

What's really in the bottle?

- **The feudalist:** “By defining feudalism rather than imperialism as the main problem in 1960s Uganda, Obote was creating artificial divisions among the people. . . . He thus actually served imperialism.”—Museveni’s autobiography, *Sowing the Mustard Seed*, 1995

“In the Middle Ages, there were no political parties; there was a feudal system. The middle classes and later the merchants developed liberal ideas like the freedom to exercise economic activities and freedom to express an opinion. But here in Uganda, there is scarcely a middle class. . . . For that reason, in practice liberal ideas and tolerance led to intolerance and division.”—*Rotterdam Handelsblad*, Aug. 2, 1995

- **The dictator:** On May 3, 1996, two weeks before scheduled Presidential elections, Museveni threatened civil war if he should lose the national elections, charging the opposition with rigging the elections in their favor—an absurd proposition since the control of the election apparatus was in the government’s hands: “In 1980, I warned similar idiots not to rig elections, and went on to punish them for their crimes when they rigged. This time I am warning them again. And at 52, I am young enough to cause more than enough trouble for the next 20 years, if they are looking for trouble.”

- **The slavemaster:** “I have never blamed the whites for colonizing Africa. I have never blamed these whites for taking slaves. If you are stupid, you should be taken a slave.”—*Atlantic Monthly*, September 1994

- **The British libertarian:** “We looked at central planning and found its limitations: the absence of motivation. That leads us to understanding human nature: are they selfish or altruistic? We came to the conclusion that they are selfish. So we let loose their selfish instincts to work day and night to fulfill their selfish interests—and in that way they build our economy.”—As quoted in the London *Financial Times*, Jan. 27, 1997

- **The neo-colonialist:** “We will make them [foreign businessmen] profits by selling them raw materials, cheap labor, by selling them power.”—*New York Times Magazine*, March 23, 1997

When Uganda was struck with food shortages due to drought in early 1997, Museveni declared: “I was reluctant that Ugandans are old enough, but we may apply colonial

means at least for food security,” i.e., coercive methods used to force subsistence farmers to grow mandatory crops.—*Uganda News*, June 17, 1997

- **The Malthusian:** “A United Nations study on the growth of the world’s population in the next millennium—which projected that population could grow more slowly than expected—generated hopeful news coverage in late 1996, exemplified by a headline in the *New York Times* that declared ‘World Is Less Crowded than Expected.’ However, population experts point out that the rosy picture heralded by the *Times* does not mean the world’s population worries are over. Actions taken by governments and individuals today will determine whether the number of people inhabiting the planet actually stabilizes or continues to skyrocket.”—From Museveni’s paper to the 2020 Vision conference in June 1995, entitled “Is World Population Growth Slowing?”

- **The British marcher-lord:** “I wouldn’t mind if some militaristic fellow knocks together Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda, and Burundi, to bring them together.”—Writing in his newspaper *Cheche*, founded at Dar Es Salaam University, September 1970.

“My mission is to see that Eritrea, Ethiopia, Sudan, Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi, and Zaire become federal states under one nation. It is not a choice now, but a must that East Africa becomes one nation. Either we become one nation or we perish. If we don’t come together, so shall we perish as the Red Indians perished. As Hitler did to bring together Germany, we should also do it here. Hitler was a smart guy, but I think he went a bit too far by wanting to conquer the whole world.”—Address to the East African Law Society conference, April 4, 1997, as quoted in *The Shariat*, April 15-21, 1997

“With the Sudanese, we have run out of solutions. Whichever solutions we suggest, they don’t accept it. So I think now they will get a solution on the battlefield. That’s what they’ve been waiting for.”—As quoted by Voice of America, Jan. 30, 1997; two months later, Ugandan forces invaded Sudan.

- **The executioner:** “Amnesty [International] says executions are too harsh. We still apply the law of Moses. We still say an eye for an eye. If you kill someone, you must die.”—*Atlantic Monthly*, September 1994

- **The Fanonist mass murderer:** “But not only is violence the only effective instrument of bringing about the real overthrow of colonial rule, it is also a laxative, a purgative, an agent for creating new men. . . .

“It must be seen that the ‘invincibility’ of the enemy is just fraudulent; he is invincible because he has never been challenged by a revolutionary force using the correct methods of revolutionary violence. Hence in Mozambique, it has been necessary to show peasants fragments of a Portuguese soldier blown up by a mine or, better still, his head. Once

the peasant sees guerrillas holding the head of the former master, the white man's head cold in death, the white skin, flowing hair, pointed nose and blue eyes notwithstanding, he will know, or at least begin to suspect, that the picture traditionally presented to him of the white man's invincibility is nothing but a scarecrow. . . .

"Without a revolution, a revolutionary social convulsion, one cannot get the necessary discipline to mobilize the population. . . . It is necessary to create social convulsions so that the social institutions, the custodians of the status quo, which in a colonial situation mean slavery, are not only brought into question but are actually shaken and made malleable,

a pre-condition for successful recasting. To say that one can introduce fundamental changes without a violent shake-up is to say that one can turn ore into iron without melting it. Not only must you melt ore first, but the first must be of a very high temperature to enable you to melt it. . . .

"Let me end by quoting the great Fanon. He says:

"Violence alone, violence committed by the people, violence organized and educated by its leaders, makes it possible for the masses to understand social truths.'"— Thesis paper at Dar Es Salaam University, 1969, titled "Fanon's Theory on Violence: Its Verification in Liberated Mozambique."

Who made it?

"Museveni is the blue-eyed darling of the British in Africa," as one high-level official of a major opposition party in Uganda explained it: "I have met with three successive British High Commissioners [ambassadors] in Kampala. They do not support Museveni; they *run* him; they tell him what to do every step of the way."

In 1981, Museveni travelled to Britain, reporting that "I also made some contacts in London with British politicians such as Lord [Peter] Carrington," of Kissinger Associates. Museveni also claims that "other British politicians" were quite willing to listen "to our side of the argument" against the Ugandan government of Milton Obote.

Since the time he came to power in 1986, up through the recent British elections at least, Museveni's primary mentor has been Baroness Lynda Chalker, Minister of Overseas Development and member of the Privy Council to the British monarchy. According to British sources, Chalker was the first foreigner to meet with Museveni after he took Kampala. One British East Africa expert further complained that Lady Chalker "spends a lot of time, a disproportionate amount of time in the Horn of Africa and Uganda."

The tale told in Uganda is that Chalker and Museveni have joint business ventures in the Karamoja gold mines of northern Uganda.

Ugandans have vivid memories of Chalker's presence in Uganda. As related by opposition leader Mrs. Cecilia Ogwal: "Her presence in Kumi district of eastern Uganda during her visit to Uganda in March 1990 will never be forgotten by many Ugandans. Together with Mr. Yoweri Museveni, Lynda Chalker was televised in Uganda behind

a barricade of sandbags as shooting was in progress in Kumi; and while hundreds of people of Kumi were dying daily in the squalid concentration camps into which they had been herded. . . ."

Under Chalker's direction, a steady stream of British expatriates has moved into Uganda—formerly known as the jewel of the British Empire in Africa—to take the "deputy" positions in the Ugandan government. As an official at Barclays Bank in London described it: "The economy is virtually run on expatriates, as they are called. They virtually run the ministries. That is how you get things done. . . . The tax collection is run by a company which is expatriate, the Ugandan Revenue Authority. . . . You have the Ugandan Investment Authority, which is also run by expatriates. That's in charge of all investment policy. . . . The [British] Overseas Development Institute has been seconding people out there."

British companies have also returned to Uganda in full force, including the British tea firm James Finlay and Sons, the Commonwealth Development Corp., Mitchell Cotts, British American Tobacco, International Distillers, Barclays Metals, Guinness, and, under London's auspices, the Madhvani conglomerate,

His services to the British Commonwealth, for example, earned Museveni a prize place at the Jan. 17-19 conference of the British Ditchley Foundation, a confab of British bankers and noble elite. At this illustrious gathering, called to discuss "Nations in Transformation to Democracy," Museveni was the only African present.

Additionally, Mrs. Ogwal has noted that "the BBC appears to be the main mouthpiece of the NRM-A government. This has made many Ugandans believe that this is a deliberate British policy to support any one person, group, or government, that will use terror to suppress the people of Uganda. Certainly, the image of the British people and their government, in the eyes and minds of Ugandans is very negative indeed."