at various locations in Acholi, again on the basis of false accusations by state officials and functionaries;

- the arrest of four alleged Kony guerrillas or Kony collaborators by senior army officers in Gulu, 1996, and handing them over to a hostile and incited mob for lynching to death;
- the forceful eviction of opposition leaders, e.g., Mzee Tiberio Atwoma Okeny, from their houses and home areas.
- the arrest, torture and imprisonment of opposition supporters in Arua, e.g., Mr. Kaku Langalanga, Abdulah Musa, a one Matia [sic], etc., who are dumped in Luzira maximum security prison on a trumped up charge of treason—there to languish on remand without any early and fair trial in sight.
- the recent arrest in Arua of hundreds of people and their subsequent imprisonment in local prisons there, but without any proper prior police investigations and without any prospect for an early and fair court hearing.
- the alleged wave of terror, in Arua, in the form of arrests, threats and killings directed at staunch multipartyists and, in particular, people who campaigned for Presidential candidate Paul Kawanga Ssemogerere, who include:
- (i) one Ali, a water seller in Arua Municipality, who was allegedly tortured in the dreaded Gilgil Military barracks, and died a few days afterwards;
- (ii) Alex Drandua, a prominent Pharmacist, who was gunned down near his home in Arua Municipality;
- (iii) four businessmen: Binaisa Amule, Isaac Okulega (Manager of Top Ten Traders), Asen Langalanga and Isaac Oscar, who were rounded up by military personnel in April 1997 and are said to be undergoing torture without being tried in the law courts;
- the arrest and detention without trial of thirty-six (36) workers at Kakira Sugar Works (all originating from West Nile) following a strike at the factory over salaries, and labelling them collaborators of a rebel group operating in West Nile, the West Nile Bank Front (WNBF).
- (c) Violations of Human Rights and commission of various atrocities, including heterosexual rape and rape by homosexuals, against, in particular women, children and the youth.
- (d) Corruption, whereby it is alleged for instance, that senior officials in Government and the military are exploiting, and even perpetuating, the military situation in the North, in order to profiteer in various transactions there.
- (e) Allegations of massacres as at Namokora, Kona-Kilak, Alero, Anaka, Acholi-Bu, etc., in Acholi[land] in 1986, as well as various incidents of bombing of civilian and non-military targets by helicopter gunships, as at Alokulum in the early 1990s.
- (f) Allegation of extensive arson, i.e., wholesale destruction of stored dry food by the setting on fire of granaries in the countryside....

Genocide and Acts Against Humanity

While the Democratic Party does not assert that genocide has been committed in the North or any other part of the

country, it is a matter of public knowledge that some of the allegations levelled against combatants border on accusation for genocide. Accordingly, and in order to clear the air in this regard, two things are necessary. First, there is need to state what genocide and acts against humanity mean. Second, it is necessary to institute and conduct a credible Commission of Inquiry into all serious allegations of atrocities committed in the war to put the issue at rest, one way or the other.

The 1991 assault on Northern Uganda

Here are excerpts from a 1991 research paper of the Ugandan Peoples Congress, on the violence perpetrated by Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni in that year in northern Uganda.

2.2 Cases of Human Rights Violations by NRM-A

2.2.1 Atiak — Gulu District

In March 1991, an Assistant District Administrator of Gulu district convened a public meeting at Atiak Trading Center and its surroundings. The people gathered at 9:00 a.m. as directed and waited. Army and government officials did not come until after 5:00 p.m., when they started addressing the people. As it got dark, the people who were obviously wary of the insecurity in the area, attempted to disperse before the end of the meeting. Soldiers inexcusably and randomly opened fire on the crowd. Over 100 people were killed, many fled into the bush with bleeding bullet wounds and died and many more were injured. The government admitted five dead and 25 injured. . . .

2.2.2 Owino Market — Gulu town

At the start of the most recent military operation against the "rebels" in Acholi (Gulu and Kitgum) and Lango (Lira and Apac) in April 1991, soldiers surrounded Owino Market in the center of Gulu town and shot 25 people dead and injured many others. Thousands of innocent people were rounded up and marched to Pece Stadium in Gulu, half-naked and having been forced to abandon all their commodities and belongings at the marketplace. Unfortunately, it rained heavily that day, soaking the crowds at the stadium. They stayed in the open for about a week, while being "screened" by the soldiers. Each day, as darkness fell, women were separated from the men; and each day and night they were being whipped allegedly because their sons and daughters were "rebels in the bush." Again, the resident minister ordered a commission of inquiry, whose results have not been heard of.

EIR August 8, 1997 Feature 53

2.2.3 Shooting Spree — 1-3 March 1991 at Gulu

In preparation for the celebrations of the International Women's Day scheduled on March 8, 1991 in Gulu town, a shooting spree began both in Gulu town and its suburbs and it went on for the whole week prior to the celebrations. It was reported by the local news media and also by the BBC that "rebels" were attempting to disrupt the celebrations. People were shot dead, including some students at Layibi College, Unyama T.T.C., and Sir Samuel Baker Secondary School, and many houses and granaries were burned out in areas immediately surrounding Gulu town. Shooting stopped at about 9 a.m. in the morning of the 8th March when the celebrations began. The local people believe that the action was taken in order to force many people to the town and hence to the "celebrations."

The British High Commission, the French Embassy, and the UNDP representative attended the celebrations and spent the night as guests of the resident minister, Mrs. Betty Bigombe, in Gulu military barracks.

2.2.4 Abim Hospital and Secondary School

In the same month of March 1991, it was reported by the local press that "rebels" of Kony group [Lord's Resistance Army] from Kitgum district had raided Abim Hospital and Abim Secondary School looking for drugs and to recruit boys and girls from Karamoja. They burnt the buildings and houses in the vicinity before abducting over 80 students. Fifteen (15) are still missing. The NRA urged the Ikarimojong elders to mobilize their young warriors and to go on a rescue mission for their kith and kin. It was later understood that the raid was actually masterminded by the NRA in order to trigger off a direct conflict between the Ikarimojong and the Acholi. The aim was to weaken both these groups as a way of reducing their imagined threat to the NRM-A.

This game of Acholi-Karimojong "raiders" has been used to cover up cattle-rustling by the army. Indeed, the NRA reported recovery of the cattle that had been raided from the "raiders" but the cattle were never returned to their owners. This is an old game which began in Teso in 1986 and which plunged this area into war as the Iteso fiercely tried, albeit in vain, to resist and protect their properties and lives.

2.2.5 The Ngeta Incident — March 1991

While the shooting spree was going on in Gulu and raiding was going on in Kotido at Abim, preparations for Lango had been completed. Rumours of "intelligence reports" indicating that the Ikarimojong were coming to raid in Lira and Apac were circulated. Before the week ended, it was reported that "Kony rebels" from Acholi [Lord's Resistance Army] had attacked Ngeta National Teachers College and abducted girl students; in spite of the presence in the College of armed NRA soldiers who, according to the reports, had prior knowledge of the impending attack.

Soon after this raid, there were further "intelligence reports" indicating that an extended raid by the Ikarimojong to cover Lira town for the remaining cattle was expected. Indeed, the raids were carried out; the cattle were found the following morning in the military barracks in Lira town, with some being loaded onto lorries for unknown destinations. A government Minister of State who was in town that morning (he has since been arrested and charged with treason) witnessed a demonstration by the town residents.

Later on, the Prime Minister, who is born and comes from the area, together with the Division Commander of Lira Division, joined the Minister of State and addressed the enraged people. That day, government offices, shops, markets, and all public places remained closed. It was a day of reckoning because it had now become crystal clear that the Ikarimojong cattle-rustlers and Kony rebels were actually the NRA. The Divisional Commander then promised to return the livestock to the owners, but up to now nothing has ever been heard of these cattle. What seems to have happened is that the NRA then turned its wrath on the local elders, leaders and opinion leaders. Many were subsequently arrested by the army, tortured at Lira army barracks and because of public pressure, were eventually charged of treason.

2.2.6 Operation David—April-May 1991

The stage for Operation David—NRA operation in the four districts of Kitgum, Gulu, Lira and Apac—began under the command of Major General David Tinyefunza.

The four districts were sealed and cut off from the rest of the country and the world at large. Both local and international agencies, government and non-governmental organizations were all dispossessed of their communications gadgets and other necessary facilities and ordered to vacate the area. For two months, no person was allowed to enter or leave the area.

Apart from the official looting and destruction of both property and lives, thousands of innocent villagers were rounded up and kept in the open in military camps for weeks under constant torture by the soldiers.

While the NRA was committing horrendous atrocities in that area, the NRM propaganda machinery was set in full motion. The local press and even some sections of the international news media sang praise to the NRA; citing it as a brave operation. However, following protests from Amnesty International, the NRA set up military court martials to try thousands of villagers that it had rounded up. Eventually, over seven hundreds (700) were sentenced to prison terms of up to five years in prison without any appeal. These were then distributed to various prisons in the country and are serving their sentences. . . .

It will be noted that these were mostly young, ablebodied and productive people. This justifies the belief that

the NRA has targeted this age group in order to destroy the area economically and weaken its imagined political and military opposition. . . .

To the surprise of most Ugandans, most particularly the UPC, the operation which, in no uncertain terms, is aimed at destroying the region's economic potential and its ability to sustain its needs as a means of destroying or weakening the imagined political opposition and military threat to the NRM-A, coincided with the announcement from the British High Commission of the introduction of visa requirement for Ugandans wishing to travel to Britain. It is very well known that people presently wishing to travel and seek refuge outside Uganda are mostly from the Northern and Eastern parts of the country who are running away from death. In the process of filling these visa forms, anyone who indicates that he or she is running away from the violence in Uganda would automatically be denied a visa.

It is now difficult to distance the British High Commission from complicity in Operation David. Indeed, many Ugandans took the announcement from the High Commission as part of the operation, to trap the people of Northern Uganda by sealing off all escape routes. Judging from the strong relations existing between the British High Commissioner and President Yoweri Museveni and also his close

and longtime relationship with the British Minister Lynda Chalker, the majority of Ugandans feel that the British are being innocently dragged into this concealed extermination plan of the people of Uganda. This many have serious repercussions on the future relations between the two countries. It may also spill over to other neighboring countries as speculation (if proved true) has it that most of the young men rounded up in the North and North East of the country and transported to the southwestern part of the country end up in the RPF [Rwandan Patriotic Front] training camps that are known to be there.

[The character of the offensive in the North is epitomized by these reports, among many recorded by the UPC, of killings of civilian populations.]

(b) On the 8th July 1991 a helicopter gunship bombed Keyo Primary School and injured 20 school boys. They are in Lacor Hospital in Gulu. . . . (f) On Sunday 28th July, 1991, in Orum village in Lira District, the following people were bombed and died in their gardens. Mr. Alol, Mr. Omadi, Mr. Okello Albino, Mr. Peter Okec, Mr. Charles Omara and Abongo; plus six others whose names have not been verified. This simply shows how dangerous it is even to work the land for subsistence—which is actually the major preoccupation of the villagers.

Videotapes Available from FDR-PAC

Africa: Looting Ground for 'Bush, Inc.' or Breadbasket for the World? Part 1,

Jan. 11, 1997: 1 hour, \$20 [FDP 97-002]; or, 2 hours, \$35. [FDP 97-005]; (dubbed for Spanish: 1/2 hour, \$20 [FDP 97-007]).

Africa: Looting Ground for "Bush, Inc." or Breadbasket for the World? Part 2, Jan. 25, 1997: 1 hour, \$20. [FDP 97-004]

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EIR August 8, 1997 Feature 55