Unlike neighbouring Kenyans, Ugandans did not suffer land confiscation. Many peasants became successful producers of cotton and coffee and other cash crops. A layer of educated Ugandans slowly penetrated the evil service and local government, the traditional rulers did very well out of colonial arrangements.

1952

Founding of Ugandan National Congress (UNC) under Ignatius Musazi. the UNC is Uganda's first non-tribal nationalist party, although its support is drawn largely from educated northerners and Protestants. However, internal feuding and splits restricted its capacity to develop a nationalist consciousness.

1953

Uganda Legislative Council voters to spend \$11m from the cotton price stabilization fund on welfare schemes giving priority to agricultural education.

November: The Kabaka of Buganda, Sir Edward Mutesa, is exiled to Britain for demanding an independent Uganda.

1956

Formation of the democratic Party (DP), by Catholic priest, fashioned after (and found by) the west German Christian Democratic party. it draws its support largely from educated Catholic Southerners.

1958

Benedicta Kiwanuka, a wealthy Catholic becomes DP leader. More radical members of the UNC split to form their own UNC, under Milton Obote, who had returned from six years of political exile in Kenya. Obote becomes the most forceful speaker in the legislative Council.

Decolonisation

British attempts to see the Kabaka of Buganda as the instrument of a decolonisation strategy proved unworkable. The institution could not generate mass appeal even within Buganda, and left the rest of Uganda unrepresented. A strategy of forging an alliance between the traditionalist Kabaka and moderate nationalist was adopted.

1955

Namirembe Agreement, Ugandans to have majority representation on executive and regional council.

1957

September: 21 nationalist delegates meet in Mwanza Tanganyika, and discuss a programme of 'uhuru na umoja' - freedom and unity.

1958

December: At second meeting at Mwanza Pan-African freedom Movement of East and Central Africa (PAFMECA) is formed.

1958

Africans directly elected to the legislative Council.

1960

Obote merges his UNC with the Uganda People Union (UPU) to form the Uganda People's Congress (UPC). Kabaka Yeka (KY), the party of the Buganda king is formed (Asian community now numbers 75,000)

October: third pan-African meeting was held at Mbale, Uganda. PAFMECA expanded to PAFMECA (Pan-African Freedom Movement of East, Central and Southern Africa). Its aims are to work for independence and regional unity.

1962

April: Pre-independence parliamentary elections:

UPC win 37 seats

DP win 22

KY win 21

Obote forges a political alliance between the UPC and KY which forms a coalition government and takes Uganda into independence.

9 October: independence Day. Obote is prime Minister, the Kabaka of Buganda the president under a federal constitution. The immediate post independence period is marked by rising political tensions. The UPC-KY alliance comes under pressure from nationalist pushing for a modern centralised state and from the Kabaka institution seeking to preserve the old arrangements. There is tension between the Buganda and Bunyoro kingdoms over the lost counties, where is later settled in Bunyoro's favour by referendum. The impact of refugees fleeing civil wars in neighbouring Congo (now Zaire), Rwanda, Burundi and southern Sudan adds to the sense of instability.

1963

Organization of Africa Unity (OAU) formed and PAFMECSA dissolved.

1964

Mutiny in the army. The demands for African officers in this British made institution result in the promotion of Idi Amin, who had fought for the British against the Mau Mau.

1966

4 February: Obote government defeated in a vote of censure moved by a Kabaka Yeka member. The issue is an allegation that Amin, now deputy commander of the army, had smuggled ivory and gold into Uganda. The cabinet splits over the issue. Brigadier Shaban Opolot, commander of the army, and other senior officers demand Amin's dismissal. Obote calls an inquiry which absolves both himself and Amin.

24 February: Obote detains five cabinet ministers, alleging a planned palace coup with the connivance of the Kabaka.

April: Obote suspends 1962 independence constitution and assumes state power. A new constitution under the slogan 'One country, one parliament, one government,

one people', with himself as executive president.

19 May: Amin storms the Kabaka's palace. The Kabaka flees to exile in Britain, dying there three years later.

1967

September: Promulgation of new unitary and republic constitution. An executive president and 82 elected members of parliament. Obote initiates process of abolishing feudal relations. All traditional kingdoms are abolished. Social and economic changes announced under 'Move to the Left' and the 'Common Man Charter'.

1969

1 May: Government announces 60 per cent interest in all major financial, industrial and commercial concerns. Tension grows between Obote and Amin. Amin called to account for \$2.3m Ministry of Defence appropriations.

19 December: Obote shot at and injured. Amin suspended of involvement. State of emergency declared.

1971

24 January: Ugandan army Brigadier Okoya and his wife shot dead. Amin placed under investigation. Obote leaves for Commonwealth Conference, leaving orders for Amin's arrest by the 28 January. With British and Israeli backing, Amin succeeds in neutralising loyalist troops in Kampala and Njinja. Obote government overthrown. Britain quickly recognizes Amin's military junta. All political activity suspended. Armed forces given arbitrary power to shoot opponents.

1972

May: Judiciary and police rendered impotent when amnesty given to members of armed forces for any action taken from the time of the coup. More than 100 000 soldiers and civilians killed by Amin's forces during the process of consolidating the junta.

9 August: Amin orders expulsion of Uganda's 32 000 Asians within 90 days. The Asians relinquish assets of over \$500m which are distributed among Amin supporters. 27 200 Asians enter Britain.

September: Failed coup attempt by Ugandan exiles based in Tanzania results in the murder of four former Obote ministers and air force bombing of Tanzania. US halts \$3m loan to Uganda, after Amin praises Hitler.

1973

3 January: British investments worth \$250m in tea plantations and industries are nationalised. Uganda's economy plummets in the 1970s. Amin's use of terror precludes any domestic opposition. The Tanzania government under Julius Nyerere facilitates the coalition of opposition forces.

5 July: USA bars Ugandan ambassador

after Amin insults Nixon over Watergate.

1974

Failed coup attempt by senior military officers.

1978

Amin's forces arrest and murder Archbishop Janani Luwum.

1978

Mutiny in Simba Battalion in Mbarara, and Chui Battalion in Gulu. Uganda invades Tanzania, claiming to annex the Kagera salient.

1979

22 March: 26 opposition groups come together at Moshi, Tanzania, and form the Uganda National Liberation Front (UNLF) with the aim of overthrowing Amin and rebuilding a democratic Uganda. Tanzania and UNLF forces invade Uganda.

March: Tanzania army drives Ugandan forces out. 10 April: Amin overthrown. An estimated 300,000 died during his eight-year rule, the Langi and Acholi people figuring highly among the victims.

11 April: Yusuf Lule installed as president. Tensions immediately threaten to fragment the UNLF. Lule strengthens Bugandan conservatives and weakens leftists. Museveni becomes Minister of Defence. A political crisis is resolved with Lule voted out of office by the National Consultative Council.

21 June: Godfrey Binaisa succeeds Lule. Political instability continues. Binaisa becomes increasingly dependent upon Tanzania intervention. About 200,000 Tanzania troops remain in Uganda during 1979.

1 September: Curfew imposed to quell mounting factional fighting.

1980

Binaisa in continued conflict with National Consultative Council and remains dependent on Tanzanian troops, although they are scaled down to 100,000. Political crisis deepens over question of elections.

11 May: A group of army officers announces a takeover of presidential power. Binaisa is placed under house arrest. The new military commission pledges to organise elections.

27 May: Obote returns from exile and begins electoral campaign for his old party, the UPC. The elections become a contest between the UPC, the Democratic Party (DP), led by Paul Ssemogerere representing traditional Buganda loyalists and Catholics, and the Uganda People's Movement, led by Yoweri Museveni.

10 Dec.: Obote's UPC wins elections. UPC takes 72 seats, the Democratic Party takes 51, the Uganda People's Movement takes 1. While the DP takes

emerges as the leader of the National Resistance Movement (NRM). A faction of the DP forms the Uganda Freedom Movement. A third force of Amin loyalists emerges in the north.

1981

February: Museveni's National Resistance Army (NRA) launches operations from the bush. As Tanzania troops withdraw, the Ugandan Army mutinies in West Nile province.

1982

February: Guerrilla attacks on Kampala lead to widespread military reprisals. The Luwero region is devastated by war. British Commonwealth starts military training scheme.

October: UPC officials attack Rwandan refugee camp in south-west Uganda. 25,000 Rwandans flee to Rwanda.

1983

Fighting between the national army and Museveni's National Resistance Army (NRA) for control of region between Gulu and Hoima. NRA gaining strength.

1984

May: Government troops massacre 90 people at Namugogo.

1985

27 July: Obote ousted in military coup, led by northern commander Brigadier General Basilio Okello. The NRA demands a half share in government.

1986

26 January: NRA captures Kampala after nine-day offensive.

29 January: Yoweri Museveni sworn in as president. Government set up under 36-member National Resistance Council which serves as interim parliament. NRA spokesman Sam Kisekka is appointed prime minister, and Paul Ssemogerere Minister of Internal Affairs. Five cabinet posts re given to the Democratic Party, and three to the UPC. The NRM government receives financial backing, almost entirely \$535m annually.

April: NRA controls all of Uganda. Yet armed resistance

re-emerges. The Uganda National Liberation Army, with northern Acholi

incursion into northern region.

1987

March: The Uganda People's Freedom Movement, a new anti-government party, is launched in London. It appears to be backing attacks by Karamojong tribesmen. Other dissident incursions are launched in the eastern and western regions. A messianic cult, led by Alice Lakwena, starts resistance in the north and east.

December: Alice Lakwena captured, her army disbanded.

1989

Government troops start forcing villagers out of their homes and into camps as part of a campaign to isolate and defeat dissidents.

1989

'Operation Sinsim' is launched against dissidents in the north.

1992

Large-scale retrenchments of the civil service begin, in accordance with International Monetary Fund conditions placed upon Uganda. Northerners and Acholis are victimised.

9 August: Nathan Ikuret, leader of rebel Uganda People's Army reported killed by the army. National Resistance Council meets in camera for three days. Ban on political parties to remain until new constitution comes into effect. Amnesty granted to 1500 political prisoners.

1993

July: Museveni restores Uganda's four kingdoms in culture terms.

1994

28 March: Elections for constituent assembly. Office figures give 144 of the 214 constituent assembly seats to NRM.

5 May: Constituent assembly due to have its first meeting to deliberate on a new constitution.