
VIOLATIONS OF
HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE RULE OF LAW
IN UGANDA

A STUDY BY THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF JURISTS

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P R E F A C E

This study of violations of human rights and the rule of law in Uganda has been compiled by the International Commission of Jurists in response to a number of requests coming from both Ugandans and non-Ugandans.

Much of the international concern about recent events in Uganda has focussed upon the expulsion of the Asians in 1972. This has tended to obscure the scale of the internal repression and loss of life among the African population. Another factor tending to this result is the great reluctance of Ugandans, even though living abroad in exile, to make public statements about these events for fear of reprisal action against their families or friends in Uganda.

The study deals with the events since the military coup on January 25, 1971, when General Idi Amin Dada came to power. It is divided into three parts. Part I deals with the expulsion of the Asians from Uganda; Part II deals with the political and legal structure within which the violations of human rights have occurred; Part III presents a chronological account of the reign of terror that has taken place in Uganda since January 1971.

In trying to present as objective a picture as possible of these events, every effort has been made to base the account on first-hand eye-witness reports. In nearly all cases the incidents we have included have been corroborated by two or more sources considered to be reliable. Without exception, all witnesses have demanded that their names and identity remain strictly confidential. We are satisfied that it is the universal fear of reprisals which is responsible for this reticence.

It is understandable perhaps that many of the witnesses, especially among the Ugandan exiles, should seek to place personal responsibility for many of the violations which have occurred upon General Idi Amin. This study is concerned rather with describing the events than with apportioning blame. Clearly, as head of state and as Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces, the ultimate responsibility for any violations of human rights must fall upon General Amin. For his part, he has consistently denied that any excesses have been the result of government policy. He has undertaken to investigate those incidents which he accepts as having occurred, and to bring the persons responsible to justice. The latter undertaking, at least, has yet to be fulfilled. It is perhaps a hopeful sign that some of those senior officers and officials against whom complaint has consistently been made, have recently been retired or transferred to other posts.

An important part of the evidence on which this study is based comes from non-Ugandan and non-Asian sources who were in Uganda at the material time. Some of them were persons holding responsible positions in which they had good opportunities to know what was taking place.

We have also been considerably assisted by having put at our disposal numerous statements by Ugandans and other information in the possession of Mr. Colin Legum and Mr. David Martin of the London Observer, and by seeing in proof a book shortly to be published in London by Mr. David Martin, entitled "Amin". These have confirmed much information already in our possession as well as providing us with additional information.

The task of preparing this study was undertaken by Mr. Michael Posner of the University of California, Berkeley, while working with the International Commission of Jurists in Geneva.

Niall MacDermot
Secretary-General

Geneva, May 1974

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PART I - EXPULSION OF THE ASIAN NON-CITIZENS

The Expulsion Order

In examining the expulsion of Asian non-citizens from Uganda it is first necessary to understand the background of their presence in Africa. Many of the Indians, Pakistanis and Bengalis were brought to East Africa by the British during their colonial rule. Originally they were sent to help build the East African Rail system. Their descendants, and other immigrants who followed them, found their way into various businesses and eventually into professional positions. Many others, perhaps a majority, came immediately after World War II, providing much needed technical and professional services in these countries.

By the mid-1960's, the Asians in Uganda enjoyed great financial success, forming an important part of the merchant and business sector of the country, especially in the cities. They also occupied prominent positions as teachers, engineers, lawyers and doctors. Yet because their customs and culture were totally different from those of the Africans, they never integrated themselves into the society. Moreover, their economic success came to be greatly resented by the native population of Uganda, who felt that the Asians were exploiting them.

Thus when President Amin ordered all of the Asian non-citizens out of Uganda in August 1972, there was a great deal of popular support for his action.

Despite this, the Ugandan expulsion order was a gross violation of human rights because of the manner in which the expulsion took place and the overtly racist implications that it presented. Moreover, the actions by the Ugandan government during this period also infringed the rights of Asians who were Ugandan citizens or were entitled to be recognised as such and therefore not supposed to be affected by the expulsion order.

The following account describes the ordeal that the Asians went through in the final quarter of 1972, and seeks to illustrate how their basic human rights were violated.

In early August 1972, President Amin charged that Asians holding British passports were "sabotaging Uganda's economy and encouraging corruption". Several days later on August 9, 1972, President Amin announced a formal decree revoking all entry permits and certificates of residence which had been granted "to any person who is of Asian origin, extraction or descent and who is a subject or citizen of" the United Kingdom, India, Pakistan, or Bangladesh. The decree required the non-citizen Asians to leave Uganda within 90 days. President Amin warned that "after the expiry of the 90 day period, any of these people who will still be in Uganda will be subject to the appropriate measures".

Several days later, President Amin stated that he had directed the "Minister concerned" to start selling the shops owned by the non-Ugandan Asians. Such owners would be required to leave Uganda as soon as their shops were bought by Ugandans, even if this was before the 90-day period.

On August 17, it was disclosed that the Asian professionals previously exempted from the ruling would now be subject to the same expulsion decree.

The expulsion order of August 1972 was a gross violation of the basic principles of non-discrimination, as expressed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which states:

"Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status."

(Art. 2 of the Declaration)

The decree clearly discriminates against Asian non-citizens, distinguishing them from other non-citizens who are not affected by the expulsion order. The basis of the distinction is racial or cultural discrimination.

Several months later, on October 25, the decree was expanded to be applied also to "any other person who is of Indian, Pakistani or Bangladesh origin, extraction or descent". At this point, the government's policy became even more explicitly racist.

It is noteworthy that during this period President Amin made several blatantly racist statements against the Jews. In a telegram to U.N. Secretary-General Dr. Kurt Waldheim, he expressed sympathy for the cause of the Palestinian commandos after they had killed Israeli athletes in Munich. Commenting on the killings he stated: "Germany is the right place where, when Hitler was Prime Minister and supreme Commander, he burnt over 6 million Jews. This is because Hitler and all German people knew that the Israelis are not people who are working in the interest of the people of the world and that is why they burnt the Israelis alive with gas in the soil of Germany. The world should remember that the Palestinians, with the assistance of Germany, made that operation possible in the Olympic village."

The Government's Position

The Ugandan government issued a response to the growing criticisms of its action entitled "British Asians in Uganda: Background information on the issue", and Uganda's position was defended in the United Nations by their Ambassador and Permanent Representative, Mr. G.S.K. Ibingira.

The basis of the government's position as so expressed was that the expulsion was being carried out fairly and according to four primary guidelines:

- " 1. All foreign nationals asked to leave Uganda are being allowed to take personal belongings as well as a reasonable amount of cash which is a drain on Uganda's financial resources.
2. There will be no confiscation of their property. On the basis of their inventories, their property will be sold and credited to the account of the owners of such property. Their bank accounts will remain intact.
3. There will be no physical maltreatment by the intent of the Uganda government.

4. Those non-citizen Asians who inadvertently remain after the ninety days through no fault of their own will not be maltreated but must make an effort to leave. "

Despite these constant reassurances to the members of the U.N., the reality of the three month expulsion period indicates that little was done to adhere to these principles.

Ill-Treatment of Asians

The Asians were physically assaulted by the army from the beginning of the expulsion period. One statement describes the situation as the Asians began making preparations to leave the country. "The Ugandan army men visited the houses of many Asians during night time, threatened and beat them. One, Mr. Dharmi Ranchod Katoria, his wife and two children were shot by the soldiers."

In another incident "two young girls aged 18 and 20 were forcibly carried away by the soldiers with promises of marriage. Plundering and looting of the belongings of Asians was a common feature in Uganda."

In early September, as the first groups of British Asians reached London, they told stories of Ugandan officials cutting up their passports to harass them, and subjecting them to physical violence.

One recent emigrant explained that "the scenes at Kampala were terrible. Naturally all of the Asians were anxious, and, as the day wore on, the scenes became more violent."

Several people described situations where the Asians had their hair and beards cut with broken beer bottles.

Another report stated that in mid-September several Asians were arbitrarily arrested in Kampala by the military police and forced to buy themselves free.

The army was also believed to be involved in the death of a prominent Ismaili businessman in a shooting incident.

As each group of refugees arrived from Uganda, they reported increasing violence and vandalism by the army. "Soldiers were stopping everyone on the streets and asking them whether or not they were Ugandan citizens. If they told them they were British, the soldiers beat them up. This happened to many of my friends" one Asian stated on arrival in England.

Another added "We took a taxi from our home to Kampala to catch a bus to the airport and we were stopped by soldiers at four road blocks. Each time they dragged my brother and me out of the car as soon as they knew we were British citizens. They took our shoes and all my money, my tape recorder, my watch and my necklace."

A young student explained "If you as much as look at a soldier he hits you. They just say 'give me some money or I will kill you'. There is no reason in that country now."

Another student, who also arrived in England in late September, described the circumstances prior to his departure. "On Thursday last week my uncle was shot and killed in Kampala. He was in the streets when there was a commotion near the chief courts and all the people started running. Then he was stopped by two soldiers and asked why he had not gone home. When he told them he was on his way they just shot him and he fell into a municipal wastepaper basket. That is where the family heard of him. Another of my friends was taken away after he overtook an army truck in his car. We have not heard of him since."

One man described his last experiences. "On the road from Jinja, where I lived, soldiers stopped me on Saturday and told me 'You Asians are the cause of all our troubles in Uganda. If you do not leave by the end of the month we will slash all your throats'."

He went on to describe the road from Jinja to Kampala, where four checkpoints had been set up. "The soldiers on them are all robbers. They took my wife's jewellery and all our money."

Similar incidents were reported by Asians who migrated back to India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

One exile, Mrs Vallabha, explained that while making their way from Kampala to Mbale a man in their group was stabbed by soldiers at a checkpoint when he declared that he had some shillings.

Once on the train, soldiers also found 100 shillings in the turban of a Sikh. He was stripped and made to crawl through the train, as were 30 other Sikhs on the train who were hiding nothing.

In another incident, a man explained how he was wounded when soldiers with fixed bayonets beat him up on a train heading for Kenya, from where he continued on to India.

In a detailed statement, C.L. Gheevala, Honorary Secretary of Shri Brihad Bharatiya Samaj, further describes the ill-treatment suffered by the Indian citizens. The Brihad Bharatiya Samaj is a public trust working for the welfare of Indians living outside India. Because of its position, this group was in close contact with the arriving exiles. Mr. Gheevala's report describes the physical abuse suffered by the Asians en route to India, aboard the trains headed for the port at Mombasa, Kenya. "They were pursued by Ugandan military men up to the border of Kenya and ill-treated. The soldiers forced their entry into the trains, detained the passengers at several stations and harassed them ... Some Asian girls fleeing from Uganda had to bribe with money and jewelry Ugandan Army soldiers who had tried to abduct them ... Four other girls were held in the barracks by army men and it was not known what became of them. Some twenty Indian nationals, both men and women were reported missing from the special trains carrying the expelled Asians from Kampala to Mombasa."

Confiscation of Personal Belongings

Despite government assurances that the repatriates would be permitted to carry with them personal effects to the value of 10,000 Uganda Shillings and 1,000 shillings in cash, these were often confiscated by the Ugandan army.

Mr. Gheevala describes the ordeal of the Indian citizens. "Their belongings were searched and they were deprived of their little cash, jewelry and other valuable articles like wrist watches, rings, blankets, sweaters and even shoes. The gold chains and necklaces of women were snatched away ... They were almost penniless when they landed in Bombay.

This same situation was reported by the British Asians whose personal belongings were looted by army troops and their money frequently taken away as they left the country.

Failure to Abide by the 90-Day Limit

The government's order of 9 August gave the Asians 90 days to leave the country. Yet during the 3 months from August to November, a number of subsequent government orders cut this to an even shorter period for many of the repatriates.

On September 23, for example, the Uganda Argus printed a statement announcing that "members of the Uganda security forces have been directed by the government to ensure that all British Asians who have been cleared by the Bank of Uganda must not remain in the country for more than 48 hours (2 days), and that with effect from the date when such Asians were given permission to return to their home country, their work permits and trading licences are automatically cancelled."

Confiscation of Property

In addition to the physical and emotional abuse suffered by the Asians, they were financially destroyed by the 90-day expulsion order.

Despite frequent government promises that no property would be confiscated, the departing Asians received no compensation for the stores and various businesses that they left behind. Mr. Gheevala writes that these people "lost everything which they possessed". "Their properties and assets were expropriated. The house owners and shopkeepers could not find any ready buyers especially as President Amin had issued a decree that the Asians should sell their properties only to Ugandans, and not to other Asians. In the time at their disposal the Asians could not dispose of these properties and later on President Amin vested them in the government and distributed the shops and houses of Asians among the Ugandan citizens. There were also many cases where houses, shops and business premises were occupied by the Ugandans by force and the Indian owners were simply thrown out."

President Amin has made several subsequent statements promising to compensate these people, but no compensation has yet been paid. Decree No. 29, "The Declaration of Assets (Non-Citizen Asians) Decree" provides for setting up a Board to manage "property abandoned by departing Asians" and to receive and value compensation claims. The prospect of any compensation ever being paid is considered exceedingly remote.

In 1973, President Amin announced that he would only discuss the question of compensation of the British Asians with the British Prime Minister or H.M. the Queen.

Ugandan Asian Citizens

The situation of those Asians who had taken Uganda citizenship was probably the most desperate and they were to suffer the greatest hardships.

To begin with, the government undertook an elaborate operation to examine thoroughly and check all documents of citizenship in an obvious effort to deny citizenship to as many Asians as possible.

As one Ugandan African wrote "There are numerous examples of people who were deliberately made stateless by officials who scrutinized their documents. It was up to the official examining a particular set of documents to say whether or not the individual concerned was a citizen without paying much attention to the provisions of the citizenship law. The offices of the immigration department - where the documents were examined - were full of troops with orders to remove any disgruntled person without any questions being asked. An African advocate nearly put himself in serious trouble by accompanying an Asian client to explain to the officials the status of his client."

In addition to the arbitrary and often improper way in which this verification process was conducted, there was no right of appeal available to those who had been improperly denied citizenship.

Despite the efforts of the government to reject the proof of citizenship of as many Asians as possible, a number of them still managed to pass the qualifying test. On November 2, President Amin ordered these Ugandan citizens to abandon their lives in the cities and to "go to the villages and mix up with the other Ugandans".

One Ugandan African, now living in exile, gives this account of President Amin's order and its effect on these Ugandan Asians. He writes that when President Amin "finally discovered that a substantial number of Asians had succeeded in proving that they were genuine citizens and had obtained their citizenship lawfully and were accordingly beyond the reach of his expulsion order, he suddenly announced that such persons would only remain in the country after November 9 as farmers in the remote region of Karamoja, an arid district near the Sudan border, and in other similar areas where the government would allocate land to them, but on no account would they be permitted to live in towns or do business in places of their own choice. This announcement was tantamount to an expulsion order of these Ugandan citizens of Asian origin, who had no knowledge or experience to enable them to earn their living on the land, let alone in arid unfertile areas. All these persons were rendered stateless (homeless) refugees because they could not comply with an announcement which violated so blatantly their fundamental human rights as citizens. The President's announcement did not even try to give them any kind of security of tenure if they agreed to go and work on the land. This group of Asians suffered far more hardship than those who had not opted for Ugandan citizenship, and who were accepted as citizens by Britain, India, Pakistan or Bangladesh. This group had nowhere to go, because it consisted of citizens of Uganda some of whom had been carrying Uganda passports for nearly ten years. It was only through the untiring efforts of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the International Committee of the Red Cross and the humanitarian reaction of several nations that these Ugandan citizens were accepted to settle in several countries around the globe. Since persons in this

group are Ugandan citizens it is very unlikely that President Amin will ever even think of paying them compensation. They thus stand to lose more than anybody else because they had been led to believe that being citizens they would continue to enjoy the rights and duties of all Ugandan citizens. In fact most of them did not wind up their affairs because they were confident that they were outside the ambit of the expulsion order". It is not surprising that of some 60,000 Asians formerly living in Uganda, only a few hundred now remain.

Conclusions

- (1) The denial of Ugandan nationality to those Asians who were entitled to it was a violation of Article 15 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which states that

"Everyone has a right to a nationality.
No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor
denied the right to change his nationality".
- (2) The banishment of all recognised Asian citizens to a remote and unfamiliar rural life was an act of racial discrimination which had the (no doubt intended) effect of driving almost all of them out of the country.
- (3) The expulsion of Asian non-citizens was an act based on an explicit policy of racial discrimination, and the failure to provide adequately for compensating those who had been expropriated was a violation of Article 17 (2) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights ("No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property").
- (4) The sudden and brutal manner in which the mass expulsion of Asian non-citizens took place was a breach of the principles of good neighbourliness, enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations (see Richard Plender, ICJ REVIEW No. 9, December 1972, p.19).

PART II POLITICAL AND LEGAL STRUCTURE

Introduction

General Idi Amin came to power in January 1971 promising "I am not a politician, but a professional soldier ... mine will be purely a caretaker administration". He pledged to implement the changes demanded in 18 points which were set forth at the time of the coup, one of which criticized "the failure by political authorities to organize any elections for the last eight years whereby people's free will could be expressed".

General Amin repeatedly emphasized that he was not interested in power, explaining that he took political control only after he was forced to do so at gun point by the army. As he put it "if I had not accepted, I would be dead now".

In March, he ended the state of emergency that had existed in Uganda since 1969, and in early May he announced that a new Constitution would be published, to be followed by civilian elections. The target date for such elections was March 1973. Several Ministers in the government suggested that Uganda would adopt a multi-party system with a parliamentary opposition.

In early January 1972, President Amin indicated that the resumption of political activities, one first step towards civilian rule, would probably be delayed beyond the March 1973 deadline. Following the abortive attempted invasion from Tanzania and the internal turmoil in the autumn of 1972, the President again stated on October 15 that he was still only following the 18 points and when they were all tackled he would order general elections and hand over the government to the civilians.

In April 1973, the government announced that it was considering the establishment of a supreme state council, responsible for national guidance and for framing policies, with a Prime Minister who would serve under the President. In addition, the government spokesman added, a national forum with representatives from each county meeting four times a year to make recommendations on important prevailing issues would possibly be set up. The government newspaper, The Voice of Uganda, urged a nationwide discussion on these proposals. The paper said that Ugandans were being given an opportunity for "open discussion in the country and that can only be for our good".

Unfortunately nothing has been done to implement these reforms and the likelihood of a return to civilian government diminishes daily. Uganda today is a military state, whose entire system of law and government has been totally undermined.

To understand how fully this military regime has been responsible for causing a breakdown in the Rule of Law in Uganda, it is necessary to trace the actions of the government since it came to power after the coup of January 25, 1971.

In examining the political and legal structure which has contributed to the violation of human rights under the government of the Second Republic of Uganda, this part of the study will consider separately:

1. The Abolition of Parliamentary Government.
2. The Suspension of Political Activities.
3. Armed Forces Power of Arrest.
4. Detention.
5. Re-organization of the Security Forces.
6. Conditions in the Prisons.
7. Government response to Kondoism (robbery with violence).
8. Governmental immunity from criminal prosecution.
9. Functioning of the Judicial System.
10. Role of the Military Tribunal.
11. Denial of other Basic Rights.

1. Abolition of Parliamentary Government

On February 1, 1971, one week after the coup, General Amin issued his first Decree No. 1, providing for the establishment of a Defence Council "consisting of the Commander-in-Chief, who shall be the chairman, the army Chief of Staff, the Chief of the Air Staff, and such persons as the Commander-in-Chief may, by writing under his hand, appoint".

The Defence Council was appointed to help run the caretaker government, until elections could be held. Those elections have never been allowed and one source describes the Defence Council today as "the only effective decision-making body in Uganda, for Amin treats his cabinet ministers like civil servants and has, in fact, enrolled them in the army as 'officer cadets'. By way of paradox, the Defence Council in its resolutions sometimes appears to be merely rubber-stamping Amin's decisions, but on other occasions it appears to be directing him. Many a decision has been made on the advice of the Defence Council."

In the light of this it is ironical to recall that one of the eighteen points proclaimed to justify the coup reads "From the time Obote took over power in 1962, his greatest and most loyal supporter has been the army. The army has always tried to be an example to the whole of Africa but not taking over the government and we have always followed that principle. It is therefore now a shock to us to see that Obote wants to divide and downgrade the army by turning the cabinet office into another army".

In another action General Amin ordered in Decree No. 3 that as of February 4, 1971, Decrees would be "promulgated by the military head of state, head of the government and commander-in-chief of the armed forces". Further, "a reference in any written law to 'the President' shall be construed as a reference to the military head of state".

The effect of the February 2 Decree was the abolition of Parliament and the vesting of full legislative, executive and military powers in General Amin himself. In still another Decree, No. 2, all District Councils, Municipal Councils and Town Councils were dissolved and the offices of Secretary-General, Assistant Secretary-General, Mayor, and Deputy Mayor were terminated.

In explaining these actions, General Amin said: "My mission is to lead the country out of a bad situation of corruption, depression and slavery. After I rid the country of these vices I will then organize and supervise a general election of a genuinely democratic civilian government. And after that we will all go back to the barracks and take orders from any government that will be democratically elected by the people of Uganda as a whole".

On March 13, 1971, General Amin issued a Decree No. 5, changing his official designation from "military head of state" to "President". This new Decree also spelled out the duties and responsibilities of the ministers. At this time President Amin appointed a cabinet of ministers that consisted primarily of career civil servants, and included only three politicians.

In another Decree No. 8, President Amin formally handed over certain of the parliamentary powers to his new council of ministers.

2. Suspension of Political Activities

Ten days later, on March 23, 1971, the government took still another step to consolidate its power, when it issued Decree No. 14, The Suspension of Political Activities Decree. This suspended all political activities "as a temporary measure to allow the military government time to reconstruct the economy, reorganize the administration and restore public order and tranquility". It suspended all political parties, stipulating specifically that no person shall "organize or take part in any public meeting or procession organized for propagating or importing political ideals or information". It went on to declare that "any procession of three or more persons which in the opinion of an authorized officer is of a political nature shall be deemed to be an unlawful procession".

Further all political symbols and slogans were prohibited. The Decree goes to the extent of forbidding the utterances of political slogans or the names of political parties "whether by spoken words or in writing or in any other form whatsoever".

Any person convicted of violating any provision of this Decree is liable to up to eighteen months imprisonment.

In addition, the Decree placed very strict residence and travel restrictions on all former members of parliament, mayors, district councillors, and other public figures, requiring them to keep in close contact with the local district commissioners as to their whereabouts.

Finally it was stipulated that unless repealed earlier, the Decree shall "remain in force for a period of two years, and shall then expire". This section was deleted on March 17, 1973. The suspension of political activities is now a permanent part of the law of Uganda. President Amin impliedly recognised the unconstitutional nature of this Decree by simply declaring that "this Decree shall have effect notwithstanding anything contained in Articles 10, 17, 18 and 19 of the Constitution". These constitutional provisions guaranteed freedom from arbitrary arrest (Article 10), freedom of expression (Article 17), freedom of assembly and association (Article 18) and freedom of movement (Article 19). All have been overridden by the Suspension of Political Activities Decree.

The second Republic has, at least in theory, declared itself to be operating within the framework of the existing Constitution. In setting up the military government it was set out in legal notice No. 1 of 1971 that "Subject to this Proclamation the operation of the existing laws shall not be affected by the Proclamation but shall be construed with such modifications, qualifications and adaptations as are necessary to bring them into conformity with this Proclamation".

Thus, while accepting the Constitution in principle, the government simply modifies, over-rides or defies any constitutional safeguards that interfere with its current policies. The frequent official references to the Constitution, as in the Political Activities Decree, are seen to be little more than a legal formality.

3. Armed Forces Power of Arrest

In mid-March 1971, the government enacted the Armed Forces (Power of Arrest) Decree, (No. 13 of 1971), extending very broad powers of arrest to all the security forces. It stated that "a soldier or a prison officer may, without an order from a court and without a warrant, arrest any person whom he suspects on reasonable grounds of having committed or being about to commit any of the following offences: an offence against the person; an offence relating to property; or malicious injury to property".

The Decree goes on to give all members of the armed forces full powers to search any person or premises and seize any property.

Even at this very early stage in his administration, President Amin began to place almost total reliance on the military for maintaining law and order. The result has been the virtual undermining of civilian police and other non-military authorities, and a breakdown in the Rule of Law.

The Armed Forces Power of Arrest Decree was enacted for a 12-month period. While it was not extended in March 1972, a later Decree on October 4, 1972, (No.26) did so retroactively. Decree 26 states that it is "deemed to have come into force on the 18th day of March, 1972".

This retroactivity clause violates Article 11 (2) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as well as Article 15 (4) of the Ugandan Constitution which states that "No person shall be held to be guilty of a criminal offence on account of any act of omission that did not, at the time it took place, constitute such an offence, and no penalty shall be imposed for any criminal offence that is severer in degree or description than the maximum penalty that might have been imposed for that offence at the time when it was committed".

On August 24, 1973, President Amin repealed Decree 26, but substituted another in its place, Decree No. 19 of 1973, which limited these broad powers of arrest to the military police while in uniform.

The granting of these powers of arrest to the armed forces was the signal for unleashing a system of arbitrary repression by the army. As one former Ugandan minister writes "The ascent to power of General Amin and his undisciplined army ushered in a reign of terror worse than anything in recent African history. Internal repression became the rule of the day. Officers and men of the Ugandan Army and air force put themselves above the law. They can arrest and detain anyone as they wish. The words "Human Rights" have no meaning as far as they are concerned. The individual has no remedy for whatever suffering or indignity that may be caused to him by the mighty army. The police have been rendered powerless in dealing with ordinary cases of assault by members of the armed forces against civilians. In a nutshell, the army and air force are terrorist organisations for the purpose of terrorizing the civilian population".

4. Detention

One major factor that contributed to the reign of terror, was the expansion and tolerated abuses of the government's detention laws.

In the first several months after the coup, hundreds of detainees were picked up by the armed forces. Many of these were in the Acholi and Langi districts, where ex-President Obote had drawn his strongest support. At first these detentions were carried out without any legal basis or justification. It was not until March 13, 1971, two months after the coup that the government issued the Detention (Presumption of Time Limit) Decree No. 7, which authorised up to 6 months detention for those arrested during the coup. This Decree also authorised 6 months detention for members of the disbanded general service department which had been one of the major security forces under President Obote. In May the government issued an amended detention Decree No. 15 (detailed below), which expires "upon the repeal or expiry of the Suspension of Political Activities Decree".

The new law was applied retroactively to cover the period between March and May, as well as altering the standards for detention in the future.

When the new decree was announced on May 11, the Attorney General P.J. Nkambo-Mugerwa explained that it was necessitated by "certain die-hard supporters of the former President (who) have been engaged in training guerrillas and in other activities which endanger the security of the state and the lives of innocent persons".

The Decree allowed detention by armed forces or police officers, of any person who

- is conducting or has conducted himself in a manner dangerous to peace and good order, or
- is endeavouring or has endeavoured to excite enmity between the people of Uganda and the government; or
- is intriguing or has intrigued against the lawful authority of the government.

It also enabled the Minister of Internal Affairs to detain any person, if he is "personally satisfied" that such person has violated any of these stipulations.

Commenting on this Mr. Nkambo-Mugerwa said that in effect the Minister of Internal Affairs may detain any person whom he suspects or he believes to be engaged in subversive activities against the government and the people of Uganda.

The new law did provide a number of important safeguards, requiring for example that a person who is detained must be released within 14 days unless the Minister of Internal Affairs authorizes further detention. All authorized detentions had to be published in the Official Gazette. Moreover, the

government had to specify the grounds on which the detention is based in a detailed statement within thirty days of the detention order. The case would then be taken to a review committee appointed in consultation with the Chief Justice, which must hear the case within three months. The detainee was also to be afforded facilities to consult an advocate of his choice. Once a person was placed in detention, he would be allowed to appeal the order before the review committee at least once every three months.

The purpose of the detention law was to give the military authority to arrest and detain political suspects. This was its sole effect. The safeguards have been ignored. Not a single name has been published in the Official Gazette, and no review committee has ever set.

The mass arrests and killings in July 1971 (see below) were facilitated by this broad new detention policy, especially as it was applied against the Acholi and Langi tribes.

Preventive (or administrative) detention, as it has been practised in Uganda since 1971, is in direct contradiction to the first of the 18 reasons given for the coup in January 1971, which criticized the former government for allowing "the unwarranted detention without trial and for long periods, of a large number of people, many of whom are totally innocent of any charges".

Ironically, at the time of the coup there were only about 50 detainees in Uganda prisons. Yet, within several months, 700-800 people had been detained without trial by the new government. At a later stage, little or no use was made of the powers of detention. People on whom suspicion fell simply disappeared.

5. Reorganization of the Security Forces

There have been four principal organizations responsible for security matters in Uganda.

The first is the intelligence organization of the army, known as the Military Intelligence Unit, which has been responsible for many of the arrests and disappearances.

The second is the military police whose headquarters are at the notorious barracks at Makindye. The military police became involved in a series of brutal killings and torture, particularly at Makindye Prison.

The third group is President Amin's personal body guards, or escort unit know variously as "State Research", "Cabinet Research", or "The Research Unit".

One account by a person familiar with security practices describes the "Striker Unit", an offshoot of the "State Research Department", as follows:-

"The task of the striker unit is elimination. It is directly responsible to Amin. The pattern of operation is common and well documented. The vehicle normally used is a Peugeot or BMW; the technique is to drive

up to the house of office of the victim. He is arrested; his shoes are removed and those usually remain as a pathetic reminder; he is thrown into the boot of the car; he is driven off; he is unlikely to be seen again".

The fourth security group is the Public Safety Unit of the police which was formed in 1971 to deal with the growing problem of Kondoism, or armed robbery. Its headquarters are at the barracks at Naguru, three miles from the city centre. The leader of the Public Safety Unit was until April of 1974 Ali Towilli, a member of President Amin's Kakwa tribe.

One statement describes the Public Safety Unit's method of operating.

"A man was wanted. His particulars were obtained, e.g. place of work, or favourite bar, etc. Normally Towilli was not interested in a person's place of abode. When Towilli's men caught up with the persons they wanted, justice was administered and literally seen to be done there and then. They asked a few curt questions, meant only to establish and confirm that their victim was truly the intended victim. Once they had established the required identity, they simply drew their knives and stabbed the man to death, there and then, telling everyone present that their victim was a "kondo" (robber with violence)".

Apart from these more or less official security units, an unofficial unit operated under Lt.-Colonel Isaac Maliyamungu, a member of the Defence Council and Commanding officer of the Ordinance Depot at Magamaga, Jinja. His name has been linked with some of the worst cases of brutality. One person writes "Maliyamungu is a man who frightens even his colleagues on the Defence Council".

6. Conditions in the Prisons

One result of the increased power and authority of these security forces and the absence of any judicial control over arrested persons was a drastic deterioration in the conditions and treatment of prisoners. Especially horrifying are the accounts of Makindye Military Prison in Kampala where repeated allegations have been made of torture and inhuman cruelty by army personnel.

Though some of these accounts will be given in detail in Part III, two eye-witness accounts by British and American journalists may be mentioned at this stage to indicate the conditions which existed.

In late September 1972, the government detained 13 British, Swedish, American and Canadian journalists and sent them to Makindye. Arrested but never formally charged with any criminal offence, they were taken to the central police station. A British journalist, Christopher Munnion, has described the scene at the station where "Groups of startled whites, elderly couples, women with babies, youths in sports shirts and worried wives crowded into the charge office. Bewildered and nervous, they had been picked up as they strolled the Kampala streets or sat at curbside cafés. 'Every European found on the streets must be detained in a cell - President's orders', shouted a beefy police officer". On reaching Makindye "suddenly we were clubbed to the ground. Rifle butts hit the back of necks, clubs were rammed into backs and swagger sticks chopped at shoulders".

Munnion goes on to describe the three-day imprisonment at Makindye where frequent beatings were witnessed and stories of torture told by the other prisoners. He describes what he witnessed "in an adjoining compound /where/ the guards were enjoying themselves by making two half-caste teenagers perform athletic feats. The youngsters faltered and a soldier, spittle on lips, screamed abuse and brought his rifle butt smacking on their skulls. It was a sound we heard from within".

The Associated Press' Andrew Torchia, another journalist detained at Makindye, describes another incident which occurred just before the 13 were finally released. "Uganda soldiers pinned a man on the ground while a woman beat him with a rawhide whip - 10, 20, 50 times until he screamed and writhed and the blood ran. Thirty other soldiers - officers and men - shouldered around to watch. They laughed, enjoying the spectacle, and no one intervened. The beating went on for minutes - for ever, it seemed - before the crowd dispersed and the screaming stopped.

These and other accounts of torture and maltreatment indicate a repeated violation of basic human rights as expressed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Article 5), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (Article 10(1)), as well as in the Ugandan Constitution which states that "No person shall be subjected to torture or to inhuman or degrading punishment or other like treatment". (Article 12 (1)).

7. Government Response to Kondoism (Robbery with Violence)

The justification given for the Armed Forces Power of Arrest was the need to deal with Kondoism or violent robbery.

On May 8, 1972, President Amin signed the Robbery Suspects Decree, No. 7 of 1972, which states that:

"Where a security /i.e. armed forces or police/ officer has reason to believe that any person has or is about to commit the offence of robbery within the meaning of section 272 of the Penal Code and such person refuses or neglects to submit to arrest by any person or does any act calculated to evade arrest, then such security officer may use any force he may deem necessary to prevent the escape of such person".

The subjective test in the latter phrase was an invitation to the forces to kill indiscriminately anyone they suspected, and this was confirmed when President Amin announced that they would "shoot on sight" anyone they suspected of being a kondo (i.e. robber).

The decree also contained a clause which applied it retroactively to June 1, 1971; again in violation of the Ugandan constitution and accepted judicial norms.

Though it was ultimately repealed, one former Minister describes it as "one of the most sinister Decrees under which individuals suspected to be participating in political activities were also to be treated like Kondos (armed robbers). It is estimated that over 10,000 people were killed through this anti-Kondo operation".

The effect of this broad directive was to extend still further the already crucial problem of lawlessness by members of the armed forces.

8. Government Immunity from Criminal Prosecution

On May 8, 1972, President Amin signed a Decree (No. 8) further insulating the military from any legal sanctions. It reads:

"Notwithstanding any written or other law, no court shall make any decision, order or grant any remedy or relief in any proceedings against the government or any person acting under the authority of the government in respect of anything done or omitted to be done for the purpose of maintaining public order or public security in any part of Uganda, or for the defence of Uganda or for the enforcement of discipline or law and order or in respect or anything relating to, consequent upon or incidental to any of those purposes, during the period between the 24th day of January 1971, and such date as the President shall appoint".

The effect of this Decree, which is still in force, is to eliminate all legal means of controlling the actions of the armed forces. It absolves them from any legal responsibility for the arrests, murders, ill-treatment and despoliation. The armed forces are placed outside the law. In the most literal sense, the rule of law has been abandoned.

9. Functioning of the Judicial System

The effectiveness of the Judicial System has also been seriously undermined.

Perhaps nothing has been more damaging than the abduction from the High Court and disappearance of the country's Chief Justice, Benedicto Kiwanuka. A detailed account of this is given in Part III.

Mr Justice Kiwanuka had been a leading figure in Uganda since he helped to lead the struggle for independence in the late 1950's and early 1960's.

He was appointed Chief Justice by President Amin, and served the country as an outspoken and courageous jurist. He was particularly concerned with the protection of individual human rights.

One Ugandan later wrote that following his disappearance, the entire legal community "has been left to operate under great fear and difficulty. The Uganda Judiciary is no longer independent and judges and magistrates are very cautious about making legal rulings which may hurt the Government's interests. Justice itself in Uganda today is in danger.

"Lawyers in private practice are in similar difficulties because they can no longer conduct their defence as they plan or would have planned. A defence counsel could be in serious trouble, notably with the Public Safety Unit, (PSU), if he successfully defended an alleged criminal.

"To substantiate this, let me recall an incident relating to Mr Samson Ddungu, a former President of the Uganda Guide Post and a businessman. During the allocation of businesses left behind by expelled Asians, he had acquired a cinema together with an army man. This man later alleged that Ddungu had stolen 50,000 shillings from the business.

"Mr Ddungu was arrested by the PSU and taken to court for theft. He engaged the services of a Kampala lawyer, Mr Enos Ssebunnya, who defended him and secured his acquittal, whereupon Senior Superintendant Ali Towilli, then head of the PSU, and his men attempted to arrest Ddungu in the court. The magistrate warned that the acquitted man should not be arrested in the court.

"When his lawyer Ssebunnya left the court, he was arrested and taken to Naguru prison where, for some days he was interrogated as to why he had defended criminals. The advocate was badly tortured and beaten up. The Uganda Law Society protested strongly to the Attorney General. Eventually Mr Ssebunnya was released with serious bruises. Realising he would eventually be arrested and killed, he has since fled Uganda.

"Meanwhile, in Buganda Road court in the centre of Kampala, when Ddungu left the court, he was chased and fire was opened against him. He hid in the nearby YWCA hostel from where he was pulled and shot dead. When such things happen, many people who are taken to court these days prefer being sent to prison, even if they are found innocent. Otherwise they cannot survive. The magistrates are also cautious about acquitting men accused of serious crimes, even if the men are innocent".

Incidents such as this provoked the members of the Uganda Judiciary formally to accuse the armed forces of widespread interference with the legal process. In a memorandum to President Amin in February of 1973, they charged that "members of the Security Forces turn up in court and demand that someone be sent to jail, or that someone be prosecuted. Very often members of the Security Forces, when called to give evidence, fail to turn up and no explanations are given. At times when they do turn up they refuse to answer questions put to them.

One suggestion made by the group was that improvements be made in the educational system of the military to eliminate the "lack of adequate knowledge of the court system". The memorandum was given to President Amin, who agreed to take action to resolve these problems. To date, there has been little improvement. Moreover, the role of the judiciary, especially in criminal cases, is increasingly being usurped by the Military Tribunal.

10. Role of the Military Tribunal

The jurisdiction of the Military Tribunal, which previously existed to try offenders within the armed forces, was expanded on January 24, 1973, by Decree No. 3. This gave it power to try any person, civilian or soldier, accused of a capital offence. The tribunal's increased jurisdiction was in response, to some extent at least, to the emergence in late 1972 of a guerrilla organization calling itself FRONASA "The Front for National Salvation". This group was characterized by its leaders as "an organization dedicated to do away with fascism, misgovernment, religious bigotry and corruption, and to ensure peace, security, dignity and enlightened government for the people of Uganda through armed struggle and any other necessary means".

In fact, FRONASA was a small and poorly organized group that had little impact on the security or stability of Uganda, and never posed any serious threat to the government. It did, however, provide the occasion for this decree.

On January 24, 1973, President Amin commented:

"If anybody involves himself in subversive activities whether he is a Minister or not, he can be arrested and put before the Military Tribunal and can be executed. We are responsible for the lives and property of all people in Uganda. We cannot allow anybody to bring confusion because that would bring sufferings to innocent people".

In another statement, President Amin noted that "the Military Tribunal takes a very short time to try anybody and bases its judgement on truth only". He also charged that "the guerrillas have caused a lot of confusion throughout the country and are the basic elements of rumour-mongering. The guerrillas are now kidnapping very important people, so that they can lower the morale of the people ... All such activities are engineered by the agents of the imperialists who do not want to see any advancement in the country".

The constant disappearances of people from all walks of life have frequently been attributed by the authorities in Uganda to the activities of guerrillas, but proof of the assertion is still awaited.

As the effect of this extended jurisdiction of the Military Tribunal, a former Ugandan minister writes that

"The setting up of military tribunals to try offences known to the Uganda penal code, with powers to pronounce sentence of death has eroded the powers and prestige of the ordinary courts of law almost to extinction. The accused is not permitted to be represented by counsel of his own choice, indeed he is not represented by anyone, because, in the eyes of the regime, lawyers are a nuisance that will not be tolerated. The taking of evidence by the tribunals is an abominable abuse of legal procedure and a denial of justice that ought to be condemned in the strongest possible terms. Several people have been executed by firing squads on false evidence. The

presiding officers of their tribunals do not possess even an elementary knowledge of the law, their only qualification is that they are trusted friends of President Amin and can be relied upon to convict whoever is unfortunate to be taken before them".

One source describes the activities of the Tribunal.

"At its first sitting on January 23 the Tribunal sentenced five men to be executed by a firing squad. Four of them, including a former army captain and a former district commissioner, had been captured on the previous day during the storming by troops of a guerrilla training camp in the Busoga district of South-East Uganda, while the fifth, a former policeman, had been arrested for illegally possessing firearms. According to the official account of the trial, one of the accused was said to have made 'curious entries' in his diary, which he could not explain, and another was alleged to have hidden several shotguns and a pistol in his girl friend's house".

The next day (January 24), the Tribunal convicted two men of "engaging in guerrilla activities", and sentenced them to be publicly executed. One of these men had stated that he was a student and had no connection with the guerrillas, but he was found guilty by the Tribunal because he was staying in a house where firearms were discovered and had been arrested at the scene of an alleged guerrilla attack on the military police at Mbale on January 22, 1973. The second man had been arrested after authorities learned that he planned to rob a house, but he was also charged and convicted because he had illegally worn a Uganda Army uniform.

In passing sentence on the two alleged guerrillas, the President of the Tribunal, Lt.-Col. Ozo stated that "such people are the ones who go around killing people and putting the blame on the government and the army".

On February 4 five more men were convicted and sentenced to death; Daudi Kagoro, age 20 had been arrested in the Northern Ugandan town of Gulu; John Labeche and Amos Obwona, arrested in the same area three days earlier in possession of Soviet-made rifles and ammunition; Abowoli Malibo, arrested in Kampala during the previous week; and James Karuhanga age 24, a mathematics teacher arrested on February 3. According to one source "Mr Malibo was said to have confessed that he had been sent from Tanzania to assassinate the acting Army Commander, Colonel Francis Nyangwego, and a number of Cabinet Ministers, while Mr Karuhanga was arrested after troops searching his house in Kampala had been fired on by guerrillas".

The Defence Council announced on February 7 that these 12 men would be executed by firing squads on February 10 at their respective district headquarters.

In a statement issued by a military spokesman, the government charged that killings had been undertaken by "guerrillas because they know that this can be one of the ways in which the people of Uganda can turn against the government". The statement concluded that "the execution by firing squad that has been carried out today is a real lesson to the people of Uganda to know that involvement in guerrilla activities means loss of life".

The executions have continued as the military tribunal convicts more "guerrillas". In June 1973 more than 10,000 people were reported to have assembled at Tororo, 200 miles from Kampala, to watch the execution of Staff Sergeant Arukanjeru-Baru, who had been found guilty of murdering a Kenyan air force pilot. Sergeant Baru was the first soldier executed in Uganda since President Amin came to power in January 1971.

In June, the Trial by Military Tribunal Decree, No. 12, gave the military Tribunal further responsibilities in dealing with conventional criminal cases and, in another new procedure, required that any appeal from a tribunal be heard by the Ugandan Defence Council with General Amin as the final arbiter. It further provides that "where the President is satisfied that the acts of a person other than a member of the armed forces ... were calculated to intimidate or alarm members of the public or to bring the military under contempt or disrepute, he may, by writing under his hand, order that such person shall be tried by a military Tribunal".

11. Denial of other Basic Rights

Since January 1971 the Ugandan government has issued numerous Decrees and Statutory Instruments further restricting basic human rights. One Decree, No. 35 of 1972, signed on December 16, 1972, allows the government "to prohibit the publication of any newspaper for a specified or indefinite period" if "it is in the public interest to do so".

In October 1972 the government issued an order banning the National Union of Students of Uganda (Statutory Instrument 153 of 1972) on the grounds that it was "dangerous to peace and order in Uganda".

In June 1973 the government banned a number of religious organizations on similar grounds (Statutory Instrument No. 63 of 1973). Included in this order were the United Pentecostal Churches, the Elim-Pentecostal Evangelistic Fellowship of Uganda, the Pentecostal Assemblies of God, the Uganda Church of Christ, the Campus Crusade for Christ, the International Bible Students Association, the Uganda East Africa Yearly Meeting (Quakers), the Child Evangelism Fellowship of Uganda, the Emmaus Bible School and Jehovah's Witnesses.

In many instances the government's actions are without any legal basis or justification. As one former Minister writes:-

"In Uganda, freedom of conscience, assembly, association and movement are a dead letter, all in-coming and out-going mail is censored and letters unashamedly are stamped with a stamp of the office of the President distinctly showing that they were examined and passed. In the event of their not being passed, they do not reach their intended destinations. All of this is being done outside the law, no decree has been published permitting the opening of mail by officials of the office of the President."

Another prominent Ugandan describes the situation as follows:-

"Arrests without warrant or charge, detention without trial, confiscation of property of Ugandan Africans, beatings which follow every arrest as night follows day, and sometimes result in death are the pattern of life in Uganda today. An ordinary worker, professional or businessman leaves his home in the morning to go to work without being sure that he will return home. The whole country is engulfed in fear. A knock on the door may spell the end of the householder. The poor peasants in the villages who are mere caricatures and no threat at all to the regime continue being bundled off in army jeeps or boots of saloon cars and taken to be slaughtered like cattle".

As this statement indicates, the total disregard for law and order in Uganda has resulted in a reign of terror to which this report now turns.

PART III - THE REIGN OF TERROR

The Uganda constitution, as drafted and ratified by the Uganda National Assembly on 8 Sept. 1967, states

"No person shall be deprived of his life intentionally save in execution of the sentence of a court in respect of a criminal offense under the law of Uganda of which he has been convicted".

Article 9 (1)

"No person shall be subjected to torture or to inhuman or degrading punishment or other like treatment".

Article 12 (1)

While these constitutional provisions still operate in theory, little respect is paid to them in practice. As one former Ugandan Minister writes

"The greatest fundamental human right of the individual, namely, the right to life, has been violated on numerous occasions. Human life today is of no value to the men in power".

To understand the intensity of the crisis in Uganda it is necessary to examine closely the level of violence that has existed in the country during these past 40 months.

The following chronological account is based on confidential statements and reports by many Ugandans and others, including several statements by former ministers in President Amin's own government.

As stated in the Preface, every source has demanded strict confidentiality, fearing reprisals against family and friends. This itself indicates how serious the breakdown in the rule of law has become.

Most of the specific cases mentioned relate to persons well-known in some aspect of Ugandan public life, for it is mainly in such cases that detailed information is available. It must be stressed, however, that this gives a distorted picture, since the victims of this lawless repression are drawn from all walks of life and from all parts of the country.

(1) THE AFTERMATH OF THE COUP : THE FIRST FIVE MONTHS

The day after President Amin came to power he emphasized in his first press conference that the only casualty of the coup was one wounded soldier.

However it soon became apparent that people were already being killed as a result of the coup. On the very day of this press conference the army chief of staff, Brigadier Suleiman Hussein and a battalion Commander, Lieutenant Colonel Oyok were killed at the main prison at Luzira near Kampala. At least nine other army and air force officers of the rank of Lt. Colonel or above were killed during the first days, as well as a number of other officers of lower rank (see Section 10 below). In addition, many army officers and civilian officials of the Obote government were arrested and detained. At one prison alone at Murchison Bay, it is estimated that approximately 550 people were imprisoned.

Despite these early incidents, General Amin pledged himself to follow the 18 points, which had been the basis for the coup, the last of which stated: "We all want only unity in Uganda and we do not want bloodshed. Everybody in Uganda knows that".

In the first months of the new government, a pattern of random and continued violence began to emerge. One of the first groups to be affected were the police. By one account, at the end of February, barely one month after the coup, there were nine police killed, five injured, four missing, eight in detention and thirteen had run away.

There also began a series of mass killings in the armed forces, aimed primarily at the soldiers of the Acholi and Langi tribes. These were tribes from which the former President, Dr. Obote, had drawn much of his support. On March 5, thirty-two Langi and Acholi army officers were moved from Luzira to Makindye military prison. Some were probably killed when they arrived. One report states that several were shot to death in Makindye's "Singapore Room". This prison has two large rooms where there have been frequent reports of torture and killing. The rooms are called Singapore and Dar es Salaam, in reference to the fact that former President Obote was overthrown while attending a conference in Singapore and subsequently resided in Dar es Salaam.

On 5 March, the survivors of the 32 officers were moved to Malire Barracks where, on 8 March, there was a terrific explosion which was heard throughout Kampala. Radio Uganda reported the explosion and announced:

"A spokesman for the President's office informs the public that there should be no cause for alarm as a result of the explosion which was heard around Kampala near Lubiri between 5.00 pm and 6.00 pm this evening. The explanation for the explosion is that the army was destroying a damaged bomb. The spokesman informs the public that there are still a few more damaged bombs to be destroyed. Should the public hear such explosions from tomorrow they should not panic unduly. This explanation is to counteract some of the rumours which might have already been spread as a result of that explosion".

The government's explanation is challenged by several sources who charge that the Acholi and Langi army officers were thrown into a small room and intentionally killed by the military police by the detonation of explosives.

Nothing could show more clearly the state of fear which resulted from these and others killings and disappearances than the following minute addressed to one of the Ministers in the government on behalf of a number of senior officials:-

"Minister,

1. It was agreed by the meeting of senior officers to consider the policy of your Ministry at 1000 hours today in accordance with your directive, that I should minute to you separately on the following issues.
2. The problem is one of fear amongst public officers and others and the difficulty of providing guidance to those who ask for it; and of making a useful contribution in the matter of maintaining stability, morale, and confidence.
3. Each of the senior officers was and had been subjected to complaints, petitions and enquiries of the following kind:
 - (a) Enquiries for missing relatives who could not be traced at any known place of detention.
 - (b) Petitions from men who were afraid to go back to their homes or their normal place of work because they feared victimization and apparently have some grounds for fearing it.
 - (c) Enquiries as to the proper channel of communication to obtain guidance on these two issues and on how to deal with unusual circumstances, e.g. when men alleging to be army officers or men wanted to take over funds or equipment or to arrest personnel without any apparent legal backing or other authority.
4. There was no doubt that the continuance of this kind of situation adversely affected morale amongst public officers and it was spreading to members of the public.
5. It adversely affected discipline and control because senior officers were either powerless or as much in the dark as those who were petitioning them. Morale was also affected because the senior staff were not able to provide the protection which their subordinates were entitled to expect.
6. The meeting recommended for your consideration that a system be set up as quickly as possible so that all affected staff knew the place to which such enquiries should be sent. This might be a system set up under the Ministry of Internal Affairs but some doubt was expressed as to whether police morale was now sufficiently high for that organization to be able to do anything effective in the majority of cases.
7. It was agreed that it was not appropriate to have to go to the Head of State every time, e.g. a relative went missing. On the other hand at the moment there seemed no other way which offered reasonable certainty of finding at least where such a relative was".

Many of those responsible for this letter were subsequently dismissed, killed or disappeared.

Another reaction in the civil service was a cabinet memorandum, written by senior civil servants suggesting the creation of a procedure for relatives to make inquiries as to missing people. The memorandum also suggested that a single military unit be set up to investigate alleged offences and take the necessary action to expedite the release of those unlawfully detained. The memorandum was blocked, and never formally reached the cabinet but it did prompt this reply from President Amin.

"His Excellency the President, has stated categorically a number of times that he is not in a position yet to state how many people have lost their lives ... he is not able to know how many people have crossed into Tanzania ... while it is possible therefore to provide a list of the persons now in detention, it is going to be very difficult to provide the figures and the names of the persons who have lost their lives ... The persons categorized as "missing" will for some time present a problem to the relatives and others concerned."

The killing began to spread to very segment of the society. In late April Dr. Vincent Pim Emiru, a professor of ophthalmology at Makerere Medical School and practising doctor at Kampala's Mulago hospital was arrested by army troops at midnight. A government explanation of his disappearance, in January 1973 said only that he was "seen immediately after Military takeover of government in the company of Lt. Col. Oyite-Oyok /a close associate of ex-president Obote/ and has since not been seen". According to one source, he was sent to Makindye Military Prison where he was held for a long period until he was finally killed there.

Troops also surrounded the home of Dr. George W. Ebine, a consultant gynaecologist at Mulago hospital. Using infantry, armed troop carriers and armoured cars, they destroyed his house by shelling. The soldiers were apparently looking for Lt.Col. Ogwal (a Lango officer loyal to ex-President Obote) who was killed in the shelling.

Shortly afterwards Dr. Ebine was seized while performing an operation in Mulago Hospital. He was arrested by soldiers, taken away, compelled to write and sign a statement, and immediately thereafter murdered.

Among others killed in early 1971 are Colonel Ekiring, an Iteso officer, Albert Masurubu, the State House chief driver, and Ahmed Oduka, the director of music to the Uganda police and an assistant superintendent of police. An official government explanation of Ahmed Oduka's disappearance suggests that he "ran to Mombasa immediately after the military takeover and has since not returned." Several sources dispute this account asserting that he was killed by members of the Uganda army. The most detailed account given of his death is as follows:-

"It is known that when Oduke was safely away in Mombasa, he had phoned Amin to explain his absence from Uganda, where he feared he might be killed to silence him. Amin had assured him that he was safe, urging him to return.

It was then that Oduka did return. When his presence was known, he was detained ... and taken to Makindye there to be bludgened by Amin's savage assassination squad within minutes of his arrival.

"Pressed, Amin later admitted his death, but tried, though unsuccessfully as far as Ugandans are concerned, to explain it away by saying that Oduka had died of fright when he saw soldiers point guns at him."

There has been no further official explanation of his disappearance.

Another incident occurred at the Kilembe copper mines where the President of the Uganda Mineworkers Union, Mr. Rwamashonge complained personally to President Amin about labor conditions there. Immediately following the President's visit, Rwamashonge was shot and killed, and his body thrown into the River Nyamwamba near the mine.

In another incident during this period a British journalist, Brian Tetley, and his photographer were attacked by a soldier at a roadblock near Jinja. Tetley described the attack where the soldier "knocked us out of the car with a rifle, struck the photographer several times in the chest with the butt and barrel, and whipped me on the legs and arms. His comrades restrained him when he threatened to shoot us."

It became clear to many people that no one was safe against such attacks. Thus during these early months of 1971 an unknown number attempted to seek refuge in neighboring countries. A large number were apprehended and killed while trying to flee from Uganda into the Sudan, though the number is impossible to determine.

Much of the early killing was done in the military prisons. Several incidents were witnessed by Joshua Wakholi, a former Minister of Public Service and Cabinet Affairs, who was arrested and detained in March at Makindye Military Prison*. While there Wakholi witnessed the murder of 37 army officers in an adjoining cell, a scene which he later described as follows:-

"The prisoners started shouting and wailing and then the cell door was thrown open and we saw three or four soldiers move into it. They started shooting and when they stopped after a couple of minutes there was no sound except for the groans and screams of the wounded. Then they started dragging the bodies out and those who were still alive were killed with pangas (an African long knife like a machete) or shot. They did not seem to be able to kill one officer whom we thought was a military chaplain. He kept groaning and they kept shooting and slashing him. The bodies were loaded into an armoured personnel carrier and as they drove away we could hear the man still shouting Halleluyah".

* Wakholi was later released and went abroad. He took part in the September 1972 invasion, was captured and killed (see Section 7 below)

"The next morning, that was Saturday the sixth of March, about six every one of us was handed either scrubbing brushes or a pail for carrying water and were told to go inside the house where these people were killed. When we entered the house the place was full of worms and old blood. In fact I think the dried blood that was on the floor was almost a quarter of an inch thick, and the whole place was full of pieces of skull bones, teeth, brain tissue and many other pieces of flesh from human beings."

Wakholi's account was later corroborated by Lt. Silver Tibihika who was also an inmate in Makindye that night.

Another account of the killings in Makindye is given by a man who spent 11 days in detention there in February.

"The first night I was there they killed forty soldiers in "Singapore" cell. They were a mixed group of Acholi and Langi officers and other Ranks. Two armoured personnel carriers arrived from the Malire mechanised regiment after dark. The military police in charge of the prison had been told not to let any soldiers in but they were frightened. The soldiers went into "Singapore" and bayoneted the prisoners. Then they calmly drove away. Those who were not dead were taken to Luzira for treatment and the bodies (of the dead) were loaded into three-ton trucks and taken away."

Despite these and other incidents of violence the first five months ended with the people of Uganda still hopeful that President Amin's government would begin to return the country to civilian control and to a pattern of increased stability.

Though perhaps several hundred people had been killed in the first five months, the general public was not aware of the numbers, and tended to accept a certain level of violence as an inevitable consequence of the coup. However their hopes for the future were shattered in July when a series of mass killings began, particularly within the armed forces, directed primarily against the Acholi and Langi tribes.

(2) MASSACRES IN THE ARMY IN JULY 1971

In mid-1971 there began a series of clashes within the army, culminating in mass killings at several army barracks in July.

Much of the problem was tribal in nature, with the Acholi and Langi tribes the principle targets. These two tribes had provided the central basis of President Obote's support and were still a large and important segment of the security forces.

The government later explained that the killings in June and July were incited by upheavals in the army engineered by Langi and Acholi dissidents who were in turn properly suppressed by loyal government troops, under the direction of army chief of staff Charles Arube.

One of President Amin's former ministers disputes this, stating that "in the first year of power Amir concentrated on systematically wiping out the Acholi and Langi in the army, the paramilitary unit (1) and the intelligence service. The Acholi and Langi constituted the majority in the security forces. In addition, as many able-bodied Langi and Acholi as Amin and his henchmen could find in the country were massacred."

According to Lady Judith Listowel (2) "the series of bloody events started when an Acholi sergeant, fearing that a group of mainly Kakwa recruits were going to kill him, mowed them all down with a light machine-gun". While this may have triggered off what followed, it is clear that a deliberate effort was subsequently made to isolate and kill the Acholi and Langi members of the security forces.

These killings came to a head about the time that President Amin left for Israel and Great Britain On July 11. The following is a chronicle of some of the incidents that took place during that period.

At Mbarara barracks an alarm was sounded. The officers and men assembled without their weapons. The Langi and Acholi were separated from the rest and were hacked to death or shot. One semi-official report places the estimate of deaths at 167; another reports as many as 258 killed.

On July 9, at Moroto barracks twenty new recruits were lined up and killed. The following day up to 100 Acholi were killed. An official explanation by the Acting President suggested only that the killings resulted from the actions of a Lango Lance-Corporal who had gone mad.

At Jinja barracks there was fighting from July 10-14. Here the violence spread to the local villages. A majority of the 300 Acholi are believed to have been killed or disappeared. Any children living in the villages such as Rubaga in Jinja, were also killed. Many of the bodies were simply thrown into the Nile.

One survivor later described the situation at Jinja where Acholi and Langi soldiers were imprisoned in one small building. They were separated from other prisoners and between July 11 and 14 forced to defend themselves with two machine guns against the constant attacks by government guards. While 17 eventually managed to escape, all the others were killed during the four days of fighting.

At Magamaga ordinance depot the Langi and Acholi were also separated, and according to one source 50 were killed.

Other similar incidents occurred on a smaller scale at various places throughout the country. Among them were Masindi barracks, Soroti and Kityum.

(1) This refers to the police Special Force Units, armed units for dealing with riots or other unusual threats to security.

(2) Listowel, Judith, Amin, I.U.P. Books, Dublin, 1973

While concentrating on the Acholi and Langi in the army, the July killing also took a tremendous toll on the police. The effect here was twofold; isolating and eliminating the Acholi and Langi Police Officers; and at the same time further destroying the effectiveness of the well-trained and disciplined police force which stood as a major check upon the army's otherwise arbitrary power.

The army's attacks on the police had begun almost immediately after the coup. On March 9, a regional police commander, one of the force's ten most senior officers, had been detained and beaten up by troops. Similar incidents had continued until July and the government had made some preliminary efforts to absorb the 1000 man police special forces into the army, 400 of whom were Acholi.

In July, the army effort against the Langi and Acholi police intensified. At Masindi, the Langi officer-in-charge was shot. On July 15 a directive was issued ordering the police special force units to disband, hand over their arms to the army, and report for duty at the nearest army post. Later that day, an assistant superintendent was murdered on one of the main highways of Kampala.

A contemporary account of the July 15 directive describes the purpose of this operation as follows:-

"The way in which this is being done is a cover for splitting the special forces so that Acholi and Langi in the special forces can be killed in army camps in relatively small numbers, and more conveniently."

In London, President Amin suggested that Chinese experts from Tanzania were partially responsible for the wave of attacks and violence in Uganda. He said that Chinese were known to have taken part in the attacks at Jinja, Magamaga, and Moroto. These border attacks, he said, had already cost the lives of about 1000 soldiers. To date, the charge that Chinese guerrillas were operating in Uganda has not been substantiated. The body of one alleged such guerrilla turned out not to be of Chinese origin.

In Uganda, the Acting President explained in an interview on July 15 that by the time the army headquarters was able to intervene in any of the incidents at these various army outposts, it was always too late. He concluded that the situation was in fact out of control with the different tribal groups at each others throats.

In 1973, former President Obote, in a letter to heads of state of the Organization of African Unity, charged that the killings of thousands of Acholi and Langi soldiers and civilians in 1971 amounted to genocide.

(3) THE MURDER OF STROH AND SIEDLE

Another well-publicized incident during this period occurred at Mbarara barracks where numerous reports of continuous killing and torture had received considerable attention in Uganda. In early July two Americans, Nicholas Stroh, a free-lance journalist working for the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, and Robert Siedle, a sociology lecturer at Makerere University, went to investigate reports that as many as 200 Acholi and Langi soldiers had been killed at Mbarara. The two Americans were killed several days later by members of the Uganda Army's Simba battalion.

After nine months, as a result of a concerted effort by the U.S. Government on behalf of the families of the two men, an official inquiry into their disappearance was undertaken. The Commission of Inquiry was headed by a Uganda High Court judge, David Jeffreys Jones.

Despite numerous obstacles, which will be examined later, the commission's investigation managed to piece together the circumstances of their killings. An affidavit by one Uganda army officer who was stationed at Mbarara, Lt. Silver Tibihika, was accepted as truthful and accurate. It gives a detailed account of the events that surrounded the killing, and is quoted here in its entirety.

"Affidavit:

I, Silver Tibihika make this oath and says

1. In July, 1971, I was a Lieutenant of the Simba Battalion of the Uganda Army stationed at Mbarara. The commanding officer was Lt.-Col. Alli and the second in command was Major Juma.
2. On the 8th of July, 1971, I was outside the Battalion Orderly Room with Lt. Taban the then Intelligence Officer in the Mbarara Barracks and saw a fairly heavily built white man with a slight beard come to the office block. He enquired for the Adjutant. The Adjutant later told me and others present that the man was a journalist who wanted to interview the Commanding Officer. The Commanding Officer was not in the barracks. It was then about 10.00 a.m.
3. On the same day I had lunch at the Agip Motel in Mbarara. I sat with Captain Mukasa. At another table sat some Ministers and at another sat the journalist. I noticed a priest there whose name I did not know. Mr. and Mrs Hoyle who manage the Motel know me well. The journalist left before I had finished my lunch.
4. On the next day, that is the 9th of July, the journalist came again to the barracks, I think at about 9 o'clock in the morning. I saw him drive in and stop at the Quarter Guard. I was at the Quartermaster's building nearby. About 15 minutes later I saw the car still there but did not see the journalist. About lunch time I saw him with his clothes covered in mud being forced by two Military Policemen to run with his hands above his head towards the Orderly Room. He went into Major Juma's office.

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11. The following evening we collected the burned car on a three-ton military lorry, breaking off the engine and gear box. I was then with Lt. Taban and R.S.M. Stephen in my car. There were twenty recruits in the lorry. We took the parts of the car to the barracks and it was kept under guard at the M.T. yard for the night. The lorry canopy was closed. Lt.-Col. Alli came and looked at the car.
12. At 8 o'clock next night the same twenty recruits with the lorry and myself in my car leading the way, drove through Fort Portal to a place about 26 miles along the road to Bundibugyo. I know this road well from the time when I was an intelligence officer. The lorry stopped and the parts of the car were pushed over the bank of a steep valley with dense forest. The recruits had to go a short distance down the slope because the body of the car became stopped by a tree and had to be pushed again further down the valley.
13. We returned to Fort Portal after turning at the M.O.W. camp. It was then daylight and I was afraid the troops of the unit stationed there might regard us as enemies, so I decided to report to the Commanding Officer. I did so at the former Omukama's palace. I reported to the Adjutant who called the Commanding Officer from his quarters. I told him what I had done. He knew me by name. He was Lt.-Col. Toloko who I believe is now in Tororo. He did not believe my story, so I asked him to telephone Lt.-Col. Alli. He did so and afterwards the recruits were given breakfast at the new barracks on the road to the airfield. The Lt.-Col. took me to these barracks and showed me round the barracks which were then being put up. Also with us was the second in Command, Major Juma Doka, who I believe is now at Tororo. At lunch time we had drinks in the Officers' Mess at Fort Portal and among those present were Captain Ruchogoza, Captain Pangalacio, 2nd Lt. Kashunku, the Adjutant, Lt. Eroute and a 2nd Lt. whose name I do not know but who is now, I believe Adjutant at Fort Portal.
14. After lunch I returned to Mbarara accompanied by the lorry and recruits. I reported to Lt.-Col. Alli who gave the recruits four days off duty.
15. In respect of the use of my car on these operations I made claims for mileage allowance from the Command Pay Office.

S. Tibihika, Lt.

Sworn at Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, this 18th day of April, 1972, before me. R.C. Gandhi, P.O. Box 176, Dar es Salaam."

In his concluding comments Judge Jones writes:

"There was positive evidence disclosed in Lt. Silver Tibihika's affidavit which I have accepted as true, that they are dead. ... From paragraph 9 and 10 of the affidavit, it is obvious that the two Americans died an unnatural death. They were in fact murdered by personnel of the Simba Battalion of the Uganda Armed Forces".

Judge Jones concluded that "His Excellency the President has publicly stated that anyone responsible, whether highly placed or not, would be brought to the bar of justice. I am sure he will honor his promise."

The official response stated:

"The government accepts the findings of the Commissioner that Mr. Nicholas Stroh and Mr. Robert Siedle went to Mbarara on the 7th July, 1971 and that they did not leave Mbarara alive, having met their deaths somewhere in Mbarara on or about the 9th day of July, 1971 at the hands of unidentified persons. The government further accepts that Lieutenant Tibihika may have more to do with the deaths than he cared to divulge (Paragraph 122, 131 and 142)."

In 1973 the government finally admitted responsibility for the killings and paid compensation to the relatives of the two men in the United States. Yet, to date, no action has been taken nor further investigation made into the evidence uncovered by Judge Jones' inquiry.

Difficulties encountered by the Jones Inquiry

Jones Inquiry is perhaps the most extensive official investigation of violence in Uganda in the past three years. The problems it encountered, as later described in Judge Jones' detailed report, are illustrative of some of the difficulties that plague the judicial process and make serious criminal investigation virtually impossible in Uganda.

To begin with, the commission received little support from the police force which now finds itself subordinated to the military. Commenting on this, Judge Jones wrote "It was no surprise when one of them / the police officers / admitted that the police had made no inquiries. There seemed to have been a sinister pall of fear enveloping most of these civilian and police witnesses."

As to the military witnesses, Judge Jones stated "The commission ran into some serious difficulties when dealing with these. Some were administrative troubles, some were due to the personalities of the witnesses." He explained that some difficulties developed when summons were required to be sent through the military rather than the police. "The frustration became almost intolerable, and the impatience and annoyance with the tribunal by the army became a sore point with the military personnel. It was becoming apparent that the army considered themselves to be above the law."

In mid-April, Mr. Justice Jones went to Fort Portal as part of the investigation into the killing. This was, in fact, to obtain confirmation of information contained in Lt. Tibihika's affidavit concerning the disposal of the car of the two missing Americans. This trip was publicly criticized by President Amin who claimed that the Judge was not keeping the government informed of his activities, thus conducting the inquiry in secrecy. In reply to this, Judge Jones wrote "As a matter of fact, no mission could have been less secret, and from the word 'go' the Minister of Justice and the President's own office knew about the journey, if not the reason for it".

In May, the commission became aware of the important evidence which Lt. Silver Tibihika could give. Because Lt. Tibihika was in Tanzania, and afraid to come back to Uganda, the commission sought to obtain permission to hear his evidence on commission in Tanzania. Before the application was even submitted, an article appeared in the Uganda Argus quoting a statement by an unidentified government spokesman. The statement reads:

"All High Court judges appointed by the President have the power according to the law to preside and hear cases within Uganda and judges of the High Court of Uganda have no jurisdiction to hear cases outside Uganda. This statement is issued for the information of all the judges in Uganda and must be adhered to."

Commenting upon this, Judge Jones wrote: "It was a further example of a disturbing feature of the government's attitude to this inquiry, i.e. of sending notices and orders to the judiciary via the press." As a legal issue, the government statement was inaccurate in that Judge Jones wanted to take the evidence in his role as Commissioner of the Inquiry and not as a High Court judge.

He observes in his report that "these periodic incursions into the press could well have been taken as an interference with something which was 'sub-judice' - almost directives. It is something I had never experienced before, and I hope never again. To say that it made my task extremely difficult, if not impossible, would be an understatement." Shortly thereafter, the Minister of Justice directed Mr. Justice Jones to complete the inquiry within ten days.

A subsequent government statement on the inquiry explained this action:

"As has been observed earlier, there was an urgency about the commission which it is felt was not appreciated by the commissioner. The government therefore felt it imperative to impose a time limit. Such limits are not inappropriate or unusual in commissions of inquiry. With hindsight, the government now regrets that such a limit was not imposed when the commission was first set up, having regard to the urgency of the inquiry."

Judge Jones concluded that "I was set a difficult task and had very little or no cooperation. In spite of his excellency the President's directions, about the production of all books asked for, I got none except a guard roll. The whole thing is unbelievable." He concludes by saying "I lay down the heavy burden with relief. Never has any Inquiry been beset with such obstruction and confrontation as this."

The obstruction was so great that Judge Jones resigned from the High Court and secretly left Uganda, fearing for his safety. The report was ultimately sent to the government by post.

A government white paper, issued shortly thereafter, attacked Judge Jones for his prejudicial attitude in handling the inquiry. The white paper concluded that "The government finds little necessity to add that in Uganda the independence of the judiciary is not only protected by the Constitution but is a matter of fact. No person who cares to study the day to day affairs of the country since January 1971 will find a single instance of interference by the executive in the workings of the judiciary."

(4) AUGUST-DECEMBER 1971

The killings continued throughout the second half of 1971. In August one victim was Martin Okello, a former member of parliament.

In September Michael Kaggwa was found burned to death in his car. Mr Kaggwa was the Chief Registrar of the High Court and then the President of the Industrial Court.

An official government statement later explained that

"Following the discovery of his body in the burnt car, the Government offered a reward to 50,000 shillings to anyone who might have any useful information for the police regarding the death of Mr Kaggwa but so far no information has been received indicating as to who killed Mr Kaggwa or who burnt out his car and the reward of 50,000 still stands".

This, like many similar statements, disclaim any responsibility on the part of the authorities. Other information suggests that the police investigation was in fact blocked by the army.

In early November, Mathias Omuge, formerly of Uganda T.V. was called out of a meeting by several unidentified men. He was driven off in a Peugeot and is reported to have been killed the same day at Makindye. The official explanation of his disappearance is that he was "reported to have been arrested by unknown persons. Investigations have revealed no trace of him". Several sources reject this explanation, stating that Mr Omuge was in fact arrested by Uganda Army troops and subsequently killed.

In another incident, the commercial manager of Uganda Television, Mr James Bwogi was also killed during this period.

(5) THE MASSACRE AT MUTUKULA- JANUARY 1972

By December, 1971 there remained a large number of detainees under civilian custody at Luzira prison (formerly Murchison Bay Prison) near Kampala. Police investigations indicated that there was no kind of evidence against over 500 of these men. After rejecting recommendations that they should be released and that their continued detention was illegal under the government's own decrees, President Amin ordered them to be moved into army custody in Mutukula prison on the Tanzanian border, under the then Major Marella.

Included in this group were some high-ranking police officers and about 80 members of the General Service Department. The remainder were Acholi and Langi soldiers. They represented the last major contingent from these two tribes to survive the first year of the second Republic.

Among the police officers transferred to Mutukula were Mr Mohammed Hassan, the head of the C.I.D., and his deputies Festus Wawuyo and Ocungi. Hassan and Wawuyo had headed the year-long investigation into the killing of Brigadier Okoya in 1970, which ultimately uncovered evidence at least indirectly implicating General Amin. Hassan had been imprisoned several weeks after the coup "purely for his own safety" according to President Amin.

The transfer from Luzira to Kutukula took place on December 28.

David Martin later interviewed 19 of the 23 army prisoners who managed to escape from Mutukula into Tanzania, and the interviews were recorded on tape. From his records and others is drawn the following account.

One of the survivors has described the transfer to Kutukulu from Luzira prison. An officer at Luzira "told us 'Today you are leaving this place.' He did not tell us where we were going but we thought that we were going to be released, though we were not sure of what was going to happen. He told us to pack the prison's properties and to leave them there in the wards. We did that and then in the afternoon we were all told to go to the reception room where we met soldiers all at arms standing on guard. A few of them started tying us with strings and then taking us to buses and lorries".

Another of the escapees added "We were originally transferred to Mutukula at about 3 a.m. and then in the morning of the 29th Major Marella who is the commanding officer of the Military Police addressed senior /officers and/ NCO's, that is from Major up to Corporal, gathered them outside in groups, and told them that the purpose of coming to Mutukula was for court-martial and that the officials for the court-martial would be coming in about a day or two to hear our cases. He told us to wait and indeed we waited but we could not see any of the officials because none was around. Then about the sixth /of January/ some of what they call G-branch came from Kampala to write our statements. They asked us to write how we were arrested, whether we knew anything before the General went to Cairo, or were we in league with other big people to kill the General, that is before the 25th /of January 1971/, or were we with the General Service Department. We had to write all of this down. These statements went on for several days until the twelfth. That's when the statements ended and they started taking senior officers ... moving them from Mutukula prison.

"During the process of removal we were told to close all of our windows, but we could see from a crack over the windows how these people were taken out. When they passed the last gate their hands were tied together with strings and they were taken away. Now that taking continued down the ranks, that is from Major --- next they came to R.S.M. and Sergeant-Majors. The next day they took 19 and then the next day they came and took Sergeants. After the removal of the Sergeants came the removal of those who came from Jinja and the Malire regiment, that is of all ranks now.

"We could see how all of these people were tied and conclude what was happening to them. Their ankles were tied and their hands were tied double. They were marched out. We were told that there was a bus behind the wall enclosing Mutukula but then there was a day when we saw through a window

that the last group, instead of being led to where the trucks were, were being led outside in a different direction, where people had been coming from with spades and picks where we believe that the graves were being made. These people were being taken away in that direction and that was not facing the direction of Kampala".

Several days later, about 20 Acholi and Langi military handsmen were taken away, allegedly to practice for the 1st year anniversary of the second Republic on 25 January. The other prisoners were told that only a few of the officers would be court-martialled and the rest released on January 25.

During this period the General Service Department prisoners were assigned to dig a series of trenches between 500 yards and 1 mile north of the prison. These trenches were, in fact, the burial place for the soldiers who were to be killed at Mutukula.

One source, whose father was among those killed at Mutukula explains that at this point "the Uganda army started a calculated and systematic operation of eliminating the detainees".

The General Service Department prisoners were the first to realize that the killing was going on. As one of the 23 escapees explained, "We heard from the G.S.D. that those who were being taken were killed. The first group taken were all officers and included Major Oyet, Captain Agang, Flight-Captain Atyang, and Flight-Lieutenants Okello, Chalo and Ordoro. They were taken with their hands tied behind their backs and our windows were closed so we could not see anything".

Several days later three prisoners tried to escape. Two were shot down in full view of the other prisoners. The other was killed before reaching the Tanzanian border.

On January 24 eleven prisoners were taken out. Included in this group were Corporals Pius, Loto, Santo, Aldo and Privates Odongo, Black, Odong and Omara. Their hands were tied behind their backs and they were shot in full view of the remaining prisoners.

By January 25 all forty-five of the officers had been killed as well as between 200-250 NCOs. On that very day, the first anniversary of the coup, President Amin announced a general amnesty for all detainees, who were to be released immediately, with the exception of 15 who, he said, would be held pending further investigations.

One of the escapees describes the final ten days at Mutukula. "On the twenty fourth, the day before the celebration there were a number of reinforcements in from Kampala. They told us that they were going to take five from each room for the celebration, and they took eleven people. These people were taken outside on the front and just about twenty yards from the front they were shot dead which we could see from our rooms. They were first tied with their hands and as they began running they were shot.

"The second killing that we could see came on the third /of February/. They came in the morning and asked for ten more people to be taken for fatigue that is for work. Then just as they were removed from our houses about ten or twenty yards from our buildings we saw those guys shot and then those who didn't die on the spot were beaten with blows to the head to finish them off. This is what we saw directly from our window.

"The next day was the fourth. They told us that we are not going to eat and we overheard them outside saying that this was to be our last day of life so we know we were going to die the next day".

A third man who was also able to escape from Mutukula describes the breakout that was attempted by the one hundred and forty Langi and Acholi prisoners who were still alive on February 5. "We made a hole in the wall of our room and at about 1.30 we broke through the passageway and we pushed one man out and he went and opened the door for the rest and they did the same thing in the other room ... We all tried to burst out but there was a tremendous machine-gun fire across the compound and at the door and also through the fence and through the barbed wire where people were running to get out.

"Many people were shot immediately in the compound and at the door, many also at the foot of the barbed wire".

Only 23 of the Acholi and Langi army prisoners managed to escape into Tanzania. Those few that had not tried to escape, numbering between 10 and 20, were killed the next day. These included C.I.D. Chief Mohammed Hassan.

The G.S.D. officers who were housed in a different barracks and thus not involved in the escape attempt, were ordered to collect the bodies for a mass burial. They counted 117.

The Langi and Acholi G.S.D. officers had already been taken away and killed. The remaining 64 G.S.D. officers were finally released.

On February 6, the following remarkable account of this incident was broadcast by Radio Uganda. It would seem that the only accurate statements it contains are that an incident occurred at Mutukula involving former army and GSD personnel and that some people fled to Tanzania:-

"President Amin disclosed that there was a minor incident at Mutukula prison two days ago. The fifteen remaining detainees who consisted of former army personnel and former members of the General Service Department who are detained there pending court martial, he said, overpowered a guard, and there was an exchange of fire during which some of them managed to escape after wounding the guard. They fled to Tanzania where they were arrested by the Tanzanian Security Forces and handed back to the Uganda Armed Forces at Mutukula. Among those who were handed over was Muhammed Hassan, the former head of the C.I.D. General Amin expressed his personal and Government's gratitude to the Tanzanian Security Forces at the border for their prompt and friendly action in comprehending /sic/ the escapees".

(6) JANUARY-AUGUST

There were other killings in January 1972, apart from those at Mutukula prison. The victims included William Kalema, Minister of Commerce and Industry under Obote, who suddenly disappeared on January 20. It is reported that he was kidnapped and later killed by military police. The official government explanation of his disappearance stated only that "Investigations have revealed that he is not in the country and nobody knows where he went".

On February 23, Mulekezi, the District Commissioner of Bukedi District and Nshekanabo, hotel manager of the Rock Hotel at Torora, both disappeared. They were taken away by army troops following a dispute between Nshekanabo and some of the troops over payment for their drinks. Nshekanabo had called Mulekezi to help him enforce his claim for payment.

It is now well-established that the local Commanding Officer, Lt.-Col. Toloko ordered their removal. Indeed, in late 1972 the President acknowledged publicly that Toloko was responsible for their deaths, but no action appears to have been taken against him. In early 1974 he was reported missing.

In February three employees of the Coffee Marketing Board named Ecku, Oyam and Omana, disappeared. The government's only comment on their fate was that they were "reported missing" but their "whereabouts are not known". It will be remembered that it was on May 8, 1972 that the government issued a Decree which placed the army beyond the reach of the law (See Part II).

A week later, on May 14, a prominent Asian lawyer, Anil Clerk, a former member of the Ugandan Parliament and once legal advisor to ex-President Obote was arrested by two men in civilian clothes, who identified themselves as officers of the state research department. He was subsequently killed. It seems that the reason for his arrest was that his name had been mentioned in a letter sent to the London Observer's African correspondent which fell into the hands of the police.

A government statement about Anil Clerk's disappearance was issued on May 26, 1972. It said that after receiving requests to investigate the situation from the British High Commissioner, Mr Richard Slater, "The Ministry of Foreign Affairs promptly informed the Uganda Security authorities who in turn immediately started investigations. These investigations are still going on". Nothing further has been heard of the case.

On June 7, Wakuma Maeno, the chief coffee grader at the Coffee Marketing Board disappeared. According to the official government explanation he has been "reported missing but investigations have revealed nothing as to his whereabouts".

Two days later, an army officer called Captain Avudria disappeared. The official government explanation states that he was "arrested by unknown people between the International Conference Centre and Nile Hotel just before H.E. the President left for OAU summit meeting in Rabat. The country

was informed about this incident and extensive investigation have failed to reveal who arrested him or where he is. However, his car was found burnt on Kampala/Masaka road".

Another source gives this version of his disappearance.

"Captain Avudria, a Lugbara from Amin's own West Nile District, was drinking with friends in the Nile Hotel attached to the new International Conference Centre in Kampala. Avudria had expressed concern to his friends over the way in which Amin appeared to be filling command posts in the armed forces with Muslims. By June 1972 there was widespread public expectation that Avudria's Lugbara tribe, still strong in the army, would move to alter what had already become an impossible situation. Avudria was approached by one of Amin's personal bodyguards, who asked for help. Avudria gave him the lift for which he asked, to where he said his car had broken down a couple of hundred yards away. A car was indeed parked at the side of the road with the bonnet and boot open. Avudria drove up behind it, any exit was blocked by a third car which drove up behind him. He was seized, beaten up, thrown into the boot of the first car. The boot and the bonnet were closed, and he was driven off. His own car was driven off - later to be found, burned out, sixteen miles away. He has never been seen again".

On June 29, George Kamba was apprehended while attending an official cocktail party at the International Hotel. Mr Kamba was a former Uganda Ambassador to India and West Germany who was later appointed by the Amin government as the director of the East African Posts and Telecommunications Corporation.

One account of his arrest describes the events of that evening.

"He walked out of the hotel at about 10.p.m. only to come running back, terrified. He was seen and heard by numerous people shouting for help; he was followed by identified members of Amin's state research Department, one of whom carried a gun. Despite some attempts to help him, he was dragged off by this group".

Another source adds that :

"Many leading personalities in Kampala, including ministers, had been at that reception. Three men with dark glasses walked into the reception, seized Kamba by the arms, and dragged him out, amid Kamba's loud shouts for help. 'Help! Help! They are taking me! They are going to kill me! Help!'

"Everyone at the reception had witnessed the kidnapping that had preceded Kamba's death. No one could have done anything to save Kamba, not even the people who were sipping their drinks in the bar on the first floor, where Kamba, going into a frenzy, had passionately appealed for help. Everyone in the hotel had been aware that the kidnappers were armed. No one had wanted to commit suicide".

After being dragged from the reception "he was put in the boot of a car which was found at Jinja police station with one shoe and a coat. He has not been seen since".

The government's official explanation of his disappearance states that he was "arrested by unknown persons from the International Hotel and extensive inquiries were mounted by the government, but so far nothing has come to light as to who arrested him or where he is".

Thus far, the government's extensive inquiries have produced no suspects or clues relating to Kamba's disappearance.

(7) THE SEPTEMBER 1972 INVASION AND ITS CONSEQUENCES: CHIEF JUSTICE KIWANUKA

On September 17, 1972, an invasion of Uganda was launched by supporters of former President Obote. The attack was mounted from Tanzania where Obote and many of those loyal to him had sought refuge after the coup.

While it appears that the Tanzanian government was at least indirectly aware of the planned attack, the Tanzanian army played no part in the fighting. The invasion was quickly put down by the Uganda army.

There were several immediate effects inside Uganda. First, it re-inforced President Amin's control of the country and especially of the armed forces. Secondly, it led him to mount another major internal campaign aimed at eliminating his potential enemies within the country.

On September 21, the Chief Justice of Uganda, Benedicto Kiwanuka, was arrested in his chambers by members of the Ugandan army. According to one report Kiwanuka had approached one of his friends the night before he was taken away to whom he revealed: "I am expecting them to come and take me soon. There is nothing to do but wait".

Kiwanuka, a leader in the Democratic Party, became the first African Chief Minister of Uganda in 1961 and Uganda's first Prime Minister at the granting of internal self-government in 1962. Appointed to the position of Chief Justice by President Amin in 1971, Kiwanuka's abduction and subsequent disappearance went totally unreported by the Uganda press and radio for more than 24 hours. A detailed explanation was finally given by the government in January 1973. It states that he "was arrested by three unknown persons on September 21, 1972, at about 8.30 a.m. from the High Court. These three unknown persons were travelling in a saloon car Peugeot 504, light blue, bearing registration No. UUU 171, came to the High Court Chambers where Ben Kiwanuka was working, identified themselves as security officers and said that Ben Kiwanuka was required at their office. They were armed with pistols. They hand-cuffed the Chief Justice and took him with them in their car, driving at a very high speed in the direction of Kampala International Hotel. The men were all dressed in plain clothes when they took him away. Most people working in the High Court were looking. When some of these bystanders tried to follow, they were threatened to be shot.

"On investigation, the government discovered that the people who posed as being security men were not in fact members of the security forces, and the Peugeot 504 car which they were using had false numbers because the number of that UUU 171 in fact belongs to a Volkswagen saloon car of the Uganda Armed Forces P.O. Box 7069, Kampala. It is, therefore, clear that the planners of

this plot wanted to confuse the country that the people who arrested Ben Kiwanuka were members of the security forces, using an official vehicle. The government investigated this matter thoroughly but so far no evidence has come to light as to who arrested the Chief Justice and where he is.

"In this connection, the spokesman wishes to draw the attention of the country to a press statement appearing in a foreign paper "Sunday Post" of December 31, 1972, where it was alleged that the Chief Justice was tied up in a jeep which was then set ablaze by members of the security forces on the Kampala/Entebbe Road. The country will realize that Entebbe-Kampala Road is an international route where people always pass up and down, night and day, but no one has ever seen the alleged car burning on the road at any time since Kiwanuka disappeared. This is another clear example of the enemies of this country trying to cause confusion in the country".

Kiwanuka had made several rulings against the government in the weeks before he was abducted. On August 28, 1972, one month before he was arrested, he granted bail to a man, warning "As I have said in many cases, the police should wake up and start to realize the importance of a citizen's freedom. Men should not be held in custody longer than is absolutely necessary".

On September 8, Chief Justice Kiwanuka granted an application for a writ of habeas corpus for a detained British businessman, Mr Donald Stewart. In issuing the order requiring the Attorney-General and the officer in charge of Makindye Military Prison to appear, the Chief Justice stated: "There was a prima facie case of wrongful detention that is required in a case of this kind". He added: "The military forces of this country have no powers of arrest of any kind whatsoever". (As noted earlier, President Amin subsequently signed a Decree on October 4, 1972, which retroactively granted broad powers of arrest to the military forces).

About a month before his arrest, President Amin referred publicly to a prominent Masaka citizen with a big job in government in whom the government had lost confidence. This was understood to be a reference to Chief Justice Kiwanuka.

The real reasons for Kiwanuka's arrest are a matter for speculation. His courageous decisions on the bench may have contributed. Also, it may have been thought that if the September invasion had succeeded, he would have been appointed President. There have been reports that President Amin learned that Chief Justice Kiwanuka had been in touch with Dr Obote in Tanzania. Whatever justification there may have been for his arrest, there can be none for the manner of it or of his subsequent execution without trial.

After his arrest he was taken to Makindye military prison. One eye witness account reported in "Drum", April 1974, states:-

"It was in September 1972, at Makindye that I saw the former Chief Justice of Uganda, Benedicto Kiwanuka at night. He was brought in wearing an army uniform. By that time he had lost weight, he was unshaven and bare-foot. He looked very dirty. Some of the prisoners, particularly the Baganda, recognised him at once and crowded around him to talk to him.

By midnight he was taken out of the common cell and pushed into his own cell and instructions were given that nobody should approach that place.

On August 28, 1972* he was brought into our cells for his last day ... he was killed by a hammer by Sergeant B. Some Senior army officers watched the killing including Major A. The body was removed and placed in a jeep for disposal".

This account has been confirmed as accurate by a person who at the time was holding an important position in Uganda, in which he would be likely to know the true facts.

Nekemia Bananuka, a former Secretary-General in the Ankole district administration, also disappeared about this time. According to one source, "this man's three sons and himself were killed and the family house destroyed". Another reports that "Bananuka and his three sons were murdered by Brigadier Ali Fadul Waris and his soldiers of the Simba battalion". The government explanation of his disappearance is that he "ran away during the invasion of September 1972".

Another who disappeared was Basil K. Bataringaya, a former Minister of Internal Affairs. He is reported to have been "found hiding in a convent in Fort Portal after the September invasion and killed, and his head was exhibited in Mbarara barracks". Another report says that he was tortured and murdered". The official government report states only that he "was reported missing but investigations have not revealed where he might be". So far the government investigations have revealed nothing. Several close associates of Mr Bataringaya who are also reported to have been killed during this period include: Mr Tibayungwa, the Administrative Secretary of the Acholi, and Messrs Katuramu, Rwbashoka, Bekunda, Kanyonyore, Kiheherere, Rukare, Bitarisha, Kabaterine, Kansisi and Marengane.

Also missing was Joseph Mubiru, the former Governor of the Bank of Uganda. One report states that "this man was threatened in a speech by the President at Gulu after his resignation as Governor of the Bank of Uganda". Another explains that Mubiru had written a letter about his resignation which was published in the government controlled newspaper "The People". "It was a minor issue but one which apparently stung Amin. He immediately issued a further statement in which he threatened that Mubiru would be detained 'under cold water'." This is a reference to a method of torture, where a detainee is held under cold water for hours. Another adds that "Mubiru, having been publicly threatened with cold water by Amin, was killed in Makindye Military Police Barracks in October 1972". The Uganda government's report states that he was "reported missing. Extensive investigations have revealed no trace of where he is". Thus far Mubiru remains a missing person in Uganda, as the government's extensive investigations have revealed nothing.

* This date is clearly erroneous and should presumably read "September 28".

The scope of the violence during this period extended into every segment of the society. One prominent figure in Uganda's academic community, Frank Kalimuzo, the Vice-Chancellor of Makerere University in Kampala, was yet another victim. In August 1972, General Amin had asserted publicly that Kalimuzo was a spy for Rwanda. He had also publicly stated that he hoped to replace Kalimuzo with a "real Ugandan", implying that Kalimuzo was not. The circumstances of Kalimuzo's disappearance are well-established. He was arrested and subsequently released in early September. Then on a day when he was attending a wedding of a member of the academic staff at Makerere, and was seen openly by about 200 people, Radio Uganda announced that he had disappeared with a number of other "enemies" of the state. As he left the wedding someone told him about the announcement, but he refused to flee. He was arrested at his home the next day by members of the security forces. One source describes "efforts by a number of individuals to intercede on his behalf /which/ continued a little while longer. Two or more guests who had been at the wedding again attempted to combat the accusation that Kalimuzo had, even temporarily, gone into hiding. But the man's fate seemed irrevocably sealed". An early newspaper report that he was in London proved inaccurate. It seems clear that Mr Kalimuzo was killed. The government explanation of his disappearance in January 1973 states that he "was reported arrested by members of the security forces. Investigations have so far revealed that he was not arrested by members of the security forces and his whereabouts are not known". Nothing further has been heard of him.

Another missing person in September was Peter Oketta, Assistant Commissioner of Prisons. The government report states that he "was reported in the foreign press as having been killed by the government but investigations have revealed that he ran to Tanzania". One Ugandan source, not a journalist, writes this account:

"Oketta was on his way to the Prison's Headquarters early in the morning on a fine day in September 1972, just after he dropped his child at a day-school, when he was overtaken by a Peugeot 504, in which were three men. The Peugeot cut in front of him, and he was forced off the road. As soon as he had stopped, having narrowly avoided an accident, he was grabbed by the men from the Peugeot, thrown into the boot of his car, and taken away, in full view of many people, who recognized the men as being some of Amin's bodyguards. Oketta has not been seen since then".

There were many others reportedly killed during this period, among them: Simayo Peter Oryem, the Administrative Secretary of the Acholi District Council; Ben Otim, the leader of the local administration in Lango district; and Francis Walugembe, the former Mayor of Masaka. Several prominent Ugandans living in exile write that several hours after his arrest "Walugembe was cut into pieces in the market in full public view by Lt.-Col. Maliyamungu. This murder, which was one of the most brutal, was witnessed by people we know".

Another to disappear was James Buwembo, a self-employed chemist and a brother-in-law of former President Obote. The government explanation of Buwembo's disappearance is that he was "reported missing but it is believed he went to join his brother-in-law and sister in Tanzania". One source

explains that "this man was arrested at traffic lights, Kampala, after he had sacked a Nubian girl who was stealing from his chemist's shop". Another confirms that he is now dead.

The invasion from Tanzania claimed many more lives, including some former members of the Obote government, who were killed in the fighting. Others were arrested and detained by the army at the Kifaru Mechanized Regiment headquarters at Bondo. In early October, the government reported that thirty-five of these detainees had been killed while rioting at Kifaru. Among the seven prisoners who were said to have escaped was Captain Oyile, a cousin of former President Obote. Other sources indicate, however, that Mr Oyile was also killed, possibly at Malire Barracks in Kampala.

Another who was said to have escaped was Alex Ojera, Minister of Information, Broadcasting and Tourism under Obote. A government account states that he "was never detained by the government at any one time. However he decided to disappear and later it was discovered that he had travelled to Dar-es-Salaam to join guerrillas. He was one of the people who later invaded Uganda during September 1972. He was captured by members of the security forces and put under detention but later on he escaped with Captain Oyile and six others who were captured during the invasion". Several sources dispute this explaining that he was displayed at a diplomatic reception at the State House shown on Uganda television and then killed. His body was later dumped over the border by Uganda army personnel.

Another prominent Ugandan killed in September was Joshua Wakholi. An official government report stated that Wakholi was shot while participating in the September invasion from Tanzania and "died on his way from Mutukula to hospital where he was being taken for treatment".

This account can hardly be accurate in the light of the fact that after being captured he wrote a lengthy plea for clemency which was published in The Uganda Argus newspaper.

Another casualty of this period was Lt.-Col. V. Ochima, Commandant of the armed forces general headquarters. According to one account, Ochima has been a prime mover in the "attempts to set up a tribunal to examine the cases of those troops, G.S.D. personnel and civilians remaining in detention. Throughout the period of his influence, Ochima had tried to introduce some process of law for the detained troops. The result : he was imprisoned, released, re-arrested, killed".

Another statement adds that "Ochima was picked up, apparently with Rubanga (the former Secretary for Defence) and allegedly shot in Makindye by Ali Towilli of the police".

The government explanation of his case is that "he was detained by the government and later released by H.E. the President. After his release, he was reported missing but investigations so far have revealed nothing".

Mr M.A. Rubanga, the former Secretary for Defence, who was reportedly arrested with Ochima, is also believed to have been killed. The government report on Mr Rubanga states simply that he "was reported by his wife as having disappeared but investigations have revealed nothing". Again, nothing further has been heard of this case.

In November, James Ochola, the former Minister of Local Administrations, disappeared. One report says that he had paid members of the army large sums of money before his disappearance. Another states that he was arrested and murdered at Tororo Barracks. The official government explanation for his disappearance says only that "investigations have revealed that he is not in the country and nobody knows where he went".

John Kakonge, a former Minister of Agriculture and Cooperatives, also disappeared in November. Mr Kakonge was abducted in broad daylight from his wine shop in Kampala, from where he was taken to Malire Barracks and subsequently killed. The government report on this case states simply that "investigations have revealed that he is not in the country and nobody knows where he went". No further report of this case has been made by the government.

In early December Mr John Kasasa was reported missing. He was a representative of the Uganda American Insurance Company. He is reported to have been dragged from his car at Entebbe Road on December 2, 1972. The government explanation states that "he was reported missing but investigations as to his whereabouts have proved fruitless". Nothing further has been heard of him.

Another incident in December involved Patrick Ruhinda, a barrister, and Charles Karuka, head clerk, both of the law firm of Mr John Kazzora, a leading advocate in Kampala. According to one government report, its investigations revealed that by December both of these men had left Uganda to join John Kazzora in Nairobi. Several sources dispute this. One states that they were "arrested by military police dressed in civilian clothes, who were led by a man named Major Baker". (This would appear to be Major Baker Tretre who disappeared in November 1973). Several statements confirm that Ruhinda was taken to Nagulu Prison and beaten to death. Nothing more has been heard of Charles Karuka.

(8) THE GOVERNMENT REPORT OF JANUARY 1973

On 9 January, 1973, the government published the results of its investigations into the disappearances of 85 prominent Ugandans. This followed a meeting of the security committee on January 6 where the details of these reports were reviewed.

A spokesman from the security committee stated that "as the country and the world at large will know, when the government of the 2nd Republic of Uganda came to power, H.E. the President General Idi Amin Dada made it clear that there would be no question of political detainees anywhere in the country and as a result all people who were formerly detained by the Obote regime, e.g. Ben Kiwanuka, George Magezi, Dr Lumu, Grace Ibingira, Mr Ngobi, Balaki Kirya, Brigadier Opolot and many other prominent Ugandans were released from detention and became free citizens of this country".

Blaming the disappearances on the guerrillas loyal to former President Obote, "the spokesman further stated that Obote's group and other enemies of this country resorted to another tactic, i.e. of kidnapping some prominent citizens of this country with a view to creating discontent and confusion in the country. There are a few examples of this and cases will be given below. In some cases some of the agents of Obote and other Imperialists and Zionists went to the extent of murdering some prominent Ugandans so that the blame would be put on the government".

The statement concludes by saying that "the government has, however, done its level best to investigate extensively through the normal government machinery, i.e. Police, C.I.D., Special Branch, Military Intelligence and sometimes using international assistance to trace people who were reported missing and were not in the country."

The list of 85 includes 11 former ministers, 22 army officers, 12 police officers, 6 former politicians, four prison officers and 30 civil servants and other citizens.

Of the 85, only six were said to be alive and at liberty in Uganda. Three were said to have died in the guerrilla invasion from Tanzania in September, 1972. Another 38 were said to have fled the country and the remaining 38 to have disappeared or died in unknown circumstances.

Commenting on this report, one former Amin Minister raises these points:

"1. Despite the numerous acknowledged disappearances without trace, there is not a single case where the police arrested, let alone prosecuted, an abductor. Why?

2. Abductions like that of ex-Chief Justice Kiwanuka were effected in broad daylight and were the subject of extensive international comment. The official explanation here is patently hollow".

(9) THE EVENTS OF 1973

Even as this list was published, more cases of disappearances were reported. On the same day, David Ocaya, Acting Secretary of Uganda's Lint Marketing Board was abducted. According to a report obtained by David Martin he "was seized at midday by five soldiers in civilian clothes at Wampewo petrol station. Ocaya was thrown in the boot of a BMW car, registration UUV 520, and never seen again".

On January 12, Haji Shaban Nkutu a former Minister of Works, Communication and Housing was arrested at Jinja. According to one source his body was later recovered near the Nile. Radio Uganda reported only that he had fled the country.

In another incident, Rev. Father Clement Kiggundu, editor of the Roman Catholic Daily newspaper Munno, was found dead in his burnt out car on the edge of a forest about 10 miles from Kampala. A pathologist's report later revealed that he had been strangled and shot before the car caught fire.

One statement, by a former Minister in President Amin's own Cabinet explains that Kiggundu "was brutally shot and burnt in his car by Amin's henchmen, for daring to report the complaints, moans and groans of women whose husbands were mysteriously 'disappearing' or being publicly tortured and then murdered". This is a reference to the coverage Father Kiggundu gave in his newspaper to a women's conference held in Kampala in late November at which the government was repeatedly criticized for failing to control the continued violence in Uganda.

Others who disappeared during this period were F.G. Sembeguya, a former member of Parliament and a medical practitioner, and Dr Edward Kizito, acting head of the dental school at Makerere University.

As mentioned earlier in Part II, by the beginning of 1973 the government began to move against a new guerrilla organization in Uganda, calling itself "FRONASA" (The Front for National Salvation) After the reported discovery of a Fronasa camp, a military spokesman warned on Radio Uganda:

"Villages in whose district guerrillas are found will be burned down. Taxi drivers who give guerrillas lifts will be blown up in their cars and house owners hiding them will be blown up in their homes. People hiding guerrillas will lose children and never see them again. Any person whose son is convicted of hiding or feeding guerrillas will not see that son any more because that son will be dead".

In another reaction to the guerrilla movement, the government expanded the role of the military tribunals and began carrying out a series of public executions, for the first time in 75 years.

In related incidents there were numerous killings by the armed forces reported in the town of Mbale in the Eastern region, and in Kigezi district in the Western region where in one incident nine men were buried alive.

In March there were additional incidents of mass killings reported in Busoga district in the Eastern region.

In these and other incidents, the victims were by no means all prominent people. The great tragedy in Uganda is that innumerable innocent and harmless citizens on whom suspicion has fallen have been senselessly and brutally murdered.

The ordeal of one man who subsequently escaped perhaps conveys some sense of the sufferings of these humble victims during this period. He states:-

"There was a search for me...Monday two soldiers demanded to see me ... After a long wait they departed mentioning that they would come back ... Tuesday night in my house I received two telephone calls from persons who refused to identify themselves. ... Wednesday a messenger advised me not to go back to my office again, because 'the soldiers' were looking for me and trying to break in ... there were eight men who had come in an Army Land-Rover and a Peugeot and two other civilian-looking cars ... I saw six men, two in Army uniform and four in civilian; - all appeared to be trying at my door ... I slid down the back staircase and drove off. They spotted me somehow

(apparently they had stationed somebody to watch the car) and gave me a chase. I branched off and drove ... back to town ... Eight well-armed men ruthlessly hunting down a poor and fragile little 'Dudu' (used generally to indicate an unimportant person) as myself. I have never lived in this state of mind of extreme fear and morbid anxiety in my life ... I abandoned the car ... I took another (a friend's) and had the intention of driving to B and hide there in a cousin's house ... Unfortunately this did not work. I was picked up at a check-point ... I was then driven away, of course in the 'usual' way, in the boot of a Peugeot 504. I cannot say the ride was uncomfortable for my mind was preoccupied with the thought of torture they might start administering on me. All my life I have feared torture (pain) more than death itself. The thought of torture alone drew more sweat out of me, I am sure, than any of their hottest boots could do ... I was driven to a house ... I was locked in a room by myself ... There were very many people there, some were chained, some appeared to have been bundled together etc. All appeared to be waiting their turns for 'interrogation'. I could hear cries and yelling coming from other rooms ... It was soon dark, no food, no water. I was very tired and thirsty. I stretched myself, bare chest (my clothes had since been removed) on the cold cement floor. My body temperature gradually dropped and thirst decreased and despite the noise (human and vehicles driving in and cries and mourning from outside my room) I fell asleep ..."

Many other examples are contained in a letter which President Obote wrote in May to the Assembly of Heads of State and Governments of the Organization of African Unity. He also quotes from a memorandum written by one of Amin's former Minister:

"Too many nations regard what is happening in Uganda as an internal matter. Is systematic Genocide an internal matter or a matter for all mankind? The Sharpeville massacre was condemned by the entire civilized world, but nobody has yet condemned the wholesale killings and disappearances of innocent people in Uganda".

At this meeting of the Organization of African Unity, President Nyerere of Tanzania demanded an explanation for the murder of 24 Tanzanians in Uganda, as a pre-condition for his meeting with President Amin. At the last moment before the Conference began, President Amin publicly accepted the blame for the 24 murders. This was a remarkable volte face as, until then, President Amin had denied all knowledge of these murders and suggested they were committed by guerrillas working for ex-President Obote. This must call into question the many other denials which have been given of responsibility for or knowledge of innumerable other cases in which people have disappeared.

The killings continued through the summer. In August, Lt. Col. Kakuhikire, of the President's Office, was abducted from the Central Post Office. There had been reports of his disappearance in 1972 but the government announced in January 1973, that he was "alive and attending a course at the Institute of Public Administration in Kampala." After his arrest in August 1973, he was killed and his body was reportedly found at Lugazi.

Another incident in August involved the former Mayor of Kampala, Mr Nakibinge. On July 11, the government-owned newspaper, the Voice of Uganda reported that a "scandal involving top men stealing government property was yesterday revealed to a party of the Public Safety Unit by workers of Lugazi Sugar Factory". Among those said to be involved were Mr Nakibinge, who was the new personnel manager of the Uganda Sugar Factory at Lugazi. The article concludes that "all of the men involved in the alleged plot to put the government property to their private use have been put under arrest pending further investigations by members of the Public Safety Unit".

According to one source, he was arrested and charged with sabotaging the sugar production and stealing. After being detained he was released, but arrested again in August and killed without trial. A statement made by several former high ranking officials in President Amin's government asserts that "the former Mayor is now dead. His mutilated body was found on a public highway outside Kampala two weeks after this news item reporting his arrest. The charges were almost certainly false".

Another casualty in September was Paul Bitature, a prominent public servant and businessman who was arrested by the security forces and later found dead on a road near Kampala. According to one account "a ransom of 10,000 Uganda shillings had to be paid by his family to the murderers before they could release the body for burial".

On October, Godfrey Kiggala, an official in the Foreign Ministry was apprehended by members of the Uganda armed forces and driven out to a forest and shot. His body was found there shortly afterwards.

In December the reign of terror was extended out of Uganda as "Jolly Joe" Kiwanuka, a former leading politician, was seized in Nairobi. He was brought to Makindye Prison, where he was chained up, and later taken to the Naguru.

In another similar incident, two Lugbara officers Captain Kenneth Onzima and Captain Justin Sam Aswa were also seized in Kenya on 10 December, 1973. Captain Aswa was the man who read out the 18 reasons for the coup over Uganda Radio in January 1971. According to several sources, they were both taken into Uganda between 17-20 December 1973 and later killed. Onzima was seen chained at Makindye, and one statement suggests that he may have also been shot at Naguru Police Station.

(10) PURGES WITHIN THE ARMED FORCES

It is not only civilians who have been the victims of these arbitrary arrests and executions without trial. In the past 3½ years President Amin has, through a series of purges, eliminated virtually all of the military leaders who directed the Armed Forces in the initial phase after the coup.

David Martin has shown "that of the twenty-three officers of the rank of Lt.-Colonel and above at the time of the coup, only four are still in the service including President Amin, the Paymaster and the Chief Medical Officer. Thirteen others have been murdered. Two escaped into exile in Tanzania. One is a Minister, and of the remaining four who were dismissed, there is some doubt whether two of them are alive". He then provides a

detailed description of the manner in which the thirteen were killed, which may be summarised as follows:-

- Brigadier Suleiman Hussein, Army Chief of Staff was captured in Kampala on 29 January 1971 and beaten to death at Luzira prison in front of warders.

- Colonel Meseura Arach, Commander, 1st Infantry Brigade was arrested at Jinja and subsequently tortured and beaten to death.

- Colonel Abatino Langoya, Commandant, School of Infantry, Jinja, was arrested with Arach and died with stomach split open with a machete.

- Lt.-Colonel Akwangu, Commanding Officer, Malire Mechanized Regiment, was arrested and beaten by troops when the coup began and finally beaten to death on the following day.

- Lieutenant-Colonel Oyok, Commander, Burma Battalion, Jinja, went into hiding after the coup but telephoned his wife asking her to bring his briefcase with personal papers to the Silver Springs Hotel in Kampala. The call went through his unit's exchange and was overheard and he was arrested at the hotel. He was severely beaten at Luzira with Brigadier Hussein but it is not certain whether he died then or was one of the thirty-two officers blown up at Makindye on 5 March.

- Lieutenant-Colonel Tom Loyira, Commanding Officer, Moroto Battalion, was on leave at Kitgum on the night of the coup and went into hiding. He answered President Amin's call to all troops to report back, promising they would not be victimised. A few days later he was arrested and was one of the thirty-two blown up at Makindye.

- Lieutenant-Colonel Abwola, Commander, 'Tiger' Battalion, Mubenda wanted to fight after the coup and made contact with Lieutenant-Colonel Oyite Ojok who was in hiding in Kampala, but his unit was poorly armed and in early February he decided to flee to Tanzania. He went home to collect his family. He was finally persuaded to go to Kampala where he surrendered to the Inspector-General of Police. The police officer telephoned the President and was told to bring Abwola to the military Command Post in Kampala. Abwola was never seen again.

- Lieutenant-Colonel Aboma Ayumu, Commander, Border Guard, based at Fort Portal, was arrested in hiding at the home of his brother-in-law and taken to Luzira. He was one of thirty-two officers blown up on 5 March.

- Lieutenant-Colonel Ekiring, Staff Officer, Army Headquarters, was taken from his office by a sergeant and six privates. His body was found floating in Lake Victoria the next day and the sergeant's and privates' bodies were found nearby.

- Lieutenant-Colonel John Ebitu, Commanding Officer, Ordinance Depot, Magamaga, was arrested the night of the coup and blown up at Makindye on 5 March apparently because he had reported just before the coup that guns were missing from the Magamaga armoury.

- Lieutenant-Colonel Pririmo Obol, Staff Officer, Army Headquarters, refused to obey an order to give Lt.-Col. Ekiring a private burial. A few days later he is said to have been poisoned at the Rock Hotel at Tororo. An inquest was refused and the hotel manager, who was believed to have known what occurred, was subsequently murdered by troops.

- Lieutenant-Colonel Emmanuel Ogwa, Commanding Officer, Artillery Unit, Masindi, went into hiding after the coup and was in contact with Ojok and Abwola. He went to the home of his cousin, Dr George Ebine. A European is believed to have given him away. The house was surrounded by the army. Ogwa refused to surrender and was finally killed when a tank blasted in the side of the house. Dr Ebine was dragged from the operating theatre of the hospital and bayoneted to death. His patient also died.

- Lieutenant-Colonel Kakuhikire, a staff officer who was working on the history of the Ugandan army, was killed during 1973. He earlier had a fortunate escape in December 1972. He was arrested and the story appeared in the London Observer listing him as missing. In order to refute the story, he was released and publicly presented by President Amin as a serving officer.

Following these purges the Uganda army today is increasingly dominated by Moslem Nubian soldiers, who come from the West Nile region of Uganda and the Southern Sudan. The Nubians who were initially recruited into the various special security forces, have now taken leadership positions throughout the army.

By 1973, the Lugbaras constituted the largest major counterbalance to the Nubians in the Armed Forces. Many of the Lugbara officers had actively participated in the coup and were an important source of support to President Amin during his first two years in power. However, for some reason, perhaps because they were becoming too powerful, they began to fall under suspicion, and by late 1973 every Lugbara officer had been removed from a command post in the army. The following are some of those who were removed during this period in addition to Onzima and Aswa already referred to in the last section:-

- Lieutenant-Colonel Musa, the former Commandant of the Malire Mechanized Regiment who is said by the government to be "on leave".

- Major Baker Tretre suddenly disappeared in November 1973 and has not been seen since.

- Lieutenant-Colonel Ozo President of the Military Tribunal, was removed from the army and made a provincial governor.

- Lieutenant-Colonel G.W. Toko, an Air Force Commander, was sent to Nairobi to work for East African Airways as Director-General.

In addition to these Lugbara officers, Lt.- Colonel Toloko⁽¹⁾, a Madi, was reportedly taken out of the Grand Hotel in Kampala and killed. Another

(1) This is the officer who was stated to be responsible for the deaths of District Commander Mulekezi and hotel manager Nshekanako (see section 6 above).

Madi Officer, Major Ozi, the former head of the Security Service was dismissed, and is now missing.

In late February Lieutenant-Colonel Michael Ondoga, another Lugbara, was relieved of his post as Foreign Minister. The government issued a report stating that he had "been assigned other duties". On March 2, 1974, Radio Uganda reported that his body had been found in the Nile. President Amin suggested that "imperialist agents" may have kidnapped him, and he ordered a full investigation by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Ondoga's death created considerable hostility among the Lugbaras who were still left in the army. Many of them refused to accept the official explanation of his death and demanded a vigorous investigation. Realizing that they were the latest target for suspicion, they tried to persuade President Amin to remove Brigadier Bussein Marella who, as acting army Chief of Staff, had taken on much of the responsibility for carrying out the purge of the dissident Lugbaras.

The confrontation came to a head on March 23, 1974, when fighting erupted at the Malire military barracks in Kampala. One source suggests that the Lugbara and other non-Nubian soldiers were trying to force Marella out and were intercepted by troops loyal to General Amin. Another source suggests that "the fighting had been started by President Amin in order to purge the army of dissident officers who were trying to overthrow him".

A prolonged gun battle ensued with General Amin ultimately successful in restoring order, after which the soldiers again demanded that Brigadier Marella be relieved of his duties. President Amin acquiesced and retired Marella to his home in the West Nile District.

About this time the much feared Senior Superintendent of Police, Ali Towilli, was also reported to have been relieved of his command as head of the Public Safety Unit.

The official government explanation of the March fighting was that it arose from an attempted counter-coup led by Brigadier Charles Arube. The Government's military spokesman asserted that Arube, a Christian member of the Kakwa tribe, had committed suicide, shooting himself in the head after realizing the coup's failure. The official hospital report, later confirmed by subsequent government statements, shows that Arube, dressed in civilian clothes, was shot twice in the stomach before being rushed to the hospital. The fact that he was dressed in civilian clothes raises some serious question as to whether he was really involved in an attempted coup, and the fact that he was shot twice in the stomach strongly suggests that he did not commit suicide.

Following the fighting of March 23, there were new reports of killing of members of the Lugbara tribe, especially in the garrison town of Mbale in Eastern Uganda, and in the West Nile District. Several reports also indicate that at least fifty army officers were killed in a purge of army dissidents.

In early May 1974 President Amin once again ordered a "full and immediate" inquiry into the many disappearances, including that of Chief Justice Kiwanuka in September 1972.

(11) GOVERNMENT INVESTIGATIONS

One of the most disturbing features of the situation in Uganda has been the failure to investigate and take appropriate measures to end the violence that has paralyzed the country since 1971. There has been little official explanation for the frequent disappearances, killings and other terror, though it seems clear that much of this lawlessness has, in fact, been carried out by members of the army and of the public safety unit of the police. To date, there has not been a case where a member of the security forces has been charged and convicted in connection with the death or disappearance of any civilian. These disappearances have been variously blamed upon ex-President Obote, Chinese guerrillas, the Tanzanian government, and Zionists, as well as various tribes in Uganda, but none of these charges have been substantiated.

In 3½ years, the government has produced only one detailed report, in January 1973, which described the findings of its own investigations into the disappearances of 85 prominent Ugandans. The report was unable to clarify the situation, explaining only that in 38 instances the people had fled the country, while conceding that 38 others had, in fact, disappeared in unknown circumstances, with no further explanation given. As of mid-1974, there has not been a single arrest made in any of these cases, even in cases like that of Chief Justice Kiwanuka, where the victims were abducted in broad daylight.

In the few isolated instances where the government has finally made some determination as to who is responsible for a disappearance or murder, little or no action has ever been taken. One example was the February 1972 killing of Mulekezi and Nshekanabo. In that case, President Amin publicly charged that Lt.-Col. Toloko had ordered their removal and was, in effect, responsible for their murder. Despite this allegation the government failed to undertake a more thorough investigation or begin any legal proceedings in the case. As has been seen, Lt.-Col. Toloko is now reported to have been killed, but without any trial.

Another example arose out of the killing of the two Americans, Stroh and Seidle, in July 1971. The government's commission of inquiry under Mr Justice Jeffreys Jones, clearly implicated the two senior officers of the Simba army battalion, Lt.-Colonel Ali and Major Juma. Yet, no proceedings have been begun against them.

(12) REACTION TO THE TERROR - VOLUNTARY EXILE

The atmosphere of constant violence has caused many people to flee the country. The scale of this voluntary exile is not known. There are understood to be over 2,000 Ugandan refugees who have been given permission to live in Kenya, as well as many others in Tanzania and Zambia and in other countries further afield.

Describing this situation in 1973, one prominent Ugandan living in exile wrote that "many indigenous Ugandans have since the coup witnessed the most barbarous murders being committed by members of the armed forces on African civilians. In some cases clear warnings that they are marked men have been broadcast on the government controlled radio and television, in other cases

physical attempts have been made to capture them, and in other cases they have been tipped off that their days were numbered. Those who have been lucky to leave the country before the axe fell have done so, and have sought refuge in the neighbouring countries or abroad. This group consists of ordinary workers and peasants as well as men and women with various skills and experience, most of them owing their training to the Uganda taxpayers. They have been forced to make the important decision of leaving their country without hope of returning to it as long as General Amin and his henchmen are in power. Uganda like all developing countries needs her trained manpower, but Amin's regime has forced a good number of such people to flee the country for their personal safety".

The resignation and exile of one prominent Ugandan was prompted by an incident in January 1973, when Ugandan troops went into the Kampala office of the East African Railway Corporation and seized the Railway's resident Director of Uganda, Henry Berunga, the Regional Supplies Officer, a Kenyan, John Okech-Omara, the Regional Personnel Officer, Auwar Owuor, and the Regional Industrial Relations Officer, Tomusange, from their offices. The four men subsequently disappeared and are now believed to be dead. As a result of this incident, Wadada Nabudere, the Ugandan Chairman of the Corporation, resigned in protest and shortly thereafter moved to Tanzania. In tendering his resignation to the Secretary-General of the East African Community, Nabudere said that he "found it painful to justify myself as chairman of the Corporation both morally and legally" because of the disappearance of these men and the fact that no official inquiry had been made into the matter.

Mr Nabudere said that when the four men vanished he had hoped that the Uganda government "as a matter of routine state inquiry would have made some effort to establish the whereabouts of these individuals, but it is quite clear that no such inquiry was either contemplated or is indeed taking place. This indeed has been the situation in Uganda for some time now, where even the disappearance of the Chief Justice of the country has never been investigated".

Several newspapers reported that following the abduction of the four officers, "about 100 Kenya Railway staff also fled from Uganda".

In early 1973, Edward Rugumayo, Uganda's Minister of Education, also resigned his post and left the country. His letter of resignation to President Amin states:

"The reasons for my resignation are purely personal and moral and are based on the fact that I have found it increasingly difficult to fulfil my duties in the atmosphere that prevails in our country today. ... I wish you the courage to preserve life, the wisdom to know that man cannot create himself at will, the knowledge to understand that man's mission here on earth (including yours) is to preserve, improve and prolong life; and to understand that what we do today will determine the destiny of the nation tomorrow and posterity will judge us by our actions of today".

According to one source, "friends of Rugumayo say he felt his conscience would no longer allow him to be identified with the indiscriminate slaughter in Uganda by remaining a member of General Amin's government".

Following the resignation of Rugumayo and several other high government officials, President Amin on February 27, 1973, ordered that "all ministers, under-secretaries and personal secretaries to ministers must go on leave for 30 days, starting from Monday, so that they can become fresh again".

In early May, Professor Ali Mazrui, Head of Makerere University's Political Science Department, left in protest against increasing restrictions on academic freedom and lack of security for faculty members and students.

At this same time, John Barigye, Uganda's Ambassador to West Germany, resigned accusing General Amin of complicity in the murders of hundreds of innocent Ugandans, including his brother Patrick Ruhinda who had died one month earlier. The following are the terms of his letter of resignation:-

"Your Excellency,

It is with deep regret that I have to inform you that after careful consideration I have decided that owing to the tyranny and oppression that now exists in Uganda I can no longer represent your government as Uganda's Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany and the Holy See.

The reign of terror that has been established in our beloved country has shocked the conscience of all men of goodwill throughout the world. While innocent people continue to be brutally and savagely eliminated your regime has failed to bring to justice the perpetrators of these crimes. Indeed eye witness reports and circumstantial evidence tend to implicate you and your henchmen in these barbarous acts which show complete disregard and contempt for human life.

In these circumstances therefore I have no alternative but to hereby tender my resignation for this I believe is the only way I can listen to the dictates of my conscience and to universally held principles of civilised conduct.

John P. Barigyo.

H.E. General Idi Amin Dada,
President of the Republic of Uganda,
State House Entebbe."

Several weeks later, Uganda's Foreign Minister and President Amin's son-in-law, Wanume Kibedi, resigned while he was abroad and made a statement saying he did so because of the "continual disappearance of innocent people without any adequate investigation". He stated further: "Many of the victims were, in fact, supporters of the government or indifferent to politics. I, as a man of honour and good conscience, could not smugly ignore this serious and tragic situation, especially after having tried vainly to improve matters".

(13) THE SCALE OF THE TERROR

It is impossible to give any reliable estimate of the number of people who have been arbitrarily executed since January 1971. Estimates received range from 25,000 to 250,000. All that can be said is that they are to be numbered certainly in thousands and very possibly in tens of thousands. With the exception of a handful, all were Africans. The Asians are perhaps fortunate to have been expelled.

While this Part of the study has presented detailed accounts of the killings and disappearance of many prominent citizens, what cannot be told are the circumstances of the deaths of countless other anonymous victims, most of them ordinary citizens who have disappeared without attracting public attention. For these people there were no investigations, no commissions of inquiry, no reports and no help has been provided to their families.

One Ugandan living in exile best concludes this examination of the reign of terror. Like so many others, he has lost his father in the repressive atmosphere that characterizes Uganda today:

"How, one may ask, can the present Ugandan authorities ever be forgiven for the atrocities and suffering and misery caused by them, to both my father and us. There were and still are many like him and equally there are many like us. The blame and guilt for all the misery caused to thousands of widows and orphans rests on the shoulders of the Ugandan authorities, and in particular on the shoulders of the President who has made no effort to stop it but has licensed it, and has ruined the lives of thousands, both Asians and Africans".

PART IV - CONCLUSIONS

The following is a summary of the principal conclusions reached in the course of this study:-

1. During the past 3½ years the Ugandan Government has either suspended or violated most of the fundamental human rights. By a series of Decrees overriding all constitutional safeguards, and by a system of arbitrary repression operating outside any legal framework, there has been a total breakdown in the rule of law.
2. Though some emergency measures may have been justified, particularly in the aftermath of the coup in January, 1971, and at the time of the attempted invasion from Tanzania in September, 1972, there are certain minimum judicial safeguards for the protection of human rights which are to be expected even in a time of emergency. These safeguards have been lacking.
3. While the government has nominally affirmed the Ugandan Constitution, its principles have been overridden expressly or by implication by a series of arbitrary decrees. All political activity has been suspended. The National Assembly and the local elected authorities have been dissolved. No steps have been taken to return to the promised democratic government. No mandate has been sought from the electorate to validate the seizure of power in January, 1971. All the basic freedoms of association and assembly, freedom of the press, freedom of expression, freedom of education and trade union freedom are in abeyance.
4. The independence of the judiciary has been undermined by direct attacks on individual judges, by the repeated interference of the armed forces, and above all by the arrest and subsequent murder of the country's Chief Justice, Benedicto Kiwanuka, in September 1972. The authority of the civilian court has been further undermined by the transfer of important parts of their jurisdiction to try civilians to a Military Tribunal.
5. The Armed Forces have been put beyond the law and have been given almost unlimited powers of arrest and search, without any form of judicial control. These powers were granted in order to fight "kondos" (armed robbers). In practice, they have been largely used to arrest, detain, torture and kill thousands of civilians from all walks of life, who for one reason or another have been suspected of opposition to the present regime. Only a very small percentage of those arrested on these grounds have been given any form of trial.
6. The repeatedly announced investigations by the Ugandan security authorities to trace those responsible for these disappearances and deaths have yet to result in bringing the culprits to trial. Some of those against whom the complaint has most frequently been made have recently been transferred to other posts or, occasionally, have themselves disappeared and been reported killed without trial. This failure to bring the offenders to justice has itself contributed to the state of lawlessness.

7. The expulsion of the Asians from Uganda in 1972 involved serious violations of human rights:-
- (a) The expulsion of Asians non-citizens was an act based on an explicit policy of racial discrimination.
 - (b) The failure to provide adequately for compensating those who had been expropriated was a violation of Article 17 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
 - (c) The sudden and brutal manner in which the mass expulsion of Asian non-citizens took place was a breach of the principles of good neighbourliness enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.
 - (d) The denial of Ugandan nationality to many Asians who were entitled to it was a violation of the right to nationality under Article 15 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
 - (e) The banishment of all Asians recognised as Ugandan citizens to a remote and unfamiliar rural life was an act of racial discrimination which had the (no doubt intended) effect of driving almost all of them out of the country.
8. The effect of these massive and continuing violations of human rights has been to create a reign of terror from which thousands of people from all walks of life, Africans as well as Asians, have sought refuge in voluntary exile. Those remaining are in a constant state of insecurity.



S U P P L E M E N T

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VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE RULE OF LAW

IN UGANDA

A Study by the
INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF JURISTS

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1. Open Letter to General Idi Amin from
Wanume Kibedi, former Uganda Foreign Minister
(1971-1973), dated June 21, 1974
2. Addendum to Open Letter to General Idi Amin

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O P E N L E T T E R

TO

GENERAL IDI AMIN, KAMPALA

FROM

WANUME KIBEDI

FORMER UGANDA FOREIGN MINISTER

(1971 - 1973)

Ever since I resigned from the office of Foreign Minister in your Government in April 1973, you have not ceased to broadcast slanders, calumnies and other fabrications about me. Hitherto I have not bothered to answer back, because I found it unnecessary to deny statements whose falsehood was obvious even to a three-year old Ugandan. Furthermore, I wanted to give you plenty of time to wallow in the mire of your own lies, contradictions, and other inconsistencies, the more so to expose your true character to the people of Uganda and to the world at large.

I consider that you have had your say, and it is now my turn to speak. The time is further opportune because the matter which was the central cause of my resignation, namely the large-scale liquidation of innocent people in Uganda since your assumption of power, is once more at the centre of world attention. The International Commission of Jurists has recently issued a critical report on it, to which you have taken vehement exception, and you have also appointed a judicial commission to "inquire" into the "disappearances".

As a person conversant with the truth relating to these and other issues arising from your misrule, I will now make my contribution. I will speak in clear and unambiguous language for the sake of present and future generations of our motherland:

I. THE "DISAPPEARANCES".

1. The expression "disappearance" is a euphemism for Uganda's innocent dead - the thousands of people who, since the inception of your misrule, have been liquidated for personal, political or factional reasons, entirely outside the processes of law. The victims are said to have "disappeared" because after their murders their bodies are clandestinely disposed of or mutilated beyond recognition, never to be recovered by their relatives. The expression is not at all related to the thousands of Ugandans who, as a result of your misrule, have been obliged to live in political exile in many parts of the world. You are not going to deceive or confuse anybody by suggesting that the exiles have also "disappeared".
2. The international news media has often accused you of being responsible for the massacre of innocent people in Uganda. Ugandans themselves, whether in or out of the country, have long taken it for granted that you are the mastermind behind the "disappearances". A number of people who previously held high office in your Government have resigned such positions and gone into exile in protest against the reign of terror that you have unleashed in our country.

3. I want to confirm here and now that indeed you are personally responsible for the liquidation of all the people who have "disappeared" in Uganda ever since you came to power. People have "disappeared" either because you have specifically ordered their liquidation as individuals or as a group, or because they have fallen victim to the murderous ravages of lawless elements who have thrived in the country as a result of your deliberate refusal to restrain the criminal activities of such elements, or to place any sort of discipline over them. You have in effect placed such thugs completely above the law, since they know that they can kill, maim and loot with impunity.
4. It is sometimes said that the people who have been liquidated in this manner are those who are your political opponents. This is only partly true. Thousands of people who have little or no interest in politics have equally been liquidated, generally for personal or factional reasons.
5. I cannot even start listing the names of those Ugandans whose liquidation you have specifically demanded. Perhaps the best-known name is that of BENEDICTO KIWANUKA, who was Uganda's Chief Justice at the time of his arrest and subsequent murder, and whose liquidation you ordered because you were afraid of his political power in the country. If you look at the Uganda Argus of 21 August 1972 you will see that you spoke the following words at a rally at Rukungiri in Kigezi:-

"A few Uganda Africans, including some high officials in Masaka District, are in the pockets of the outgoing Asians and the imperialists and are opposed to the move to expel them. One such official holds a very high position in the Government and is known to be the prime mover of this small pocket of opposition. He is attempting to use the issue to divide the people of this country on a religious basis with the hope that he will achieve his selfish ends. The person concerned is known to the Government and in fact the Government has already lost confidence in him as a result of his dirty activities."

The person you were referring to here was Benedicto Kiwanuka, then Chief Justice; and "Government" meant "Amin" and nobody else. A few weeks after you spoke these words Kiwanuka was arrested at the High Court by military personnel in civilian clothing. That was on 21 September 1972.

I spent the morning of that day at State House, Entebbe, where you were seeing a visiting African Minister of Foreign Affairs. After the interview with the visitor I stayed with you for a few minutes for instructions on routine official business. As I rose to go, you said to me:-

"The boys have got Kiwanuka. They had to pick him up at the High Court because he knew he was being followed, and he was very careful about his movements."

I was shocked by this and I said to you:-

"Oh! My God! This is terrible! He is the Chief Justice. Whatever he has done his arrest will be disastrous for the country in terms of the rule of law and for the international image."

I left with the assumption that you had ordered Kiwanuka's arrest on some criminal charge, for which he would soon be tried.

Although later in my then-capacity as Acting Minister of Justice I met the High Court Judges (at their request) and explained Kiwanuka's disappearance on the basis of the official statement which you had issued on the matter denying the arrest, I had no faith whatsoever in that statement. Kiwanuka, after all, had been arrested in the full view of the High Court staff.

In the days that followed I brought and read to you several petitions, which a number of Ugandans had addressed to you, appealing for Kiwanuka's release. You totally ignored the petitions and you refused to reply to them. You were even angry that I had brought the petitions to you.

As I had on many occasions urged you to release detained prisoners I appealed to you several times to release the Chief Justice, to no effect. Later I came to believe the stories then going around Kampala that Kiwanuka had been murdered at Makindye.

6. If you look at the Uganda Argus of 17 August 1972 you will see that you spoke the following words:-

"About the Vice-Chancellor of Makerere...anybody who is a good administrator can be a vice-chancellor. There are many brilliant Ugandans who can take over from Kalimuzo... Kalimuzo was appointed to that post because he was in Obote's pockets... Mr. Kalimuzo, together with Mr. Bigirwenkya, who is Permanent Secretary in the Office of the President, were directly concerned in the 1966 troubles in Buganda. There are many other people including Mr. James Bwogi of Uganda Television in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting who are closely associated with and passing information to Obote and are thinking in terms of confusing the Baganda claiming that they know and can solve their problems."

A matter of weeks after you had spoken these words, KALIMUZO was arrested at his home by military personnel. He was briefly released but was re-arrested. An official statement said he had fled the country together with others. Stories circulated in Kampala to the effect that Kalimuzo had been taken to Makindye military prison. I told you of these stories, but you persistently denied that Kalimuzo had been arrested, or that he was in any prison. Later I told you that it was widely said and believed that Kalimuzo had been killed in Makindye. You still denied this, but I advised you to check the story. Some days later you told me, casually, that you had checked the information about Kalimuzo, and that indeed he had been killed at Makindye. As far as you were concerned that was the end of the matter.

About the same time JAMES BWOGI was also reported to have been murdered. The bodies of Kalimuzo, Bwogi and Kiwanuka, like those of thousands of other people killed in similar circumstances, were never recovered. BIGIRWENKYA escaped murder only because he got out of the country in good time.

I could go on and on, page after page, quoting denunciations by you of specific individuals, who were shortly afterwards murdered. Not in one single case did you produce a shred of evidence to support your allegations against the victims. You simply made denunciations which then amounted to a death sentence without trial. In such instances you have been the accuser, the judge and the executioner, all rolled into one.

7. Even while I was serving in your Government as Minister, some of my very best friends, people who had been my closest associates in the pre-coup political campaigns, were liquidated. I mention only a few:-

1. KAGULIRE KASADHA: A Czech-trained engineer, who at the time of his liquidation in February 1973 was working at Makerere University.
2. HENRY KASIGWA: who was Town Treasurer of Jinja Municipal Council at the time of his liquidation in September 1972.
3. LUME KISADHA: who was Personnel Manager at Nyanza Textiles Ltd., Jinja, at the time of his liquidation in September 1972.
4. NDARUZI: a local trader in Jinja, where he was liquidated in September 1972.
5. MRS. OGWANG: who was Manager of a small business in Jinja at the time of her liquidation in December 1972.

Other people who were thought to be my close political associates were also liquidated. Examples are HAJI BALUNYWA (liquidated in September 1972), who was at the time the Administrative Secretary of Busoga District (the most populous District in the country), and RUHESI (abducted together with Kasigwa) who was then Town Engineer of Jinja Municipal Council.

All the victims I have mentioned in this section were abducted from their offices or some other public place in full view of a number of people. Their abductors were military personnel, in civilian clothing. The circumstances of each abduction were, of course, heartrending to the people who cared for the victims.

Kasadha, for example, was working at his office at Makerere University when the assassins came for him. They were driving two cars, one of them a Peugeot. On being told that he was being taken for questioning, Kasadha told his abductors to "take me to Kibedi or at least inform Kibedi that you have arrested me". Thereupon the abductors set upon Kasadha, beating him up severely. They bundled him into the boot of one of their cars and drove off.

Mutual friends informed me of Kasadha's abduction within 15 minutes of the incident. They gave me a full description of the car in which Kasadha had been taken. I immediately telephoned all the organisations that had anything to do with security matters in the country, or at least in the Kampala area: the Military Police; the State Research Unit; the Public Safety Unit; and the Ministries of Defence and Internal Affairs. I also telephoned you personally asking you to help trace Kasadha. This was the pattern that I followed whenever an abduction was reported to me. You gave me your standard answer whenever I made such reports to you, namely that the individual concerned was probably a guerrilla, and that that was why he had been arrested. I protested to you that Kasadha could not be a guerrilla.

Somebody from the State Research Unit (which is based in your office) rang me back to say that the car I had reported as having been used in the abduction of Kasadha had been spotted in the city and was being followed. He said he would report to me again in an hour. He never did. My assumption was that he discovered that the car belonged to his own unit, and he did not wish to pursue the matter further. None of the people I contacted over the incident ever called me back to report progress, or lack of it. In the following days I made every conceivable effort to trace Kasadha's whereabouts and to get him released. All to no avail. After a few weeks I learned he had been killed at Makindye.

The same sequence of events applied to the other abductions I have mentioned in this section, with minor variations.

However, that was not all. SHABAN NKUTU, my own uncle, was abducted from his home at Jinja in January 1973. Local citizens put up a determined fight to try and save him, but they were overwhelmed by the gang of assassins. The following day you ordered a statement to be put out saying that Nkutu had run away, and that anybody who saw him should inform the police.

At the time of Nkutu's public abduction I was in Ghana leading my country's delegation to the OAU Liberation Committee of which I was outgoing Chairman. When I heard of the official statement alleging that Nkutu had "run away", I knew he must have been liquidated because, as every Ugandan knew, that was the kind of statement you liked to issue to cover up the work of your assassins.

A few days after I returned from the Ghana conference, Nkutu's body was discovered on the banks of the Nile, badly disfigured by several bayonet wounds. The local police took the body to the mortuary at Jinja Hospital. Soldiers mounted guard over the mortuary, and refused to surrender Nkutu's body to relatives.

I took the earliest opportunity to inform you that Nkutu's body had been found. I then asked you whether you knew anything about the manner of his death. You replied that Nkutu had been recruiting guerrillas for Obote, and that he had brought the trouble onto himself. I protested that in that case he could have been tried and punished according to the law rather than being murdered secretly. You did not wish to discuss the matter.

I then asked you if the body could be handed over to the relatives for burial. You said you would think about it. For three days you would not give me an answer. Eventually you told me that the relatives could take Nkutu's body. Soon thereafter I made arrangements to have the body collected from the hospital mortuary, only to discover that some soldiers had already removed it from the mortuary, and buried it in the same grave as a number of other bodies, in the public cemetery at Masese, two miles from Jinja. I was so shocked by this latest news that I decided, after consultation with other people concerned, to make no further effort to recover Nkutu's body. To the best of my knowledge, Nkutu, a man who fought for Uganda's independence and who for many years was a Minister in the Obote Government, remains buried in an unmarked mass grave in the Masese public cemetery.

The liquidations that were carried out in Jinja were so systematic and selective that they could only have had one misguided (but abortive) purpose, namely to destroy what was thought to be my political base in the country.

I repeatedly and persistently took issue with you over these murders, as well as on the other liquidations and massacres that were intermittently going on elsewhere in the country. You totally and completely ignored my warnings and appeals, and remained callously indifferent to the personal tragedies and social upheavals resulting from these crimes. Indeed, you often became hostile and uncommunicative when I raised these matters with you. Despite my persistent demands, not once did you assign anybody to investigate either publicly or even privately, any of the specific murders that I brought to your attention, nor the other liquidations that were occurring in the country from time to time. You sometimes undertook to put a stop to these crimes, but these were mere promises, unsupported by a sincere desire and determination to attain the same end. More often than not your undertakings merely produced a lull in a continuing series of liquidations.

9. You were most unwilling to see any relative of a victim who wanted to complain to you about a liquidation, or to seek your help and assistance. When you finally agreed to see any such person it was only with great reluctance, and your reaction to their pleas was invariably hostile.

A good example of your hostility to any inquiry about a victim of a liquidation relates to PATRICK RUHINDA, the late brother of JOHN BARIGYE, former Uganda's Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany. One day in early February 1973 you telephoned me at my house (around Midnight) in a very angry mood. You said Barigye (who was then our Ambassador in Bonn) had that evening telephoned you to ask about his brother Ruhinda, who he had been told had "disappeared". You told me to ring Barigye in Bonn immediately to tell him that you were not a policeman to inquire into the whereabouts of missing people, and that he had no right to speak to you on such matters. You said I should immediately recall Barigye from Bonn, and that you would not have him as Ambassador any longer.

I was startled by your furious reaction to an innocent inquiry about a missing person, particularly as the inquiry emanated from a Government officer who had served his country over a long period, and well too. I did not telephone Barigye, nor did I withdraw him from his post. I did not see that any reason existed for penalising Barigye. Later he himself resigned in protest against the "reign of terror" you had established in Uganda.

If you are an innocent party in these crimes, and are further willing to assist the people of Uganda in putting an end to them why are you invariably hostile when any Ugandan asks you about the abduction of a relative?

10. Your personal involvement in the liquidation of thousands of innocent Ugandans is beyond dispute or contradiction. There are some men who have been liquidated simply because you wanted their wives or girlfriends. I could easily name a few such victims, but I will not do so in order to save the women concerned, who are still alive, some embarrassment. In any case, the identity of such victims is well known to the people of Uganda.

The assassins who wield the power of life and death in Uganda have taken a leaf out of your book and are given to liquidating people on purely personal grounds. Take the example of STEPHEN EPUNAU (a classmate of mine at school) who was Manager of the Kabale branch of Barclays Bank when he was liquidated in September 1972. The only cause for his murder was that he refused to advance a car-loan to a soldier. His explanation that the loan applied for was beyond his limit as branch manager was not accepted. He was dragged away from the bank in the full view of bank employees, to be murdered in cold blood. Later the assassins took his trousers and shoes back to his family to show that he had been "finished".

You have also at various times ordered the liquidation of tribal groups, in the army and in civilian life, largely as a result of your paranoiac hatred arising from your deep-seated fear of all ethnic groups other than your own small one. The Langi and Acholi, because of their ethnic and political connection with former President Obote, have borne the brunt of these attacks, although most tribes in Uganda, but certainly excluding your own, have extensively suffered in these ravages.

11. The lawless elements that you have licensed to kill are certainly not the Uganda Armed Forces as a whole, who have suffered at the hands of the assassins as bitterly as the civilians. The assassins are a small cabal of men, owing direct loyalty to you personally. They are in general your ethnic kith and kin, and they operate in a number of security organisations which are mere fronts for their criminal activities. They are found in the "State Research Unit", the "Public Safety Unit" and in the Military Police. Some are nominally in the Uganda Army, but they never wear military uniform and merely revolve around you, awaiting instructions. Some soldiers have, of course, taken advantage of the situation of general lawlessness created by the ravages of the assassins to settle, with impunity, personal scores of their own. The peasants and workers, the students, the intellectuals, the progressive elements and all classes of society have suffered at the hands of the assassins.

12. People who in the past have worked long and hard for you, and some who even helped you to seize power in January 1971, have fallen victim of the assassins. I will cite just a few examples:-

- (i) LT.-COL. OCHIMA: at the time of your coup in January 1971 and in the months following the coup, Ochima worked at least 20 hours a day for you. In those early days he was your Press Officer, public relations man, A.D.C., bodyguard, special enjoy, all at the same time. Where is he? Liquidated.
- (ii) MAJOR OZI: he worked closely with you in setting up the "State Research Unit", which operates from your office, and he became first head of that unit. Where is he? Gone missing.
- (iii) CAPTAIN ONZIMA: at the time of the coup he captured Gulu Air Base for you, which was no easy task since Gulu had resisted the military takeover. Where is he? Liquidated without trial.
- (iv) CAPTAIN ASWA: as Warrant Officer Class II he made the very first official announcement after the coup, reading out the 18 reasons and introducing you to the people of Uganda. Where is he? Liquidated without trial.
- (v) CAPTAIN OGWANG: a Langi officer who fought on your side in the coup. Liquidated (with others) at Magamaga in July 1971, simply because of his tribe.

These young officers, to name only a few of comparable victims, loyally supported you not only at the time of your coup but even before then. In the 12 months' struggle for power culminating in the coup, some of these young men were even prepared to lay down their lives in your support. Yet within two years of your assumption of power they and many others like them have been mercilessly liquidated. They have not even had the benefit of a decent burial or funeral, their bodies having been clandestinely disposed of.

II. BLAMING OTHER PEOPLE.

From time to time you have sought to place responsibility for the disappearances on to other people. You have at various times blamed "imperialists", "guerrillas from Tanzania", and even other Ugandans for these violent crimes against the people of Uganda.

In early January 1973 you issued a statement "explaining" 85 "disappearances", but the explanations on some individual cases were so inadequate, and so patently false, that the statement as a whole clearly did you more harm than good. For example, EPUNAU, whom I referred to earlier, was stated to have gone to Rwanda for a holiday and never returned.

On or about 25 June 1973 you had two "guerrillas" executed by firing squad after a "trial" by the Military Tribunal. It was alleged that the two men had been found with lists of 64 people to be killed in Uganda, many of whom were said to have "disappeared". Among those on the alleged list was BENEDICTO KIWANUKA, the Chief Justice who had "disappeared" in September 1972. Clearly, the two men were being accused of having murdered the Chief Justice, among other people.

In October 1973 you dismissed MAJOR OZI, Chief of the "State Research Unit" "because it has been proved that all subversive activities including kidnapping and killing of people were carried out with the knowledge of Major Ozi". You accused Ozi of having issued documents to Kondos (robbers) "who went round claiming that they were from the President's Office", and further claimed that "some of these documents, bearing the signature of Major Ozi are now in the hands of the Military Police".

You never put Ozi on trial of any kind, nor did you produce the documentary and other evidence claimed to incriminate him. After your accusations, Ozi simply went missing.

In January 1973 you said of LT.-COL. TOLOKO:- "When Lt.-Col. Toloko was Commanding Officer of Toro and Tororo, there was a lot of misunderstanding and disappearance of people including the District Commissioner of Bukedi..... Since Lt.-Col. Toloko was brought to the headquarters to be under close observation there is now peace in Tororo."

Although it can be acknowledged that Toloko was indeed responsible for the disappearance of many people, the fact remains that when you found out all about him, you never put him on trial for his crimes. Instead you transferred him to General Headquarters for "close observation". A few months later Toloko was dragged away from the Grand

Hotel, Kampala, screaming for help against what he called "dangerous men who are going to kill me". Toloko was never put on trial for his crimes, he was simply killed.

Despite your past statements on the disappearances, and despite the people who have been condemned to death, and executed, for allegedly causing the disappearance of people in Uganda, you have nonetheless appointed a judicial commission to "inquire into the disappearances". No doubt, you hope that the commissioner will blame somebody else for, or at least exonerate you from, these crimes.

If you appointed not one but 10 "judicial commissions" to inquire into the disappearances, they would not be able to exonerate you. Nor would they be able to serve any useful purpose as long as you remain in power since, as all Ugandans know, you are the main culprit. The only commission that could be of use would be one charged with responsibility for assessing compensation to be paid to the thousands of Ugandans who have been rendered widows and orphans as a result of the reign of terror.

Equally, your quarrel with the report of the International Commission of Jurists is misplaced and pointless, since the report merely states the facts as they are generally known.

13. Not only I, but several of my colleagues holding Ministerial posts (some of whom also lost friends and relatives in the liquidations), constantly appealed to you to put an end to the carnage. You ignored all appeals. Despite the anguish, anger and utter frustration caused in me by the liquidation of personal associates and other innocent Ugandans generally, I soldiered on in the interest of the country as a whole. Since I had known you closely, since the coup and even for years before that, I believed (as did many of my associates) that my best hope of restraining your aberrations lay in my remaining in the Government. But my patience was not without end. On your part you expected me to carry on indefinitely without complaint, despite everything, as if I were a robot. You were mistaken about me.

III. MERCENARY SOLDIERS IN UGANDA ARMED FORCES.

In order to entrench your brutal, erratic and factional rule in Uganda, you have, without any shame, extensively employed mercenary soldiers clandestinely recruited from the Southern Sudan. Since you yourself come from the Uganda/Sudan border you have ruthlessly exploited the ethnic loyalties of the people on both sides of the border. The mercenaries you have recruited from the Southern Sudan (of course without the knowledge of the Sudanese authorities) have debased the standards of the Uganda Armed Forces since the pre-occupation of the mercenaries is to kill, maim and loot.

IV. ENTRENCHING TRIBALISM.

Although you have from time to time spoken against tribalism, this has been mere lip-service. You have based your rule on tribal and factional support, which has permeated through the Armed Forces and in the Civil Service. You have habitually based your appointments, particularly in the Armed Forces, not on competence or seniority, but on ethnic and other factional groupings.

The Voice of Uganda of 23 April 1973, in reporting one of your speeches, brings out your tribal sentiments very clearly. Under the banner headline on page 1, reading NUBIANS ARE UNIQUE TRIBE, SAYS GENERAL, the paper which, of course, is Government-owned, reports you as saying that "Nubians are a unique tribe consisting of all tribes in Africa, especially in East Africa", and, further, that "everybody in Africa is free to become a member of the Nubian tribe". You are, of course, yourself a Nubian. The above quotations speak for themselves.

V. YOUR "ECONOMIC WAR".

1. Since the latter part of 1972, you have expelled groups of non-nationals living in Uganda because, you said, you wanted to "transfer the economy to the people of Uganda". Subsequent events have proved that your aim in expelling the non-nationals, including the Asians, was not to reform the economic system so as to bring the benefits of the national economy to the people as a whole, but merely to transfer to individual Ugandans (and to other foreigners favoured by yourself) the extensive wealth formerly owned by those expelled.
2. You have often said that you wanted to see "black millionaires" thriving in Uganda. To that end you have transferred (gratis) the great bulk of the industries, agricultural plantations, dairy farms, ranches, mansions and other valuable property left behind by the Asians and other expelled foreigners to other individuals in Uganda, who moreover are sometimes not Ugandan. Some commercial and industrial undertakings in which the Government or public corporations held a share (sometimes on a 50:50 basis) in partnership with the expellees have also been turned over (gratis) to private individuals, in pursuance of your "economic war". Your ethnic kith and kin, as every Ugandan knows, have done extremely well out of the allocations of the businesses, and other assets left behind by the expellees. You have yourself freely shared in the booty.
3. You totally rejected all suggestions that the major assets left behind by those expelled should come under Government management and ownership for the benefit of the nation as a whole. You rejected all such suggestions as being

"communist". Under pressure you accepted the setting up of 20 public corporations to run various sectors of the economy previously controlled by the expellees. On 25 January 1973 you read out a speech in which you announced the names of the corporations, and their scope in the economy. However, shortly afterwards you reneged on the proposals and they have never been implemented.

4. The scandalous fact is that you have used the "economic war" to buy support from sections of the community (civilian and military), and sometimes from foreigners, by giving individual men gifts of factories, farms, mansions, etc., formerly owned by Asians or other foreigners, as if it were your own property. The Speke Hotel, Kampala, for example, was given away in this way. In the same way you have awarded individuals lucrative export or import contracts in order to secure their personal loyalty to you.
5. You have yourself often castigated the business malpractices of the new traders, businessmen and industrialists, accusing them of being even worse than the expelled Asians. What you do not realise is that commercial or any other form of exploitation, has nothing to do with the colour of a man's skin or the texture of his hair; that an exploiter is still an exploiter be he black, brown, blue, red or yellow; and that the masses are not better off if instead of being exploited by a foreigner they are exploited by one of their own. This should at least teach you that a true economic war, or any struggle for economic and social justice, has nothing to do with racialism, which is one of your obsessions.
6. Your "economic war" has not improved the condition of the masses in any way, and has in certain respects worsened them, e.g. through the creation of permanent shortages of essential foodstuffs, and through the need to import goods which Uganda previously used to export. The most that the "economic war" has done is to enlarge and entrench the class of the national bourgeoisie, whose interests are diametrically opposed to those of the workers and peasants, who form the overwhelming majority of the population.
7. The verbal attacks which you yourself have frequently directed at the new businessmen exemplify the failure of your "economic war" - a failure which was a foregone conclusion right from the start. Blame for such failure, however, does not lie with the new propertied class, who are merely behaving as any such class would do anywhere else, but with yourself, who ignored all advice on the matter and ordered the implementation of policies whose economic effects you do not, and could never, understand.

VI. ONE-MAN-RULE.

Your system of government, or more correctly, mis-government, is purely a one-man affair. You see the role of all other Ugandans, whether in the security forces or in civilian life, as that of servile servants carrying out your orders and instructions without question.

As a result of this one-man rule, you habitually give out orders affecting everybody in the country without consulting anybody in the country. You can even sign decrees not because they are in the national interest, but because they suit you personally, and you alone.

One example of such a decree is the one you signed banning the growing of beards in Uganda. You banned the growing of beards in the country not because that order was in any way for the good of the country, but because physiologically you yourself cannot grow a beard, or even a moustache. According to you, because a beard cannot grow on your chin, nobody in the country should grow one.

In the same way you have signed numerous decrees curtailing the basic rights of the people of Uganda without consulting anybody. The decrees granting sweeping powers of arrest to the Army are an example.

You keep on issuing statements in the guise of the "Government spokesman", "Military Spokesman", "Spokesman of the President's Office", to give the impression that all these are different people, whereas it is one person, that is yourself. Decisions are often imputed to the Defence Council, to give the impression that you work with an advisory or consultative body, which is not the position.

VII. 18 POINTS DESECRATED.

The soldiers' 18 points, which were in effect a blueprint for a better future, have been desecrated and violated by you one thousand times over. They were all murdered a long time ago, and are as dead as Captain Aswa, the soldier who first read them on Radio Uganda on 25 January 1971. If the people of Uganda were to draw up "points" in condemnation of your rule, there would be not 18 but 18,000 points against you, if not more.

VIII. MY SERVICE AND LOYALTY TO THE PEOPLE OF UGANDA.

There is no need for me to recount in any detail what I did for the country in the two years that I held office in the Second Republic of Uganda. The people themselves are aware of my contribution, since my record is an open book. I will here cite only a very few instances of such service - events that you have no doubt forgotten:-

1. In 1971 you were determined to pay a state visit to South Africa and to exchange ambassadors with the South African regime. It was only my firm intervention that prevented this.

For reference see copies of the Uganda Argus of September 1971 for a record of the telegrams you sent to Vorster while I was in New York attending the UN General Assembly, in which telegrams you proposed sending a delegation to South Africa. You can also look at the Uganda Argus for a report of my Press Conference in New York in September 1971, when I did my best to cover up and explain away the damage your actions had done to the African Revolution.

2. But for me you would have signed decrees expelling:
 - (a) thousands of the Rwandese refugees in Uganda, and
 - (b) confirmed Uganda citizens simply because they were of Asian origin.

See the Uganda Argus of 21 August 1972 for your speech announcing the expulsion of these categories of people - expulsions that you announced (without prior consultation with anybody) while I was in Guyana for the Non-Aligned Conference. You can also see subsequent copies of the Argus for your reversal of stand on these decisions.

3. But for me you would have expelled all Jaluos in Uganda, in a misguided effort to buy political support in Kenya. You can look at copies of the Voice of Uganda of 12 and 13 February 1973 when you claimed (falsely) that "the people of Uganda" had asked you to expel Jaluos from their jobs in Uganda, and to repatriate them to Kenya. You reversed the decision to expel the Jaluos (which you had again made without consulting anybody) when I urged you to desist from that folly.

In advising you as I did in the instances cited, I had in mind the greater good of the people of Uganda, and of Africa as a whole, whose interests were better served by your climb-down on the retrogressive decisions you had taken.

IX. ANTI-IMPERIALIST SMOKESCREEN.

A number of Ugandans have courageously come out in the open against your misdeeds in Uganda. A few, including myself, have resigned high office in your Government as a protest against your crimes against the people of Uganda. Invariably you have accused these patriotic Ugandans of being "confused by the imperialists" or being "in the pockets of the imperialists".

The people who you have vainly attempted to slander with these labels are the very ones who taught you the ABC of African politics and international affairs, although due to your erratic rule they had to go into exile before they had taught you the whole of the political alphabet.

This is self-evident since at the time you came to power in 1971 you had never heard of the words "imperialism" or "colonialism". Having now learnt these and similar terms like a parrot, and having discovered their significance in African politics, you have sung them daily by way of exhibitionism. Anybody who dares mention your misdeeds in Uganda is to you an "imperialist" or an "imperialist agent".

It is a fact you yourself still do not realise or understand what imperialism or colonialism is. That is why, in June 1973, you paid a visit to Djibouti, a French colony recognised and aided as such by the Organisation of African Unity. You spent a night there, and on your return to Uganda sent a telegram to the French President expressing heartfelt gratitude for the hospitality that had been extended to you by the colonial authorities in Djibouti. No doubt you have forgotten what you said in the telegram. Here is an extract from it, which was addressed to President Pompidou of France:-

"I send you my best, cordial and fraternal greetings.... I assure you of the highest during (sic) my one day stop in Djibouti. Your High Commissioner's Office through Mr. Jean Massias and Major Jacques Richard extended a very warm reception and did everything possible to make my short stay memorable."

You can look at the Voice of Uganda (a Government newspaper) of 20 June 1973, page 1, for the full text of your telegram.

In addition, not only did you spend many years fighting against the freedom fighters in Kenya (the Mau Mau) and Somalia, but you have often boasted of your exploits in those wars, retelling with gusto how you had killed "poorly armed rebels".

Your anti-imperialism is therefore bogus - sham from beginning to end. It is an assumed stance designed to achieve two ends, namely:-

- (1) to mislead progressive opinion outside East Africa, particularly in the developing world (where your past may not be very well known) about your true character, and to ingratiate yourself on the forces of progress everywhere, and
- (2) to camouflage your crimes against the people of Uganda.

Your "anti-imperialist" statements, in short, are merely a smokescreen to conceal the multifarious political and economic skeletons in your domestic cupboard.

As a matter of fact, since you maintain your grip on Uganda only with the help of mercenary troops from the Southern Sudan and are their agent in their economic exploitation of the country as well as the agent of other foreigners, you are yourself in effect an imperialist agent.

X. LIES, INTERNATIONAL BLACKMAIL, AND REACTIONARY VIOLENCE.

Your misrule in our beautiful country is founded on three cornerstones:- (1) Lies. (2) International Blackmail, and (3) Reactionary violence.

1. Lies:

The people of Uganda know that out of any ten statements that issue forth from your mouth and are alleged to be statements of fact, at least nine of them are false, and the tenth is at least a half-truth.

As a person who has known you closely for years, before and after you assumed your present position in Uganda, I can state with the utmost conviction that you speak the truth only through sheer accident, without intending to do so. Even when telling the truth would do you no harm, or would actually do you a lot of good, you still prefer to tell lies.

If I listed the lies you have told the people of Uganda and the world at large, I could fill up a volume of 1,000 pages. Here are just a few of your lies:-

1. You have said that you seized power in a counter-coup. Lies. Your power seizure was a well-planned coup, worked out over a period of months.

2. You have said that you were held under gunpoint for eight hours before you finally agreed to become President. Lies.
3. In December 1972 you published a letter which you said JOHN KAZZORA had written to Archbishop EMMANUEL NSUBUGA of Kampala, suggesting plans for the overthrow of your Government. Lies. This document was a blatant forgery, and I told you so when you showed it to me. I strongly advised you not to release the document to the public because anybody would see it was a forgery, but you went ahead and published it.
4. On several occasions in January and February 1973 you issued statements alleging that guerrillas had been sent from Tanzania to assassinate me, RUGUMAYO (then Minister of Education) and other individuals. On 4 February 1973 you put a number of such alleged guerrillas on Uganda television and made them "confess" to their plots to assassinate me and others. The story which these "guerrillas" told on television was an obvious fake. When I made my own inquiries into the matter I easily discovered that when the men were at the television studios, you telephoned them to give them last minute instructions on what to say. In fact you were plotting and organising a scapegoat for our eventual "disappearance".

If lies could strangle a person, you would have killed yourself a long time ago.

2. International Blackmail:

The nature of your excesses is such that nobody in Uganda, except in strict privacy, can voice any criticism of your misrule, however mild, well intentioned, constructive or patriotic such criticism might be. However, your excesses have often been aired in the foreign news media.

Instead of answering your critics point by point and disproving their allegations (if you could do that), you have descended to the lowest levels of international blackmail, against individuals and institutions, and even against other governments. You have gone to the extent of holding at ransom groups of foreign nationals in Uganda against the "good behaviour" of their national governments or other institutions, over which they have no control whatsoever.

All this is in a desperate effort to stifle all criticism of your misrule. It is, of course, a matter of great regret that some governments have succumbed to your blackmail.

These efforts on your part are pointless, because whatever you do, the truth will always come to the surface. You may be able to suppress men but you can never suppress the truth.

3. Reactionary Violence:

The unbridled violence which your misrule has unleashed against the people of Uganda is not designed to achieve any laudable purpose, revolutionary or otherwise. Its sole aim is to entrench personal power and factional rule, and is therefore reactionary in the extreme.

The three pillars of your misrule are jointly designed to achieve two things:-

- (a) to perpetuate tribal hegemony and factional rule in Uganda, and
- (b) to promote greed and personal aggrandisement.

All this is a logical follow-up to the fact that your rule operates in an ideological vacuum, without any political, social, economic or even moral guiding principles whatsoever. But a national authority which operates in such a vacuum, merely existing in order to prolong its life and devoid of any regard for the interest of the masses, is no longer a Government in the accepted sense of the word. It is simply a National Protection Racket.

That is not the kind of set-up that I agreed to serve when I took office in the Government of the Second Republic of Uganda in January 1971. For two years I struggled day and night to maintain a semblance of political sanity in the chaos frequently caused by your aberrations in the political, social and economic fields. I also worked to the best of my ability to safeguard the general interest of the people of Uganda and, in addition, to give your Government a measure of international responsibility and respectability. I took a constant stand against your excesses, and your answer was to produce bogus guerrillas to claim they had been sent by outsiders to assassinate me.

When it became clear that your misrule, which totally discounted the welfare of the Uganda people, had degenerated into a National Protection Racket, there was only one honourable course open to me as a man of conscience and high principles. That was to resign. Not for one small instant since I took that decision have I ever regretted it. The continuing brutal and erratic nature of your misrule, compounded by your aberrations in foreign affairs, fortify me in the conviction that I took the right decision.

CONCLUSION.

No doubt, you may sometimes be under the illusion that when your days are over, your rule will be favourably remembered for some statement you made, or perhaps for some action you took, in the political, economic or social sphere. If so, you would be deluding yourself. When future generations look at your period of one-man rule (misrule) in Uganda, they will realise that never in the history of our beautiful country did one man ever cause so much misery and bitterness to so many people in such a short period of time.

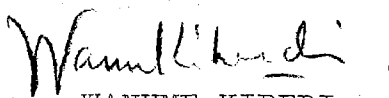
Some foreign commentators, observing your eccentricities and the brutal and sadistic nature of your misrule, have sought to cast a slur on African political leadership generally, advancing a hypothesis that your standards are representative of independent Africa as a whole. Nothing, of course, could be further from the truth, as any objective and fair-minded observer is bound to admit. Africa, like other continents, may have its share of problems of leadership, but your excesses are exceptional and unique to you, and in no way representative of independent Africa.

Of course, it is too late for you to resign with any semblance of honour, since you have already so badly dishonoured your name among the people of Uganda. But it is not too late to give up.

I call upon you to give up the reins of power, and set the people of Uganda free.

Long live the people of Uganda!!

Long live the African Revolution!!


WANUME KIBEDI

One Patriotic Ugandan

Paris, 21 June 1974.

A D D E N D U M

t o

OPEN LETTER to GENERAL IDI AMIN

b y

WANUME KIBEDI

Since releasing the foregoing letter to the press, I have answered a number of questions thereon put to me by various representatives of the information media. Here are some of the questions, and my response thereto:

Q: Why have you decided to speak out now?

WK: The reasons for this are set out in my letter. My reticence was calculated, and I came out with my detailed statement when I considered the time opportune and ripe to do so. However, the fact that I resigned as a protest against Amin's misrule has always been well-known.

Q: Have you yourself stated this before?

WK: To my friends and other associates - yes, many times. In respect of the newsmedia, I called a press conference in Nairobi at the time of my resignation last year, with the intention of denouncing Amin, but the press conference was cancelled at the very last minute when officials in Nairobi who had the authority and power to stop it told me in no uncertain terms not to go ahead with it. Subsequently, in May 1973, I sent a statement to "The Observer" (the London newspaper) stating that I had resigned as a protest against the disappearance without any investigation of innocent people in Uganda. That statement was published.

Q: Have you kept quiet as a result of concern for your relatives and friends still in Uganda?

WK: Without doubt this is a consideration which has prevailed upon many Ugandans resident outside their motherland to stay silent about Amin's misrule. It is an understandable feeling. After all, we are all human. However, I consider that we have a duty to the living, as well as to the dead and to the yet unborn. I have spoken out because I see it as my duty to my country and to Africa generally to expose the truth about Amin.

Q: Have you said all that you know about Amin's misrule in Uganda?

WK: I could not possibly do that in the space of 19 pages, which is the length of my letter to Amin. Be that as it may, only a tiny bit of what I wrote ever found space in the international press.

Q: When you met the judges why did you not tell them what Amin had said to you about the arrest of the Chief Justice?

WK: I was still Amin's minister, and as long as I remained in that position I was tied to the official statement he had issued on the matter, notwithstanding that it was to my knowledge false. I was placed in a most unenviable position, and I wished again and again that I was not a member of Amin's government.

The month of September 1972, in which the Justice was abducted, also saw the public abduction and subsequent liquidation of many other innocent Ugandans. From time to time the unsavoury aspects of Amin's rule had filled me with anguish and much heartsearching. After the tragic events of that September, I firmly made up my mind to quit Amin's government. Thereafter the only question was not whether to quit but when to quit the Amin set-up.

Q: What was the attitude of other members of the government?

WK: I could not possibly speak for all of them, but those with whom I used to have intimate discussions were just as disgusted and fed-up with the way things were going as I was. From that time onwards, I and a few colleagues frequently discussed the strategy of resigning from Amin's government. We knew we could not resign in protest against Amin's misdeeds and hope to continue living in the country without grave risk of immediate liquidation. After all, Amin's assassins had frequently struck down people who had not made any protest against Amin's misrule. In respect of my plans for quitting, I was also concerned to ensure that the timing of my departure would not exacerbate and aggravate the position of associates who remained behind.

Q: When did you finally leave the country?

WK: I left Uganda on February 15, 1973, on Amin's mission to Kenya. The nature of that mission was the last straw, and I decided, before leaving Kampala, that I would not return but would resign my office from abroad. Only a handful of my associates knew of this decision before I left Kampala.

Q: Why was that mission "the last straw"?

WK: The mission concerned a number of matters, all of which, except one, were routine business. The exception related to several Ugandan exiles who Amin believed were in Nairobi. Amin instructed me to pass on a message written out by himself in which he requested the handing over of the exiles concerned. I found this part of my instructions distasteful and repugnant, since the request for extradition was completely outside the legal processes, and, to the best of my knowledge, the individuals concerned were innocent of any anti-state activities. The circumstances were such that I had to pass on Amin's "package" of messages, but I then stayed on in Nairobi and urged the Kenyans not to hand over anybody to Amin. None were handed over. While still abroad I sent Amin my resignation.

Q: There have been reports that while you were in Nairobi, one of your friends or relatives in Kampala telephoned and warned you of a plan to assassinate you on your return to Kampala.

WK: I have heard of this story. It introduces a James Bond flavour to my resignation. Actually nobody telephoned me from Kampala or from anywhere else to warn me as alleged, or in any other way. As I have said, before I left Kampala, I had made up my mind to remain abroad and from there to send Amin my letter of resignation.

Q: Why did you serve under Amin in the first place?

WK: Amin's seizure of power in January 1971 created a massive policy vacuum, because he did not have any political, social or economic policies. The coup had been executed to save his position as Commander of the Uganda Armed Forces, and after that had been achieved there was little else for him to do apart of course from entrenching himself in power. The policy vacuum was very dangerous for the country, because there were many politicians who wanted to exploit it for their own personal ends. Some pressed for a return to the post-independence Constitution of 1962, which had long been overtaken by events. I viewed any such prospect with foreboding. In addition, the coup was widely acclaimed in the country, though, of course, not in every corner, and the soldiers' 18 points were a blueprint for a better future. Taking all those points into consideration, I felt duty bound to accept office in the military government. In agreeing to serve under Amin, I never imagined that he would turn out to be the kind of power-drunk despot that he later became.

Q: How can anybody serve in Amin's government in the face of all that is going on?

WK: I suppose people do so for different motives. I have stated why I served in Amin's government. I know of other people who were prompted to serve under Amin for similar considerations. No doubt, there are people who would hang on with Amin despite everything. All I can say is that in the light of what I know about the nature of Amin's misrule, and considering the misery and suffering that he continues to cause to the people of Uganda, under no circumstances whatsoever would I now consider serving under Amin - not even for one day.

Q: You have criticized the economic war, but is it not true that many people in Uganda are happy about it?

WK: Without doubt there are people who have grown very rich as a result of Amin's "economic war". Such people might be taken to be "happy". But there are two points to note here. First, such people are only a very tiny proportion of the population, less than one per cent. Secondly, even they cannot be really happy amidst the insecurity and lawlessness rampant in the country.

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Amin interpreted my refusal to take Asian business or houses as an act of defiance, and he became bitter at my attitude. He reacted with undisguised hostility towards me, and to the other two ministers who had refused to take Asian businesses or houses.

Apart from the disappearances, my attitude to Amin's concept of an "economic war" which promoted and entrenched greed and personal aggrandizement was one of my major and most fundamental conflicts with Amin. Neither Gomba Motors nor any business of any kind was ever allocated to me or to any agent of mine. There were, of course, businesses that Amin himself, in his devious calculations, gave to people who were related to me (people who were at the same time his own relatives by marriage) but these allocations had nothing to do with me nor was I consulted about them.

I left Amin's government as I had joined it: poor. I am very proud of that. Despite the opportunities that existed, I did not take anything, be it a business, farm, factory, house, or even a bicycle or a handkerchief that had been left behind by any of the thousands of people who had been forced to leave Uganda as a result of Amin's "conomic war".

Q: You have called on Amin to resign his position, but is that realistic?

WK: Here I am merely expressing what I believe to be the overwhelming desire and longing of the people of Uganda. Amin may not resign, but in my view it is high time that Ugandans who are in a position to speak out, came out openly and frankly and told Amin to go. Politics everywhere require a certain amount of courage for one to be able to speak out on fundamental issues. This is even more so in respect of the extraordinary and tragic state of affairs currently existing in our beloved country. Amin's erratic and irrational disposition means that one cannot predict with any certainty what his reaction might be to a development that he considered a challenge of some sort. This, however, must not deter the people of Uganda from speaking out against the injustices and oppression that have become the hallmark of Amin's misrule.



A D D E N D U M

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OPEN LETTER to GENERAL IDI AMIN

b y

WANUME KIBEDI

Since releasing the foregoing letter to the press, I have answered a number of questions thereon put to me by various representatives of the information media. Here are some of the questions, and my response thereto:

Q: Why have you decided to speak out now?

WK: The reasons for this are set out in my letter. My reticence was calculated, and I came out with my detailed statement when I considered the time opportune and ripe to do so. However, the fact that I resigned as a protest against Amin's misrule has always been well-known.

Q: Have you yourself stated this before?

WK: To my friends and other associates - yes, many times. In respect of the newsmedia, I called a press conference in Nairobi at the time of my resignation last year, with the intention of denouncing Amin, but the press conference was cancelled at the very last minute when officials in Nairobi who had the authority and power to stop it told me in no uncertain terms not to go ahead with it. Subsequently, in May 1973, I sent a statement to "The Observer" (the London newspaper) stating that I had resigned as a protest against the disappearance without any investigation of innocent people in Uganda. That statement was published.

Q: Have you kept quiet as a result of concern for your relatives and friends still in Uganda?

WK: Without doubt this is a consideration which has prevailed upon many Ugandans resident outside their motherland to stay silent about Amin's misrule. It is an understandable feeling. After all, we are all human. However, I consider that we have a duty to the living, as well as to the dead and to the yet unborn. I have spoken out because I see it as my duty to my country and to Africa generally to expose the truth about Amin.

Q: Have you said all that you know about Amin's misrule in Uganda?

WK: I could not possibly do that in the space of 19 pages, which is the length of my letter to Amin. Be that as it may, only a tiny bit of what I wrote ever found space in the international press.

Q: When you met the judges why did you not tell them what Amin had said to you about the arrest of the Chief Justice?

WK: I was still Amin's minister, and as long as I remained in that position I was tied to the official statement he had issued on the matter, notwithstanding that it was to my knowledge false. I was placed in a most unenviable position, and I wished again and again that I was not a member of Amin's government.

The month of September 1972, in which the Justice was abducted, also saw the public abduction and subsequent liquidation of many other innocent Ugandans. From time to time the unsavoury aspects of Amin's rule had filled me with anguish and much heartsearching. After the tragic events of that September, I firmly made up my mind to quit Amin's government. Thereafter the only question was not whether to quit but when to quit the Amin set-up.

Q: What was the attitude of other members of the government?

WK: I could not possibly speak for all of them, but those with whom I used to have intimate discussions were just as disgusted and fed-up with the way things were going as I was. From that time onwards, I and a few colleagues frequently discussed the strategy of resigning from Amin's government. We knew we could not resign in protest against Amin's misdeeds and hope to continue living in the country without grave risk of immediate liquidation. After all, Amin's assassins had frequently struck down people who had not made any protest against Amin's misrule. In respect of my plans for quitting, I was also concerned to ensure that the timing of my departure would not exacerbate and aggravate the position of associates who remained behind.

Q: When did you finally leave the country?

WK: I left Uganda on February 15, 1973, on Amin's mission to Kenya. The nature of that mission was the last straw, and I decided, before leaving Kampala, that I would not return but would resign my office from abroad. Only a handful of my associates knew of this decision before I left Kampala.

Q: Why was that mission "the last straw"?

WK: The mission concerned a number of matters, all of which, except one, were routine business. The exception related to several Ugandan exiles who Amin believed were in Nairobi. Amin instructed me to pass on a message written out by himself in which he requested the handing over of the exiles concerned. I found this part of my instructions distasteful and repugnant, since the request for extradition was completely outside the legal processes, and, to the best of my knowledge, the individuals concerned were innocent of any anti-state activities. The circumstances were such that I had to pass on Amin's "package" of messages, but I then stayed on in Nairobi and urged the Kenyans not to hand over anybody to Amin. None were handed over. While still abroad I sent Amin my resignation.

Q: There have been reports that while you were in Nairobi, one of your friends or relatives in Kampala telephoned and warned you of a plan to assassinate you on your return to Kampala.

WK: I have heard of this story. It introduces a James Bond flavour to my resignation. Actually nobody telephoned me from Kampala or from anywhere else to warn me as alleged, or in any other way. As I have said, before I left Kampala, I had made up my mind to remain abroad and from there to send Amin my letter of resignation.

Q: Why did you serve under Amin in the first place?

WK: Amin's seizure of power in January 1971 created a massive policy vacuum, because he did not have any political, social or economic policies. The coup had been executed to save his position as Commander of the Uganda Armed Forces, and after that had been achieved there was little else for him to do apart of course from entrenching himself in power. The policy vacuum was very dangerous for the country, because there were many politicians who wanted to exploit it for their own personal ends. Some pressed for a return to the post-independence Constitution of 1962, which had long been overtaken by events. I viewed any such prospect with foreboding. In addition, the coup was widely acclaimed in the country, though, of course, not in every corner, and the soldiers' 18 points were a blueprint for a better future. Taking all those points into consideration, I felt duty bound to accept office in the military government. In agreeing to serve under Amin, I never imagined that he would turn out to be the kind of power-drunk despot that he later became.

Q: How can anybody serve in Amin's government in the face of all that is going on?

WK: I suppose people do so for different motives. I have stated why I served in Amin's government. I know of other people who were prompted to serve under Amin for similar considerations. No doubt, there are people who would hang on with Amin despite everything. All I can say is that in the light of what I know about the nature of Amin's misrule, and considering the misery and suffering that he continues to cause to the people of Uganda, under no circumstances whatsoever would I now consider serving under Amin - not even for one day.

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