

**Refugee Review Tribunal
AUSTRALIA**

RRT RESEARCH RESPONSE

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Questions

1. Please provide information on the Uganda Peoples Defence Force (Ugandan Army)/Intelligence Agencies and a branch of the Army called Chieftaincy Military Intelligence, especially its history, structure, key officers.

Please provide any information on the following people:

- 2. Noble Mayombo (Director of Intelligence).**
- 3. Leo Kyanda (Deputy Director of CMI).**
- 4. General Mugisha Muntu.**
- 5. Jack Sabit.**
- 6. Ben Wacha.**
- 7. Dr Okungu (People’s Redemption Army).**
- 8. Mr Samson Monday.**
- 9. Mr Kyakabale.**
- 10. Deleted.**

RESPONSE

1. Please provide information on the Uganda Peoples Defence Force (Ugandan Army)/Intelligence Agencies and a branch of the Army called Chieftaincy Military Intelligence, especially its history, structure, key officers.

The Uganda Peoples Defence Force UPDF is headed by General Y Museveni and the Commander of the Defence Force is General Aronda Nyakairima; the Deputy Chief of the Defence Forces is Lt General Ivan Koreta and the Joint Chief of staff Brigadier

Robert Rusoke. (About the Uganda Peoples Defence Force' undated, The Republic of Uganda Ministry of Defence Official Website, http://www.defenceuganda.mil.ug/about_updf.php?status=true- Accessed 27 October 2008 – Attachment 1)

Further information on the Ugandan Security Forces is contained in the following excerpt from a 2004 Human Rights Watch report:

Who Detains and Tortures: The Security Forces

...

Those agencies accused by witnesses and victims of illegal detention in violation of these rules include:

The Uganda Peoples' Defence Forces (UPDF): the Ugandan army, formerly known as the National Resistance Army (NRA), has no legal powers of detention, with exceptions for violations of the military code by its personnel. The Ugandan combatants it captures are considered criminals for the purposes of Ugandan law, and they are supposed to be transferred—quickly—to the jurisdiction and custody of the police. The UHRC noted in February 2003 that the actions of soldiers who unlawfully detain any person in arrest or confinement are “outright criminal.” In the same case, the UHRC also found that “torture as a method of extracting confessions from suspected criminals is a trend and not an isolated wrong in the UPDF 3rd Division.” Accounts of torture at the hands of UPDF soldiers and officers have been surfacing for some years and come from all over Uganda but are particularly numerous in areas where there is an on-going armed rebellion, as in northern Uganda.

The Chieftaincy of Military Intelligence (CMI), a military intelligence agency. CMI has no powers of detention. In most of the reports of torture at the hands of CMI received by Human Rights Watch, the torture was conducted in safe houses and offices of CMI, and at times in barracks. CMI personnel often are assigned to participate in ad hoc security agencies, such as the Joint Anti-Terrorist Task Force and Operation Wembley.

The Internal Security Organization (ISO) and its regional offices the District Internal Security Organizations (DISO) It is responsible for “internal” security and the External Security Organisation (ESO) is responsible for security abroad. ISO has no powers of detention.

The Joint Anti-Terrorist Task Force (JATF). The JATF is an ad hoc agency created after the enactment of the Anti-Terrorism Act in 2002. It consists of agents from CMI, police, and ISO. The JATF has no statutory authority to detain people in its own right; however police officers working within it have the same rights to detain as when they are assigned to other police duties.

(Human Rights Watch 2004, *State of Pain: Torture in Uganda*, Vol. 16, No. 4 (A), March, pp.44-45 – <http://hrw.org/reports/2004/uganda0404/uganda0304.pdf> - Accessed 29 March 2004 – Attachment 2).

Background historical information on the Ugandan Intelligence services is contained in the following three-part report: Kalyegira, Timothy 2005, ‘Our intelligence services; Tale of many mistakes and one moment of brilliance’ *All Africa*, 15 February – Attachment 3; Kalyegira, Timothy 2005, ‘Intelligence Services under Obote II had mixed results’ *All Africa*, 22 February – Attachment 4; Kalyegira, Timothy 2005, ‘Special Branch, Bright Star of Uganda's Intelligence Services’ *All Africa*, 1 March – Attachment 5.

Please provide any information on the following people:

2. Noble Mayombo (Director of Intelligence).

Noble Mayombo died last year under suspicious circumstances:

On paper, Brigadier Noble Mayombo was Permanent Secretary in the ministry of Defence, chairman of the Board of Directors of the state-owned New Vision Corporation, publishers of the successful New Vision newspaper. Before that he was head of the Chieftaincy of Military Intelligence (CMI), and earlier President Yoweri Museveni's aide de camp. Mayombo died in Aga Khan Hospital, Nairobi, last week of pancreatic failure...

The government is to lay on a state funeral. Part of the sadness comes from the claims, which have been denied, that Mayombo was the victim of a poison plot. But this is not your standard conspiracy of the government or president getting rid of a potential rival. Privately, security sources claim that Museveni had recently indicated that Mayombo was his chosen successor, which allegedly infuriated a long line of politicians who felt they were more qualified (Onyango-Obbo, Charles 2007, 'We waited so long for 'Noble' Mayombo to emerge, he didn't', *The East African*, 8 May - Attachment 6)

3. Leo Kyanda (Deputy Director of CMI).

Leo Kyanda was recently moved to Washington to occupy the post of Defence Attaché; he is reported to have been the head of CMI:

Radio Katwe is still piecing together the story why Col. **Leo Kyanda the boss of the dreaded terror agency Chieftaincy of Military Intelligence** - CMI was dropped in an army reshuffle recently.

President Museveni promoted his son Major Muhoozi Kainerugaba to Lt. Col. and appointed him Commander of the Special Forces in the UPDF. Col. Kyanda was dropped. Col. Moses Rwakitarate becomes the Chief of Staff of the UPDF airforce. He has been the base commander at Entebbe.

Brig. James Mugira now becomes Chief of Military Intelligence. He has been the Commanding Officer of the Mechanised Brigade based at Masaka. He was once the Chief of Military Intelligence but in an acting capacity.

You should note that all the three promoted officers and the dropped Kyanda are all from PGB which is Museveni's presidential (and de facto "private") guard as we all know.

There is some sensitive information which we are investigating on Kyanda and why he was sacked and his now to be transferred to the Embassy of the Republic of Uganda in Washington as the Defence Attache.

We are trying to find out the details of the message which the Overseer of the Intelligence Services General David Tinyefuza sent to Kyanda instructing Kyanda on the arrest of the Baganda officials who were arrested recently. It seems the bungling of the arrest may be just a tip of the iceberg but things have been building for sometime.

We are also following up the part which Kyanda played in the burning of schools in Uganda recently starting with Budo Junior School.

Kyanda was just doing Museveni's bidding by having the schools burnt and causing general terror in the country. It is not clear yet whether his removal from CMI is connected to these terrorist acts by a government against its own citizens.

It seems Museveni's paranoia is now extending to once trusted insiders like Kyanda. We have picked up stories that he is suspected (right or wrong, we can't tell yet) of being in a clique of senior officers who are thought to be working to undermine Museveni. And Museveni has removed him from the scene to avoid a replay of the late Mayombo incident where someone attempts another coup and then has to be eliminated causing further resentment in the system.

(‘CMI boss Leo Kyanda sacked by Museveni’ 2008, *Radio Katwe* website 3 August <http://www.radiokatwe.com/storiyakyanda080803.htm> - Accessed 29 October 2008 – Attachment 7)

4. General Mugisha Muntu.

General Muntu is reported to be opposing President Museveni:

Those who have openly parted ways with the President include Jaberu Bidandi Ssali, Amanywa Mushega, Richard Kaijuka, **Mugisha Muntu**, and Besigye himself. (Kasasira, Risdel 2008 ‘Cabinet does not agree with Museveni (sic) policies, says rival’ *All Africa*, 14 July – Attachment 8)

Detailed bio-data about General Muntu is contained in the following article:

Muntu was born on October 7, 1958, the fourth-born of Enoch Ruzima and Idah Matama Muntuyera. He will be 47 in October. His siblings are Joy, Flavia (married to Engole of Apac district) and Herbert (MP for Kajura County). Enoch Muntuyera was a minister in the Ankole Kingdom that earned **Mugisha Muntu** a relatively privileged social status and livelihood (Bisiika, Asuman 2005 ‘My mother taught me humility’ *All Africa*, 15 March – Attachment 9)

5. Jack Sabit.

There is scant information about Jack Sabit except for this reference:

The MPs are Mr Jack Sabit (former Rukiga County MP) (Afedraru, Lominda 2006, ‘Mbabazi petition pushed to June’ *The Monitor*, 21 March – Attachment 10)

6. Ben Wacha.

It appears that there may have been an attempt to poison Ben Wacha:

Ben Wacha is a former member of Uganda's parliament and a survivor of the poison threat. From the capital, Kampala he confirmed to the Voice of America that the poison threat was real.

"There was a poison threat against four of us members of parliament. I think there was a deliberate plan to get a worker of the canteen to poison us. The worker felt the move was not correct, and reported to me, who was then a commissioner of the canteen. I took the

matter to the speaker, the matter was reported to the police and I think eventually, it was reported to the minister for internal affairs. It was true, there was that threat," Wacha pointed out.

He said the targeted members of parliament did not get any feedback from authorities after they reported the threat.

"No, we never got to know anything else, after our complaint. I think the threat was abandoned," he said.

Wacha said the MPs could not turn to the government because they were apprehensive that the government itself might be involved in the alleged threat.

"The problem was we didn't know whether the people involved were involved with the government or they were doing things on their own behalf. So we took our own precaution," he said ('Poison controversy rages on in Uganda' 2007 *The Voice of America*, 22 May – Attachment 11)

Further details on Ben Wacha is contained in the following document:

In 1996, Wacha and other UPC heavyweights defied Obote and took part in that year's general elections. The exiled party president decided to exclude them from party leadership. In the 6th Parliament, Wacha earned himself the reputation of a meticulous worker, who steered clear of the cheap politics of mudslinging and populist talk.

After successfully defending his seat in the 2001 elections, Wacha took a shot at the Speaker's seat, but lost to Edward Ssekandi. In the 7th Parliament, he chaired the rules, privileges and discipline committee.

In March 2003, Wacha caused a stir in Parliament, when he demanded that the Government defend itself against allegations that the UPDF had participated in massacres in Ituri. Taking the cue, other opposition MPs followed.

Last year, Wacha, Abdu Katuntu and Miria Matembe petitioned the Constitutional Court over the Omnibus Bill. Their petition was thrown out, but they were later vindicated when the omnibus approach was abandoned.

In spite of his sterling performance in Parliament, the former party secretary was still kept out of UPC leadership and on the sidelines. The last straw was in September 2005, when Wacha, along with several other UPC stalwarts, was kicked out during party primaries.

Rather than join another party, Wacha decided to stand as an independent in the 2006 parliamentary elections, and he was successful. Once again, his name came up for the Speaker's job. "When you have the numbers, you don't need a pliant speaker," former Samia-Bugwe MP Aggrey Awori argued during the run-up to the election for speaker. In the end Ssekandi carried the day, but Wacha is still available to offer wise counsel (Kalema, Ndawula Andrew, 2006 'Our Politicians – Ben Wacha' *All Africa*, 16 September – Attachment 12)

7. Dr Okungu (People's Redemption Army).

Information on the People's Redemption Army (PRA) and Dr Okungu's involvement is contained in the following documents [other relevant names are also in bold]:

- (i) In 2003, the New Vision reported that "Medical doctors Wilbroad **Okungu** and Julius Muhumuza were among the 22 PRA rebels paraded before the press yesterday in Arua. (Akaki, Sam, 2007 'Are they detained, disappeared or dead?' *The Monitor*, 25 August – Attachment 13);

(ii) The People's Redemption Army (PRA) is either imaginary or a rebel group that has failed to mature. Its existence has been questioned by the Forum for Democratic Change (FDC) and its leader Col. (rtd) Kizza Besigye who is alleged to have links with it. Sunday Vision reporters familiar with Congo-based Ugandan rebel groups and the complexities of the Great Lakes region have been investigating the existence of the PRA.

ON March 14, 2002 Defence Minister. Amama Mbabazi presenting a report on national security to Parliament said, "Since 2001 the Reform Agenda (RA) has continued undertaking various manoeuvres to take over power in Uganda.

The People's Redemption Army (PRA) was launched in 2001 and officially declared war on the Uganda Government. There is no way anyone can question the existence of the group as a rebel group fighting to overthrow the Government of Uganda."

Five years down the road the mystery of the rebel group continues to send mixed signals with some people doubting its existence and stating that it is a government ploy to discredit the opposition. Early last week, Ann Mugisha, the former Forum for Democratic Change (FDC) co-ordinator in the US, wrote, "If the PRA exists, it is perhaps the most peaceful rebel force on the African continent."

...

Origin of the PRA

According to government sources, UPDF colonels **Samson Mande** and Anthony **Kyakabale** who fled to Rwanda in June 2001 started PRA. They were reportedly joined by Col. Edson Muzoora - all under the patronage of Rwanda and Besigye, who fled Uganda in August 2001 into exile in South Africa until last week when he returned to a rousing welcome from his FDC supporters.

The soldiers, alongside others, had been instrumental in the task force that participated in Besigye's campaigns for the presidency in 2001 and were key in the formation of PRA.

Lt. Col. Shaban Bantariza, the UPDF spokesman, says, "PRA was formed after the 2001 elections. Apparently some members who had been in the Reform Agenda (RA) under Besigye had gone into politics without knowing that there is winning and losing."

"So they went in," he adds, "with full anger and when they lost they decided to go and fight. They knew there is no other way to come into power without fighting. So that is how they formed the PRA. Its aim was to overthrow Museveni's government and restore the government they thought was better."

According to the army records, **Mande's** code names for PRA operations are 'Bishop Sungura' and 'Mujaja', while that of Besigye was 'Arizona Anguzu'.

Reports say in its initial stages, in July 2001, PRA leaders remained holed up in Kigali as they tried to establish bases and structures both within and outside Uganda.

An official of the External Security Organisation who participated in intelligence gathering says, "We had established even before the 2001 elections that the Reform Agenda faction was determined to take over power using all means available. They were so confident that they would win the 2001 elections and when they failed they quickly opted for military confrontation. Actually by the time **Kyakabale** and **Mande** left for Rwanda they had already established a network of people to carry out the recruitment."

Besigye has denied being involved in any form or having knowledge of any subversive activities. Thus in July 2001, addressing a press conference Besigye stated, "I would like to state that I have absolutely no knowledge of any person or groups of persons involved in a rebellion or breach of peace."

July 2001 saw the build up of tension, with claims that the group was already establishing its bases in eastern DR Congo having undergone military training in Rwanda.

All the regions of the DRC that border Uganda were then under the governorship of members of RCD-Goma, which was allied to Rwanda. As such it was easy for them to relocate from Rwanda to Congo. UPDF deployed in areas of Rwabisengo, Bundibugyo and

Bwamba but most of the eastern part of Congo was under the control RCD Goma. It was easy for the PRA to establish bases in Mwalika, Irengeth, and Bunduguya.

Last year the then Chief of Military Intelligence, Col. (now Brigadier) James Mugira, parading the suspects who had been arrested in Arua, said, "These suspects told us that they were trained in Kabuga, Rwanda and that it's Besigye, Mande and **Kyakabale** who are their bosses."

Having established their bases in DR Congo, the PRA decided to open up its cells in Uganda but, by then they had been infiltrated by security agencies.

"We intercepted e-mails which were being sent around and phone calls to certain individuals who were being assigned tasks. Some people would bring e-mails to security and we would monitor them," says an officer who participated in intelligence gathering.

With secure bases in Rwanda and trained officers, PRA sent some of its officers to Uganda to carry out recruitment. Camps were opened in Teso, West Nile and certain parts of western Uganda, mostly Rukungiri District.

On July 19, 2002, Colonel (now Brigadier) **Noble Mayombo**, who was head of the Chieftaincy of Military Intelligence (CMI), and Besigye were hosted on a live talk show by Andrew Mwenda on the then Monitor FM (now KFM).

During the show **Mayombo** accused Besigye of being the mastermind behind the PRA. Giving evidence to prove his case, Mayombo quoted the time, date and telephone conversations the colonel had had with a number of his close associates, who had been running the organisation.

Mayombo also alleged that between July and August 2002 Besigye was in Dubai to shop for military hardware. But the officials in Dubai called their Uganda government officials and asked them whether they wanted the specified hardware Besigye had requested for. "It's on this basis that they were warned that they (Dubai) were dealing with a terrorist," said a source at CMI.

UPDF and the intelligence services rushed to plant spies, who infiltrated the new rebel group and helped destroy it. This perhaps helps to explain why some people who were arrested, like Dr. Muhumuza, were never even charged.

"We intercepted several calls Besigye was making to James Opoka, in which he was assigning him tasks while he had joined the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA)," he adds.

Addressing a weekly Cabinet briefing in August 2002 **Mayombo** said, "We have incontrovertible evidence to the effect that some people had been sent to Gulu to set up camps. I can tell you where Besigye was yesterday, who he met, who he failed to meet and why."

Earlier on in July 2002, addressing army officers, diplomats and Members of Parliament at the Uganda Defence Review Programme, the Army Commander, Maj. Gen. James Kazini, linked Besigye to PRA.

Another officer at CMI, who prefers anonymity, says that the RA leaders even started carrying out campaigns to raise funds under an organisation called "Buy a card, restore peace in Uganda" which had become active in the diaspora.

One of Besigye's close cousins Deus Mulindwa, was arrested and accused of housing and providing cellphones to certain army officers he is alleged to have contacted for recruitment. Arua connection

In November last year, the CMI and the Joint Anti-Terrorism Task force (JATT) organised an operation in Arua and Koboko. The successful operation netted Captain James Katabazi together with nine suspects including Frank Atukunda a Makerere graduate, Godfrey Mwebembezi from Bushenyi, Ludara LC5 councillor Abubaker Bayiga and Jadu Jarua of URA Arua office, among others

Katabazi is believed to be number four in the rebel hierarchy, while **Mande, Kyakabale** and Muzooru are at the top. The army recovered 76 rifles, 77 magazines, 83 bullets, four anti-

personnel mines and 24 anti-personnel fuses. A satellite phone, a book on warfare and PRA activities were also found with the suspects.

Katabazi, who is presently on remand, was in charge of buying rifles.

"Frank (army deserter and **Samson Mande's** brother) from Ntungamo and Mwebembezi from Bushenyi told us where they had gone for training. They trained from a third country and we put them in the media and they told their story.

Others whom we arrested claimed that Dr. Besigye is their political leader. Besigye has of course denied that, but that is what they stated. Now that they are in court, they will have to adduce evidence that Besigye is their leader, or disown him. They will have to explain whether there is any link between Kizza Besigye and PRA," says Bantariza.

FDC response

The families of the victims and opposition politicians allege that the PRA is a tool of the NRM government, created to intimidate or harass the opposition, especially the Forum for Democratic Change (FDC) and possibly to settle scores with Rwanda.

Late last year when the Government embarked on a wide spate of arrests of suspected PRA fighters, several FDC and RA supporters were picked up in the operation.

Sam Njuba, who is one of the founders of Reform Agenda, in an interview said, "The heightened rebel tension in the country is a ploy by President Yoweri Museveni and his henchmen to scare the opposition and deter them from organising. The fact that we are uniting as a group and increasing on our power as the opposition gives the Government an opportunity for increasing their PRA allegations to torture our supporters and discredit the opposition."

He further said that PRA was a creation of and in the mind of **Mayombo**.

Referring to the people who had been brought to court, Njuba, said, "I was looking at the people they brought to court. Apart from the Speaker of Rukungiri, George Owakukiroru, who is also my client, the others don't seem to be people we know and appear to have been planted by the Government."

...

The PRA was also able to attract professional people within their ranks. In April 2003, a city lawyer, Nathan Okiring, surrendered to the UPDF. Speaking after surrendering Okiring said, "I had been promised \$1,000 a month as salary for the legal services I was to offer. I was given \$500 before I proceeded to Rwanda and was flown to the Ituri region."

Others that were later on to be taken up included **Dr. Wilbrod Okungu**, from Gulu Hospital and Julius Muhumuza, formerly a doctor at Mild May ('Does the PRA really exist' 2005, *All Africa*, 1 November - Attachment 14)

8.Mr Samson Monday.

9. Mr Kyakabale.

There is one reference to Mr Samson Monday but more articles refer to Samson Mande. Here is a reference to Colonel Samson Monday:

Col. **Samson Monday** is gunning for the Kinkizi East parliamentary seat.

Monday Nov. 11 announced his intention to unseat the incumbent, Dr.

Stanley Kinyatta, during a meeting with Rukungiri residents at National Theatre in Kampala.

The colonel told the electorate in a lengthy speech that he is the man fit for Kinkizi East Constituency because he has been "a freedom and peace fighter since Amin's regime".

He said Kinkizi county has lagged behind in development despite having "sons" who are heavyweights in the Movement government like Minister of State for Regional Co-

operation, Amama Mbabazi. He said the area lacks education facilities, has poor infrastructure and rampant poverty.

Col. Samson said he is soon to come out with his manifesto which will have details and plans to tackle the Kinkizi problems.

On education, the colonel rubbished the Universal Primary Education (UPE) introduced by government and said subjecting a P.7 pupil in Kinkizi to the same examination and passing grades as a pupil from the better endowed Kampala Parent school is pushing for an "illiteracy campaign" (Komakech, Ongom Patrick, 2000 'Another Colonel starts campaign' *The Monitor*, 14 November – Attachment 15)

Colonel Samson Mande was awarded the European Human Rights Heroes Award for 2006:

Renegade UPDF officer, Col. Samson Mande, has been awarded the European Human Rights Heroes Award for 2006 in recognition of his work in the struggle for human rights in Uganda.

A statement from the organisers on Tuesday said the award was presented to Mande at a ceremony held in the Concert Noble Conference Hall, in Brussels, Belgium. It was organised by the European Foundation for Human Rights and Tolerance.

In attendance were diplomats, members of Parliament, and delegates of the Youth for Human Rights International who gathered in the European Union capital over the weekend.

In his acceptance speech, Mande said though Uganda was once called the "Pearl of Africa, it had now turned into a "State of Pain" and a "Pain of Africa".

"It is all because of lacking the culture of tolerance, respect for human rights that Uganda has remained a conflict-stricken country since her independence in 1962, hence the Pearl of Africa turned into the pain of Africa," Mande said.

Mande now in exile in Sweden after fleeing Uganda in 2001, is wanted by the Ugandan government on accusations of being the brain behind the People's Redemption Army rebels.

The statement said Mande had a "credible story" in the fight for human rights, which started in childhood until he forfeited his education and dedicated his life to the search for human rights by joining the liberation struggle against dictator Idi Amin.

It said Mande was recognised for offering hope to hundreds of orphans, widows and other disadvantaged people of Uganda and neighbouring countries through his broader activities in different NGOs in Uganda and Sweden mainly as an activist against human rights violation and uplifting standards of the needy and a human rights educator.

(Nyanzi, Peter 2006, 'Colonel Mande wins award' *The Monitor* (Kampala) All Africa website - Accessed 21 October 2008 <http://allafrica.com/stories/200606160289.html> – Attachment 17)

Mr Kyakabale is reported to be linked to a Colonel Samson Mande:

"A revolution is like a turtle", so goes an old maxim, "it feeds on its own children". Little wonder that, according to a recent Daily Monitor report, the former bush war fighter, retired Maj. Gen. Jim Muhwezi, now charged with corruption, has complained that "President Yoweri Museveni is using government offices to fight political opponents" ("Gen. Muhwezi criticises Museveni on corruption", DM, August 14). Muhwezi is only the latest in a long list of leading fighters who have mysteriously disappeared, been jailed or sidelined since the Movement waded its way to power through blood in 1986, promising to bring fundamental change.

Even before the rebel National Resistance Army (NRA) reached Kampala, its first commander, Sam Magara, was mysteriously killed by the Obote forces. Then within months of the NRA's take-over, Dr Andrew Kayira, the commander of the Federal Democratic Movement of Uganda (Fedemu) which "liberated" Buganda region and 'gave' it to President Museveni, was arrested, charged with treason and then released before he was mysteriously killed.

Col. Samson Mande and Lt. Col. Anthony **Kyakabale**, both listed as "original" NRA fighters, have been banished to faraway Sweden.

...

Maj. John Kazoora who left his studies at Makerere to join the NRA has become Museveni's figure of fun. In the run-up to the 2006 election, Museveni called him "endari" (Nkore word for cross-eyed, a fool who cannot think straight).

Dr Besigye, NRA physician who saved not only the lives of thousands of fighters, but also Museveni's, is today along with his entire family, Museveni's enemy number one. He is facing treason punishable by death. His younger brother and co-accused, Joseph Kifefe, contracted blood cancer while in detention and all their sisters are in exile.

And Brig. Henry Tumukunde, a loyal NRA cadre, relative to the First Lady, who secured Museveni's victory in the 2001 election campaign by allegedly beating up and otherwise assaulting Dr Besigye's supporters, has been under house arrest for the last two years. Like **Mande** and **Kyakabale**, Tumukunde is also waiting for Museveni's forgiveness.

Yet according to Maj. Rabwoni Okwiri, "Museveni is a man who has no permanent friends, only permanent enemies". Where is the evidence?

President Museveni's price for forgiveness is so high that only three NRM officials who crossed him, have been able to pay up. Eriya Kategaya and Gen. David Tinyefuza faced months of indignity, before confessing that they were wrong.

Hon. Daniel Omara Atubo was physically beaten by Gen. Tinyefuza for complaining that the NRA had carried out a scorched-earth policy during the insurgency in Lango sub-region. Atubo has since been "rehabilitated" and holds a cabinet post. But already, he is reportedly telling friends that he feels so lonely that he is in government only for the money.

...

To bring the message nearer to home, "First they came for Sam Magara and I did not speak out because I was not a Nkore prince royal. Then they came for others, and I did not speak because I was not of them. Then they came for Colonel Mande and **Kyakabale** and I did not speak because I was not a Mukiga. Then they came for Dr Kizza Besigye and I did not speak out because I had no guts.

Tragically, for these survivors, the question is not whether Maj. Gen. Muhwezi will be the last, but who will be next. This raises one big Sunday question: Why can't those progressive NRA historicals take over the Movement and save their political necks and the country? (Akaki, Sam 2007, 2007 'Why can't NRA historicals save their political necks?' *The Monitor*, 18 August – Attachment 16)

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Non-Government Organisations

Amnesty International website <http://www.amnesty.org/>

Human Rights Watch (HRW) website <http://www.hrw.org/>

Central Intelligence Agency www.cia.gov

International News & Politics

BBC News website <http://news.bbc.co.uk/>

Region Specific Links

AllAfrica.com: News and Media <http://allafrica.com/>

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Search Engines

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