

Wilson

MUNGER AFRICANA LIBRARY NOTES



CALIFORNIA
INSTITUTE OF
TECHNOLOGY
MAR 13 1973

18 INSIDE AMIN'S UGANDA: MORE AFRICANS MURDERED

Munger Africana Library Notes, issued occasionally, are eclectic within the field of Africana.

Issues are generated from seminars by distinguished visitors, current field research, unpublished library manuscripts, work in progress at the California Institute of Technology, and other material deemed useful to Africanists.

The Editorial Advisory Committee is drawn from Africanists at the Institute who have themselves published research on African topics. They include: Robert Bates (PhD MIT) Political Science; Margaret Rouse Bates (PhD Harvard) Political Science; Robert Dilworth (PhD Caltech) Mathematics; Robert Huttenback (PhD UCLA) History; Edwin Munger (PhD Chicago) Political Geography, Editor; Robert Oliver (PhD Princeton) Economics; Thayer Scudder (PhD Harvard) Anthropology.

Assistant Editors: Monique Le Blanc (MA UCLA) African Studies; Joanne Goldmann (BA CCLA) English.

Business Manager: Kathie Marcum

Viewpoints expressed in these occasional notes are solely the responsibility of the individual authors and may or may not have the concurrence of the editorial advisory committee.

Correspondence should be addressed to:

Munger Africana Library
California Institute of Technology
Pasadena, California 91109

Subscriptions are \$10 per volume. (A volume consists of all the issues published during a particular school year.) Prices of individual issues vary, but the total cost of all single issues in one year will be in excess of \$10.

The color reproduction on the cover is taken from the Victor Du Bois Collection of West African Art. Photo by Floyd Clark.

MUNGER AFRICANA LIBRARY NOTES

One Dollar

Issue #18

March, 1973

INSIDE AMIN'S UGANDA:
MORE AFRICANS MURDERED

© 1973 California Institute of Technology

FRONT COVER: Baule lunar mask. (Guli secret society.)
Wood. Beoumi district, Ivory Coast.

Introduction

Some critics of General Idi Amin tend to equate his behavior with that of all Ugandans. Others find Amin's actions typical of leaders of independent Africa. Neither of these statements is true. Thousands of educated Ugandans from the different ethnic groups--Lango, Acholi, Baganda, Banyankole, and others--share a feeling of abhorrence for the tragic events that have been occurring in their country. Many men of integrity, because they would not relinquish their principles, have lost their property, their positions, and sometimes, their lives. Others have been forced to mute their protests out of fear of what would happen to themselves, their wives, and their children.

Too many people outside of Africa are far too hasty in denigrating Africa's past and present. Mr. M. Kiwanuka, an historian at Makerere University in Uganda, had occasion recently to observe that it was less than a decade ago when the Regius Professor of History at Oxford used his prestigious position to proclaim that there is no African history except "the unrewarding gyrations of barbarous tribes in picturesque but irrelevant corners of the globe." As history only too well illustrates, given a certain set of circumstances, a dictator can emerge in any country. Although Amin's adulation for Hitler's pogroms can only be deplorable, the practices of the Nazi führer obviously do not reflect German thinking of today. Caution in drawing generalizations about African leadership, and some humility on the part of Europeans, Americans, and Russians as well, is appropriate.

On the other hand, to condone General Amin's acts because they are those of an African leader, or to condescendingly assume that the African continent is entitled to a double standard of judgment, would be racist thinking. Therefore, we publish this account of General Amin's Uganda, as observed by a Uganda African inside the country, as part of what continues to be our eclectic coverage of Africa, both present and past.

.....

Who is General Idi Amin? President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia calls him "a madman and a buffoon." A senior official in Uganda's Foreign Affairs, a man who now refuses to meet any westerners, describes Amin as having a "xenophobia based partly on an obsessive fear of the Israeli's" and that "he believes they are superhuman, crafty, and will try to get revenge on him." Is he a "black Hitler" as Liberal M. P. Jeremy Thorpe believes, or is he, as former Prime Minister Harold Wilson asserts, "mentally unbalanced"?

Idi Amin was born in 1925 and grew up in the relatively remote village of Arua in Uganda's West Nile district. This editor visited Arua in 1949 when the main street was a dirt road and there were no modern buildings. Most of the commerce was handled in Indian dukas, or small general stores. Few members of Amin's Kakwa tribe had even Amin's rudimentary fourth grade education and none had the network of contacts with wholesalers in the capital of Uganda that the Indians, with their extended family contacts and major role in the economy, could use to advantage. Resentment of Asian economic control surfaced from time to time in the major centers of Uganda, but it was never as stark as it was in small rural centers where an African retailer was virtually shut out of competition. It is not difficult to ascribe to his boyhood experiences Amin's view of Asians as parasites. His subsequent long association with British officers, who spoke of Asians as "wogs" or with thinly veiled contempt, most likely reinforced this view.

Idi Amin left Arua for the major city of Kampala where he became a bell boy at what was then known as the Imperial Hotel (which was later controlled by Asian businessmen). One of the few roads upwards for a 6'4", 225-pound, 18-year old Moslem boy, who had a meager education and no influential friends, was the army, which put its emphasis (for Africans) on strength and courage. In Uganda, as in many countries in Africa, the colonial powers tended to draw their troops from the least developed parts of the country. Thus, the Baganda, the elite ethnic group, were under-represented in the British-formed army, except as clerks and in administration. This condition was a source of tension among the various ethnic groups.

Amin enlisted in 1946 and after six years became a lance corporal. He was a great success in the King's African Rifles (KAR) because he fit the British pattern of being good at sports, such as rugby and

boxing. One of his former British officers has described Amin as "one of nature's sergeant majors." Characteristically, Amin held the heavyweight boxing championship of Uganda from 1951 to 1960. The army was good to Amin. It rewarded his talents when he was with the 11th East African Division in Burma and for fighting the Mau Mau in Kenya. Later, it sent him to Israel, where he received his paratroop wings. In addition, it gave him a good knowledge of Swahili, the army lingua franca, and a broad and colorful, if ungrammatical, working knowledge of English.

Amin's career seemed destined to make him the most popular non-com in the army. His ever present good cheer and willingness to share discomfort made him popular with the enlisted men, and his sporting skills and almost naive enthusiasm for Britain led the white officers to think of him as a "splendid chap." The December 10, 1972, Nigeria Sunday Times quoted Amin as saying:

The British are my best friends. I like Great Britain very much. I have had many friends in Britain for the last eight years or more. I, myself, was trained by Britain. I was educated in British institutions and I have a good knowledge of Britain. The British are my friends. We had only a small misunderstanding between ourselves when I decided to expel the Asians. The British were the people who brought the Asians to Uganda about 70 years ago. That is why I asked the British to take back the Asians. But I am not quarreling with Britain. Even now I have the Queen's picture hanging in my sitting room. If I were against Britain, would I be keeping her picture there? And during the time I was in the KAR, her father was Commander in Chief. So why should I dislike Britain?"

It was the British who moved Amin towards a position of power. In anticipation of independence, they decided that there should be African officers. The material available was limited, because intelligence and ability to do staff work had been all but ignored in the selection of recruits and non-coms. As an attempt to remedy the situation, Amin was sent to a school for Warrant Officers in Kenya. He came back with the prized sword of honor as the best man on the course, but his education was still lacking. A British officer, who decided Amin should learn something about finances, at least on a personal level, helped him to open a checking account in Jinja. Amin

apparently had difficulty in understanding the concept of a checking account, for, with some \$50 deposited, he promptly wrote checks for over \$8,000. From then on his finances were handled by the British officer, who countersigned his checks. This officer recently expressed warm personal regards for Amin: "I've always felt that the great tragedy of Idi Amin was that a man of his caliber never had the advantage of an education. It's an appalling shame." By now, Amin has spent \$50,000,000 on new weapons and on barracks for a doubled army to absorb recruits from the West Nile. He has left the country with about \$5,000,000 in immediate assets--enough to cover about two weeks of expenses.

After returning from the Warrant Officers School, Amin was still a rugby star--due more to his strength than to any finesse--and was the only African player on the Nile Rugby team. This Uganda Club would play matches in Kenya, but those were the days when the white members of the team had a big party in the club with their white Kenyan hosts after the game, while Amin, because he was black, had to wait in the parking lot.

Amin was made a Captain in the Uganda Rifles in 1961, and, in 1963, he went to an Infantry School in Great Britain. He was called home precipitously because of a mutiny in the small army. Amin took over one of the two battalions and displayed courage and an ability to handle men while helping to settle the situation. His paperwork still presented difficulties, but others were assigned to take care of it for him.

By now Amin was on a high enough army level to put him in touch with the leaders of Uganda. In 1966, a fearless opposition M. P., Daudi Ocheng, stood in parliament and accused Amin of stealing some \$45,000 in gold and ivory from the Congo at the time when Uganda troops entered that country during the turmoil there. It was a tense period in Uganda-United States relationships, because some pilots hired by the Congo government bombed a Uganda column. The charge was that bombs had fallen in Uganda, but actually the troops were well into the Congo--a fact the Uganda government could not acknowledge. This editor went to the tightly restricted West Nile district at that time, and constantly heard detailed stories from everyone, including school teachers and missionaries, about the large amounts of gold and ivory which had been "liberated." The small gold mine at Kilomoto is not a long drive, even on the atrocious roads of that time, from Amin's home town of Arua. Ocheng, waving the

statement of Amin's account at the Ottoman Bank in Kampala, dramatically read out the deposits: February, 1966--10,000 shillings on the 5th, 60,000 shillings on the 15th, and 20,000 shillings on the 17th.

The true story of what happened in the Congo has never been printed. If Amin were guilty of corruption, as his army rival, Shabani Opoloto, also alleged, it is easy to see why he would be protected by Prime Minister Obote, if Obote himself had profited to the tune of \$140,000, and also if other cabinet ministers were involved.

One of the rebel "Generals" in the Congo, Nicholas Olenga, did give testimony in Kampala that the money in Amin's account belonged to his Congolese "government." A few days later Uganda police broke into the house where he was staying, and he disappeared, along with his briefcase which presumably was full of evidence. Another witness, a bank manager named Venter, told of meeting Amin at the Uganda Club (a posh British club, which has recently been converted into a "People's Club") to discuss a deposit in a Geneva bank. The manager testified that he had seen a twenty pound bar of gold at Amin's house, and he believed that Amin was bargaining about five tons of gold. Amin's answer to the charges was that some money had been given him by the Congolese to buy clothes and arms and that he, Amin, had given them receipts, which the Congolese had lost, and of which Amin had no copies.

Daudi Ocheng is now dead. His brother, Dr. Martin Alier, a man of tremendous integrity, is in exile in Kenya. Alier was educated at Northwestern University and he married a girl from Illinois. He was an extraordinarily able roving Ambassador to the U. S. and to Eastern Europe, and was best man at Obote's wedding, before parting ways over Obote's corruption and politics. Recently Alier was the target of an assassination squad from the Uganda secret police. The Uganda agents were on their way to kill Alier and two prominent Uganda lawyers when they were intercepted by the Kenya Police. Kenya, however, wants to stay on good terms with Amin. The Kenya Police have said that the hiding places of hunted Ugandans taking refuge in Kenya will be kept secret, as long as foreign journalists do not talk with them.

Amin had been on the verge of disciplinary action before. Earlier, when he was with an army mission in northeast Uganda, there were

charges of excessive violence being used to settle a dispute, and a number of tribesmen being killed. The charges against Amin were dropped, but in no way disproved. Later, as head of the army, he was under criticism by the Civil Service Accountants for the excessive number of unvouchered disbursements.

Following the charges by Ocheng, the Uganda legislature suspended Amin from duty. It was a rare slip up by Obote, who was on tour in the north. There proved to be a technical flaw in the suspension, however, and Amin was returned to his post and soon after was promoted to the position of Chief of Staff.

Obote was good to Amin. In turn, Amin now claims--and, no doubt correctly--that it was he who kept Obote in power. After the reputedly Israeli-led attack on the Lubiri, or palace, of the late Kabaka Frederick Mutesa failed, Obote ordered Amin to the attack. The Lubiri was burned, although in the confusion the Kabaka managed to escape in disguise, and later he made his way successfully to England.

In addition to the ethnic feuding of northerners (Obote is a Lango from the northeast, Amin a Kakwa from the northwest) against the more numerous and wealthier Baganda in the south, Obote indulged in a leftward leaning ideological and financial spree which disrupted Uganda and left it armed to the teeth and prey to individuals and groups who wished to substitute violence for order.

The evidence now clearly indicates that Prime Minister Obote had intended to remove Amin and probably have him killed. A sergeant major in Jinja, who was from Amin's own tribe in the West Nile, passed by an army switchboard which was temporarily unattended by the operator. The sergeant major overheard an order issued by Obote, who was then in Singapore for a Commonwealth Prime Minister's meeting, for a plot to have Amin seized. Amin has always claimed that his coup was unplanned and executed on the spur of the moment. Indeed, he says if he had done any planning, it wouldn't have taken him so long to think of people to be in his cabinet. He made his 28-year old brother-in-law Foreign Minister, and then addressed the population over Uganda Radio, stressing, among other issues, that he was going to crack down on corruption and nepotism.

Within the Aga Khan Muslim community in Uganda it is accepted as true that some of Amin's animus towards them and Asians generally

was exacerbated when Idi Amin proposed marriage to the widow of the eldest son of the founder of the Madhvani conglomerate in Uganda. The widow was wealthy enough to fulfill all of Amin's dreams at the time. She reportedly turned him down. As a member of the family explained, the Ismaili sect does not allow its widows to marry "under the circumstances." It is ironic that this fact--to the Ismailis--or rumor should involve the one out of many Asian religious sects which made a valiant effort to and succeeded in integrating Africans into their own schools and hospitals, under the enlightened leadership of His Highness the Aga Khan. The efforts of the members of this sect to be better citizens proved to be of no avail against Amin's motivations, whatever they might be, to have them expelled and expropriated.

Financial implications are also present in Amin's hostility to Israel, which is now included in his denunciations of imperialism, zionism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism. When Amin expelled about 700 Israelis, Uganda was in debt to Israel for \$24,000,000. At the same time, Libya offered Uganda financial assistance, as did Saudi Arabia. King Faisal's visit to Uganda gave impetus to the possibility that Amin wanted to make Uganda an Islamic state, although only 6% of the Ugandans are of that faith. The financial advantages were enough to precipitate a switch, ideology aside, for a Uganda that was now impoverished. There are now about 300 Ugandan soldiers training in Libya. Whether or not the 9.5 million Ugandans, of whom only 10,000 are in the army, could really carry out Amin's boast that they could crush Israel in a week and South Africa in two weeks remains a debatable question.

An assessment of General Amin from an intellectual and rational approach could easily miss the kind of popularity he has won from the masses in Uganda. He has been critical of those people who have made accusations against others, without adequate proof, of harboring the proliferating terror gangsters in Uganda. His advice to any man who has been rejected by a girl is not, as is the custom, to make charges out of resentment against her family, but instead to forget the grudge and find another girl. Amin, himself, in addition to his religious limit of four wives, has concubines throughout Uganda and chooses them from all tribes. When it comes to sex, Amin is frank, if not to say crude. At one time college students snickered at Amin's laboring use of English, until he told them bluntly that they had too much gonorrhoea, and that they must go to the hospital to get clean before they infected more people.

While gaining the popularity of the masses, Amin has also filled many with fear and at the same time has succeeded in shattering Uganda's economy. The question often arises in the western press as to why African nations have not been moved to assist the 60,000 Asians who have been stripped of all their possessions, sometimes raped and beaten, and driven from a country where many of them had been born. The unpalatable truth is that there is an under-current of sympathy and agreement with Amin's attacks on Asians. No African country really wants them. Even Nyerere's Tanzania has recently turned away Indians who came as ship passengers en route to join relatives in Uganda. An Indian student who is attending the University in Dar-es-Salaam and who is a hardworking member of the "TANU" youth group in the one-party state and a supporter of "African socialism," recently told this editor, "Tanzania is the least worst, but we Indians have no future in Tanzania or anywhere in East Africa." President Kaunda continues to denounce "racism" in Uganda, but an African member of the Lusaka City Council suggested that Amin's deeds should be applied to Zambia. He was reprimanded, but restrictions on Indian traders in Zambia have increased. Kenya maintains an uneasy quiet in relations between Africans and Asians, but observers there are forecasting additional hostility to Asians when Jomo Kenyatta is no longer president.

Even in West Africa one finds a disinclination to criticize Amin for his Asian actions. A Nigerian editor, himself a strong critic of military rule in Nigeria, compared the Indians in Uganda with the role played by Lebanese and Syrians in the commercial life of West Africa. Although denouncing Amin on other counts, he sympathized with him on the Indians. In Ghana, the Daily Graphic editorialized that the expulsion of Asians was an indispensable step because "it is in the interests of every African nation to transfer the national economic control from the foreign exploiter to the people at all costs." The Ghanaian Times said Amin's "sincere motives are unquestionable: for no sovereign state worth its salt would forever allow its economy to be controlled by outsiders."

Uganda has expelled most of its Asians, forced out a majority of its British citizens, and is now ruled with a suspended parliament, martial law, no political parties, and no trade unions. Many Uganda diplomats are afraid to go home. Amin's government is trying to employ Americans, Africans, West Indians, and overseas Chinese to fill the gap left in education and health services by the departure of the British and the Asians. It is also seeking out

Uganda students abroad to urge them to return home before finishing their studies.

Meanwhile, to judge by the following account, many innocent Africans in Uganda are losing their lives because of the irascible, unpredictable, and vengeful actions of President Idi Amin. It was not without personal danger that the author inside Uganda wrote this document and saw it reach our editorial hands. Uganda today is a caldron of rumor and ascertaining facts is both a perilous and difficult business. All of the material cannot be checked and authenticated. The author--a journalist who had been imprisoned by Obote and was released by Amin's government--says that Alex Lateem is dead, whereas the U. S. government says he is alive. It must be remembered that it took the American Embassy a long time to learn the details of what had happened to two Americans who had been murdered there. Some isolated details could be incorrect, but the overall account has the ring of truth.

Obote said in 1970 that he was "perhaps the only African leader not afraid of a coup." When Amin took over, he declared his rule as a caretaker government, pending a return to civilian control after fair and free elections. The recent assassination attempt on Amin, when his driver was killed in a hail of machine gun bullets, suggests that the General is wise to follow his practice of frequently changing cars. It also suggests that his days may well be numbered.

Predictions concerning the future of Uganda can only be haphazard at best. But when all the western critics have finished decrying the near collapse of so much of the social infrastructure, the disorganization which has followed the wholesale nationalization of large Asian firms, as well as British tea plantations, etc., it is a moot point whether five years down the road a majority of the citizens of Uganda will not be prepared to accept Amin's "success" in reclaiming Uganda and its economy from the hands of brown and white businessmen. The Asians have been convenient scapegoats, but the actions against their "internal colonialism" and the "neo-colonialism" attributed to western businessmen and governments may well elicit a continuing broad base of support by the masses and a grudging support in intellectual circles.

E. S. M.

INSIDE AMIN'S UGANDA

by an African in Uganda*

That Uganda is a sick nation is noticed as soon as one lands at Entebbe International Airport. The 22 mile journey from the airport to the capital, with its military roadblocks, tells one enough about the cruelty, crudeness, and apathy of the ruling soldiers.

The strain and fear in the eyes of the humble folks who move like scared rabbits in their own country, the closure of stores and petrol stations in the city centre, and the desolate tourist hotels all reflect the pathetic situation of widespread fear for one's life, economic stagnation, and now the politically induced financial hemorrhage which is likely to result in total collapse of the economy. The cabinet is largely composed of technocrats who are constantly pushed around, even in public, by a calculating oppressor.

The General enrolled all his ministers into the army as military cadets, trained them in light arms and drill, and conditioned them to behave like "yes sir" military cadets. Resignation would constitute "desertion from duty." The issuing of any statement to the press or delivering of a public speech that has not been censored by the General's office would be tantamount to "disobeying lawful command."

Most of Amin's ministers are completely embarrassed by their leader's childish blunders and outrageous attacks against other African leaders. They are rarely consulted on any issue--there is more talk about the Defence Council. While most of them don't always agree with the decisions of council, they are in fear that one of these days they may be called upon to pay heavily for the General's bizarre activities.

Amin's Minister of Commerce and Industry, Wilson Lutara, who has amassed a considerable fortune during this period of economic chaos,

*Name withheld at author's request.

speaks privately of his desire to quit and go into business. Mr. Lutara, an Acholi whose tribesmen Amin has murdered in thousands without mercy, is totally overwhelmed and fears revenge from his tribesmen.

In much the same way Y. Engure, a Marxist-Leninist who seriously regrets involvement in Amin's projects, fears revenge from his Lango tribesmen. The children of this tribe have been systematically butchered by the men who seem to have power of life and death over Uganda.

Abu Mayanja and Apollo Kironde, both western-oriented lawyers and firm believers in Westminster trend of politics, have long indicated their desire to resign and jointly set up a legal chamber. The only possible exception to this form of anxiety is Wanume Kibedi, Foreign Minister and brother-in-law to the General. The two appear to be establishing a family team, in much the same way as did Obote and his cousin Akena-Adoko, former head of the deposed President's intelligence service.

That the military regime has mismanaged the economy is no longer a secret. In the first year of his rule, Amin attributed the mess to Dr. Obote's government. By the time of the coup, however, government borrowing from Bank of Uganda was standing at 103 million shillings and had not exceeded 150 million shillings since 1966. Within the first 90 days of the soldier regime, 234 million shillings was borrowed from the central bank. And by the end of the year, total government borrowing from the banking system had risen to a record figure threatening one thousand million shillings.

The Bank of Uganda council report revealed that short-term foreign borrowing went up six-fold in the first six months of the Amin rule, and that during the same period the assets of the bank dropped from 408 million shillings to a bare 64 million shillings.

The objective annual report of the Bank of Uganda which revealed the above statistics precipitated the expulsions of Messrs. Mubire and Elangot, bank Chairman and bank Secretary.

In Obote's last budget, defence expenditure stood at 100 million shillings--a figure highly criticised by some parliamentarians at the time. The military regime actually spent 700 million shillings on defence--34 percent of which came from the development fund. These

figures might not have meant much to the ordinary man in the street, but the shortages of essential goods (milk, sugar, and salt included) certainly did. The lower income groups certainly felt it when within nine months their standard of living index rose by 23 percent.

In sharp contrast members of the armed forces appear to be leading a superb life. A captain in Uganda, for example, lives in a four to five bedroom house, has three uniformed assistants (officially one a driver), 24-hrs. guard, and an orderly to take care of his uniforms, and can afford to maintain three or four wives.

Privates and junior non-commissioned officers are seen driving new and big cars, while the government terminated a car loan scheme for civil servants and 700 of the 1200 who graduated last month from Makerere University remain unemployed--the first time the state has failed to absorb degree holders. And there are certainly no jobs in the already shaky private sector.

After the departure of the Asians--an estimated 150,000--small-scale industry workers, shop assistants, drivers and houseboys will fall unemployed, and inevitably inflation and recurrent shortages of imported goods will be further intensified.

The country has in the last twenty-one months been subjected to bloody misrule by a ruthless Dictator. Amin's strength seems to lie in his ability to do away with his enemies by way of physical elimination. Right from the beginning Amin's high-handed rule faced so much military and civilian opposition that he has had to butcher thousands of dissidents.

By the time Amin was swept into power in January 1971, the Uganda Army was 6500 troops. During coup clashes, 870 soldiers were killed. Soon after that, Colonel Ali, Colonel Musa, Major Maliyamungu (all personal confidants from Amin's West Nile District), and Major Malera, a former Anya-Nya rebel officer, were charged with systematic liquidation of Acholi and Lango officers and men. The operation, which lasted the first forty days of Amin's regime, claimed no less than 1800 men.

Among the top officers who were murdered were Lt. Colonel Langoya, Commandant Malire (of the Mechanised Regiment), Lt. Colonel

Ayumu (Commandant, Masindi Artillery Regiment), Major Obote (Commander of the Gulu Airforce Base), Major Ogwal, and a host of others.

Forty-one officers, eighteen of whom were young pilots, thirty-two senior non-commissioned officers, and nearly 500 privates, plus ninety security officers from the defunct General Service Department, were flung into Luzira--Uganda's maximum security prison. After one dreadful year at Luzira, these men were transferred to the border-town prison of Mutukula [in western Uganda] ostensibly for a court martial. What was supposed to be a court martial turned out to be yet another one of Major Malera's incredible presidential assignments--murder. With the use of every solid thing around--bayonets, hammers, etc., all were murdered except 62. Major Malera made a minute to minute supervision of the operation to ensure that not a single bullet was used for fear of arousing the attention of Tanzania, whose border patrol unit camped only 800 yards away. *

In July, 1971, when Amin was away in London, Lt. Col. Ochima, who at the time was closer to Amin than any other officer, led an operation which cost Uganda army a further 2000 men, mostly from ex-President Obote's Lango tribe and the neighboring Acholi. Two Americans, Nick Stroh, a journalist, and Robert Siedle, a university lecturer, probed into this massacre. They were both murdered, then burned, and their ashes and those of their car were dumped in a river in western Uganda. Of the 6500 original members of the Uganda Army, only a little more than 2000 remain today.

With financial and technical assistance of Israel, the Autocrat recruited and trained 11,000 new men. Seventy-five percent of the newly recruited come from his home district, West Nile, and 4570

*David Martin, writing for The Observer in London (datelined Dar-es-Salaam, December 23, 1972), reports that starting with the officers, groups of prisoners were taken away daily and never returned. Other prisoners were detailed to dig graves at the prison and to wash blood from the backs of trucks. Finally, there was a mass breakout, which was met with machine gun fire at the door. Bodies piled on bodies forming a bloody wall, giving cover to the few who managed to scramble through three rings of barbed wire to reach Tanzania, 400 yards away. Amin then announced that 15 people had escaped from prison. The Tanzanian authorities allowed Martin to interview 19 survivors. He says, "I have no doubt that their story is substantially true. Many had bullet wounds and bone-deep gashes from the barbed wire."

of them are Moslems. Sixty-five percent of the military top brass come from West Nile. Amin has wisely placed all the well-trained and educated officers who are non-West Nilers into positions of no strategic importance, mainly in administration. The Autocrat's most trusted officers are the former NCOs and privates, whom he has grossly over-promoted.

Amin's semi-literate colonels, majors, and captains have found it difficult to mix freely with the rest of the officers. Their inferiority complexes prevent them from dining in the officers' mess or attending private parties organized by their educated counterparts. Last month's guerrilla attack has provided them the opportunity to massacre most of those who "irritate them with this jazz of military etiquette, British officer mannerisms, and Christian culture." The latest round of killings in Amin's barracks is directed against fellow officers who allegedly switched allegiances during the guerrilla attack.

Even the civilian population has not been free from Amin's murderous activities. Many notable figures and thousands of humble citizens have mysteriously disappeared in the last 21 months. Chief Justice and former Prime Minister Benedicto Kiwanuka appears to have been the only man inside the country who was systematically indulging in political activity. He has been re-organizing his Baganda tribesmen and giving them hope and consolation after Amin's outright rejection of the Restoration of Kingdom plea by Baganda elders. He has promised fanatical monarchists, even those from Bunyoro, Toro, and Ankole, that if he got his way he would restore the Kingship systems.

The former Prime Minister, like the Machiavellian he has been, had been moving around the country covertly, reopening contact and regrouping supporters of his Democratic Party, which was banned three years ago by Obote. Kiwanuka, a Catholic, whipped religious feeling to his advantage, and it was alleged that Dr. Emanuel Nsubuga, the Catholic Archbishop, assisted him in his endeavors. Kiwanuka was posing as a real force to reckon with, and he became a source of constant worry to two young Ministers and close friends, Wanume Kibedi and Edward Rugumayo--both favorite stars of the General with huge political ambitions.

Kiwanuka's arrest and subsequent murder should be viewed more in the light of his activities outside the court room, because days

before the Stuart habeas corpus writ, which resulted in his ruling against the government, General Amin had talked at a political rally of a high-ranking government official from Masaka [Kiwanuka's home area] who was plotting against his government, and he warned that he was to deal with such opposition in military terms.

A day later I met the Chief Justice at a friend's house. Among other things, we talked about the "military terms," and he characteristically asked for a Bible and read for us Isaiah 33.

Isaiah 33, 1:

Woe to you, destroyer,
Who yourself have not been destroyed;
You treacherous one,
With whom none has dealt treacherously
When you have ceased to destroy
 You will be destroyed;
And when you have made an end of
 dealing treacherously,
You will be dealt with treacherously.

Industrial Court President, Mitchel Kaggwa, was burnt alive in his car, his hands bound to the steering wheel. Reports from the State Research Office (Amin's intelligence agency) alleged that Kaggwa, who used to pilot his private aircraft to all areas of the country, was helping Obote's communications system. However, the final show-down came when the reports accused him of having flown into the country Obote's former Intelligence Chief, Akena-Adoko.

Mr. John Bell, a British private detective who was hired by the Kaggwa family to investigate the murder, was himself murdered on the thirteenth day of his assignment.

William Kalema, Obote's Minister of Commerce and party Treasurer, the only one of the three signatories of the party funds who managed to return from the Singapore trip, disappeared in thin air not very long ago. It is said that Kalema posed a stumbling block against the General's desire to lay a hand on the UPC party monies in a Kampala bank.

Amil Clark, former MP, was picked up from his house by Major Onzu and two of his assistants, all in plain clothes. Clark has never been seen again. His car, the only Volvo Sport's car in

Kampala, is however seen driven by a certain shameless Mr. Nassar, Amin's Deputy Chief of Intelligence. Mr. Clark, who defended General Amin in the famous Congo gold case, was a close friend of Obote. It is said that Amin feared he may one day mobilise his Asian community, which was certainly holding him in high esteem, to exert economic pressure on the regime.

Frank Kalimuzo, Vice Chancellor of Makerere University and a one-time director for administration in Obote's intelligence service, plus three senior African members of the University staff, are among those reported missing after the guerrilla attack. Amin accused the Vice Chancellor of spying for the Israelis and of failing to rally the students behind the regime. After the guerrilla attack, the Dictator quickly banned the National Union of Students of Uganda (NUSU), and a group of gun-swinging soldiers arrested nine members of the NUSU executive accused of recruiting pro-Obote guerrillas. The nine are feared dead. Fifty-five foreign and local lecturers have resigned; ten have fled the country. This includes Makerere's Ali Mazrui, one of Africa's leading political scientists, who at one time described the Autocrat as "the first really charismatic national leader Uganda has had." I believe the Professor would today admit that time has proved him wrong in his assessment of the ex-boxer.

More than a third of the University population has not turned up for the new academic term.

Mr. Basil Bataringaya, former Minister of Internal Affairs, and Lt. Col. Ndabendikire, a one-time Chief of Defence Staff by appointment of General Amin, were both picked up on the same day by a group of soldier boys and have not been seen again. George Kamba, a former Ugandan Ambassador to India and West Germany, was dragged screaming from a cocktail party at the International Hotel.

Nekemea Bananuka, former Secretary General of Ankole District, and three of his five children were slaughtered in front of their house. It is reported that his wife committed suicide after witnessing the tragedy.

G. Katuramu, Deputy Chairman of the Public Service Commission, Mr. Kiyingi, Acting Bank of Uganda Chairman, J. Bigirwencha, Permanent Secretary in the Office of the President, and his brother

Kaheru, who until recently was director of the State Import and Export Corporations, and Jack Sentongo, a businessman and one time Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Finance and economist-brain behind Obote's development plans--all are among the hundreds of Ugandans reported missing after the guerrilla attack. Many senior officers of the Uganda Army had been slaughtered after the coup. Soldiers from the Acholi and Lango tribes--both strongly identified with Dr. Obote--had been mown down by machine-guns at Jinja and Mbarara barracks. Almost 200 soldiers had been massacred at a police barracks near Jinja. In the North about 600 Acholi and Lango civilians tried to flee into the Sudan, but were turned back and killed.

Last May Joshua Wakholi, a former Obote Minister, escaped into exile in Tanzania. He said that on 5 March 1971 he had been in Kampala's notorious Makindye prison when 35 officers were machine-gunned in an adjoining cell. The next day he and his cellmates cleaned up the blood. Wakholi was killed in the September invasion aimed at over-throwing Amin.

It is evident that Amin is using the invasion attack to carry through a thorough purge of all dissident elements. The man has proved that he is fully prepared to get the blood of anybody who may stand in the way of his graft.

Colonel Ali and Major Maliyamungu, the well-known executers of state thuggery, have been put in charge of the newly formed Public Safety Unit--Amin's new execution squad. Naguru, the Headquarters of PSU, is all the time a scene of casual brutality. Every few hours two or three dissidents are brought in a car-boot, they are slowly tortured to death and dubbed "kondos"--armed robbers.

As soon as Amin took over the reigns of power, he promised the people that he was to clean the country of armed robbery, and he is supposed to have formed the Public Safety Unit expressly for this purpose. It is true that the irrational executions have finished hundreds of people in the last few months since General Amin instructed that everybody suspected should be shot at sight, without any trial. At the same time robbery with violence is a greater menace today than anytime before. This appears to be due to the fact that Amin and his men have failed to appreciate that torturing people to death is no answer to a social ill caused by a sick economy.

Amin's circle of friends and well-wishers inside and outside Uganda

is becoming narrower and narrower every day. He has leveled hundreds of baseless accusations against respectable African leaders. Most of his accusations, however, have been too absurd to be taken seriously.

Amin has used an awful number of crude and nasty words against President Nyerere, who, right from the beginning, never disguised his distaste for a regime he considers the negation of all that he stands for. Amin accused President Kaibanda of Rwanda of allowing his country to be used as a centre for "Zionist-Imperialist subversion against my country." Like a crazy man he summoned the Ambassador and informed him, "If this continues I will be forced to take over Rwanda and set up a government consisting of Rwandan exiles in Uganda and elsewhere--and this operation cannot take my efficient troops more than 60 seconds."

Amin picked a war with President Michombero of Burundi over Prince Ntale's death. Ntale had flown to Bujumbura aboard a Uganda Police plane accompanied by members of Amin's Secret Service, allegedly after an amnesty promise by Michombero.

Amin accused Kamuzu Banda of Malawi (the first non-military leader on the continent to recognise Amin's government) of having been paid by Britain for his gesture of taking 1,000 of 50,000 Asians facing the irrational expulsion order by the Dictator. He accused Britain (the first government to recognise and aid his regime) of planning to assassinate him and of collusion in the recent guerrilla invasion.

As I was writing this, Radio Uganda announced a non-persona grata for Richard Slater, the British High-Commissioner. General Amin has accused the envoy of misadvising British teachers and doctors to leave Uganda.

The General even fell out with the Israelis, who not only gave a hand to the coup that swept the Giant into power, but also helped to maintain him in power by providing a security screen, money, and technical assistance to recruit and build a new army after massacring almost three-quarters of the Uganda Army. The crazy General kicked out the Ambassador and his staff, plus all technical experts from Israel. In a recent telegramme to the UN Secretary General, he defended the Black September Munich murders and warmly praised Hitler for the extermination of six

million Jews.*

Amin values no friend. Obote, who for eight years not only protected him against all odds, but also uplifted him, he deposed, and Amin now wants Obote executed by a firing squad. Uganda's leading Asian industrialist, Manubhai Madhvani, who helped him to pay and feed the whole Uganda Army for three months during a financial crisis in 1971, was thrown into a military jail by Amin without hesitation.

Most of the people Amin depended on soon after the coup, like Lt. Colonels V. Ochima and Charles Arube, are either out of the army or dare not come anywhere near the Despot. Even Mr. J. Kazoora, the legal expert who drafted all the Dictator's decrees, has had to flee the country.

Uganda, which Churchill once described as the pearl of Africa, is today associated with everything ugly--bloodshed, tyranny, racism, disunity, and corruption. Amin's leadership is not only harmful to Uganda, but to the whole of East Africa. The erratic Dictator's activities constantly shake the very foundations of the East African Community and are a great menace to peace and development in the region.

It is clear, however, that sooner than later, Amin the Terrible and his crazy project will run into a dialectical jam and history will place things where they belong.

*Ed. Note- Amin sent a message to United Nations Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim and Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir defending the Palestinian terrorist attack at the Munich Olympics and praising Adolf Hitler for his extermination campaign against the Jews: "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."

Editor's Note:

The manuscript from our Ugandan correspondent was not dated. A number of the murders he refers to took place many months ago. Since then the Uganda government has circularized Ugandans abroad trying to explain the disappearance of certain individuals and, in a few cases, stating, probably correctly, that they had been seen in Kenya or Tanzania.

However, the last week of January, 1973, saw a new wave of disappearances. The Chief Magistrate of Kampala walked out of court that week and has not been seen since. Khenry Berunga, who was a regional representative for the jointly owned East African Railways, disappeared after New Year's Day. Four other executives in the railway, one Kenyan and three Ugandans, have disappeared, and over fifty Kenyans have fled Uganda in fear.

The body of Father Clement Kiggundu, the outspoken editor of Munno (Friend), the daily Catholic newspaper, was found in some woods ten miles from Kampala. The pathologist's report was that someone had attempted to strangle him, then shot him, and then set his body on fire. Mathias Kiggundu, a prominent grocery store owner in Kampala, was observed being forced into a Peugeot. He has vanished, along with another businessman, Charles Seruka. Most of these men were Catholics and friends of Chief Justice Kiwanuka, who was mentioned in the manuscript.

Few figures are available as to the total number of Africans who have been murdered in Uganda. The secret organization of Ugandans, FRONASA (Front for National Salvation), mailed a circular to embassies in East Africa early in February, 1973, in which it claimed that "83,000 Ugandans have been killed since the coup of January 25, 1971." This figure is almost surely a wild exaggeration of the facts. The apparent leader of FRONASA, Yoweri Musveni, a Uganda-born graduate of the University of Tanzania, admits, "Our figure of 83,000 is only a projection. In Africa, we talk continuously about Sharpeville in South Africa, where 67 people were killed, but in terms of human waste, it does not compare with Uganda."

In addition to some of the previously mentioned atrocities, the FRONASA manifesto alleges that both the district commissioner and the local hotel manager in Tororo, in eastern Uganda, had

their eyes gouged out before they were shot.

There are indications of the existence of a FRONASA military camp at Busoga in Tanzania and also of some political orientation to Maoism, since the small band was trained by Chinese. Musveni claims to be neither pro nor anti Obote--only anti Amin. FRONASA has called for the assassination of Amin and the overthrow of his regime "to stop the senseless murder, rape, and looting in the country."

Volume I 1970-71

- 1 A Black Mauritian Poet Speaks \$1.00
Edouard Maunick
A highly praised poet from the island of Mauritius tells of his ancestry, how he was affected by the various racial feelings of his family and community, and the eventual influence upon him of Malagasy, West Indian, and African poets. He speaks eloquently of Negritude and how people from the islands must stop facing inward to the land but rather turn outward to the ocean and a wider world.
- 2 South Africa: Three Visitors Report \$2.00
Dr. George Kennan, Prof. Leon Gordenker, Dr. Wilton Dillon
An historian, a political scientist, and an anthropologist survey the South African racial and political scene and come up with differing criticism and potential American policies based on their own personal interviews and observations.
- 3 Choiseul Papers. Unpublished ms 1761 \$4.00
These secret reports from Dakar concerning the French and British maneuverings on the West Coast of Africa are filled with fact and intrigue involving the slave trade. The original manuscripts in French, reproduced in facsimile, are accompanied by an English translation. An introduction discusses the historical context of the papers and their origin, and the French Foreign Minister and his policies.
- 4 How Black South African Visitors View the U.S. \$1.00
A resume with ample quotations of how some sixty Africans from the Republic have reacted to educational, political, moral and other values they have encountered while visiting the United States. Previous statistical studies are summarized in four appendixes.
- 5 Current Politics in Ghana \$1.00
Dr. John Fynn, M.P.
Political and economic priorities of the Busia government are outlined by Dr. Fynn, followed by a question and answer segment in which he throws fresh light on the Nkrumah era and the current activities of key figures who were in the Nkrumah regime. An informed observer in Ghana comments on Dr. Fynn's views.
- 6 Walking 300 Miles with Guerillas Through the Bush of Eastern Angola \$2.00
Basil Davidson
The famous British historian and journalist describes in detail his adventurous trek from Zambia to 100 miles inside the Angola border in order to assess the relative strength of the MPLA vs the Portuguese and vs other nationalist groups, the sources and extent of the MPLA arms, new Portuguese helicopter tactics, and the response of the guerillas. A sketch map of the military situation is included.

Volume II 1971-72

- 7 An Exploration Near Agades and Timbuktu in Advance of the 1973 Total Solar Eclipse \$2.00
Dr. Jay M. Pasachoff
A Caltech scientist, who was then at Harvard, made an extensive reconnaissance of viewing sites for the eclipse of 1973, which will last longest in Mali and Niger. These travel notes relate his reactions to a new environment and offer utilitarian suggestions for those interested in the eclipse and in the scientific research problems in West Africa.
- 8 A Brown Afrikaner Speaks: A Coloured Poet and Philosopher Looks Ahead \$1.00
Adam Small
Small is chairman of the philosophy department at the University of the Western Cape and is a widely published and acclaimed poet. He is active in many political discussions with all racial groups. He is at times startlingly optimistic about the possible course of events in South Africa, while at other times he is bitterly resentful of present conditions.
- 9 Dialogue on Aggression and Violence in Man \$3.00
Dr. Louis Leakey, Mr. Robert Ardrey
The world-famous Kenya archaeologist engages in a face-to-face debate with the author of African Genesis, The Territorial Imperative, and The Social Contract. Leakey's belief that early forms of man were aggressive and violent is challenged by Ardrey's argument that although much personal violence has always existed, organized violence is of relatively recent origin. (Illustrated)
- 10 The Past and Future of the Zulu People \$1.00
Gatsha Buthelezi
The Chief Executive Officer of the Zulu Territorial Authority has long been an outspoken critic of Separate Development. The Zulus have united behind him more, perhaps, than they have since a century ago when his great grandfather was a key adviser to King Cetewayo.
- 11 The Anya-Nya: Ten Months Travel With Its Forces Inside the Southern Sudan \$2.00
Allan Reed
Reed traveled with the guerillas in three different parts of the South. He reports on their political and military organization, comments on their supply of arms, recalls his encounter with the mysterious Rolf Steiner, and describes the military activities of the Sudan Army in the South. (Map)
- 12 "Dear Franklin..." Letters to President Roosevelt from Lincoln MacVeagh, U.S. Minister to South Africa 1942-1943 \$3.00
John Seiler introduces these in-depth observations of the man who has been called the ablest American emissary ever sent to South Africa. The confidential reports cover South Africa's war contribution, General Smuts' arming of Zulus, and the activities of Hertzog and Malan. (Illustrated)