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KATANGA DEATH: Taremwa Demands Court Inquest; Says CCTV Footage was Deleted and Power Disconnected at Mbuya Home

Taremwa also wants the court to summon top army officers who were the first to arrive at the crime scene and relatives of Molly Katanga to share information that could help in shedding more light on the circumstances under which Katanga died

November 19, 2023



Katanga and Molly at the wedding of their daughter at Mestil Hotel recently Businessman Barnabas Taremwa has called for an inquest into the mysterious death of Henry Katanga.

Katanga, a prominent moneylender was found dead on the morning of November 2, 2023, in his bedroom at his matrimonial home in Mbuya, Kampala.

The death of Katanga, who was an Ankore royal, did not only stun friends and relatives but sent shockwaves across the country.

Most perplexing was the circumstances under which Katanga died. Police said he succumbed to gunshot wounds in the head. However, Katanga's relatives suspect his wife with whom he shared a bed had a hand in her husband's death. In his application to Kampala High Court seeking an inquest into Katanga's death, Taremwa said contradictory versions touching on the death of Henry Katanga started making rounds immediately after his body was found at his home in Mbuya.



Barnabas Taremwa

"According to those aligned to his wife, Henry had committed suicide yet according to those who had no relationship with Henry Katanga's wife (Molly), Henry had been murdered in cold blood," said Taremwa.

"... considering the opaqueness with which the late Henry Katanga met his death and the violence that defines his demise, it is trite to take out an application for an inquest, so that every myth and doubt touching the death of late Henry Katanga is probed into," he added.

Taremwa also wants the court to summon top army officers who were the first to arrive at the crime scene and relatives of Molly Katanga to share information that could help in shedding more light on the circumstances under which Katanga died.

Below is Barnabus Taremwa's petition in full:

I am a male adult Ugandan of sound mind, an applicant herein, and a brother-in-law of the late Henry Katanga, the subject of this application. I am also authorised by my co-applicant, Brig. Gen. Karara Freddie Machwa, to make this deposition on his behalf. I thus swear hereunto in that tripartite capacity. (Hereto attached is a copy of the said authority from Brig. Gen. Karara Freddie Machwa, marked annexure A).

On the morning of Thursday, November 2nd 2023, I learnt from my whatsapp wall, that my brother-in-law and bosom friend, Henry Katanga, had met a violent, gruesome and wanton death at his home in Mbuya, Nakawa, Kampala.

Further information coming my way, again, through my Whatsapp wall, was to the effect that the late Henry Katanga, met his death in his bedroom at his home in Mbuya in the presence of his wife, Molly Katanga, and that the said Molly Katanga was in a comatose state.

I was particularly informed by the deceased's mother, Mirieli Kyobuhoro, whose information I verily believe to be true and correct, that according to the version shared by relatives of the said Molly Katanga, the late Henry Katanga had retired home late from an evening out with peers and friends.

Speaking for myself, I could neither confirm nor invalidate this assertion.

What I know, though, is that, at late Henry Katanga's Mbuya home, he only lived with his son, Sima Katanga, his wife's niece, a one DENISH AYEBARE and of course, his wife, Molly Katanga and about two house helpers.

Along the way, contradictory versions touching the death of Henry Katanga started making rounds:- according to those aligned to his wife, Henry had committed suicide yet according to those who had no relationship with Henry Katanga's wife, Henry had been murdered in cold blood. I was thus lost for words by the controversial versions of news touching on the death of the late Henry Katanga.

My co-applicant and I as well as other peace-loving Ugandans I have since shared with continue to grapple with many puzzles touching the death of late Henry Katanga but we opted to exercise patience in the hope that the natural course of justice would tie every loose end around the death of late Henry Katanga.

My co-applicant and I are presently advised by our joint lawyers Mr Frank Kanduho and Mr Paul Kuteesa whose advice I verily believe to be true and correct that considering the opaqueness with which the late Henry Katanga met his death and the violence that defines his demise, it is trite to take out an application for an inquest, so that every myth and doubt touching the death of late Henry Katanga is probed into.

I now set out hereunder, my and my co-applicant's considered justification for inquest proceedings touching the death of late Henry Katanga.

Henry, as he was fondly called, was a calm, cool, collected and composed human being. It turned out as impossible to believe that he could engage in any domestic brawl with his wife or any member of his family.

Henry loved peace and tranquillity all the years of his life:-he was thus not the type that could be a subject of such a gruesome death: more over from within the confines of his marital home.

Considering that Henry lived with his lastborn son, SimavKatanga, now aged about 12 years, it would naturally follow that he has an eyewitness account of whatever it is that transpired between his father and mother on that fateful morning.

Strangely, from the day Henry died to date, the whereabouts of his said son remain unaccounted for. More strangely. The said Sima Katanga was never facilitated to stay

vigil at his late father's home in Mbuya and neither was he made available to attend the burial of his slain father.

Doctor's presence

The presence of a doctor, a one Dr. Otai Charles, at the home of late Henry Katanga on the fateful morning of Thursday November 2nd 2023 is as inexcusable as it is unexplainable.

The guts with which late Henry Katanga's spouse, Moly Katanga, and his daughter, Tricia, chose to abandon the body of late Henry Katanga in a house unattended to by any loved one as well as the true identity of the person(s) responsible for the decision to whisk away Sima Katanga to an unknown destination and keep him away from the burial arrangements of his slain father and let alone disable the said Sima Katanga from staying vigil at his late father's Mbuya and Karuroko homes and what motivated such a decision merit inquest proceedings.

Scene of crime

The true identity of the person (s) responsible for the decision to call to the scene (of crime), of all people, Col. Nabeth w a b w e r a and late Henry Katanga's daughter, Tricia, and not Maj. Gen. Burundi, who is both an immediate neighbour of late Henry Katanga and a cousin of his wife, Molly Katanga, too is a puzzle; considering that the said Tricia was barely a week old into marriage and thus unlikely within reach of his parents and immediate family and Col. Nabeth Rwabwera lives too far away from the home of late Henry Katanga to be for immediate help.

The person(s) responsible for the decision to abandon the body of late Henry Katanga laying on the floor of his bedroom and instead prioritise the whisking away of his wife into an intensive care unit (ICU at IHK hospital – M u y e n g a under the constant guardianship of Geoffrey Kamuntu, her cousin, is a matter of great concern.

The highly billed presence of late Henry Katanga's eldest daughter, Martha Nkwanzi Katanga, in the bulk cash section of Stabic bank, Forest Mall branch, in the early hours of Thursday, November 2nd 2023, immediately after the death of her father, is equally puzzling.

The motivation behind the eulogy delivered by Col. Nabeth Rwabwera castigating all and sundry and sanitising the late Henry Katanga's wife, Molly Katanga, is a matter worth probing.

The motive behind the alleged blackout of electricity supply only at Henry Katanga's home on the night he met his death when there was, in fact, d e p e n d a b l e electricity supply everywhere else within the same locality is mind boggling.

The true identity of the weevil that ate into the CCTV camera in and around late Henry Katanga's home/house, the night he died, is a matter worth probing.

The identity of the person(s) behind the decision to hurriedly bury late Henry Katanga without the care to await the wellness of his spouse, Molly Katanga, and or the presence

of his lastborn son, Sima Katanga, moreover in utter contravention of an order of court attracts an inquiry.

The motivation behind the narrative of suicide on the part of late Henry Katanga by, among others, a one Geofrey Kamuntu, a one Harriet Mucunguzi, Col. Naboth Rwabwera, even when none of them shared the same roof with the deceased on the night he died, calls for an inquiry.

The identity of the persons) who first made it known to the public that Henry Katanga was dead and the identity of the person(s) who made telephone calls to Tricia and Col. Naboth Rwabwera, as the first persons to appear at the scene (of crime), when Molly Katanga was allegedly in a comatose state as well as the true identity of the person(s) who erased every trace of blood off every corner of late Henry Katanga's bedroom and what motivated such action do call for inquest proceedings.

Money

The identity of the person(s) who, on the fateful morning of Thursday, November 2nd 2023, instructed Martha Nkwanzi Katanga to go to the bank to withdraw money as her slain father lay lifeless on his bedroom floor and who it is that countersigned a cheque for her in her mother's alleged comatose state is of interest considering she is co-signatory with her mother on the same account:-and let alone, what purpose the money so withdrawn was intended to serve are all puzzles that are incapable of being resolved in absence of an inquest.

The inexcusable presence of a doctor, a one Dr. Charles Otai, on a murder scene and who it is that invited him to their aid as the first respondent at the scene(of crime) on the early morning of Thursday, November 2nd 2023, can only be inquired into by way of an inquest.

Killer gun

The unexplained hand marks of Molly Katanga and her daughter, Tricia, on the alleged killer gun recovered from the scene (of crime) on the morning of Thursday, November 2nd 2023, can only be unravelled by way of an inquest.

The alleged surgery conducted unto the head and arms of Moly Katanga, as gathered from the eulogy of Maj. Gen. Sam Kavuma, merits a probe.

The presence of the Deputy Inspector General of Police as well as that of Lt. Gen. James Mugira, Maj. Gen. Sam Kavuma, Brig. Charity Bainababo, Col. Naboth Rwabwera, L.t Col. Biteeya and L.t Col. Kashakamba at the scene (of crime] and what role, exactly, each one of them played in the events before, during and after the burial of late Henry Katanga, and what it is that each one of them knows regarding the death of late Henry Katanga, are matters that ought to be probed into in fully understanding matters touching late Henry Katanga's death.

The motivation behind the dead silence of the house helpers of late Henry Katanga, ie, Nantume Evelyn and Amayire George, as well as the motivation behind the dead silence on the part of a one Denish Avebare moments after the death of late Henry Katanga yet during the alleged comatose state of Molly Katanga is such that it is only an inquest that would unravel it.

To-date, no one can reliably state who it is that shot at the late Henry Katanga thereby bringing his life to an untimely end; or whether indeed it is the deceased who, in fact, shot at himself in an overt case of suicide.

There are no criminal proceedings my co-applicant and I are aware of that have commenced to bring any of the real and or perceived killers of late Henry Katanga to justice.

I Swear this affidavit in support of the application for an inquest. Whatever is herein stated is true and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Multiple-Choice Questions:

- 1. What is the main demand of Barnabas Taremwa in the article?**
 - A. Criminal prosecution
 - B. Inquest into Henry Katanga's death
 - C. Financial compensation
 - D. Family reconciliation
- 2. Who does Taremwa want the court to summon for information related to Henry Katanga's death?**
 - A. Business associates
 - B. Top army officers and Molly Katanga's relatives
 - C. Police officers
 - D. Journalists
- 3. What reason does the police give for Henry Katanga's death?**
 - A. Poisoning
 - B. Gunshot wounds to the head
 - C. Natural causes
 - D. Car accident
- 4. According to Taremwa, what are the contradictory versions regarding Henry Katanga's death?**
 - A. Poisoning vs. gunshot wounds
 - B. Suicide vs. murder
 - C. Natural causes vs. foul play
 - D. Car accident vs. home invasion
- 5. What is the age of Henry Katanga's lastborn son, Sima Katanga?**
 - A. 10 years
 - B. 12 years
 - C. 15 years
 - D. 18 years
- 6. What is the puzzling aspect of the alleged blackout of electricity supply at Henry Katanga's home?**
 - A. It happened during a storm
 - B. Other homes in the locality had electricity
 - C. Routine maintenance
 - D. There was no blackout
- 7. Who delivered a eulogy castigating all and sundry and sanitizing Molly Katanga?**
 - A. Taremwa
 - B. Col. Nabout Rwabwera
 - C. Martha Nkwanzi Katanga
 - D. Maj. Gen. Sam Kavuma
- 8. What does Taremwa find inexcusable and unexplainable at the scene of the crime?**
 - A. Presence of relatives
 - B. Absence of police
 - C. Presence of a doctor
 - D. Presence of journalists
- 9. What event happened immediately after the death of Henry Katanga that is deemed puzzling?**
 - A. Martha Nkwanzi Katanga withdrew money from the bank
 - B. Molly Katanga was whisked away to the hospital
 - C. Electricity blackout
 - D. A blackout of information

10. What does Taremwa consider as a matter of great concern in relation to Molly Katanga's condition after Henry's death?

- A. Her alleged comatose state
- B. Her refusal to attend the burial
- C. Her sudden disappearance
- D. Her silence

ANALYTICAL QUESTIONS ON TAREMWA'S INQUEST DOC.**1. Explore the potential implications of contradictory versions surrounding Henry Katanga's death. How might these conflicting narratives impact the investigation and public perception?**

Answer: Contradictory versions introduce ambiguity and raise questions about the reliability of information. The impact could be significant in shaping public opinion, influencing investigations, and complicating the pursuit of justice. Different narratives may lead to divergent legal outcomes, making it crucial to scrutinize and reconcile these versions.

2. Analyze the role of technology, specifically the alleged deletion of CCTV footage and the weevil damage to the cameras, in the investigation of Henry Katanga's death. How might these actions hinder the search for truth, and what steps could be taken to address these challenges?

Answer: Tampering with CCTV footage obstructs the investigation by eliminating potential evidence. The deliberate damage to cameras raises concerns about intentional interference. Addressing these challenges requires forensic analysis, **recovery attempts**, and strict measures to prevent future tampering. Additionally, the legal consequences for those responsible for such interference should be explored to **ensure accountability**.

3. Examine the significance of the alleged blackout of electricity at Henry Katanga's home on the night of his death. How might this event be connected to the overall investigation, and what factors should be considered in evaluating its relevance?

Answer: The alleged blackout could be a crucial factor in the investigation, potentially indicating intentional interference or strategic planning. Factors such as the timing, selective nature of the blackout, and the availability of electricity in the surrounding area should be considered. This event may shed light on premeditation or attempts to create conditions favoring the execution of the crime.

4. Evaluate the implications of Sima Katanga's unaccounted whereabouts and his absence from his late father's vigil and burial. How might his presence or absence influence the investigation, and what considerations should be taken into account regarding Sima Katanga's involvement or knowledge of the events?

Answer: Sima Katanga's absence is a significant aspect of the investigation. His potential eyewitness account and absence from critical events raise questions about his role and knowledge. Considerations should include his age, vulnerability, and the need for a child-sensitive approach in gathering information. His whereabouts need careful scrutiny to ascertain if his absence is a deliberate act and whether it impacts the reliability of the investigation.

5. Analyze the motivations behind Martha Nkwanzi Katanga's withdrawal of money immediately after her father's death. How might this financial transaction be connected to the investigation, and what motives could be inferred from her actions?

Answer: Martha Nkwanzi Katanga's financial transaction raises suspicions and warrants scrutiny. The connection to her father's death suggests potential motives related to the crime. Investigating the purpose of the withdrawal, any associated signatures or authorizations, and understanding Martha's financial relationship with her father are crucial steps in unraveling the possible motives and implications of this transaction.

6. Examine the involvement of top army officers and relatives of Molly Katanga in the investigation. How might their testimonies contribute to shedding light on Henry Katanga's death, and what challenges could arise from their involvement?

Answer: Involving top army officers and relatives in the investigation adds complexity. Their testimonies may offer valuable insights, but challenges such as potential bias, conflicts of interest, and the need for unbiased scrutiny must be addressed. Balancing their perspectives with other evidence is crucial to ensuring a comprehensive and fair investigation.

7. Investigate the role of Dr. Charles Otai in the initial response to Henry Katanga's death. How might the presence of a doctor at the crime scene impact the investigation, and what ethical considerations should be taken into account when involving medical professionals in such cases?

Answer: Dr. Charles Otai's presence raises questions about the appropriateness of medical involvement at a crime scene. The impact on evidence preservation and potential ethical concerns surrounding professional conduct need careful examination. Protocols for engaging medical professionals in crime scenes should be established, considering the balance between immediate response and preserving the integrity of forensic evidence.

8. Discuss the motivations behind the alleged eulogy delivered by Col. Naboth Rwabwera, particularly in casting blame on others and defending Molly Katanga. How might such public statements influence the investigation, and what ethical considerations should be taken into account regarding public figures expressing opinions in ongoing cases?

Answer: Col. Naboth Rwabwera's eulogy introduces subjective opinions and may influence public perception. The motivations behind his statements, potential biases, and the impact on the investigation should be scrutinized. Ethical considerations include the responsibility of public figures to avoid prejudicing ongoing investigations and maintaining the presumption of innocence until proven guilty.

9. Examine the alleged surgery conducted on Molly Katanga's head and arms, as mentioned in Maj. Gen. Sam Kavuma's eulogy. How might this information be relevant to the investigation, and what steps should be taken to verify and evaluate the significance of such medical interventions in the context of a suspicious death?

Answer: The alleged surgery on Molly Katanga raises questions about the extent of her injuries and their connection to the death of Henry Katanga. Verification of medical records, forensic examinations, and collaboration with medical professionals are essential. Understanding the relevance of such interventions to the investigation requires careful consideration of medical evidence and its implications for the circumstances of Henry Katanga's death.

10. Evaluate the role of silence among house helpers and acquaintances immediately following Henry Katanga's death. How might their silence impact the investigation, and what factors should be considered in interpreting the motives behind their reluctance to share information?

Answer: The silence of house helpers and acquaintances introduces a layer of complexity in the investigation. Understanding their motives, potential fear or coercion, and the reasons behind their reluctance to speak out should be explored. Cultural, social, and psychological factors influencing their silence must be considered to determine the reliability of their eventual testimonies and their impact on uncovering the truth in Henry Katanga's death.

HARD WORDS

1. **Inquest:** A judicial inquiry to ascertain the facts relating to an incident, such as a death.
2. **Matrimonial:** Related to marriage or the relationship between a married couple.
3. **Opaqueness:** Lack of transparency or clarity; difficult to understand or interpret.
4. **Trite:** Overused and lacking originality; commonplace.

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5. **Bosom friend:** A very close and intimate friend.
6. **Comatose:** In a state of deep unconsciousness.
7. **Vigil:** A period of staying awake during the time usually spent asleep, especially to keep watch or pray.
8. **Eulogy:** A speech or piece of writing that praises someone or something highly, typically someone who has just died.
9. **Castigate:** Reprimand (someone) severely.
10. **Contravention:** Violation or infringement of a law, agreement, or code.

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Thank you.

PHOTOS: Katanga's Son Fires Back, says Mother was Injured

Molly, who was in the same bedroom where the businessman's lifeless body was found in a pool of blood, was earlier today (Tuesday) charged with murder of her husband



Molly Katanga being interviewed by police personnel at IHK hospital (Photos published in this article were part of Arthur Katanga's written affidavit in response to Taremwa's application to the High Court)

Arthur Katanga, the son of deceased businessman Henry Katanga, has broken silence about the tragic incident at their family home in Mbuya, saying her mother, Molly Katanga, was admitted to IHK hospital in critical condition.

“On 2nd November 2023, my mother was admitted to IHK hospital where she underwent emergency surgery to save her life and has had three surgeries and has since been examined by the Police Surgeon himself as part of a police investigation,” said Arthur on Tuesday evening.

Arthur was responding to a petition by city businessman Barnabas Taremwa seeking a court inquest in the circumstances under which his friend Henry Katanga died.

Katanga, a prominent moneylender was found dead on the morning of November 2, 2023, in his bedroom at his matrimonial home in Mbuya, Kampala.

Molly, who was in the same bedroom where the businessman’s lifeless body was found in a pool of blood, was earlier today (Tuesday) charged with murder of her husband.

“The Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP) Jane Frances Abodo has sanctioned the charge of Murder against Katanga Molly in respect to the death of Katanga Henry, her husband,” said the DPP in a statement today.



Arthur says one of her mother's fingers was amputated in hospital

Taremwa had alleged that the presence of a doctor, a one Dr. Charles Otai, at the home of late Henry Katanga on the fateful morning of November 2; the deleting of the family home's CCTV footage; the conduct of family members at the crime scene after the incident; and the withdrawal of large sums of money from a family account on the fateful morning by one of Katanga's daughter had caused unease and required an inquest of court.

Taremwa also said the person(s) responsible for the decision to abandon the body of late Henry Katanga laying on the floor of his bedroom and instead prioritise the whisking away of his wife into an intensive care unit (ICU) at IHK hospital – Muyengwa under the constant guardianship of Geofrey Kamuntu, her cousin, was a matter of great concern.

However, in an affidavit responding to Taremwa's claims, Arthur Katanga implied that her mother, Molly Katanga was injured in a fight with his father before the latter's death.

"The allegations that she was whisked away to be booked into a hospital and did it by jumping over my father's dead body are false, painful and seek to make light of our sad situation," said Arthur.



The injuries sustained by Molly Katanga

Injuries

Arthur said on November 16, 2023, "we requested and obtained from IHK hospital reports of my mother's condition when she went to the hospital on 2nd November 2023. We have obtained my mother's x-rays and photographs from IHK hospital."

He added: "The photos show the state that her head was in when she was taken to the hospital completely smashed up. They show the state of her head after the stitches were put on. They show the x-rays of her hands. They show the transition of her finger and how they tried to save it by holding it with metals and they finally show its amputation."

While Arthur seems to suggest her mother was injured in a fight with his father, the police pathologists who examined Katanga's body **concluded in their post-mortem report of November 2, 2023 that, "There were no defense injuries seen and the long bones were intact."**

Arthur also accused Taremwa of spearheading a smear campaign against the Katanga family in the media, "has directly interfered with the investigations of my father's death and directed it in a particular way and seeks to use this application to increase pressure on the authorities."

Arthur further claimed Taremwa had illegally critical material from police including a postmortem report to share with the media.



Molly Katanga at IHK Hospital

Taremwa recently asked court to invite high profile army officers and family members who appeared at the Mbuya residence after Katanga's death or tried to tamper with the crime scene. However, Arthur said Taremwa's Application "seeks to embarrass a number of people who attended my father's funeral with the sole purpose of making them shun the orphans and family of the Late Henry Katanga and to further to make a media circus and theatre of the tragedy which befall our family."

Taremwa had also expressed alarm at the mysterious disappearance of Katanga's 12-year-old son immediately after his father's death and the boy's failure to attend the subsequent funeral ceremonies.

But Arthur said this is Taremwa's "attempt to publicly humiliate my brother who is a minor in the manner proposed is diabolical. My brother has not been whisked away or hidden as alleged or at all. The police have not allowed anyone to stay at my parents home and my brother's current address is surely none of Mr Taremwa's business."

He emphasised: "My father's tragic and painful death is currently the subject of a police investigation and the police have even taken over the premises of my parents and have the keys to the house from where they remove items that they deem relevant to the investigation."

Charges

The DPP today sanctioned the charge of destroying evidence against Patricia Kakwanza and Martha Nkwanzi Katanga for tampering with the evidence at the crime scene.

Furthermore, the DPP has sanctioned the charge of accessory after the fact of murder against George Amanyire and Charles Otai for assisting the suspects escape punishment.

"Since the murder of Katanga Henry, Prosecution-Guided Investigations by the Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions (ODPP) and Criminal Investigations Directorate (CID) have been ongoing, culminating in the arrest of the suspects," said the DPP.

The suspects were produced in Nakawa Chief Magistrates Court earlier today save for Katanga Molly and Nkwanzi Martha Katanga who are hospitalised.

Multiple-Choice Questions:

1. Who was charged with the murder of Henry Katanga?

- A. Arthur Katanga
- B. Barnabas Taremwa
- C. Molly Katanga
- D. Dr. Charles Otai

2. What allegations did Barnabas Taremwa make in his petition to the High Court regarding the Katanga family?

- A. Involvement in money laundering
- B. Tampering with CCTV footage

- C. Illegal possession of firearms
- D. Cybercrime activities

3. What did Arthur Katanga claim regarding Molly Katanga's injuries?

- A. She sustained injuries in a fight with Henry Katanga.
- B. She was injured during a burglary.
- C. The injuries were self-inflicted.
- D. Molly Katanga had no injuries.

4. What charge did the Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP) sanction against Patricia Kakwanza and Martha Nkwanzi Katanga?

- A. Murder
- B. Destroying evidence
- C. Kidnapping
- D. Fraud

5. Who is accused of being an accessory after the fact of murder according to the DPP's statement?

- A. Arthur Katanga
- B. George Amanyire
- C. Charles Otai
- D. Barnabas Taremwa

6. What did Arthur Katanga accuse Barnabas Taremwa of doing in relation to the police and media?

- A. Encouraging cooperation with the police
- B. Spearheading a smear campaign
- C. Conducting unbiased investigations
- D. Promoting family unity

7. What charge did the DPP sanction against Molly Katanga in connection with Henry Katanga's death?

- A. Tampering with evidence
- B. Destruction of property
- C. Accessory after the fact of murder
- D. Murder

8. What did Taremwa express alarm about regarding Katanga's 12-year-old son after his father's death?

- A. His mysterious disappearance
- B. His involvement in the crime
- C. His refusal to attend the funeral
- D. His illegal activities

9. What charges were sanctioned against Molly Katanga and Martha Nkwanzi Katanga according to the DPP's statement?

- A. Tampering with evidence
- B. Accessory after the fact of murder
- C. Murder
- D. Destroying evidence

10. What did Arthur Katanga claim about the police investigation into his father's death?

- A. The investigation is biased and influenced by Taremwa.
- B. The police are not actively involved in the case.
- C. The investigation is thorough and fair.
- D. The police are only interested in media coverage.

11. What did Arthur Katanga accuse Taremwa of illegally taking from the police?

- A. Postmortem report
- B. Surveillance footage
- C. Witness statements
- D. DNA samples

12. What charges were sanctioned against George Amanyire and Charles Otai according to the DPP's statement?

- A. Tampering with evidence
- B. Accessory after the fact of murder
- C. Destroying evidence
- D. Murder

Bigger Questions:

1. Question: What are the key legal developments in the case, and how have they shaped the ongoing investigation?

Answer: The key legal developments in the case include Molly Katanga being charged with murder by the Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP), Jane Frances Abodo. This charge has significant implications for the ongoing investigation, as it suggests a formal acknowledgment by the legal authorities of potential criminal involvement in Henry Katanga's death. The legal process will now involve presenting evidence, examining witnesses, and assessing the merits of the case in court.

2. Question: How has the media played a role in the unfolding events, and what ethical concerns have been raised in this context?

Answer: The media has played a substantial role in shaping public perception and influencing the case. Allegations of media interference, raised by Arthur Katanga, suggest a potential misuse of information for specific agendas. Ethical concerns include the responsible reporting of sensitive details, avoiding interference in ongoing investigations, and maintaining journalistic integrity. The impact of media influence on legal proceedings and public opinion is a critical aspect that requires examination.

3. Question: What is the significance of the charges related to tampering with evidence, and how might this impact the overall case?

Answer: Charges related to tampering with evidence, sanctioned by the DPP, indicate a serious legal consequence for those accused of interfering with the crime scene. Tampering with evidence can compromise the integrity of the investigation and hinder the pursuit of justice. The charges signal a commitment to holding individuals accountable for obstructing the legal process and may influence perceptions of the case's credibility.

4. Question: How have conflicting narratives about Molly Katanga's injuries and the events leading to Henry Katanga's death complicated the investigation?

Answer: Conflicting narratives surrounding Molly Katanga's injuries, including Arthur Katanga's implication of a fight with Henry Katanga, have introduced complexities into the investigation. These conflicting accounts raise questions about the reliability of information and the need for thorough forensic examination. Resolving these discrepancies is crucial for establishing the factual basis of the case and determining the true cause of Henry Katanga's death.

5. Question: What role does forensic evidence, such as x-rays and photographs, play in the investigation, and how might it contribute to establishing the facts of the case?

Answer: Forensic evidence, including x-rays and photographs obtained from IHK hospital, is essential for evaluating Molly Katanga's injuries. This evidence can provide a

detailed account of the extent of her injuries, the nature of medical interventions, and potential correlations with the events leading to Henry Katanga's death. Forensic analysis is critical in establishing an objective and scientific basis for understanding the circumstances surrounding the incident.

6. **Question: How has the involvement of high-profile army officers and family members at the crime scene raised concerns, and what impact might this have on the investigation?**

Answer: The involvement of high-profile individuals at the crime scene, as raised by Taremwa, has raised concerns about potential interference and biases in the investigation. The court's decision to invite these individuals for questioning indicates a recognition of the need to address these concerns. The impact on the investigation could involve clarifying their roles, ensuring a fair process, and maintaining the impartiality of the legal proceedings.

7. **Question: What ethical considerations surround the inclusion of a minor, Katanga's 12-year-old son, in the events following his father's death, and how might the court address these concerns?**

Answer: The concerns raised about the 12-year-old son's involvement highlight ethical considerations regarding the well-being and privacy of a minor in a sensitive legal context. The court may need to carefully navigate these concerns, ensuring the minor's protection and adherence to legal and ethical standards. The court may decide on appropriate measures to safeguard the minor's interests during the proceedings.

8. **Question: How might allegations of a smear campaign against the Katanga family impact the investigation, and what legal consequences might arise from such allegations?**

Answer: Allegations of a smear campaign, as made by Arthur Katanga against Taremwa, could influence public opinion and introduce bias into the investigation. Legal consequences might include defamation claims, depending on the veracity of the allegations. The court may need to assess the impact of these claims on the fairness of the legal process and take appropriate measures to address any undue influence.

9. **Question: What role does the post-mortem report play in the investigation, and how might it inform the understanding of the events leading to Henry Katanga's death?**

Answer: The post-mortem report, conducted by police pathologists, is crucial in providing an objective assessment of Henry Katanga's cause of death. It serves as a scientific basis for understanding the nature of injuries, the absence of defense injuries, and the condition of long bones. The report contributes to the overall understanding of the events leading to Henry Katanga's death and provides valuable evidence for the investigation.

10. **Question: How might the ongoing police investigation impact the overall trajectory of the case, and what steps are being taken to ensure a thorough and impartial inquiry?**

Answer: The ongoing police investigation is pivotal in shaping the trajectory of the case. Steps taken to ensure a thorough and impartial inquiry include the examination of evidence, questioning of relevant individuals, and adherence to legal procedures. The court's role in

overseeing the investigation, addressing concerns raised by both parties, and maintaining transparency will contribute to the overall credibility of the inquiry.

11. Question: What are the potential legal implications of Molly Katanga's murder charge, and how might this impact her defense and the overall dynamics of the case?

Answer: Molly Katanga's murder charge carries significant legal implications, as it directly implicates her in the death of Henry Katanga. The charge will prompt the need for a robust legal defense, presenting counterarguments, and challenging the prosecution's case. The dynamics of the case may shift based on the legal strategies employed, the presentation of evidence, and the court's assessment of the murder charge.

Hard Words:

1. **Sanctioned:** Officially authorized or approved.
2. **Inquest:** A judicial inquiry to ascertain the facts relating to an incident, such as a death.
3. **Matrimonial:** Relating to marriage or the relationship between a married couple.
4. **Petition:** A formal written request, typically one signed by many people, appealing to authority with respect to a particular cause.
5. **Allegations:** Unproven statements or assertions made without concrete evidence.
6. **Unease:** A feeling of discomfort or apprehension.
7. **Embarrass:** Cause (someone) to feel awkward, self-conscious, or ashamed.
8. **Diabolical:** Extremely wicked or cruel.
9. **Amputate:** Remove (a limb) by surgical operation.
10. **Pathologist:** A medical professional who examines bodies and body tissues to determine the cause of death.
11. **CCTV:** Closed-circuit television.

From the same article above , give five lessons that are educative.

Five Lessons from the Case Article:

1. **Importance of Clear Communication in Legal Matters:** The article highlights the significance of clear and transparent communication in legal matters, especially in high-profile cases. Arthur Katanga's response and the allegations made by Barnabas Taremwa underscore the impact of public statements on shaping perceptions and influencing legal proceedings. The lesson here is the importance of precise and truthful communication to avoid misinformation and potential legal complications.
2. **Critical Examination of Conflicting Narratives:** Conflicting narratives, such as those regarding Molly Katanga's injuries, emphasize the need for a critical examination of evidence in legal investigations. This lesson underscores the importance of unbiased analysis, expert opinions, and forensic examination to reconcile conflicting accounts. It highlights the challenges associated with interpreting evidence and the necessity of thorough investigations to uncover the truth.
3. **Media Ethics in Reporting Legal Cases:** The involvement of the media in shaping public opinion and influencing legal proceedings is a prominent theme. The accusations of media interference by Arthur Katanga and the alleged illegal acquisition of police materials by Taremwa raise ethical concerns. The lesson here is the importance of responsible and ethical journalism, avoiding interference in ongoing investigations, and adhering to professional standards to maintain the integrity of legal processes.
4. **Legal Implications of Tampering with Evidence:** The charges sanctioned by the Director of Public Prosecutions against individuals for tampering with evidence highlight the severe legal consequences of such actions. This lesson emphasizes the importance of preserving crime scenes, maintaining the integrity of evidence, and refraining from any attempts to

interfere with the legal process. It serves as a cautionary reminder of the serious repercussions associated with obstructing justice.

5. **Protection of Minors in Legal Proceedings:** The concerns raised by Taremwa about the 12-year-old son's involvement in the events following Henry Katanga's death highlight the complexities of including minors in legal proceedings. The lesson here is the need for careful consideration of ethical and legal implications when minors are connected to criminal investigations. It underscores the importance of protecting the well-being and privacy of underage individuals involved in sensitive situations.

These educative lessons provide insights into legal, ethical, and communication aspects, offering valuable takeaways for individuals, legal professionals, and the broader public.

What conclusion can one draw from the ongoing case?

As of now, it's essential to acknowledge that the ongoing case involving the death of Henry Katanga is complex, and drawing definitive conclusions without complete information can be challenging. However, based on the information provided in the article, one can consider several key points and potential implications:

1. **Complexity of the Case:** The case is intricate, involving conflicting narratives, allegations, and legal actions. The complexity arises from the differing accounts of the events leading to Henry Katanga's death, the injuries sustained by Molly Katanga, and the actions of individuals involved in the aftermath.
2. **Legal Proceedings:** The fact that Molly Katanga has been charged with murder by the Director of Public Prosecutions suggests that the legal system is actively involved in investigating the circumstances surrounding Henry Katanga's death. Legal proceedings are likely to unfold, and the court will assess the evidence presented.
3. **Controversial Claims and Counterclaims:** The article highlights controversial claims and counterclaims between Arthur Katanga and Barnabas Taremwa. These include accusations of interference with investigations, media manipulation, and conflicting interpretations of events. The ongoing legal process will likely scrutinize these claims.
4. **Importance of Forensic Evidence:** The mention of x-rays, photographs, and the police pathologists' report underscores the importance of forensic evidence in determining the cause of death and evaluating Molly Katanga's injuries. Forensic analysis will play a crucial role in establishing facts.
5. **Media Influence and Public Opinion:** The article indicates the influence of media in shaping public opinion and potentially affecting the legal proceedings. The allegations of media interference and the counterclaims emphasize the need for responsible journalism and the potential impact of public perception on legal outcomes.
6. **Protection of Minors:** Concerns raised about the 12-year-old son's involvement highlight the challenges and ethical considerations of including minors in legal proceedings. The court may need to address these concerns to ensure the well-being and privacy of the underage individual.

In conclusion, one can infer that the ongoing case is multifaceted, involving legal complexities, conflicting perspectives, and ethical considerations. Drawing a definitive conclusion would require a thorough examination of evidence, legal proceedings, and the resolution of disputed claims through a fair and transparent judicial process. As the case evolves, new information may emerge, and the conclusions may be subject to change.

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From Balaalo to Drama-alo: President Museveni's Acholi Visit in Last Ditch Effort

November 3, 2023



President Yoweri Museveni is set to make his first visit to Okidi Parish in Atiak Sub-County, Amuru District, with the specific aim of addressing the escalating crisis involving migrant cattle keepers, commonly known as Balaalo, in the Acholi Sub-region. This visit is a significant departure from his usual itinerary and has raised eyebrows among local leaders in the region.

A History of Conflict

Local leaders in the Acholi Sub-region have repeatedly accused President Museveni of contradicting his own decision to evict the Balaalo from the area. Tensions have been mounting as conflicts between the locals and cattle keepers intensify due to the controversial acquisition of substantial tracts of customary land.

Executive Order and Changing Deadlines

In response to these concerns, President Museveni issued Executive Order No. 33 in May, which aimed to ban the illegal presence of cattle keepers from Northern Uganda by the end of June. He cited the illegal presence of cattle keepers, their manipulative land acquisition methods, and their failure to enclose their grazing land as reasons for this decision. However, the eviction deadline has been extended multiple times, most recently to November 15, to allow for verification and address emerging complaints.

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Legislative Discontent

A segment of legislators from the Acholi Sub-region has expressed skepticism about these extensions, fearing that they may offer the cattle keepers more time to permanently settle. They argue that the President's decision to expel cattle keepers from other areas was executed promptly, but the evictions in Acholi have dragged on for years. They maintain that the vast land currently occupied by the cattle keepers was acquired illegally and should not be tolerated any longer.

Verifying the Situation

To assess the situation, the government formed a select committee led by Prof. Jack Nyeko Pen Mogi, the chairperson of the Uganda Land Commission, to verify the cattle keepers in the region. Another technical committee was recently established to evaluate the compliance of cattle keepers with the President's directives on land acquisition and land fencing.

Leaders' Allegations

Phillip Polly Okin Ojara, the Chua West County legislator, suspects that leaders overseeing the eviction have been providing inaccurate information to the President. He contends that the plights of locals living in areas occupied by cattle keepers have been ignored, with many suffering from crop destruction and land encroachment.

Legislators Take Matters into Their Own Hands

Some legislators from the Acholi Sub-region, under the Acholi Parliamentary Group (APG), began a campaign to forcefully expel the cattle keepers in response to the deadline extensions. This action was motivated by their frustration with the ongoing crisis. They visited Pader and Amuru Districts, adding to the mounting pressure on the cattle keepers.

President Museveni's Planned Intervention

In response to the increasing pressure, President Museveni, who met with leaders from the Acholi Sub-region on October 20, announced his visit to the Sub-region on November 3. He plans to meet with both the landowners and the cattle keepers to find a way forward, taking into account their perspectives.

Skepticism and Accusations

As the President prepares for his visit to Okidi Parish in Atiak Sub-County, Amuru District, there are mixed opinions on whether it will lead to a lasting resolution of the Balaalo crisis. Some leaders believe that cattle keepers, who are reportedly composed of high-profile individuals, are attempting to influence local leaders into providing positive reports to the President. They claim that the situation on the ground does not reflect the harmonious coexistence portrayed in these reports.

Proposed Solutions

Anthony Akol, a legislator and member of the technical committee, suggests that the government should consider relocating cattle keepers to government ranches in areas where there are no land conflicts with locals. On the other hand, Santa Okot, an Aruu North County legislator, blames President Museveni for extending the eviction deadline, believing

that it may not bring a solution to the crisis. She insists that the President should adhere to his executive order on cattle keeper expulsion to avoid further conflict in the region.

Leaders' Disunity

The Amuru Resident District Commissioner, Stephen Odong Latek, points out that the lack of unity among leaders speaking on the Balaalo issue could undermine the President's efforts. He emphasizes the importance of leaders presenting a consistent stance to achieve an amicable resolution.

The Land Situation

Recent verifications indicate that Amuru District alone has 194 documented cattle keepers, with 92 operating in Okidi Parish, Atiak Sub-County. While the exact number of migrant cattle keepers in the Acholi Sub-region remains unverified, local leaders estimate that there are nearly 2,000 of them with around 40,000 cattle in the sub-region, spanning the districts of Pader, Nwoya, Gulu, and Amuru.

Halted Land Sales

In an attempt to curb the acquisition of land by cattle keepers, leaders from the Acholi Sub-region unanimously decided to cease the sale of customary land. This decision was reached during a meeting in Gulu city, where leaders discussed solutions to the growing issue of large land acquisitions for cattle grazing by outsiders.

President Museveni's unprecedented visit to address the Balaalo crisis has generated various reactions. While some believe it may lead to a resolution, others remain skeptical about its effectiveness, citing concerns about the cattle keepers' influence and the lack of unified leadership. The situation remains complex.

Multiple Choice Questions:

- 1. What is the primary purpose of President Museveni's visit to Okidi Parish in Atiak Sub-County?**
 - A. To address legislative discontent
 - B. To promote land sales in the Acholi Sub-region
 - C. To resolve the Balaalo crisis
 - D. To meet with leaders from the Acholi Parliamentary Group
- 2. Why have local leaders in the Acholi Sub-region raised eyebrows about President Museveni's visit?**
 - A. They believe he supports the Balaalo.
 - B. It deviates from his usual itinerary.
 - C. They fear immediate evictions.
 - D. They doubt the effectiveness of the visit.
- 3. What action did President Museveni take in May to address the Balaalo crisis?**
 - A. Issued an executive order
 - B. Formed a select committee
 - C. Extended the eviction deadline
 - D. Met with leaders from the Acholi Sub-region
- 4. What is the main concern of legislators from the Acholi Sub-region regarding the eviction deadline extensions?**
 - A. Fear of increased conflict
 - B. Skepticism about cattle keepers settling permanently

- C. Opposition to government ranches
D. Discontent with the technical committee
5. Who led the select committee formed by the government to verify the cattle keepers in the region?
- A. Phillip Polly Okin Ojara
 - B. Santa Okot
 - C. Prof. Jack Nyeko Pen Mogi
 - D. Stephen Odong Latek
6. What is Phillip Polly Okin Ojara's main allegation regarding the eviction process?
- A. Inaccurate information provided to the President
 - B. Unjust treatment of cattle keepers
 - C. Lack of support from the Acholi Parliamentary Group
 - D. Failure to meet with landowners
7. What action did some legislators from the Acholi Sub-region take in response to the deadline extensions?
- A. Formed a technical committee
 - B. Initiated a land sales campaign
 - C. Launched a campaign to forcefully expel cattle keepers
 - D. Met with President Museveni
8. What is the proposed solution by Anthony Akol, a member of the technical committee?
- A. Cease the sale of customary land
 - B. Relocate cattle keepers to government ranches
 - C. Extend the eviction deadline
 - D. Meet with both landowners and cattle keepers
- Answer: B. Relocate cattle keepers to government ranches**
9. What does Santa Okot blame President Museveni for in relation to the Balaalo crisis?
- A. Failing to meet with leaders from the Acholi Sub-region
 - B. Extending the eviction deadline
 - C. Ignoring crop destruction and land encroachment
 - D. Supporting the Acholi Parliamentary Group
- Answer: B. Extending the eviction deadline**
10. According to recent verifications, how many documented cattle keepers are there in Amuru District alone?
- A. 40,000
 - B. 92
 - C. 194
 - D. 2,000
11. What decision did leaders from the Acholi Sub-region unanimously make during a meeting in Gulu city?
- A. Extend the eviction deadline
 - B. Cease the sale of customary land
 - C. Support the Balaalo
 - D. Form a technical committee
12. What is a common concern expressed by leaders regarding President Museveni's visit to address the Balaalo crisis?
- A. Lack of information provided to the President
 - B. Skepticism about the effectiveness of the visit
 - C. Fear of immediate evictions
 - D. Support for the Acholi Parliamentary Group

BIG QUESTIONS:

1. **Describe the historical context of the conflict between the locals and migrant cattle keepers, commonly known as Balaalo, in the Acholi Sub-region.**

Answer: The conflict between locals and Balaalo in the Acholi Sub-region has its roots in the controversial acquisition of substantial tracts of customary land. Tensions escalated as conflicts intensified, leading to accusations against President Museveni for contradicting his decision to evict the Balaalo from the area. This historical context sets the stage for the ongoing crisis and shapes the perceptions of local leaders in the region.

2. **Explain the significance of President Museveni's visit to Okidi Parish in Atiak Sub-County and its departure from his usual itinerary.**

Answer: President Museveni's visit to Okidi Parish is significant as it marks his first attempt to address the escalating crisis involving Balaalo in the Acholi Sub-region. The departure from his usual itinerary raises eyebrows among local leaders, indicating the gravity of the situation. The visit suggests a recognition of the urgency and complexity of the Balaalo issue, prompting the President to engage directly with the affected community.

3. **Discuss the legislative discontent regarding the extensions of the eviction deadline for cattle keepers in the Acholi Sub-region.**

Answer: Legislators from the Acholi Sub-region express skepticism about the deadline extensions, fearing that they may provide the cattle keepers more time to permanently settle. They argue that while the President promptly executed evictions in other areas, the process in Acholi has dragged on for years. The discontent centers on the belief that the vast land occupied by cattle keepers was acquired illegally and should not be tolerated, emphasizing the need for a resolution.

4. **Examine the role of Executive Order No. 33 issued by President Museveni in May and its impact on the Balaalo crisis.**

Answer: Executive Order No. 33, issued in May, aimed to ban the illegal presence of cattle keepers from Northern Uganda by the end of June. The order cited reasons such as illegal presence, manipulative land acquisition methods, and failure to enclose grazing land. Despite the initial decision, the eviction deadline has been extended multiple times. This executive order serves as a policy framework that shapes the government's response to the Balaalo crisis.

5. **Evaluate the proposed solutions by Anthony Akol and Santa Okot regarding the Balaalo crisis.**

Answer: Anthony Akol suggests relocating cattle keepers to government ranches in areas with no land conflicts with locals, providing a potential alternative to the ongoing crisis. On the other hand, Santa Okot blames President Museveni for extending the eviction deadline, insisting that adherence to the executive order is crucial. These proposed solutions represent different perspectives within the legislative and local leadership on how to address the Balaalo issue.

6. **Examine the allegations made by Phillip Polly Okin Ojara regarding the eviction process.**

Answer: Phillip Polly Okin Ojara alleges that leaders overseeing the eviction have been providing inaccurate information to the President. He contends that the plights of locals living in areas occupied by cattle keepers, such as crop destruction and land encroachment, have been ignored. These allegations shed light on potential

mismanagement or misinformation in the decision-making process surrounding the Balaalo crisis.

7. Discuss the formation and purpose of the select committee led by Prof. Jack Nyeko Pen Mogi to verify the cattle keepers in the region.

Answer: In response to concerns, the government formed a select committee led by Prof. Jack Nyeko Pen Mogi, the chairperson of the Uganda Land Commission. The committee's purpose is to verify the presence of cattle keepers in the Acholi Sub-region, addressing concerns about the legality of their occupation. This reflects a proactive approach by the government to assess the situation and make informed decisions regarding the Balaalo crisis.

8. Examine the actions taken by some legislators from the Acholi Sub-region, under the Acholi Parliamentary Group (APG), in response to the deadline extensions.

Answer: Some legislators initiated a campaign to forcefully expel cattle keepers in response to the deadline extensions, reflecting their frustration with the ongoing crisis. Their actions added pressure on the cattle keepers and contributed to the complex dynamics surrounding the Balaalo issue. This underscores the diverse approaches taken by different leaders in the region to address the crisis.

9. Discuss the concerns raised by leaders about President Museveni's visit and its potential impact on the Balaalo crisis resolution.

Answer: Leaders express concerns about the effectiveness of President Museveni's visit, citing skepticism about the influence of high-profile cattle keepers on local leaders. Some believe that positive reports may be influenced to present a harmonious coexistence that doesn't reflect the actual situation on the ground. This highlights the complexities and challenges in achieving a lasting resolution to the Balaalo crisis.

10. Examine the role of leaders' disunity, as pointed out by the Amuru Resident District Commissioner, Stephen Odong Latek, in potentially undermining the President's efforts in addressing the Balaalo crisis.

Answer: Stephen Odong Latek emphasizes the importance of leaders presenting a consistent stance to achieve an amicable resolution. The lack of unity among leaders speaking on the Balaalo issue could undermine the President's efforts, creating challenges in reaching a comprehensive and widely accepted solution. This underscores the need for cohesive leadership to address the complexities of the Balaalo crisis effectively.

Hard words.

1. **Escalating:** Increasing rapidly; intensifying.
2. **Controversial:** Causing disagreement or argument; often related to conflicting opinions or views.
3. **Acquisition:** The act of acquiring or gaining possession of something, typically through effort or purchase.
4. **Skepticism:** A doubtful or questioning attitude, often towards claims or beliefs that are not supported by sufficient evidence.
5. **Amicable:** Characterized by friendliness and a lack of hostility; showing goodwill.
6. **Proactive:** Taking initiative and acting in anticipation of future events; actively addressing a situation rather than reacting to it.

7. **Mismanagement:** The inefficient or careless handling or control of something, often resulting in problems or negative outcomes.
8. **Harmonious:** Forming a consistent, orderly, and pleasing whole; characterized by agreement or compatibility.
9. **Cohesive:** Sticking or holding together; unified, especially in a group or organization.
10. **Amidst:** In the middle of; surrounded by; occurring in the context of a particular situation.

LESSONS LEARNT

1. **Understanding Regional Conflict Dynamics:** The article provides insights into the historical and current conflict dynamics between local communities and migrant cattle keepers, shedding light on the complexities of land disputes in the Acholi Sub-region.
2. **Government Policy and Decision-Making:** The discussion of Executive Order No. 33 and its subsequent extensions offers an educational perspective on government policies, decision-making processes, and the challenges of implementing such orders in real-world situations.
3. **Legal and Legislative Processes:** The article explores the legal aspects of the Balaalo crisis, including the formation of committees and the legislative discontent surrounding the eviction deadline extensions. This educates readers on the legal mechanisms involved in addressing societal issues.
4. **Role of Committees in Governance:** The formation and purpose of committees, such as the one led by Prof. Jack Nyeko Pen Mogi, provide insights into how government bodies use specialized groups to investigate and address specific issues.
5. **Local Leadership Dynamics:** The article highlights the roles and perspectives of local leaders, legislators, and parliamentary groups, offering an educational glimpse into the challenges and differing opinions within regional leadership.
6. **Sociopolitical Pressures and Decision-Making:** By discussing the actions taken by legislators and the pressure they exert on the Balaalo issue, the article educates readers on how sociopolitical pressures can influence decision-making at both regional and national levels.
7. **Verification Processes in Governance:** The mention of committees formed to verify the presence of cattle keepers emphasizes the importance of verification processes in governance, contributing to readers' understanding of transparency and accountability measures.
8. **Impact of Regional Conflicts on Land Sales:** Ceasing the sale of customary land as a response to the Balaalo crisis illustrates how regional conflicts can have broader economic and social implications, providing an educational perspective on the interconnectedness of different issues.
9. **Leadership Unity and Its Importance:** The concern raised by the Amuru Resident District Commissioner about the lack of unity among leaders underscores the educational aspect of how cohesive leadership is crucial for effective governance and conflict resolution.
10. **Public Perception and Skepticism:** The article delves into the skepticism and mixed opinions regarding President Museveni's visit, providing an opportunity for

readers to learn about the role of public perception, media, and skepticism in shaping responses to government actions.

Conclusive remarks pertaining to the above .

In conclusion, the article sheds light on the intricate dynamics surrounding the Balaalo crisis in the Acholi Sub-region, offering valuable insights into the historical context, government policies, legislative discontent, and the challenges faced by local leaders. The varying perspectives of key stakeholders, including legislators, government committees, and community leaders, contribute to a comprehensive understanding of the complexities involved.

President Museveni's unprecedented visit and the skepticism surrounding its effectiveness underscore the significance of addressing regional conflicts with a nuanced and inclusive approach. The article emphasizes the need for cohesive leadership, transparent verification processes, and proactive governance to navigate the intricacies of land disputes and conflicting interests.

The education derived from this article extends beyond the immediate crisis, providing readers with a glimpse into the broader issues of governance, decision-making, and the socio-economic impact of regional conflicts. As the situation remains complex, the varied proposed solutions and ongoing actions by both government and local leaders reflect the ongoing efforts to find a lasting resolution to the Balaalo crisis. Overall, this article serves as a valuable educational resource for those seeking to understand the multifaceted challenges associated with land disputes and governance in the Acholi Sub-region.

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EACOP: Details of World's Longest Heated Crude Oil Pipeline Revealed

November 23, 2023



The entire 1443 km length will provide heat and real-time satellite surveillance to prevent leaks.

Details of what will be the world's longest heated crude oil pipeline, carrying oil from Uganda to the Indian Ocean coast of Tanzania, have been revealed, showing how a cocoon of electrical and fibre-optic cables along its entire 1443 km length will provide heat and real-time satellite surveillance to prevent leaks.

The East Africa Crude Oil Pipeline (EACOP), due to cost around US\$4 billion, is the keystone of Uganda's booming oil and gas sector development, scheduled to pump its first crude oil in 2025.

"With its extensive fibre-optic network allowing online connectivity, EACOP promises to be one of the world's smartest and safest bulk pipelines with real-time monitoring along its entire length via satellite," said Dozith Abeinomugisha, Director in-charge of Midstream developments at the Petroleum Authority of Uganda (PAU).

Safety staff will be able to detect any pressure change indicative of a leak, sabotage or pilfering within seconds and isolate the relevant section of pipe to keep environmental damage and commercial loss to a minimum.

Both the PAU and EACOP's holding company will have real-time monitoring centres at their respective offices to receive immediate updates via satellite uplink. This means that monitoring is not dependent on local mobile phone or radio networks, guaranteeing greater reliability.

The remote data monitoring and transmission technology known SCADA (Supervisory Control and Data Acquisition) works even though the pipe will be buried between 1 and 3

metres underground, providing safety staff with a complete, live picture of the entire pipeline.

With EACOP planners aware of the importance of mitigating climate change, renewable energy will be used as much as possible for all pumping, heating, monitoring, and storing. The Ugandan section will be entirely carbon neutral with 80MW of solar and hydro providing all the power needed while work is continuing on the Tanzanian side to develop similar levels of renewable capacity.

The design and construction of EACOP, which began in 2018, has been one of the greatest challenges of African infrastructure engineering in recent history.

First, engineers had the challenge of how to pump crude oil that at surface temperature is not in liquid form and therefore resistant to flow, but more in a waxy state reminiscent of shoe polish.

Not uncommon in the oil sector, where so called 'sweet' crude of a fine quality such as Uganda's solidifies after being pumped up from high-pressure, high-temperature reserves deep underground, the normal solution is to heat pumping infrastructure to ensure it remains liquid.

But the colossal 1443 km length of the EACOP route, more than twice that of the current longest heated crude oil pipeline, which stretches 660 km across Gujarat state in India, posed an additional headache.

In order for flow to be maintained, the EACOP has to be kept at a temperature of at least 50 °C. Testing showed that if the crude oil is flowing at high rates under high pressure initial heating at the pipe head to 80 °C will be enough to keep it moving, as the rate of cooling is so slow it remains above the 50 °C threshold along its entire 1443km.

But if flow rates and pressure come down it will cool more as it moves, threatening to solidify and block the flow. To get round this, two heating stations have been added to the design, capable of boosting the crude oil temperature back towards 80 °C to ensure strong flow.

To keep it above 50 °C heating cables will run the entire length of the pipe using a technology known as Long Line Heat Tracing (LLHT) which works on a similar principle as a kettle element, using resistance to generate heat when an electric current passes through a specially chosen high resistance filament.

With temperature so critical, EACOP's conventional 24 in. wide carbon steel pipe had to be carefully redesigned for heat and monitoring.

Uganda's crude oil being sweet (with no corrosive impurities such as sulphur) means that the pipeline does not have to be lined on the inside as such high-grade crude oil has minimum corrosion effect on steel. So, for protection the pipe need only be lined on the outside.

In addition to a standard Fusion Bonded Epoxy (FBE) resin protective coating 400-600 µm thick on the outside, engineers have added a much thicker 70 mm 'smart' layer of insulation made from polyurethane, with special channels down which electrical heating element LLHT cables and fibre-optic lines needed for SCADA will be fitted.

The entire pipe will then be covered with an outer, hard, protective coat of 5-7 mm protective High-Density Polyethylene (HDPE), meaning EACOP will effectively have four layers: inner steel, epoxy resin, polyurethane and finally polyethylene. So sophisticated is this layering that a coating factory is currently being built in Tanzania so that each 18 m length of pipe, already being manufactured in China, is sheathed correctly before it is sent out to be laid in the ground.

With safety a top priority for EACOP, high grade steel and welding between each 18 m length, tested at the time of laying and rejected if any faults are found, means the risk of internal leakage across the 25 year life of the pipe is reduced to almost nothing.

But to make sure, the SCADA system, constantly monitored by both safety officers and computer tracking algorithms finetuned through the latest machine learning technology, will pick up the slightest change in pressure indicative of a leak. The sensors can also detect seismic activity in case of earthquakes and warn operators to turn off the flow if there is a risk of a dangerous tremor.

Block valves are placed every few kilometres along the pipeline meaning that if a leak is spotted, the affected section can be isolated immediately and only a short section of pipe risks being drained.

In other African oil producing nations, pilfering and sabotage have a history of causing leaks. The plan to bury EACOP mitigates this risk considerably, according to planners. In addition, SCADA can detect any surface interference along the right of way should anyone try to dig down to the pipe.

For most of the route, burying is possible as the terrain was chosen so as not to be too rocky. This means that a 30 m wide corridor above the pipe will be demarcated and kept clear of any digging, quarrying or other activities that disturb the ground.

Livestock will still be able to graze as normal and some crops planted so the disruption to rural communities will be kept to a minimum.

Scouting for the EACOP route began in 2018, and after two years of consultation and surveying, it was decided the pipeline would arc for 296 km southeast through Uganda from the collection and pumping station at Kabaale in Hoima district, before crossing 1147 km in Tanzania to its Indian Ocean coast at Chongoleani village near the port of Tanga.

The route was chosen to minimise disruption to the local population and the environment, but this met a challenge close to the coastline where a steep slope in the terrain could potentially cause surges in pressure as the crude oil flows downhill at high angles. Two pressure reduction stations were added to the design to maintain the pressure for the project's high safety standards.

“Local farmers and residents were consulted in both Uganda and Tanzania where the pipeline cuts across their land. Public information campaigns were launched to offer compensation to legitimate claimants for loss of land, assets such as buildings and grazing rights”, adds Mr. Ali Ssekatawa, Director for Legal and Corporate Affairs at PAU.

In Uganda the number of people affected is 3660 and in Tanzania, 9513. To date 90% in Uganda have accepted compensation packages, including 177 who have opted for new homes resettling them away from the pipeline rather than cash.

Negotiations continue but in the case of a failure to agree between EACOP planners and residents, both countries have a legal regimes under which land can be acquired by government through a transparent process of compulsory acquisition and compensation. With the two already-licensed production areas covering the Tilenga and Kingfisher projects, both located in western Uganda around Lake Albert, scheduled to peak at 230 000 bpd production, an export pipeline is essential to maximise earnings for Uganda's hydrocarbon assets.

The country is planning to build its own refinery to deal with local demand for petrol and other consumer products, one that will use up 60 000 bpd, meaning at the current planned peak EACOP will pump 170 000 bpd.

To allow for new production capacity from yet to be developed exploration areas in Uganda and changes in the levels of refinery consumption, EACOP has been designed with a maximum flow rate of 246 000 bpd.

This allows Uganda to build in added capacity over the next few years confident that the longest, heated, smart crude oil pipeline in the world can keep revenues coming in to finance economic upliftment and progress in the African nation.

"Uganda can be proud of its place at the cutting edge of pipeline technology with EACOP showing how committed the country is to develop its oil and gas assets responsibly, openly and profitably. Uganda will not only benefit through earnings from the sale of crude oil, but from the engineering and technical skills transfer driven by the EACOP project," says Mr. Abeinomugisha.

Work is already advanced on the pumping stations, work camps and storage facilities along the EACOP route as well as the coating plant. The first 100 km of pipe (5600 sections each 18 m in length, all loaded onto a single bulk carrier) has been manufactured in China and is expected to arrive by ship in the Tanzanian hub port of Dar es Salaam within weeks. After coating and welding the first sections of pipe are due to be laid midway through next year.

Multiple Choice Questions:

1. **What is the East Africa Crude Oil Pipeline (EACOP) designed to transport?**
A) Natural Gas
B) Crude Oil
C) Refined Petroleum
D) Water
2. **What is the total length of the EACOP, making it the world's longest heated crude oil pipeline?**
A) 660 km
B) 1147 km

C) 1443 km

D) 246,000 bpd

3. How is the EACOP pipeline kept at a temperature of at least 50 °C?

A) Underground heaters

B) Solar panels

C) Heating stations and cables

D) Insulation layers

4. What technology is used for remote data monitoring and transmission along the EACOP pipeline?

A) Fiber optics

B) Satellite uplink

C) SCADA

D) Long Line Heat Tracing (LLHT)

5. What is the primary purpose of the SCADA system along the EACOP pipeline?

A) Detect seismic activity

B) Monitor environmental temperature

C) Detect leaks and pressure changes

D) Ensure renewable energy use

6. How is the EACOP pipeline protected against corrosion due to high-grade crude oil?

A) Inner lining with polyurethane

B) Fusion Bonded Epoxy (FBE) resin coating

C) Outer layer of High-Density Polyethylene (HDPE)

D) All of the above

7. What renewable energy sources are utilized for pumping, heating, monitoring, and storing along the EACOP pipeline?

A) Solar and hydro

B) Wind and geothermal

C) Biomass and nuclear

D) Coal and natural gas

8. How is the risk of internal leakage reduced along the EACOP pipeline during its 25-year lifespan?

A) Regular inspections by safety officers

B) High-grade steel and welding

C) Continuous monitoring through SCADA

D) All of the above

9. Why were two pressure reduction stations added to the EACOP design close to the coastline?

A) To maintain pressure for safety standards

B) To increase the flow rate of crude oil

C) To reduce energy consumption

D) To accommodate seismic activity

10. How many people in Uganda and Tanzania are affected by the EACOP pipeline, and what is the compensation offered for land loss?

A) Uganda: 9513, Tanzania: 3660, Cash compensation only

B) Uganda: 3660, Tanzania: 9513, New homes or cash compensation

C) Uganda: 177, Tanzania: 90%, Cash compensation only

D) Uganda: 90%, Tanzania: 177, New homes or cash compensation

11. What is the maximum flow rate of the EACOP pipeline designed to accommodate?

A) 60,000 bpd

B) 170,000 bpd

C) 230,000 bpd

D) 246,000 bpd

12. Apart from earning revenue, what additional benefit does Uganda expect from the EACOP project?
- A) Increased crude oil prices
 - B) Engineering and technical skills transfer
 - C) Reduced environmental impact
 - D) Establishment of new refineries

BIGGER QUESTIONS

1. Explain the significance of the East Africa Crude Oil Pipeline (EACOP) in the context of Uganda's oil and gas sector development.

Answer: The EACOP is a crucial component of Uganda's oil and gas sector development, serving as the world's longest heated crude oil pipeline. Costing approximately US\$4 billion, it is a keystone project designed to transport crude oil from Uganda to the Indian Ocean coast of Tanzania. Its completion is scheduled for 2025 and is expected to significantly boost Uganda's economic prospects by maximizing earnings from its hydrocarbon assets. With the capacity to pump 246,000 barrels per day (bpd), the pipeline is essential for transporting oil from licensed production areas, such as the Tilenga and Kingfisher projects, to the international market.

2. Describe the technological features implemented in the EACOP for real-time monitoring and prevention of leaks.

Answer: The EACOP incorporates advanced technological features for real-time monitoring and prevention of leaks. A cocoon of electrical and fiber-optic cables spans the entire 1443 km length, providing heat and enabling real-time satellite surveillance. The Supervisory Control and Data Acquisition (SCADA) system plays a pivotal role in this, allowing safety staff to detect pressure changes indicative of leaks, sabotage, or pilfering within seconds. The system can isolate the relevant pipeline section to minimize environmental damage and commercial losses.

Additionally, the Long Line Heat Tracing (LLHT) technology, using heating cables, ensures the pipeline is kept at a minimum temperature of 50 °C to prevent the crude oil from solidifying.

3. Discuss the environmental considerations taken into account during the design and construction of the EACOP.

Answer: EACOP's design and construction prioritize environmental considerations, reflecting a commitment to responsible and sustainable development. The pipeline incorporates renewable energy sources, utilizing 80MW of solar and hydro power for pumping, heating, monitoring, and storing. The Ugandan section is entirely carbon neutral, and efforts are underway in Tanzania to develop similar levels of renewable capacity. The pipeline's sophisticated layering, including Fusion Bonded Epoxy (FBE) resin protective coating, polyurethane insulation, and High-Density Polyethylene (HDPE) outer coating, not only ensures safety but also minimizes environmental impact. The chosen route, where possible, allows for burial, reducing disruption to rural communities and minimizing the environmental footprint.

4. Examine the engineering challenges faced during the design and construction of the EACOP, particularly regarding the characteristics of the crude oil it transports.

Answer: The EACOP faced significant engineering challenges, particularly related to the characteristics of the crude oil it transports. The crude oil from Uganda is considered "sweet," meaning it has minimal corrosive impurities like sulfur. However, the oil solidifies at surface temperature, posing challenges for flow. To address this, the pipeline employs heating infrastructure to maintain the crude oil in a liquid state. The colossal 1443 km length of the pipeline required innovative solutions, including two heating stations capable of boosting the crude oil temperature back towards 80 °C to ensure continuous flow. Additionally, the use of Long Line Heat Tracing (LLHT) technology and a carefully redesigned pipeline structure were crucial in overcoming these engineering hurdles.

5. Explain how the EACOP addresses the potential risks of leaks, sabotage, and pilfering, emphasizing the role of the SCADA system.

Answer: EACOP employs a comprehensive approach to address the potential risks of leaks, sabotage, and pilfering. The SCADA system, or Supervisory Control and Data Acquisition, plays a central role in this strategy. Safety staff can detect pressure changes, indicative of potential issues, within seconds and isolate the relevant pipeline section. The SCADA system provides real-time monitoring along the entire pipeline length, independent of local mobile phone or radio networks, ensuring greater reliability. In addition to detecting leaks, SCADA can identify surface interference along the right of way, offering an advanced warning system in case of any attempts to tamper with the pipeline.

6. Elaborate on the measures taken to minimize the impact on local populations and the environment during the construction and operation of the EACOP.

Answer: The construction and operation of the EACOP prioritize minimizing impact on local populations and the environment. The chosen route, determined after consultation and surveying, aims to minimize disruption to local populations and the environment. For most of the route, burying the pipeline is possible, ensuring a 30 m wide corridor above the pipe remains clear of any activities that disturb the ground. Livestock can still graze, and some crops can be planted, reducing disruption to rural communities. Public information campaigns were launched, and compensation packages were offered to those affected, including options for new homes to mitigate the impact on land loss.

7. Describe the protective measures implemented in the design of the EACOP pipeline to prevent corrosion and ensure its safety over its 25-year lifespan.

Answer: The EACOP pipeline incorporates multiple protective measures to prevent corrosion and ensure safety over its 25-year lifespan. Given Uganda's "sweet" crude oil, the pipeline does not require inner lining due to its minimal corrosive impact on steel. Instead, the pipeline features a Fusion Bonded Epoxy (FBE) resin protective coating 400-600 µm thick on the outside. Additionally, a 70 mm "smart" layer of insulation made from polyurethane, housing electrical heating element cables and fiber-optic lines, is added. The entire structure is then covered with an outer layer of 5-7 mm protective High-Density Polyethylene (HDPE). This multi-layered design, along with high-grade steel and rigorous welding standards, minimizes the risk of internal leakage.

8. Discuss the economic benefits that Uganda anticipates from the completion of the EACOP, considering both short-term and long-term impacts.

Answer: Uganda anticipates significant economic benefits from the completion of the EACOP, both in the short-term and long-term. In the short term, the pipeline is crucial for maximizing earnings from hydrocarbon assets, allowing Uganda to export its crude oil to the international market. This revenue can be used to finance economic upliftment and progress within the country. In the long term, the EACOP is expected to contribute to skill transfer and technological advancements, positioning Uganda at the cutting edge of pipeline technology. The pipeline's capacity to accommodate future production increases ensures sustained economic benefits as Uganda develops new exploration areas and adapts to changes in refinery consumption.

9. Evaluate the role of public consultation and compensation strategies in mitigating the impact of the EACOP on local communities in Uganda and Tanzania.

Answer: Public consultation and compensation strategies have played a vital role in mitigating the impact of the EACOP on local communities in Uganda and Tanzania. The route selection involved two years of consultation and surveying, taking into account the concerns of local farmers and residents. Public information campaigns were launched to inform affected individuals about compensation packages, including options for new homes for those who opted for resettlement. In Uganda, 90% of those affected have accepted compensation packages, showcasing the effectiveness of these strategies in addressing the concerns of local communities. In cases of disagreement, both countries have legal regimes for transparent compulsory acquisition and compensation processes.

10. Examine the future capacity planning incorporated into the design of the EACOP and its implications for Uganda's oil and gas sector.

Answer: The design of the EACOP incorporates future capacity planning to accommodate Uganda's growing oil and gas sector. With a maximum flow rate of 246,000 bpd, the pipeline exceeds the planned peak production capacity from licensed areas. This allows for added capacity as Uganda develops new exploration areas and experiences changes in refinery consumption. The pipeline's flexibility to handle increased production ensures that Uganda can adapt to evolving market conditions and maximize the long-term economic benefits of its hydrocarbon assets. The EACOP, as a strategic infrastructure project, positions Uganda to be responsive to the dynamic nature of the oil and gas industry, contributing to sustained economic development.

Hard Words

1. Keystone:

Definition: A central, crucial, or foundational element that plays a vital role in the development or success of a system or project.

Context: The East Africa Crude Oil Pipeline (EACOP) is considered the keystone of Uganda's booming oil and gas sector development.

2. Cocoon:

Definition: A protective covering or envelope that surrounds or encases something, providing insulation or security.

Context: The EACOP features a cocoon of electrical and fiber-optic cables along its entire length for heat and surveillance.

3. Pilfering:

Definition: The act of stealing small quantities or amounts, often done discreetly or in small increments.

Context: Safety staff on the EACOP are equipped to detect pilfering, preventing unauthorized siphoning of crude oil.

4. Seismic Activity:

Definition: Vibrations or tremors in the Earth's crust, often caused by the movement of tectonic plates, resulting in earthquakes.

Context: The SCADA system on the EACOP can detect seismic activity and trigger safety measures in case of earthquakes.

5. Surveillance:

Definition: The close observation or monitoring of a person, group, or area, especially for the purpose of gathering information.

Context: The EACOP utilizes real-time satellite surveillance to prevent leaks and ensure the pipeline's safety.

6. Corrosion:

Definition: The gradual deterioration or destruction of a material, usually a metal, as a result of chemical reactions with its environment.

Context: Due to Uganda's "sweet" crude oil, the EACOP pipeline does not require inner lining to prevent corrosion.

7. Demarcated:

Definition: Clearly defined or marked out, often indicating boundaries or limits.

Context: A 30 m wide corridor above the EACOP pipeline is demarcated to keep it clear of any activities that disturb the ground.

8. Compulsory Acquisition:

Definition: The legal authority to force the sale of property or land by the government, usually for public infrastructure projects.

Context: In cases of disagreement, both Uganda and Tanzania have legal regimes for compulsory acquisition and compensation related to the EACOP.

9. **Upliftment:**

Definition: The act of raising something to a higher position or level; in the context of the article, it refers to economic development.

Context: The revenue generated from the EACOP is expected to contribute to economic upliftment in Uganda.

10. **Fusion Bonded Epoxy (FBE):**

Definition: A protective coating applied to steel surfaces through a process that involves heating and melting epoxy powder.

Context: The EACOP pipeline is coated with Fusion Bonded Epoxy (FBE) to protect it from corrosion.

11. **Machine Learning:**

Definition: A subset of artificial intelligence that involves the development of algorithms and statistical models that enable computers to perform tasks without explicit programming.

Context: The SCADA system on the EACOP pipeline uses the latest machine learning technology for constant monitoring and detection of anomalies.

12. **Hydrocarbon:**

Definition: A compound consisting of hydrogen and carbon atoms, often found in fossil fuels such as oil, gas, and coal.

Context: Uganda's hydrocarbon assets, including crude oil, are a significant focus of development and revenue generation through the EACOP.

What ways do we learn from the above ?

The article provides valuable insights into various aspects, including technological advancements, engineering challenges, environmental considerations, and economic impacts related to the East Africa Crude Oil Pipeline (EACOP). Here are several ways we can learn from the article:

1. **Pipeline Technology:**

Gain understanding about the innovative technologies employed in the design and construction of the EACOP, such as the use of electrical and fiber-optic cables, SCADA systems, and Long Line Heat Tracing (LLHT).

2. **Engineering Challenges:**

Learn about the engineering challenges associated with transporting crude oil over long distances, especially when dealing with oil in a waxy state and the need for heating infrastructure to maintain flow.

3. **Environmental Considerations:**

Understand the environmental considerations in the pipeline's design, such as the use of renewable energy sources, sophisticated layering for protection, and the effort to minimize disruption to local populations and ecosystems.

4. **Safety Measures:**

Explore the safety measures implemented in the EACOP, including real-time monitoring, detection of pressure changes, and the SCADA system's role in identifying potential leaks, sabotage, or pilfering.

5. **Economic Impacts:**

Gain insights into the economic benefits and implications for Uganda, including revenue generation, economic upliftment, and the long-term planning for accommodating increased oil production.

6. **Community Engagement:**

Learn about the importance of public consultation, compensation strategies, and legal regimes in mitigating the impact of the pipeline on local communities in Uganda and Tanzania.

7. Future Capacity Planning:

Understand the significance of incorporating future capacity planning into the design, allowing the pipeline to adapt to changes in refinery consumption and accommodate increased production.

8. Corrosion Prevention Techniques:

Explore the methods employed to prevent corrosion, considering the characteristics of the crude oil transported, such as the use of Fusion Bonded Epoxy (FBE) coating and multi-layered protection.

9. Global Infrastructure Challenges:

- Recognize the complexity and scale of global infrastructure projects, as demonstrated by the EACOP, and the need for careful planning and innovative solutions in overcoming challenges.

10. Sustainable Development:

Gain insights into how the project aligns with principles of sustainable development by incorporating renewable energy sources, minimizing environmental impact, and addressing the concerns of local communities.

11. Technological Transfer:

Understand the potential for technological transfer and skill development in Uganda, as the EACOP project positions the country at the cutting edge of pipeline technology.

12. Global Energy Landscape:

Reflect on the role of large-scale energy projects like the EACOP in the global energy landscape, contributing to the transportation of natural resources and economic development in the region.

CONCLUSION

The long-term success or failure of the East Africa Crude Oil Pipeline (EACOP) will depend on various factors, including economic, environmental, geopolitical, and operational considerations. Here's an analysis of the potential outcomes:

Chances of Success:

1. Economic Impact:

If global oil prices remain stable or increase, the EACOP has the potential to contribute significantly to Uganda's economic growth by maximizing earnings from its hydrocarbon assets.

2. Technological Resilience:

The innovative technologies employed in the pipeline, such as the SCADA system, heating infrastructure, and protective coatings, demonstrate a commitment to state-of-the-art engineering, which could enhance the pipeline's resilience and success.

3. Environmental Sustainability:

The pipeline's commitment to renewable energy sources and environmental protection measures may contribute to its long-term success by aligning with global trends towards sustainable and responsible resource development.

4. Community Engagement:

The proactive approach to public consultation, compensation strategies, and legal frameworks for land acquisition may foster positive relationships with local communities, minimizing potential disruptions and conflicts.

5. Global Energy Demand:

The long-term success of the pipeline may be positively influenced by sustained global demand for energy resources, especially if the project proves to be a reliable and efficient means of transporting crude oil.

Chances of Failure:

1. **Volatility in Oil Prices:**
If global oil prices experience significant volatility or a prolonged downturn, the economic viability of the EACOP may be compromised, affecting the expected returns on investment and the overall success of the project.
2. **Geopolitical Risks:**
Geopolitical factors, including regional conflicts or changes in political stability, could pose risks to the operational continuity and success of the pipeline, especially considering the cross-border nature of the project.
3. **Environmental Concerns:**
Any failure to adequately address environmental concerns, such as potential leaks or damages to ecosystems, could lead to regulatory challenges, public backlash, and reputational damage, affecting the pipeline's long-term success.
4. **Operational Challenges:**
The sheer length of the pipeline and the complexity of its design may present ongoing operational challenges. Any unforeseen technical issues, maintenance difficulties, or failures in the implemented technologies could impact the pipeline's success.
5. **Market Dynamics:**
Changes in the global energy landscape, such as a shift towards renewable energy sources or a decrease in demand for crude oil, may affect the long-term success of the pipeline if it becomes less economically competitive.
In conclusion, while the EACOP holds substantial potential for contributing to Uganda's economic development, the success or failure in the long run will be contingent on the effective management of economic, environmental, geopolitical, and operational factors. Continuous adaptation to changing market conditions, adherence to sustainability practices, and robust risk management strategies will be crucial for ensuring the sustained success of the pipeline over its operational lifespan.



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Thank you.

FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE:

29/01/1986

Here's President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni's 1986 Inaugural Speech:

NO ONE should think that what is happening today is a mere change of guard: it is a fundamental change in the politics of our country. In Africa, we have seen so many changes that change, as such, is nothing short of mere turmoil. We have had one group getting rid of another one, only for it to turn out to be worse than the group it displaced. Please do not count us in that group of people: the National Resistance Movement is a clear-headed movement with clear objectives and a good membership.

Of course, we may have some bad elements amongst us – this is because we are part and parcel to Ugandan society as it is, and we may, therefore, not be able completely to guard against infiltration by wrong elements.

It is, however, our deliberate policy to ensure that we uplift the quality of politics in our country. We are quite different from the previous people in power who encouraged evil instead of trying to fight it.

You may not be familiar with our programme, since you did not have access to it while we were in the bush so I shall outline a few of its salient points;

The first point in our programme is the restoration of democracy. The people of Africa-the people of Uganda-are entitled to democratic government. It is not a favour from any government: it is the right of the people of Africa to have democratic government. The sovereign power in the land must be the population, not the government. The government should not be the master, but the servant of the people.

In our liberated zones, the first thing we started with was the election of village Resistance Committees. My mother, for instance, cannot go to parliament; but she can, surely, become a member of a committee so that she, too, can make her views heard. We have, therefore, set up village, muluka, gombolola and district committees.

Later we shall set up a national parliament directly elected by the people. This way we shall have both committee and parliamentary democracy. We don't want to elect people who will change sides once they are in parliament. If you want to change sides, you must go back and seek the mandate of the people who elected you.

Democracy

Some of these points are for the future, but right now I want to emphasise that the first point in our political programme is democracy for the people of Uganda. It is a birthright to which all the people of Uganda are entitled.

The committees we have set up in these zones have a lot of power. You cannot, for instance, join the army or the police without being cleared by the village committee.

You must get a recommendation from the people in your village to say that you are not a rogue.

Hence, the soldiers who are joining us from other armies will have to be referred back to their villages for recommendation. The same applies to the police.

Suppose, for instance, that we want to recruit some 500 soldiers from the District of Rakai and say 10,000 youths in the area apply to join. If 5,000 of those are cleared by their area

committees as people of good character, the selecting military team will choose the most physically fit from among those, and we shall end up with an army that is both of good character and in good physical condition. This is an example of some of the work to be done by the village committees.

Another important aspect of the committees is that they should serve as a citizens' intelligence system. If I go to address a rally in Semuto, Rape-ka or Nakaseke, I shall first meet the muluka and gombolola committees in the area. They will tell me whether the muluka chiefs are thieves, or the hospital personnel are selling drugs, or whether there are soldiers in the area who are misbehaving. They are thus able to act as watchdogs for the population and guard against the misuse of power.

The second point in our programme is the security of person and property. Every person in Uganda must be absolutely secure to live wherever he or she wishes. Any individual or any group of persons who threatens the security of our people must be smashed without mercy. Security

The people of Uganda should only die from natural causes that are beyond our control, but not at the hands of fellow citizens who continue to walk the length and breadth of our land freely.

When we were in Nairobi during the peace talks, it was a very painful experience sitting in a room with criminals across the table. I was advised that being a leader, you have to be diplomatic.

This prompted me to ask: "But does diplomacy apply to criminals as well?" to which the answer was, "Yes". I saw then that the whole process was a farce. We tried peacefully to push the case that the Amin elements, and people like Bazilio Okello, who had killed people in broad daylight, must be excluded from government.

Our voice, however, was a lonely one because there were so many pressures from the International community which is interested only in trade. They do not care how many skeletons we have in Uganda: all they care about is for the road to be opened so that their goods can have free passage. We, therefore, made our position very clear: we were not going to take part in any government which included and Involved criminals. Unfortunately these people believed they had tricked us. Tito Okello, for instance, came back saying that my signing the agreement showed that they had removed the teeth from the salambwa (poisonous snake).

Our position, however, has always been very clear. If you play tricks with us, we shall play tricks with you; if you are honest with us, we shall be honest with you; if you are violent against us, we shall be violent against you. We are people who pay others in their own currency and we never use cowardly tactics. When I was in the bush, I had a lot of pressure from people who said that we should assassinate people like Obote, Muwanga and Bazilio.

Against assassination

I disagreed because I argued that when you assassinate people like that, you turn them into martyrs and heroes. What you need is to develop enough strength to enable you to sweep that kind of garbage to where it belongs: on the dungheap of history. Why should anybody bother to kill small people like Bazilio? You may kill Bazilio Okello but you will be left with many other Bazilios.

Therefore, the security of the people of Uganda is their right and not a favour bestowed by any regime. No regime has a right to kill any citizen of this country, or to beat any citizen at a road block. We make it clear to our soldiers that if they abuse any citizen, the punishment

they will receive will teach them a lesson. As for killing people – if you kill a citizen, you yourself will be killed.

During our struggle, we executed five soldiers of the National Resistance Army for killing people in Bulemezi, Ngoma and Fort Portal. One of these soldiers had killed a doctor in order to steal his money.

What, on the other hand, has been happening in Kampala? Recently, people were massacred in Luwero and a high-powered delegation was sent there: you know these so-called high-powered delegations led by Excellencies and honourables, etc. Personally, I do not like being called ‘Excellency’.

People in Bulemezi call me Yoweri or Mzee wa Kazi. Now, these Excellencies, and honourable ministers and high-ranking military personnel, and what-have-you went to Luwero. Can you imagine what they did? We were told that they had transferred the person who had killed the people in Luwero to another station! Can you imagine? Someone kills 100, 50 or even two people and you say you have transferred him to another area? It was suggested that the solution to some of our problems would be for Kampala to be completely demilitarized.

Disciplining soldiers

So I asked: “Where are you going to take these criminal soldiers? Even if you take them to a national park they will kill the animals there!” The solution, therefore, is to put criminal soldiers where they belong: in prison.

The third point in our programme is the question of the unity of our country. Past regimes have used sectarianism to divide people along religious and tribal lines. But why should religion be considered a political matter? Religious matters are between you and your god. Politics is about the provision of roads, water, drugs, in hospitals and schools for children.

Case for unity

Take the road from here, Parliament Buildings, to Republic House. This road is so bad that if a pregnant woman travels on it, I am sure she will have a miscarriage! Now, does that road harm only Catholics and spare Protestants? Is it a bad road only for Moslems and not for Christians, or for Acholis and not for Baganda? That road is bad and it is bad for everyone.

All the users of that road should have one common aspiration: to have it repaired. How do you become divided on the basis of religion or tribe if your interests, problems and aspirations are similar? Don’t you see that people who divide you are only using you for their own interests not connected with that road?

They are simply opportunists who have no programme and all they do is work on cheap platforms of division because they have nothing constructive to offer the people.

Our Movement is strong because it has solved the problem of division: we do not tolerate religious and tribal divisions in our Movement, or divisions along party lines such as UPC, DP, UPM and the like. Everyone is welcome on an equal basis. That is why you find that when our army goes to Buganda, the people there call it amagye gaffe, abaana baffe. When it goes to the West, it is amahe gaitu, abaana baitu: which means that wherever the NRA goes, it is called ‘our army, our children’. Recently, Buloba was captured by our army, and the commander in charge of the group was an officer called Okecho. He comes from Pakwach in West Nile.

Therefore, the so-called division between the north and south is only in people's heads. Those who are still hoping to use it are going to be disappointed. They ought to dig a large grave for such aspirations and bury them. Masindi was captured by our soldiers led by Peter Kerim: he, too, is from West Nile. Dr. Ronald Batta here, who is from Madi, has been our Director of Medical Services for all these years in the bush.

'Angry' Obote

Obote tried to propagate the idea that there was a division between the Bantus and the Nilotics and that if the Bantus took over, the Nilotics would be wiped out. We have, however exposed him. Whenever, we captured soldiers from Acholi, Lango and elsewhere, we would treat them well and then release them.

Obote would be surprised and he would ask: "Were you really captured? Did you see Museveni? Were you really not beaten?" Once we captured the police commander of Masindi, a man called Gala.

I talked to him and another man called Epigo, also from Masindi. When we released them and Epigo got back to Obote, Obote did not like what Epigo had to say: that the National Resistance Army was not a tribal army as the Obote government had been trying to make out. So Obote locked Epigo up in Luzira Maximum Security Prison because he did not want to hear the truth about our Movement and Army.

There is, in philosophy, something called obscurantism, a phenomenon where ideas are deliberately obscured so that what is false appears to be true and vice versa.

We in the NRM are not interested in the politics of obscurantism: we want to get to the heart of the matter and find out what the problem is. Being a leader is like being a medical doctor. A medical doctor must diagnose his patient's disease before he can prescribe treatment.

Similarly, a political leader must diagnose correctly the ills of society. A doctor who does not diagnose his patient's disease adequately is nothing but a quack.

In politics we have also got quacks – and Uganda has had a lot of political quacks over the past two decades or so.

I also want to talk about co-operation with other countries, especially in our region. One of our weaknesses in Africa is a small market because we don't have enough people to consume what we produce.

Regional cooperation

Originally we had an East African market but it was messed up by the Excellencies and Honorable ministers. It will be a cardinal point in our programme to ensure that we encourage co-operation in economic matters, especially in transport and communication within the East African region.

This will enable us to develop this area. We want our people to be able to afford shoes. The Honorable Excellency who is going to the United Nations in executive jets, but has a population at home of 90 per cent walking barefoot, is nothing but a pathetic spectacle. Yet this Excellency may be busy trying to compete with Reagan and Gorbachev to show them that he, too, is an Excellency. These are some of the points in our political programme. As time goes on, we shall expand more on them.

Last appeal

To conclude, I am appealing to those people who are trying to resist us to come and join us because they will be integrated. They should not waste their time trying to fight us because they cannot defeat us.

If they could not defeat us when there were just 27 of us with 27 guns, how can they defeat this army which you saw here?

They cannot defeat us, first of all, because we have a correct line in politics which attracts everyone. Secondly, we have a correct line of organisation. Thirdly, our tactics are correct. We have never made a mistake either in strategy or tactical calculation. I am, therefore, appealing to these people not to spill more blood, especially of the young men who are being misled by older people who should know better.

President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni 1986 Inaugural Speech

H.E Yoweri Kaguta Museveni

Multiple Choice Questions:

1. What does President Museveni emphasize as the nature of the change taking place in Uganda in 1986?

- A) Superficial change
- B) Change of leadership
- C) Fundamental change
- D) Political turmoil

2. According to President Museveni, what distinguishes the National Resistance Movement from previous regimes?

- A) Lack of clear objectives
- B) Encouragement of evil
- C) Clear-headedness and clear objectives
- D) Inability to guard against infiltration

3. In the context of democracy, what is the first point in the political program outlined by President Museveni?

- A) Economic development
- B) Restoration of democracy
- C) Security of person and property
- D) Unity of the country

4. How does the National Resistance Movement ensure the quality of individuals joining the army or police?

- A) Random selection
- B) Clearance by village committees
- C) Military recommendation
- D) Approval by government officials

5. What role do the village committees play in the National Resistance Movement's system?

- A) Economic planning
- B) Citizens' intelligence system
- C) Religious leadership
- D) Legal enforcement

6. What is the second point in President Museveni's political program?

- A) Economic development
- B) Democracy
- C) Security of person and property

D) Regional cooperation

7. According to President Museveni, what is the fate of individuals or groups threatening the security of Ugandans?

A) Exile

B) Rehabilitation

C) Merciless destruction

D) Diplomatic negotiation

8. How does President Museveni view the idea of assassinating political opponents during the struggle?

A) Endorses it as a necessary tactic

B) Disagrees and prefers developing strength

C) Supports it as a last resort

D) Advocates for international intervention

9. What is President Museveni's stance on sectarianism and division among the people?

A) Encourages it for political gains

B) Views it as necessary for stability

C) Rejects it and emphasizes unity

D) Considers it a natural part of politics

10. What does President Museveni identify as a weakness in Africa that needs to be addressed through regional cooperation?

A) Lack of natural resources

B) Small market size

C) Political instability

D) Cultural differences

11. What is President Museveni's vision for economic cooperation within the East African region?

A) Encouraging isolationism

B) Focus on military collaboration

C) Development of transport and communication

D) Expansion of religious influence

12. In his concluding remarks, what does President Museveni appeal to those resisting the National Resistance Movement?

A) Surrender and face punishment

B) Continue the fight for their beliefs

C) Join the movement for integration

D) Seek asylum in other countries

Detailed Questions and Answers:

1. Question: What does President Museveni consider as the distinguishing factor of the National Resistance Movement (NRM) compared to previous regimes in Uganda?

Answer: President Museveni emphasizes that the NRM is distinguished by its clear-headedness, clear objectives, and a good membership. Unlike previous regimes that encouraged evil and were characterized by turmoil, the NRM is portrayed as a movement with a deliberate policy to uplift the quality of politics in Uganda.

2. Question: How does the NRM plan to restore democracy in Uganda, according to President Museveni's speech?

Answer: The NRM's plan for restoring democracy involves a grassroots approach. In liberated zones, they initiated the election of village Resistance Committees. These committees, at various

administrative levels, are tasked with recommending individuals for important positions like joining the army or police, and they play a role in the democratic process by acting as watchdogs for the population.

3. Question: What significant role do the village committees play within the NRM's political structure?

Answer: The village committees in the NRM serve as a citizens' intelligence system. They act as watchdogs for the population by providing information on issues such as the behavior of military personnel, potential criminal activities, and the general well-being of the community. They also play a crucial role in recommending individuals for key positions like joining the army or police.

4. Question: According to President Museveni, what is the first point in the NRM's political program, and why does he consider it a birthright for the people of Uganda?

Answer: The first point in the NRM's political program is the restoration of democracy. President Museveni argues that democracy is not a favor from any government but the right of the people. He emphasizes that the sovereign power in the land should be the population, making it a birthright for the people of Uganda to have democratic government.

5. Question: How does the NRM address the issue of security of person and property in Uganda?

Answer: President Museveni asserts that individuals or groups threatening the security of the people must be smashed without mercy. He highlights that every person in Uganda must be secure to live wherever they wish, and any infringement on this security will be dealt with decisively. The NRM's approach involves ensuring the safety of citizens from threats within the country.

6. Question: Why does President Museveni oppose the idea of assassinating political opponents during the struggle, and what alternative approach does he advocate?

Answer: President Museveni opposes the idea of assassination, arguing that it turns the targeted individuals into martyrs and heroes. He prefers developing enough strength to sweep undesirable elements to the "dungheap of history." His alternative approach involves building the strength to eliminate threats rather than resorting to assassinations.

7. Question: How does President Museveni view the use of diplomacy when dealing with criminals during peace talks?

Answer: President Museveni expresses skepticism about applying diplomacy to criminals during peace talks. He questions whether diplomacy should apply to criminals and implies that such an approach may be a farce. This suggests his inclination towards a more straightforward and decisive stance when dealing with criminal elements.

8. Question: According to President Museveni, what does he consider the correct line in politics that attracts everyone?

Answer: President Museveni considers having a correct line in politics as one of the reasons the NRM cannot be defeated. This correct line includes clear objectives, a clear-headed approach, and a focus on democracy, security, and unity. The NRM's political stance, as outlined by Museveni, is intended to appeal to a broad spectrum of the population.

9. Question: How does President Museveni address the issue of sectarianism, and what does he propose as the common aspiration for the people of Uganda?

Answer: President Museveni rejects sectarianism and proposes a common aspiration for the people of Uganda. He argues that divisions along religious or tribal lines are exploited by opportunists who have no constructive program. He suggests that the common aspiration for all Ugandans should be the improvement of basic necessities such as roads, water, drugs in hospitals, and education.

10. Question: What role does President Museveni envision for regional cooperation, especially within the East African region?

Answer: President Museveni emphasizes the need for economic cooperation within the East African region, particularly in transport and communication. He sees regional cooperation as essential for developing the area and ensuring that the population can afford basic necessities like shoes. This highlights his vision for collaborative efforts to address economic challenges.

11. Question: According to President Museveni, why does Africa face economic challenges, and what does he propose as a solution?

Answer: President Museveni attributes Africa's economic challenges to having a small market. He suggests that one solution is to encourage cooperation in economic matters, particularly in transport and communication within the East African region. This, he believes, will contribute to the development of the area and improve the living standards of the people.

12. Question: In his concluding remarks, what appeal does President Museveni make to those resisting the NRM, and what reasons does he provide for their inability to defeat the movement?

Answer: In his concluding remarks, President Museveni appeals to those resisting the NRM to come and join the movement for integration. He argues that they cannot defeat the NRM because of its correct line in politics, the correct organization, and correct tactics. He emphasizes that the NRM's strength and appeal make it invincible and calls for an end to the shedding of blood, especially among the misled young men.

Hard words.

1. Obscurantism:

Definition: The deliberate practice of presenting information in an unclear or confusing manner, often with the intent of making something false appear true or vice versa.

Context: President Museveni mentions "obscurantism" in the speech, referring to the deliberate obscuring of ideas in politics.

2. Salient:

Definition: Most noticeable or important; prominent.

Context: President Museveni uses the term "salient points" when outlining the key features of the National Resistance Movement's political program.

3. Demilitarized:

Definition: The process of removing military forces and equipment from a specified area or reducing the military presence.

Context: President Museveni discusses the suggestion of demilitarizing Kampala in the context of dealing with criminal soldiers.

4. Quack:

Definition: A person who pretends to have skills or knowledge they do not possess, especially in a particular field like medicine or politics.

Context: President Museveni compares political leaders lacking adequate diagnosis skills to medical quacks.

5. Aspirations:

Definition: Strong desires or ambitions, usually related to achieving something significant.

Context: President Museveni emphasizes the importance of people having common aspirations, such as the desire for improved infrastructure.

6. Sectarianism:

Definition: Excessive attachment to a particular sect, party, or group, often leading to prejudice or discrimination against those outside the group.

Context: President Museveni opposes sectarianism, denouncing the use of religious and tribal divisions for political gain.

7. Integration:

Definition: The process of combining or coordinating different components or systems into a unified whole.

Context: In his concluding remarks, President Museveni appeals to those resisting the NRM to join the movement for integration.

8. Diplomatic:

Definition: Involving or relating to the conduct of international relations, typically characterized by tact and skill in dealing with others.

Context: President Museveni questions the applicability of diplomacy when dealing with criminals during peace talks.

9. Infiltration:

Definition: The act of secretly entering or gaining access to a place or organization, often with the intent of causing disruption or obtaining confidential information.

Context: President Museveni acknowledges the potential for infiltration by wrong elements in the National Resistance Movement.

10. Martyrs:

Definition: Individuals who are killed or persecuted for their beliefs, often becoming symbols of a cause or movement.

Context: President Museveni discusses his disagreement with the idea of assassinating political opponents, as it could turn them into martyrs.

11. Farce:

Definition: A ridiculous or absurd situation or event, often characterized by a lack of seriousness or coherence.

Context: President Museveni refers to the peace talks as a possible farce when considering applying diplomacy to criminals.

12. Excellency:

Definition: A title or form of address indicating high quality or distinction, often used when referring to high-ranking officials or leaders.

Context: President Museveni expresses his discomfort with being addressed as "Excellency" and prefers more informal titles like "Yoweri" or "Mzee wa Kazi" among the people.

Ways in Which We Learn from the Speech:

1. **Political Philosophy:** President Museveni's speech provides insights into his political philosophy, emphasizing clear-headedness, democracy, security, and unity as foundational principles for the National Resistance Movement.
2. **Grassroots Democracy:** The speech highlights the importance of grassroots democracy, with the establishment of village committees for elections and citizens' intelligence systems to involve the population in decision-making processes.
3. **Role of Village Committees:** The speech explains the significant role of village committees in areas such as recommending individuals for key positions, ensuring the security of the community, and acting as watchdogs against misuse of power.
4. **Approach to Security:** President Museveni outlines a decisive approach to ensuring the security of individuals and property, emphasizing the need to smash any threats without mercy.
5. **Rejecting Sectarianism:** The speech advocates for unity by rejecting sectarianism based on religious or tribal lines, emphasizing common aspirations for improved infrastructure and quality of life.
6. **Economic Cooperation:** President Museveni discusses the importance of regional cooperation, specifically within the East African region, to address economic challenges and encourage development.
7. **Leadership Style:** Through the speech, we learn about President Museveni's leadership style, including his rejection of assassination as a tactic, preference for strength development, and a commitment to honest and direct communication.

8. **Critique of Diplomacy:** The speech provides a critical perspective on the use of diplomacy, especially when dealing with criminals, revealing President Museveni's skepticism and preference for more straightforward approaches.
9. **History of the Struggle:** President Museveni shares historical anecdotes, such as the capture and treatment of soldiers during the struggle, offering insights into the challenges faced and the principles upheld by the National Resistance Army.
10. **Economic Vision:** The speech touches on President Museveni's vision for economic development, highlighting the need for a larger market and advocating for economic cooperation to benefit the people.
11. **Importance of Correct Diagnosis:** President Museveni draws parallels between leadership and medical practice, emphasizing the importance of correctly diagnosing societal issues before prescribing solutions.
12. **Call for Integration:** In his concluding remarks, President Museveni makes a plea for integration, inviting those resisting the NRM to join the movement and emphasizing the futility of attempting to defeat a force with a correct political line, organization, and tactics.

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Thank you.

Balaalo ask for three month grace period

November 20, 2023



Two weeks after President Yoweri Museveni issued the latest order calling for the undisciplined Balaalo to voluntarily leave Northern Uganda, the immigrant cattle farmers have requested that they are given three more months to legitimize their stay. The Balaalo who are fencing their land as instructed by the president say the outbreak of the foot and mouth disease coupled by bad roads cannot allow them to ferry their cattle out of the region, especially in Amuru district.

This comes after the minister of state for Northern Uganda Grace Freedom Kiwiyucwiny announced an outbreak of the deadly foot and mouth disease.

“Animals must not be moved out of Amuru because it has come to our attention of the two sub-counties in Amuru, that are affected by the foot and mouth disease” she said last week.



To this effect, Mugisha Kamugunda a leader among the Balaalo community in Amuru, thinks the eviction will cause more spread of the foot and mouth and therefore requesting for a grace period.

“We are humbly requesting the executive order be extended to at least three more months, people around the project land are more worried on how to ferry back their animals back in their respective districts.”

He also says that besides the foot and mouth disease, another deadly disease has been identified within the cattle keepers in Amuru district.

A fortnight later, the cattle keepers have bought barbed wire and put up temporary fences. However, natives are unhappy with the kind of fencing that is being put in place.

“Government should specify the kind of fencing and type of fence to be used because someone can decide to use barbed wires to fence yet these are bulls,” says Aciro Lucy. Telesphor Turyamumanya the UPDF 4th Division spokesperson said, “When you investigate in the hardware shops, the fences are being bought and within that week, some Balalo fenced their land, this is compliance.”



However, the Kilak Member of Parliament Gilbert Olanya is against extending the stay of the Balalo in Northern Uganda.

“Pack your animals peacefully and leave Acholi land. We are not chaotic people but if you insist and leave your animals to continuously destroy people’s crops, we shall act as leaders from Acholi sub-region,” he said.

Amuru district is the epicenter of the Balalo in Northern Uganda and according to the Residential District Commissioner Odong Stephen Latek , “We have recorded 86 non-compliant cattle keepers with a reasonable number of cattle of about 4000 heads of cattle, this is for immediate for expulsion.”

In his address on November, 3 2023, President Yoweri Museveni instructed that voluntary eviction of the undisciplined Balalo ends on November, 224 2023, immediately after which forcefully eviction will commence and enforced by the UPDF.

The relationship between the Balaalo and other communities in Uganda, particularly agricultural communities has for some time been a topic of discussion and debate.

This is due to conflicts that have arisen over land use and resource allocation, as both pastoralists and native-owner agriculturalists rely on land for their livelihoods. Efforts have been made to find solutions to these conflicts and promote peaceful coexistence between different communities in Uganda.

The Acholi sub-region is made up of eight districts, namely Amuru, Nwoya, Gulu, OmoroPader, Agago, Lamwo and Kitgum. It has a total land area of about 28, 278 square kilometres.

The Balaalo are a pastoralist community who have been said to come from one of three places; Rwanda, Tanzania and Ankole. They began migrating to the Acholi sub-region in 2017 but the region saw an influx of their numbers in 2021 during the Covid-19 period. In a recent interview with the Kilak South Member of Parliament Gilbert Olanya, the legislator outlined a number of reasons the people of the Acholi sub-region want the Balaalo to leave their land.

Firstly they are acquiring customary land through conniving with a few individuals in the Acholi sub-region and security personnel. This is not right because customary land cannot be sold unless the clan sits and agrees to sell part of the land.

The animals of the Balaalo are moving freely in Acholi land but that is not the same case for an Acholi if they bought animals from across Karuma.

The animals of the Acholi cannot move freely and take a long time to get cleared but that is not the case for the animals that belong to the Balaalo that have the added advantage of being escorted by security personnel.

Finally, the Balaalo are well-armed and this is a security threat to the area. According to Hon. Olanya when there is an incident and the Balaalo's animals destroy someone's crops, they would pick whatever amount of money and bring to pay for the damages.

If the aggrieved party refused the payment they would pull guns on them and assure them of how they could easily bring them harm.

The President on November 5th 2023 issued a directive instructing all Balaalo to vacate the Acholi sub-region in three weeks.

Multiple Choice Questions:

1. What is the main reason cited by the Balaalo for requesting a three-month grace period to leave Northern Uganda?

- A) Outbreak of foot and mouth disease
- B) Bad roads
- C) Eviction order from the President
- D) Lack of suitable fencing materials

2. Who announced the outbreak of the deadly foot and mouth disease in Northern Uganda?

- A) President Yoweri Museveni
- B) Minister of State for Northern Uganda Grace Freedom Kwiyucwiny
- C) Mugisha Kamugunda
- D) Gilbert Olanya

3. What disease, in addition to foot and mouth, has been identified within the cattle keepers in Amuru district?

- A) Rabies
- B) Anthrax
- C) Tuberculosis

D) Undisclosed deadly disease

4. What measure have the cattle keepers taken in response to the eviction order?

A) Buying barbed wire and putting up temporary fences

B) Ignoring the order

C) Seeking legal assistance

D) Initiating a protest

5. Who expresses dissatisfaction with the type of fencing being implemented by the Balaalo?

A) Aciro Lucy

B) Mugisha Kamugunda

C) Telesphor Turyamumanya

D) Gilbert Olanya

6. According to Telesphor Turyamumanya, what is considered compliance regarding the fencing efforts?

A) Adequate government support

B) Using barbed wire for fencing

C) A certain type of fence specified by the government

D) Buying fences within a week

7. Who opposes the extension of the stay of the Balaalo in Northern Uganda?

A) President Yoweri Museveni

B) Mugisha Kamugunda

C) Gilbert Olanya

D) Odong Stephen Latek

8. What is the primary reason given by Gilbert Olanya for asking the Balaalo to leave Acholi land?

A) Spread of foot and mouth disease

B) Agricultural disputes

C) Security threat

D) Lack of compliance with fencing regulations

9. According to the Residential District Commissioner Odong Stephen Latek, what is the immediate consequence for non-compliant cattle keepers in Amuru district?

A) Financial penalty

B) Extension of the grace period

C) Forced eviction

D) Security escort

10. What is the total land area of the Acholi sub-region, as mentioned in the article?

A) Approximately 28,000 square kilometers

B) Exactly 20,000 square kilometers

C) Around 30,000 square kilometers

D) Not specified

11. Where are the Balaalo said to have originated from before migrating to the Acholi sub-region?

A) Kenya, Sudan, and Rwanda

B) Tanzania, Rwanda, and Ankole

C) Ethiopia, Uganda, and Burundi

D) Angola, Nigeria, and Congo

12. What directive did President Yoweri Museveni issue on November 5th, 2023, regarding the Balaalo in Acholi sub-region?

- A) Request for a three-month grace period
- B) Voluntary eviction within three weeks
- C) Allocation of additional land for the Balaalo
- D) Issuance of a government subsidy

Bigger Questions:

1. Question: Why have the Balaalo requested a three-month grace period to leave Northern Uganda, according to the article?

Answer: The Balaalo have requested the grace period due to the outbreak of the foot and mouth disease and difficulties in transporting their cattle out of the region, particularly in Amuru district, as instructed by the President.

2. Question: Who announced the outbreak of the foot and mouth disease, and what impact does it have on the Balaalo's ability to move their cattle?

Answer: The outbreak was announced by the Minister of State for Northern Uganda, Grace Freedom Kwiycwiny. The disease has restricted the movement of cattle out of Amuru district, contributing to the Balaalo's request for an extension.

3. Question: What specific disease, in addition to foot and mouth, has been identified among the cattle keepers in Amuru district?

Answer: The article mentions the presence of another undisclosed deadly disease within the cattle keepers in Amuru district.

4. Question: How have the cattle keepers responded to the eviction order, and what materials have they purchased?

Answer: In response to the eviction order, the cattle keepers have bought barbed wire and erected temporary fences on their land.

5. Question: Who expresses dissatisfaction with the type of fencing being implemented by the Balaalo, and why?

Answer: Aciro Lucy expresses dissatisfaction, arguing that the government should specify the kind of fencing and the type of fence to be used, as there are concerns that barbed wires may not be suitable.

6. Question: What does Telesphor Turyamumanya, the UPDF 4th Division spokesperson, consider as compliance regarding the fencing efforts?

Answer: Telesphor Turyamumanya considers the buying of fences within a week as compliance, indicating that the cattle keepers are taking steps to meet the requirements.

7. Question: Who opposes extending the stay of the Balaalo in Northern Uganda, and what message does this person convey to the cattle keepers?

Answer: Kilak Member of Parliament, Gilbert Olanya, opposes the extension and advises the Balaalo to "pack your animals peacefully and leave Acholi land," warning that if they persist in destroying crops, action will be taken.

8. Question: According to Gilbert Olanya, what are the primary reasons for wanting the Balaalo to leave Acholi land?

Answer: Gilbert Olanya lists three main reasons: acquiring customary land without proper procedures, allowing their animals to move freely while restricting Acholi-owned animals, and posing a security threat due to being well-armed.

9. Question: What immediate consequence is mentioned for non-compliant cattle keepers in Amuru district, as stated by the Residential District Commissioner Odong Stephen Latek?

Answer: Non-compliant cattle keepers in Amuru district face immediate forced eviction, with Odong Stephen Latek mentioning that 86 non-compliant cattle keepers with about 4,000 heads of cattle are slated for expulsion.

10. Question: What directive did President Yoweri Museveni issue on November 5th, 2023, regarding the Balaalo in Acholi sub-region?

Answer: President Yoweri Museveni issued a directive instructing all Balaalo to voluntarily vacate the Acholi sub-region within three weeks.

11. Question: Why have conflicts arisen between the Balaalo and other communities in Uganda, as mentioned in the article?

Answer: Conflicts have arisen due to disputes over land use and resource allocation, with both pastoralists (Balaalo) and native-owner agriculturalists relying on land for their livelihoods.

12. Question: What reasons did Gilbert Olanya provide for wanting the Balaalo to leave Acholi land during a recent interview?

Answer: Gilbert Olanya cited the Balaalo acquiring customary land without proper procedures, allowing their animals more freedom compared to Acholi-owned animals, and the security threat posed by the Balaalo, who are reported to be well-armed.

Hard words .

1. Undisciplined:

Definition: Lacking in self-control or disobedient, often referring to individuals or groups not adhering to established rules or norms.

2. Grace Period:

Definition: A specified period, typically granted as an extension of time, during which a particular action or requirement is temporarily exempted or delayed.

3. Conniving:

Definition: Secretly cooperating or plotting, often with a deceitful or dishonest intent.

4. Epicenter:

Definition: The point on the Earth's surface directly above the origin of an earthquake, or metaphorically, the focal point of a significant event or activity.

5. Residential District Commissioner:

Definition: A government official responsible for overseeing and coordinating activities at the district level, especially in matters related to law and order.

6. Non-compliant:

Definition: Failing to adhere to rules, regulations, or orders, indicating a lack of compliance or conformity.

7. Forcibly Eviction:

Definition: The act of removing individuals or groups from a place against their will, often involving the use of force or coercion.

8. Pastoralists:

Definition: People who are involved in or dependent on the practice of herding animals, typically livestock such as cattle, sheep, or goats.

9. Customary Land:

Definition: Land that is held, used, or owned according to traditional customs and practices rather than formal legal arrangements.

10. Security Threat:

Definition: A perceived or actual danger to the safety and stability of a region, often involving risks related to crime, violence, or unauthorized activities.

11. Sub-region:

Definition: A geographical area that is part of a larger region, often with specific characteristics or features that distinguish it from surrounding areas.

12. Influx:

Definition: The arrival or entry of a large number of people or things, often suggesting a sudden or significant increase.

What lessons do we draw from the above scenario in the Acholi sub-region.

1. Balancing Livelihoods and Public Health:

The scenario highlights the challenge of balancing livelihoods, such as cattle farming by the Balaalo, with public health concerns like the outbreak of foot and mouth disease. It underscores the need for careful consideration of both economic activities and health risks.

2. Importance of Clear Government Directives:

The situation emphasizes the importance of clear and well-communicated government directives. The voluntary eviction order issued by President Museveni and subsequent requests for an extension demonstrate the need for clarity in policy implementation.

3. Local Resistance to External Communities:

The resistance from the local community, as voiced by Gilbert Olanya, indicates the tensions that can arise between established residents and external communities. It points to the need for addressing concerns and fostering understanding between different groups.

4. Role of Traditional Land Practices:

The mention of acquiring customary land without proper procedures highlights the significance of traditional land practices. Understanding and respecting these practices are crucial for avoiding conflicts related to land ownership.

5. Impact of Security Concerns:

The mention of the Balaalo being well-armed and posing a security threat underscores the broader implications of such conflicts. Balancing economic activities with security concerns is essential for maintaining stability in the region.

6. Government Enforcement and Compliance:

The enforcement of government orders, as indicated by the threat of forced eviction by the UPDF, emphasizes the role of government agencies in ensuring compliance with regulations. It also highlights the consequences for those who do not adhere to directives.

7. Community Perception and Communication:

The dissatisfaction expressed by Aciro Lucy with the type of fencing and Gilbert Olanya's strong stance indicates the importance of community perception. Effective communication and collaboration can help address concerns and foster a more cooperative environment.

8. Ethical Land Use and Resource Allocation:

Conflicts over land use and resource allocation underscore the ethical considerations in such scenarios. Striking a balance that accommodates the needs of both pastoralists and agriculturalists is essential for sustainable development.

9. Crisis Management in Agriculture:

The outbreak of foot and mouth disease and the subsequent challenges in moving cattle highlight the need for effective crisis management in the agriculture sector. Quick responses and adaptable strategies become crucial during such crises.

10. Regional Economic Impact:

The scenario emphasizes the potential economic impact on the region. Balancing the economic contributions of activities like cattle farming with the need to protect local agriculture and prevent disease outbreaks requires a comprehensive approach.

11. Complex Dynamics of In-Migration:

The influx of the Balaalo from different regions and the tensions it has generated reveal the complex dynamics associated with in-migration. Understanding and addressing the root causes of such migrations can contribute to more harmonious coexistence.

How can President Museveni solve the Balaalo problem once and for all.

Solving the Balaalo problem in Northern Uganda involves addressing the complex interplay of economic, social, and political factors. Here are potential strategies that President Museveni could consider:

1. Comprehensive Land Use Policy:

Develop and implement a comprehensive land use policy that clearly defines land ownership, acquisition, and use. This policy should be inclusive and consider the needs and rights of both indigenous communities and migrant groups like the Balaalo.

2. Engage in Dialogue:

Facilitate open and transparent dialogue between the Balaalo community, local residents, and relevant stakeholders. This could help identify shared concerns, foster understanding, and find mutually beneficial solutions.

3. Livelihood Diversification:

Encourage the Balaalo community to diversify their livelihoods beyond cattle farming. Providing support for alternative income-generating activities could reduce dependency on a single economic activity and alleviate pressure on agricultural lands.

4. Investment in Infrastructure:

Improve infrastructure, including roads and facilities for cattle farming, to facilitate the movement of cattle and reduce the impact on local communities. This could involve collaborating with relevant authorities and agencies to enhance transportation networks.

5. Public Health Initiatives:

Implement robust public health initiatives to address concerns related to the outbreak of diseases like foot and mouth. This could involve vaccination programs, quarantine

measures, and awareness campaigns to ensure the health and safety of both cattle and local populations.

6. Legal Framework for Land Transactions:

- Strengthen the legal framework governing land transactions to prevent the Balaalo or any community from acquiring land through irregular means. This might involve stricter regulations and penalties for those involved in illegal land transactions.

7. Community-Based Conflict Resolution:

Establish community-based conflict resolution mechanisms to address disputes arising from land use and resource allocation. Involving traditional leaders and community representatives in conflict resolution can promote locally accepted solutions.

8. Public Awareness Campaigns:

Conduct public awareness campaigns to educate both the Balaalo community and local residents about their rights, responsibilities, and the potential consequences of actions that may lead to conflict.

9. Economic Development Programs:

Implement targeted economic development programs in the region that benefit all communities. This could include initiatives focused on agriculture, small-scale industries, and job creation to enhance the overall economic well-being of the population.

10. Empower Local Authorities:

Empower local authorities to play a more active role in land management and conflict resolution. This involves providing training, resources, and support to local leaders to address issues at the community level.

11. Integration Policies:

Develop policies that promote the integration of migrant communities into the local fabric. This might involve fostering cultural exchange programs, educational initiatives, and community-building activities to create a sense of belonging.

12. Monitor and Evaluate:

Establish a monitoring and evaluation system to assess the effectiveness of implemented strategies. Regular reviews can help identify challenges, successes, and areas for improvement, allowing for adjustments to the approach over time.

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Africa's richest man under pressure as giant refinery nears production.



Nigerian billionaire Aliko Dangote faces accusations of unfair practices and a struggle to secure crude supplies.

If all goes to plan, Aliko Dangote, Nigeria's most successful businessman and the richest person in Africa, is about to bring online a \$20bn oil refinery outside Lagos that could transform the continent's biggest economy.

Starting operations at the vast facility would mark the culmination of a career in which Dangote, whose personal wealth is estimated by Forbes at \$10.5bn, has built a fortune through salt, flour, sugar and, most significantly, cement.

Provided his Dangote Group can secure sufficient crude oil and the long-delayed plant works as it is supposed to — neither of which is a given — the refinery could start churning out diesel, kerosene and jet fuel as soon as next month.

“We’re starting with 350,000 barrels a day,” Dangote told the Financial Times, adding that a deal had already been clinched for the “first cargo of about 6mn barrels” for delivery next month.

Dangote, 66, said he believed the refinery could reach its capacity of 650,000 barrels a day by the end of 2024, although the IMF has said it doubts it will reach more than a third of that by 2025.

At full tilt, the refinery, the world’s largest “single train” facility with just one distillation unit, could save Nigeria billions in foreign exchange currently spent on imported fuel. It was “shameful”, Dangote said, that Nigeria, a major oil producer for more than 50 years, could not refine its own crude in anything like sufficient quantity.

Amaka Anku, head of the Africa practice at political risk consultancy the Eurasia Group, said the refinery was “a massive, complicated undertaking”. In a country where most businesspeople looked for short-term profits, she added, it was a blessing “that we have someone like Dangote who is willing to spend billions of his own money on long-term projects”.



The Dangote Industries oil refinery and fertilizer plant site in the Ibeju Lekki district, outside of Lagos, Nigeria

Dangote conceded there were times when he thought the massive project — long delayed and about \$8bn over budget — might jeopardise his business empire.

“The challenges that we faced, I don’t know whether other people can face these challenges and even survive,” he said. “It’s either we sink or we sail through. And we thank Almighty that at least we’ve arrived at the destination.”

Yet in what is supposed to be Dangote’s moment of triumph, he finds himself under intense pressure. A rival industrialist has accused him of underhand business practices and of gaining unfair access to foreign exchange from a central bank whose former governor is now being investigated by the authorities. Dangote has denied both allegations.

In addition, the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation has been unable or unwilling to supply him with the crude his refinery needs, although Dangote insists it is only a matter of weeks before oil starts flowing.

A few even doubt the refinery will work at all, or predict that it will be inefficient. Rumours are also rife that Dangote, whom critics accuse of having unduly benefited from close relations with four successive administrations, has fallen out with Bola Tinubu, who became president in May.

“Dangote is not as influential as he used to be,” said Ricardo Soares de Oliveira, an Oxford professor of the politics of Africa, who described the billionaire as a Nigerian oligarch. At a time when he had bet his fortune on the success of the refinery, that was not a comfortable position to be in, several close observers of Nigeria said.



Vehicles travel along Broad Street in Lagos

“This is the first time the elected government is not particularly aligned with Aliko,” said one senior banker who spoke on condition of anonymity. “So it has opened a window of opportunity for people to peddle their own influence.”

For many Nigerians, the billionaire industrialist has done more than anyone to invest in the country and create jobs. “We need 10 Dangotes,” said Anku.

But for others he is a ruthless monopolist who depends on the government to protect him from competition and to reduce his tax bill by giving his business so-called pioneer status.

“The Romans figured out how to make cement 2,000 years ago,” said Feyi Fawehinmi, a Nigerian author living in London. “And yet Nigeria is making billionaires out of it.”

In the interview, Dangote complained that rivals were carping because they did not understand what it took to run a business that was the country’s biggest private-sector employer and its biggest taxpayer. “Sometimes when people talk about us, Dangote, it’s like the government is holding everybody down and allowing us alone to fly.”

He did not want to discuss in detail a tussle over the supply of crude with NNPC, which owns 20 per cent of the refinery after a \$2.76bn equity purchase in 2021. Nigeria produces about 1.4mn barrels of oil a day, well short of its Opec quota of 1.8mn barrels, with much pre-sold in forward contracts.

“Let’s not have the blame game here,” he said of NNPC’s reported difficulties in meeting the refinery’s requirements. “We have resolved all the issues of supply.”



**A man drops a bag of Dangote cement while offloading a truck in Abuja, Nigeria
Dangote is Africa's largest maker of cement © Afolabi Sotunde/Reuters**

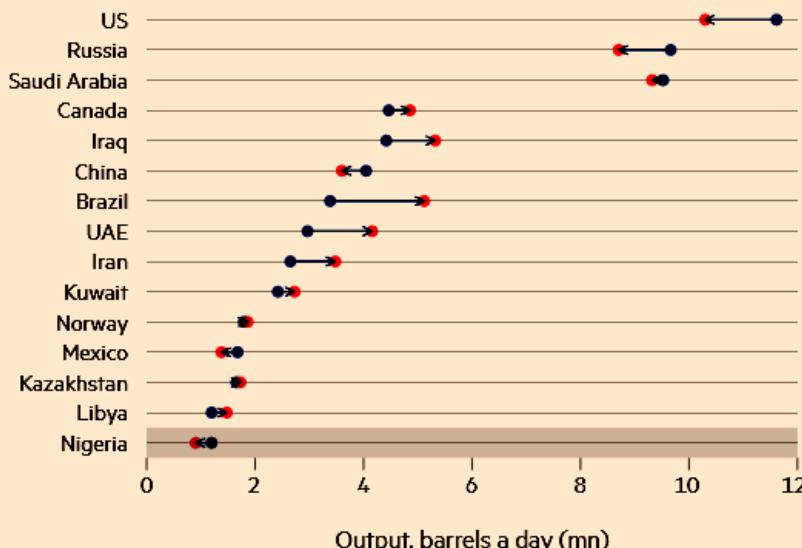
Dangote rejected suggestions NNPC was playing hardball to negotiate a bigger share of the refinery, which he said would generate revenue of \$25bn a year at full capacity. “I don’t think NNPC needs to buy more shares. I think they’re OK with what we’ve given them.”

The refinery would eventually be floated as a separate company, he said, initially on the Lagos stock exchange.

To build the massive project on 2,500 hectares of swampland outside Lagos, Dangote had to construct his own port and road to take delivery of heavy equipment, establish his own trucking company to move it and his own industrial welding facility to put it together. He said he had laid enough cable to stretch twice around the globe and had moved 65mn tonnes of sand. “You will not see this kind of project in Nigeria in the next 20 years.”

No outside contractor had been willing to take on Nigerian risk, he said, so he had to design and build the whole thing in-house. “We didn’t cut costs. We didn’t cut corners,” he said. “We didn’t do it for people to clap us. We did it for posterity.”

● 2023 ● 2030



However, some have chosen this moment to snipe. Dangote has accused BUA Group, Nigeria's second-biggest cement manufacturer, led by founder and chair Abdul Samad Rabiu, of sponsoring attacks on his company in the Nigerian press. Rabiu is worth \$6.5bn, according to Forbes.

Stories allegedly floated by BUA Group have accused Dangote of profiting from illegal foreign exchange trades worth billions of dollars. The government is investigating forex allocations made when Godwin Emefiele, the former central bank governor, was in charge of distributing dollars at the official rate to chosen industries at far below market prices.

BUA Group responded to the claims by accusing Dangote of trying to sabotage the business for more than 30 years, including once allegedly issuing the company with a dud cheque. Rabiu declined to comment.

The two are fighting in court over an alleged attempt by Dangote to prevent Rabiu's company mining limestone in Edo state. In a lengthy statement published in local newspapers, Dangote accused BUA Group of rehashing discredited stories and said he could account for every dollar of foreign exchange.

Investing in Nigeria

Foreign investors in Nigeria look forward to return to orthodoxy

Employees work on the trading floor at the Nigerian Stock Exchange in Lagos, Nigeria. Matthew Page, a former CIA expert on Nigeria, said Rabiu donated heavily to the Tinubu election campaign and had been emboldened by his close relationship with the new president. The cement market was smaller after eight years of economic stagnation, he said. "The tide pool has shrunk and the two biggest lobsters in the tank are snapping at each other."

Dangote would not be drawn on his fight with Rabiu or his relationship with the president. But he said nothing should distract from the refinery — a “national project” that was “bigger than Dangote”.

After years of promises, he was adamant that everything was ready. “The refinery is done,” he said. “The baby can come out at any time.”

Multiple Choice Questions:

1. What is Aliko Dangote's main business venture that has contributed significantly to his wealth?

- A) Salt
- B) Flour
- C) Cement
- D) Sugar

2. What product is the Dangote Group's \$20 billion oil refinery expected to produce?

- A) Salt
- B) Cement
- C) Diesel, kerosene, and jet fuel
- D) Flour

3. According to the Financial Times, what is the estimated personal wealth of Aliko Dangote?

- A) \$20 billion
- B) \$8 billion
- C) \$10.5 billion
- D) \$15 billion

4. What is the capacity of the Dangote Industries oil refinery at full tilt?

- A) 500,000 barrels a day
- B) 750,000 barrels a day
- C) 650,000 barrels a day
- D) 1 million barrels a day

5. Who has accused Aliko Dangote of underhand business practices and unfair access to foreign exchange?

- A) Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC)
- B) IMF
- C) A rival industrialist
- D) Eurasia Group

6. What is the primary concern regarding the Dangote oil refinery project's success?

- A) Lack of government support
- B) Delays and budget overruns
- C) Environmental impact
- D) Shortage of skilled labor

7. According to Aliko Dangote, what does the completion of the oil refinery project mean for Nigeria?

- A) Increased reliance on imported fuel
- B) Decreased foreign exchange savings
- C) The ability to refine its own crude oil
- D) Reduction in cement production

8. What accusation has been made against Aliko Dangote regarding tax reduction?

- A) Tax evasion
- B) Tax fraud
- C) Dependency on government protection to reduce tax
- D) Tax avoidance

9. What major challenge did Aliko Dangote face during the construction of the refinery?

- A) Shortage of raw materials
- B) Lack of skilled labor
- C) Reluctance of outside contractors
- D) Environmental protests

10. What is the relationship between Aliko Dangote and Bola Tinubu, the president of Nigeria mentioned in the article?

- A) Strong alliance
- B) Recent falling out
- C) No significant relationship
- D) Business partners

11. According to Aliko Dangote, how does he describe the Dangote Industries oil refinery project?

- A) A short-term investment
- B) A national project bigger than himself
- C) A risky venture
- D) A project aimed at quick profits

12. What is the status of the Dangote-BUA Group dispute mentioned in the article?

- A) It has been resolved amicably
- B) They are collaborating on a new project
- C) They are currently in court over a mining dispute
- D) BUA Group has withdrawn its allegations

Detailed Questions and Answers:

1. Question: What key role has cement played in Aliko Dangote's business ventures, according to the article?

Answer: Aliko Dangote's significant business success, as highlighted in the article, is attributed to the production of cement. His company, the Dangote Group, has become Africa's largest maker of cement, contributing substantially to his wealth.

2. Question: Explain the potential impact of the \$20 billion oil refinery outside Lagos on Nigeria's economy.

Answer: The oil refinery has the potential to transform Nigeria's economy as it could save billions in foreign exchange spent on importing fuel. If successful, the refinery is expected to produce diesel, kerosene, and jet fuel, addressing the country's historical inability to refine its own crude oil adequately.

3. Question: According to the Financial Times, what is Aliko Dangote's estimated personal wealth, and how has he accumulated this wealth?

Answer: Aliko Dangote's estimated personal wealth, as reported by the Financial Times, is \$10.5 billion. He has accumulated this wealth through various business ventures, including salt, flour, sugar, and, most notably, cement.

4. Question: What challenges and uncertainties does Aliko Dangote face in relation to the oil refinery project, as mentioned in the article?

Answer: Aliko Dangote faces challenges related to securing sufficient crude oil and addressing delays and budget overruns in the construction of the oil refinery. The article notes that the success of the project is not guaranteed, and there are doubts about its efficiency and ability to reach full capacity.

5. Question: Who has accused Aliko Dangote of underhand business practices, and what are the specific allegations mentioned in the article?

Answer: A rival industrialist has accused Aliko Dangote of underhand business practices and gaining unfair access to foreign exchange. The article, however, does not provide specific details about the nature of these allegations.

6. Question: What is the primary concern raised by the IMF regarding the Dangote oil refinery's capacity, and when do they express skepticism about achieving this capacity?

Answer: The IMF has expressed doubt that the refinery will reach its full capacity of 650,000 barrels a day by 2025. Despite Aliko Dangote's optimism about reaching this capacity by the end of 2024, the IMF remains skeptical.

7. Question: How does Aliko Dangote describe the state of Nigeria's ability to refine its own crude oil, and why does he find it "shameful"?

Answer: Aliko Dangote finds it "shameful" that Nigeria, despite being a major oil producer for over 50 years, cannot refine its own crude oil in sufficient quantity. He sees the oil refinery project as a means to address this shortcoming.

8. Question: What do critics accuse Aliko Dangote of regarding his business practices, and how does he respond to these accusations in the interview?

Answer: Critics accuse Aliko Dangote of being a ruthless monopolist who depends on the government to protect him from competition and reduce his tax bill. In response, Dangote argues that critics do not understand the challenges of running Nigeria's biggest private-sector employer and taxpayer.

9. Question: Describe some of the challenges Aliko Dangote faced during the construction of the oil refinery, as mentioned in the article.

Answer: Aliko Dangote faced challenges such as project delays and being about \$8 billion over budget. Additionally, the article notes that no outside contractor was willing to take on the Nigerian risk, prompting Dangote to design and build the entire project in-house.

10. Question: What is the significance of Aliko Dangote's falling out with Bola Tinubu, the president mentioned in the article?

Answer: Aliko Dangote's falling out with Bola Tinubu is described as significant, especially at a time when Dangote has heavily invested his fortune in the success of the oil refinery. This falling out is seen as diminishing Dangote's influence and opening opportunities for others to exert influence.

11. Question: What does Aliko Dangote claim about the readiness of the oil refinery, and how does he describe the project's significance?

Answer: Aliko Dangote claims that the refinery is ready, describing it as a "national project" that is "bigger than Dangote." Despite challenges and criticisms, he emphasizes the completion of the refinery as a significant achievement.

12. Question: What is the status of the dispute between Aliko Dangote and BUA Group, and what specific allegations have been made against Dangote by BUA Group?

Answer: Aliko Dangote and BUA Group are currently in court over an alleged attempt by Dangote to prevent BUA Group from mining limestone in Edo state. BUA Group has accused Dangote of profiting from illegal foreign exchange trades and attempting to sabotage their business for more than 30 years. The article does not specify the outcome of these allegations.

Hard words.

1. Distillation:

Definition: The process of purifying a liquid by heating or cooling to create vapor and then collecting the vapor as it cools to form the purified liquid.

2. Oligarch:

Definition: A member of a small group of people who control a country, organization, or institution, often for their own gain.

3. Ammunition:

Definition: Information, arguments, or material used to support a position, argument, or cause.

4. Orthodoxy:

Definition: Conforming to established or accepted beliefs or doctrines, especially in religion.

5. Allegations:

Definition: Assertions or accusations made without providing proof.

6. Forex (Foreign Exchange):

Definition: The global marketplace for buying and selling national currencies, often used by investors and traders.

7. Quota:

Definition: A limited or fixed number or amount of people or things, in particular, an official limit on the number or proportion of a particular group of people allowed to do something.

8. Amicable:

Definition: Characterized by friendliness and a lack of hostility; done in a friendly and peaceful manner.

9. Skepticism:

Definition: A skeptical attitude; doubt regarding the truth or validity of something.

10. Monopolist:

Definition: A person or entity that possesses exclusive control or ownership of a commodity or service in a particular market, often resulting in a lack of competition.

11. Emboldened:

Definition: Made brave or confident; encouraged.

12. Tussle:

Definition: A vigorous struggle or scuffle, typically in a disorderly or confused manner.

Lessons that we learn from the above article.

1. Diversification is Key:

Aliko Dangote's success story underscores the importance of diversifying business ventures. His wealth accumulation spans various industries, from cement to oil refining, showcasing the benefits of having a diversified business portfolio.

2. Long-Term Vision and Investment:

The article highlights the significance of long-term vision and investment in large-scale projects. Aliko Dangote's commitment to the oil refinery, despite delays and budget overruns, reflects the need for persistence and foresight in tackling substantial ventures.

3. National Economic Impact:

The completion of major projects, such as the oil refinery, can have a significant positive impact on a nation's economy. Dangote's refinery is positioned as a national project that, if successful, could reduce foreign exchange spending on fuel imports and bolster Nigeria's economic independence.

4. Navigating Business Challenges:

Aliko Dangote's ability to navigate and overcome challenges in the construction of the oil refinery illustrates the resilience required to tackle complex projects. Building infrastructure, especially in challenging environments, demands problem-solving skills and adaptability.

5. Business-Related Disputes:

The article highlights the challenges that can arise from business-related disputes, as seen in the conflict between Aliko Dangote and BUA Group. Such disputes can have broader implications, including legal battles and damage to reputations.

6. Government-Private Sector Relations:

The interaction between Aliko Dangote and the Nigerian government emphasizes the complex dynamics between the private sector and government entities. The need for cooperation and support, as well as the potential influence on business operations, is evident in this relationship.

7. Importance of Independence in Construction:

Aliko Dangote's decision to construct the refinery in-house, including building necessary infrastructure, highlights the challenges of finding external contractors willing to take on certain risks. This emphasizes the importance of independence in large-scale construction projects.

8. Market Competition and Allegations:

The article points to allegations of monopolistic practices and unfair competition. This lesson underscores the potential challenges businesses face in competitive markets and the importance of fair business practices to maintain a positive reputation.

9. Political Influences on Business:

The falling out between Aliko Dangote and Bola Tinubu sheds light on the influence of political relationships on business dynamics. Understanding and navigating political landscapes can be crucial for business success, especially in regions where political ties can impact operations.

10. Public Perception and Communication:

Aliko Dangote's responses to criticisms in the article highlight the importance of managing public perception. Clear and strategic communication is essential for business leaders, especially during challenging times, to maintain trust and credibility.

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Thank you.

Fateful Meeting Led to Founding of the Cult in Uganda (Inferno date: 17/3/2000)



KANUNGU, Uganda, March 20th 2000.

The counting of corpses came to an end today in this lush mountain village where hundreds of followers of a doomsday cult died in an apocalyptic inferno.

The burnt and twisted remains of the dead, found after their tin-roofed chapel was set ablaze Friday, were dumped into a mass grave.

What was left of the church was torn down, too, and tossed in the ditch.

But as the physical effects of the horror were being buried, questions tormented the relatives and friends of the dead. Even the most basic questions, like how many people died, and the exact circumstances of the deaths, may well remain a mystery.

Mystic sects have grown as Uganda's social problems have deepened.

Sifting through the charred bodies, the police counted 330 people, 78 of them children. But an untold number were burned to ashes, leaving investigators with little to identify. Ugandan officials said the number of dead could exceed 500.

That would make this the largest mass suicide since nearly 1,000 followers of Jim Jones died 22 years ago in Guyana after drinking, or being forced to drink, a cyanide-poisoned fruit drink. But some local people here say they are skeptical that so many would have willingly lost their lives.

Rutenda Didas, a local administrator, told Reuters that the believers may have willingly walked into the church, only to be duped. "It was planned by their leaders," he suggested. Police officers said they thought that all five of the leaders of the sect, the Restoration of the Ten Commandments of God, died in the fire.

The leaders included **Joseph Kibweteere, 68, a former Roman Catholic priest, and Cledonia Mwerinde, 40, an ex-prostitute.**

Cmdr. Stephen Okwalinga, the regional police coordinator who supervised the pathologists and police officers who sorted through the site today, said in an interview that the police were trying to determine if there were other branches of the Ten Commandments to shut them down.

Surveillance of other sects will also be stepped up, Commander Okwalinga said. "We have to really scrutinize their interests and their activities the best we can."

A number of mystical religious groups have sprung up in Uganda in recent decades as social and political problems have worsened.

The Lord's Resistance Army, self-styled revolutionaries who have terrorized the northern part of the country, started as a Christian fundamentalist sect, known as the Holy Spirit Movement, in 1986.

Its leader, Alice Lakwena, claimed to give her followers immunity from bullets by anointing them with holy water.

And last September, the police evicted a thousand cult members from an illegal settlement where a self-proclaimed prophet was said to be selling places in heaven for those who paid the most.

The police accused that group of committing crimes including rape, abduction and theft. Many questions remain about the Ten Commandments cult, but villagers say they had long wary of the group's allure.

The cult apparently drew its members from all over the country to this village 200 miles from the capital, Kampala.

But the group, apparently led by a former Catholic priest named **Joseph Kibwetere**, prevented its members from communicating with outsiders, villagers said, and required many to sell their belongings before joining.

"All of the people from this area refused to join," Anne Kaberaho, who lives near the church compound, said in an interview. "The way they were treating their people was not good."

The villagers told local reporters that members of the cult had recently reported a sighting of the Virgin Mary.

And last week, they said, the followers feasted on a roast bull and soda pop after selling their remaining possessions and bidding their friends goodbye.

Today, the compound, made up of cinder-block buildings, drew gawkers who watched from a distance as a hulking backhoe dug a giant grave.

Closer in, soldiers, laborers and police officers stood with the same muted curiosity.

Some clutched their heads in their hands. Others held handkerchiefs over their mouths and noses.

Grace Kemerwa came with her shaken relatives to see the place where an aunt and 10 of her aunt's children seem to have met their end. She said her aunt was summoned here a week before the fire.

"I'm just confused," Ms. Kemerwa said, staring at the piles of bodies.

"I'm confused about how people could do this. People who are sane could not do this."

KANUNGU, Uganda, March 21st 2000.

As the last bodies were dumped into mass graves today, forensic investigators at the site of the inferno here that burned more than 400 people to death discovered the bodies of several others who appeared to have been murdered and dumped into a latrine pit.

Who they were and why they were killed was not immediately clear.

Investigators counted 330 bodies and estimated that more than a hundred others may have died, their remains burned to ashes in a chapel here controlled by a cult called the Movement for the Restoration of the Ten Commandments of God. It was the largest mass suicide-murder since 1978, when 912 followers of Jim Jones died in Guyana.

Perhaps the most pressing question is the fate of the cult's leader, Joseph Kibwetere, and his lieutenants. The police do not know which, if any, of them died in the fire that was

intentionally set last Friday. Any who are still alive could face murder charges, the police have said.

While authorities pressed ahead, religious leaders tried to distance themselves from the cult. Uganda's Roman Catholic hierarchy issued a statement today that said the leaders of the cult, two of whom it identified as former Roman Catholic priests, had been excommunicated because they had "erred and broke the discipline of the church."

The sect members "were misled by obsessed leaders into an obnoxious form of religiosity completely rejected by the Catholic Church," according to the statement, issued in Kampala, the Ugandan capital.

The bishops interrupted an annual retreat to respond to suggestions that they had erred in isolating the sect over disagreements on doctrine.

The sect's leaders had proclaimed that the world would end in 2000, saying they received the message directly from God, the bishops said. The leaders had also preached that only those who heeded their apocalyptic message would go directly to heaven.

Sects like this, including the most notorious and most politically active here, the Lord's Resistance Army, have been problems for the Uganda government for years, and in recent months the police broke up two cults that were becoming threats.

What happened here was a "crazy thing," and shows how people can be brainwashed, said the Rev. Benon Nkwasinbwe, an Anglican priest in northern Uganda.

"These kinds of cults are spreading," he said as he walked around the compound. "I'm very worried about it."



The problem is complicated for government and religious leaders who do not want to appear to infringe on religious freedom in this mostly Christian country but want to ensure that the country does not endure a repeat of what happened last Friday.

"It did not have to happen," the Rev. **Martin Sempa**, a leading evangelical Christian leader said tonight on Radio One, repeatedly endorsing government efforts to flush out dangerous extremist religious groups. "And it should not happen again."

Today, members of Uganda's Parliament called for an inquiry into the deaths and demanded that the police do a better job of identifying potential problems among such groups.

Active for more than a decade, the Ten Commandments cult drew many of its members from the Roman Catholic Church and incorporated some of the Catholicism's symbols and teachings into its tenets and traditions.

In another of the sect's chapels here, discarded green rosaries lay about the floor, and the smashed remnants of ceramic figures of Jesus and Mary littered the altar.

The group's leader, Mr. Kibwetere, had been a lay worker in a Roman Catholic parish in Bushenyi, just north of here, before breaking away and apparently bringing a number of his fellow congregants with him.

Bishop William Magambo, head of the Anglican Diocese in Bushenyi, said he knew of Mr. Kibwetere by reputation and his was not a good one. "Their leader was a rebel," Bishop Magambo said after he and several aides examined the grounds and the buildings.

For the trickle of loved ones who came to this remote spot in the Rukungiri region of southwestern Uganda, near the country's borders with Congo and Rwanda, there is confusion, anger and sadness.

Joy Turyomurugendo lost four brothers, two sisters, a host of nieces and nephews and her mother in the fire, and knows she could have been among them. Only she, another sister and their father remain.

"My mother was trying to convince me to come," Ms. Turyomurugendo, 43, said as she sat on a log in the middle of a clearing on the edge of the compound, "but I told her I can't go in this church."

She did not like what she heard about how the cult forced its members to sell their possessions to be admitted, how the leaders tried to control communication among followers and outsiders, and how parents were separated from children and spouses were split up inside its compound. "I told them not to come here, but they refused," she said. So, while many of her relatives packed up their few remaining possessions and came here in July to live at the compound, she stayed away. "They would tell me that in the year 2000, they were going to a new world," she said.

She never had a chance to see them before they died, so today she came from her village, Kirima, about five miles away. "I just came to see how they are buried," she said.

On Monday, a huge ditch was dug and, with not even a spoken prayer, the charred, twisted remains were dumped into it and quickly covered with fresh earth. "There was really nothing more to do," Ms. Turyomurugendo said. "There were just so many of them."

RUTOMA, Uganda, March 25 2000

At least some of the 153 people who were killed at a secluded cult compound in southwestern Uganda died several weeks before hundreds of followers of the doomsday cult died in a raging inferno in their church eight days ago, the police said today.

The compound, set at the end of a narrow dirt path, was set on fire just hours before the church inferno on March 17 in which at least 330 people died. The fire at the compound gutted the five small dwellings on the site and scorched much of the surrounding earth in an eerie prelude to the catastrophe that then unfolded in the village of Kanungu, where the cult, known as the Movement for the Restoration of the Ten Commandments of God, made its home.

The fire here, and the discovery of the bodies of people who were apparently killed weeks or even months ago, have bolstered the growing sense among investigators that what happened in the Kanungu church was, on some level, a carefully orchestrated act by the cult's leader, Joseph Kibwetere, and some of his lieutenants.

"Unless we prove that they are dead, we want them to answer charges of murder," Assuman Mugenyi, the chief spokesman for the National Police Service, said today in a telephone interview from Kampala, the capital.

Increasingly overwhelmed by their grisly discoveries, police officials said today that international help for the underequipped Ugandan police force would be welcome.

Hoping to find clues about what happened at Kanungu, investigators have been combing other sites where the cult operated.

When diggers began excavating the ditches on Friday, the toll was staggering: 153 bodies, Mr. Mugenyi said. Of the dead, 59 were children and everyone, it appeared, had been killed, he said. Some of them had been strangled and others had been slashed, he said. Unlike the massacre at Kanungu, in which everyone died at once, the killings here appear to have occurred at the very least over a period of weeks, Mr. Mugenyi said.

The site here, set at the end of a narrow dirt path, was used by the cult for inducting new members and introducing them to its ways, a senior police investigator said today.

"It was a place for indoctrination," Terense Kinyera, the regional head of criminal investigations for the Ugandan police, said after meeting with other investigators here.

The bodies found here were examined by medical investigators and then buried en masse in a grave dug on the edge of one the buildings.

With manpower limited and rough terrain making travel to the scenes difficult, investigators have been slowed in their search for evidence.

More than a week after the Kanungu fire, investigators were only beginning today to search another of the cult's sites, in the neighboring village of Bushenyi. And investigators will never have the type of forensic evidence that could have been gleaned from examination in a laboratory. But removing the bodies would have been an enormous logistical challenge, even for a police force with far more manpower and resources.

"This is a big problem for us because our police force is not fully equipped," Mr. Mugenyi said. "If we could get some international assistance, we would welcome it. We need some experts, especially on homicide, to help reinforce our team."

Between 20 and 30 investigators are assigned to the case, he said, and "even those resources are not enough for them to do thorough work."

KABUMBA, Uganda, March 26th 2000.

Meeting Joseph Kibwetere for the first time, the three women told him that he had been anointed to help them spread the word of God, that the Virgin Mary had led them to him, a Roman Catholic known among many Ugandans for his piety, prayer and good works.

To hear Mr. Kibwetere's relatives tell the tale, that meeting in 1989 was the start of a fateful chain of events that led to estrangement from their father and husband, his clash with the Roman Catholic Church, eventual excommunication and, on March 17, the death of at least 330 followers of his cult in a conflagration that engulfed their secluded mountain church at Kanungu.

Whether the inferno was a mass suicide -- the second-largest after Jim Jones led 912 followers to their deaths in Guyana in 1978 -- or a mass murder is unclear.

The Ugandan police, understaffed and underequipped, are leaning to the latter theory, particularly since they unearthed 159 more bodies this week. Six were buried in a latrine beside the burned-out church, and 153 others, including 59 children, at a cult compound some 30 miles away.



Kabumba was the home of the founder of an apocalyptic cult.

Today the police said they were searching for more bodies after finding at least one at a house that belonged to another leader of the cult.

Whatever the truth behind these grisly spectacles, this impoverished, mostly Christian nation of 11 million faces many questions: about the importance of religious freedom in a country where many cults have flourished, about the competence of the government's security and intelligence network, about Mr. Kibwetere's mysterious Movement for the Restoration of the Ten Commandments of God and, of course, about the man at its center. Like so much else, the fate of Joseph Kibwetere remains a puzzle. No one knows if he was among the dead in the scorched chapel or if he absconded before or during the fire.

For now, the police are assuming that he and perhaps some of the cult's other leaders are alive, which makes him a murder suspect.

Dead or alive, Mr. Kibwetere is, to his eldest son, a murderer. "I feel pity for those people who died," the son, **Juvenar Rugambwa, 36**, said at the family's home here. "In fact, I hate my father. If he has escaped and I meet him, I wouldn't hesitate killing him."

Mr. Rugambwa and his mother, Theresa, who bore Mr. Kibwetere 16 children during 40 years of marriage, said the man they had known for decades as a pious Catholic devoted to good works started to change drastically after three women approached him at a service one day in 1989.

The three women -- **Credonia Mwerinde, Ursula Komuhangi and Angela Mugisha** -- were already leaders of a Christian cult devoted to the Virgin Mary, who, they said, had instructed him to take them in.

And so he did, and so began the cult, the family said. Predicting that the world would end with 1999, the cult crusaded for a return to a life according to the Ten Commandments, saying they were the only path to salvation.

Born in 1932 in this region, Joseph Kibwetere came up through the local Catholic school and, contemporaries say, clung to his faith as the rudder that would lead him and those around him down the righteous path. He became a schoolteacher and ended up back at his own primary school, where he impressed his students with his devotion to his faith.

"He was a godly man," said **Matthias Igushu**, a student at Mr. Kibwetere's school in the early 1960's. "**You could tell by his practice: going to church, tending to the sick.**"

Mr. Kibwetere's wealth and stature grew, as did his dedication to the church. He became a supervisor for the region's Catholic schools and founded a private Catholic school of his own. Some years later, after moving into government service and politics, he donated the land on which two local Catholic churches are built.

"We never fought," recalled his wife, also a teacher, whom he married in 1960. "We had no quarrels in our home. He was a peaceful man."

The room in which she talked bore the marks of religious devotion: images of Jesus and Mary, rosary beads and prayer cards, a photograph of her husband praying on a pilgrimage to Rome and a certificate recognizing the special papal blessing that he received there.

"We grew up in a lovely home, a lovely family, until he brought those people home," said their son, a contractor and father of four children.

When the three strange women first appeared, Mrs. Kibwetere at first joined in their activities. But as more and more followers came to live on the family's farm, tensions grew between the 200 or so followers and the family.

"When the people came here they started mistreating us, the family members, the children and the mother, saying the Virgin Mary had told them to do things, to keep us without food and to punish us," Mr. Rugambwa recalled.

So he fought back, first on his own, later with the support of his mother and his siblings, against the people who he said had made him feel like a prisoner in his own home. The family won. In 1992 the cult and its leader packed up and left for Kanungu. Mr. Kibwetere never moved back, despite his family's invitation to do so.

Settled on a magnificent plot of fertile hillside land, the cult set about spreading its message, chiefly through a 163-page manifesto, "**A Timely Message From Heaven: The End of the Present Times.**"

Much of the book is devoted to the revelations that Mr. Kibwetere and other cult leaders said they had received. The volume contains dark prophecies of famines and wars, of rivers turning to blood and of food turning to poison. It enumerates the problems that will be visited on particular countries: "Mozambique will be destroyed by its own machinery," and "Japan will have rain falling for as long as my Father wants."

With Mr. Kibwetere as chief proselytizer, the cult took hold.

"This man was prominent in many ways," his son said, pointing out his father's service on government commissions and his role as an organizer for the opposition Democratic Party. "People respected him because he was religious and he had money. When you have money, you are respected and liked. And he had a convincing tongue. He was bright. He was educated."

But in the eyes of the church, Mr. Kibwetere had become a sinner of the worst kind, claiming to have contact with God himself and refusing the orders of an old friend, Bishop John Baptist Kakubi, to desist.

Florence Igusha, who came to know Mr. Kibwetere through her husband, is thankful for the bishop's admonitions. "I think if the bishop had not stopped us, I think most of us would have joined him," she said.

The church's anger grew when he recruited two priests to his cause, and eventually Mr. Kibwetere was excommunicated.

"In effect he challenged the leadership of the pope," the now retired Bishop Kakubi told the official government newspaper, New Vision.

The cult's ranks swelled, with estimates of its peak membership ranging from 1,000 to 4,000. To join, people were expected to sell off their possessions and turn over the considerable sums of money, say many relatives of those who perished at Kanungu.

On the compound an ascetic lifestyle took hold, with sex even among married couples discouraged and communication limited largely to a system of sign language in which they were instructed, the relatives said.

Exactly what happened when the world did not end on **Dec. 31, 1999 is not clear**. What is known is that dozens of followers converged on the Kanungu compound **on March 16 and 17, joining hundreds already there**.

On the morning of **March 17** the flock gathered in the chapel, which faced Rugyeyo Mountain. One blaze, or maybe several, were ignited.

At **12:45 p.m.** the police station at Rukungiri, the headquarters for the area, received a radio call, the deputy commander, Stephen Musoke, said last week. The call was from an officer in Kambuga, a couple of villages from Kanungu and the nearest one with a police post.

There had been a fire at the headquarters of the Kibwetere group, the officer reported, and there were people dead.

Only as villagers and police officers descended on the smoldering building did the scale become apparent. The remains of hundreds of people, mostly their bones and in some cases only their ashes, lay massed at one end of the chapel. Virtually no one could be positively

identified, and by Monday night they had all been buried together in a grave alongside their wrecked house of worship.

The day before the fire, **a parcel from Kanungu arrived at the home of Mr. Kibwetere's family.** It contained books and documents from the cult, its certificate of registration, a copy of the 10 commandments of the cult and other items. All was sent, the family believes, by Joseph Kibwetere.

"Nobody else would have sent them," the son said. "He wanted us to carry on the message."

Multiple Choice Questions:

- 1. What was the cause of death for the followers of the cult in Kanungu?**
 - A) Poisoning
 - B) Cyanide
 - C) Fire
 - D) Strangulation

- 2. How many bodies were found in the chapel after the fire in Kanungu, according to the police?**
 - A) 330
 - B) 400
 - C) 500
 - D) 912

- 3. Who were the leaders of the cult, the Restoration of the Ten Commandments of God?**
 - A) Jim Jones and Alice Lakwena
 - B) Joseph Kibweteere and Cledonia Mwerinde
 - C) Stephen Okwalinga and Rutenda Didas
 - D) Bishop William Magambo and Rev. Benon Nkwasinbwe

- 4. What did the Roman Catholic hierarchy say about the leaders of the cult?**
 - A) They were praised for their religiosity.
 - B) They were excommunicated for breaking church discipline.
 - C) They were declared saints.
 - D) They were invited to return to the Catholic Church.

- 5. How did the cult leaders claim to have received the message about the end of the world?**
 - A) Through visions of the Virgin Mary
 - B) By decoding ancient scriptures
 - C) Via messages from alien beings
 - D) Through a prophet from another cult

- 6. What did the followers of the cult reportedly do in preparation for the apocalypse?**
 - A) Sold their remaining possessions
 - B) Built underground bunkers
 - C) Fasted for days
 - D) Went on a pilgrimage to Rome

- 7. How did the police describe the events in Kanungu?**
 - A) A natural disaster
 - B) A carefully orchestrated act by the cult's leader
 - C) An accidental fire
 - D) A result of external terrorist activities

8. Why did the police seek international assistance in the investigation?

- A) To gather forensic evidence
- B) To arrest cult leaders in other countries
- C) Due to political pressure
- D) Because of limited resources and manpower

9. What is the son of Joseph Kibwetere's opinion about his father?

- A) Proud of his father's accomplishments
- B) Feels pity for his father
- C) Hates his father and would consider killing him
- D) Believes his father is a victim of brainwashing

10. What role did Bishop John Baptist Kakubi play in the story?

- A) He was a cult leader.
- B) He supported the cult's beliefs.
- C) He excommunicated Joseph Kibwetere.
- D) He was an investigator.

11. What did the cult claim about the world's end in 1999?

- A) The world would end in fire.
- B) The world would end with a flood.
- C) The world would enter a new era of peace.
- D) The world would end with the return of aliens.

12. What did Joseph Kibwetere reportedly send to his family before the incident?

- A) A letter of apology
- B) Money and valuables
- C) Books and documents from the cult
- D) A warning about the impending danger

BIGGER QUESTIONS

1. What were the circumstances surrounding the deaths of the followers of the doomsday cult in Kanungu, Uganda?

Answer: The followers of the doomsday cult in Kanungu, Uganda, met their tragic end through mass suicide in a deliberately set fire. The cult members, numbering around 330 according to the police, including 78 children, perished in an apocalyptic inferno that engulfed their tin-roofed chapel on March 17, 2000. The burnt and twisted remains of the victims were subsequently dumped into a mass grave, and the remnants of the church were torn down and discarded.

2. How did the police attempt to determine the number of casualties, and what challenges did they face?

Answer: The police, while sifting through the charred bodies, officially counted 330 individuals, with 78 being children. However, due to the intensity of the fire, an unknown number of followers were reduced to ashes, posing a challenge for precise identification. Ugandan officials expressed concerns that the actual death toll might surpass 500. The difficulties in determining the exact circumstances and numbers of casualties added to the mystery surrounding the tragic event.

3. Who were the leaders of the cult, and what was their background?

Answer: The leaders of the cult, known as the Restoration of the Ten Commandments of God, included Joseph Kibweteere, a 68-year-old former Roman Catholic priest, and Cledonia Mwerinde, a 40-year-old ex-prostitute. Joseph Kibweteere had a background as a lay worker in a Roman Catholic parish in Bushenyi, Uganda. The inclusion of individuals with unconventional backgrounds in leadership roles added a layer of complexity to the cult's narrative.

4. How did local authorities and community members react to the cult, and what suspicions were raised about its activities?

Answer: Local authorities and community members expressed skepticism about the cult's activities. Some suggested that the cult leaders, including Joseph Kibweteere, had planned and orchestrated the mass suicide. Villagers reported that the cult prevented its members from communicating with outsiders and required them to sell their belongings before joining. There were also reports of the cult's leaders claiming a sighting of the Virgin Mary, contributing to suspicions about the group's practices.

5. How did the Roman Catholic Church respond to the cult, and what actions did they take against its leaders?

Answer: The Roman Catholic Church responded to the cult by issuing a statement disassociating itself from the leaders, particularly Joseph Kibweteere and Cledonia Mwerinde. The church hierarchy stated that the leaders had been excommunicated due to erring and breaking the discipline of the church. The church's strong disapproval indicated a significant rift between the cult and mainstream religious authorities.

6. What were the beliefs and predictions of the cult, and how did they prepare for the prophesied end of the world?

Answer: The cult proclaimed that the world would end in 2000, and they claimed to have received this apocalyptic message directly from God. They preached that only those who heeded their apocalyptic message would go directly to heaven. To prepare for the prophesied end, cult members reportedly sold their remaining possessions, and some engaged in feasts and rituals, including a sighting of the Virgin Mary. The cult's beliefs were outlined in a 163-page manifesto titled "A Timely Message From Heaven: The End of the Present Times."

7. What concerns did religious and government leaders express about cults in Uganda, and how did they plan to address the issue?

Answer: Religious and government leaders in Uganda expressed concerns about the rise of mystical religious groups, including cults, as social and political problems worsened. The Lord's Resistance Army, another cult-like group, had already caused terror in the northern part of the country. In response to the Kanungu tragedy, leaders emphasized the need to scrutinize and surveil such groups more effectively. Some called for an inquiry into the deaths and urged the police to identify potential threats among similar groups.

8. Why did the police seek international assistance in the investigation, and what challenges did they face in their efforts?

Answer: The police sought international assistance in the investigation due to the enormity of the task and the limited resources and manpower of the Ugandan police force. The gruesome discoveries, including bodies found in a cult compound, raised suspicions of murder rather than a simple mass suicide. The police faced challenges in terms of forensic examination, limited resources, and difficult terrain that impeded their search for evidence. International assistance was deemed crucial, especially in the realm of homicide investigation.

9. What role did Joseph Kibwetere's family play in the cult's history, and how did they view him after the tragedy?

Answer: Joseph Kibwetere's family played a significant role in the cult's history. The family, including Kibwetere's son Juvenar Rugambwa and wife Theresa, clashed with the cult members when they mistreated them on their farm. After the family's victory, the cult relocated to Kanungu in 1992. Following the tragedy, Kibwetere's son expressed strong negative feelings, stating he hated his father and would consider killing him if they were to meet. The family received a parcel from Kibwetere, containing cult-related items, suggesting a desire for the family to continue the cult's message.

10. What were the circumstances surrounding the discovery of bodies in the cult compound in Rutoma, and what did this revelation suggest about the cult's activities?

Answer: The discovery of bodies in the cult compound in Rutoma revealed that at least some of the 153 people killed there died several weeks before the mass suicide in Kanungu. The fire at the Rutoma compound occurred just hours before the Kanungu inferno. The bodies found in Rutoma were examined by medical investigators and buried in a mass grave. This discovery strengthened the suspicion that the events in Kanungu were carefully orchestrated by cult leaders, including Joseph Kibwetere, raising questions about the cult's practices and activities.

11. How did Joseph Kibwetere establish and lead the cult, and what changes did he undergo after meeting three women in 1989?

Answer: Joseph Kibwetere founded the cult after a fateful meeting with three women in 1989 who claimed to have been anointed to spread the word of God. The women, including Cledonia Mwerinde, convinced Kibwetere, a known pious Catholic, that the Virgin Mary had led them to him. Following this meeting, Kibwetere's life took a drastic turn. The cult, known as the Restoration of the Ten Commandments of God, grew under his leadership. Predicting that the world would end in 1999, the cult crusaded for a return to a life according to the Ten Commandments, claiming they were the only path to salvation.

12. What was the reaction of the son and wife of Joseph Kibwetere after the cult's relocation to Kanungu, and how did the family respond to the tragic events?

Answer: Joseph Kibwetere's son, Juvenar Rugambwa, and wife, Theresa, were relieved when the cult and its mistreatment of their family left for Kanungu in 1992. However, the family was not entirely free from the influence of the cult, as Kibwetere continued to send them parcels containing cult-related materials and documents. Following the tragic events in Kanungu, the family expressed strong negative sentiments towards Kibwetere, with the son going so far as to express a desire to harm his father if given the opportunity.

13. What contradictions and inconsistencies were present in the cult's teachings and actions leading up to the tragic events in Kanungu?

Answer: The cult's teachings and actions leading up to the tragic events in Kanungu were riddled with contradictions and inconsistencies. While preaching a return to a life strictly according to the Ten Commandments, the cult engaged in dubious practices, including financial exploitation and apocalyptic predictions. The cult leaders, including Joseph Kibwetere, lived in luxury, accumulating wealth from their followers who sold their possessions in preparation for the prophesied end of the world. These contradictions raised questions about the sincerity of the cult's beliefs and the motives of its leaders.

14. How did the cult use apocalyptic predictions and fear to control its followers, and what measures did they take to ensure compliance with their beliefs?

Answer: The cult utilized apocalyptic predictions and fear to exert control over its followers. Leaders, including Joseph Kibwetere, propagated the belief that the world would

end in 1999 and claimed to have received this message through visions of the Virgin Mary. This fear of impending doom was a powerful tool for manipulating followers, compelling them to sell their possessions and submit to the authority of the cult leaders. The cult's strict control over communication with outsiders and the requirement to adhere to their interpretation of the Ten Commandments were additional measures to ensure compliance.

15. How did Bishop John Baptist Kakubi play a role in the unfolding events, and what actions did he take against Joseph Kibwetere?

Answer: Bishop John Baptist Kakubi played a significant role in the unfolding events, particularly in his actions against Joseph Kibwetere. Kakubi, a high-ranking Catholic official, excommunicated Kibwetere for breaking church discipline. This move by the Catholic Church indicated a clear disapproval of Kibwetere's actions and teachings. Kakubi's actions suggested that Kibwetere's departure from mainstream Catholicism was not only significant but also contentious within the religious hierarchy.

16. How did the cult leaders exploit the vulnerability of their followers, and what psychological tactics did they employ to maintain control?

Answer: The cult leaders, particularly Joseph Kibwetere and Cledonia Mwerinde, exploited the vulnerability of their followers through a combination of psychological tactics. They claimed to have received divine revelations and visions, presenting themselves as messengers of God with exclusive knowledge of the impending apocalypse. This played into the psychological vulnerability of individuals seeking meaning and security in times of social and political unrest. The leaders manipulated followers through fear, promising salvation only to those who adhered to their strict interpretation of the Ten Commandments, while simultaneously accumulating wealth and living luxuriously themselves.

17. What was the role of the media in reporting and investigating the Kanungu cult tragedy, and how did it impact public perception and understanding of the events?

Answer: The media played a crucial role in reporting and investigating the Kanungu cult tragedy. The widespread coverage brought international attention to the events, prompting discussions about the dangers of cults and the need for increased scrutiny. The media shed light on the contradictory practices of the cult, including financial exploitation and the manipulation of followers through apocalyptic predictions. The coverage contributed to shaping public perception and understanding of the tragedy, emphasizing the need for authorities to address the underlying issues and prevent the rise of similar cults.

18. What were the consequences of the Kanungu cult tragedy on the social, religious, and political landscape in Uganda?

Answer: The Kanungu cult tragedy had profound consequences on the social, religious, and political landscape in Uganda. It raised awareness about the dangers of cults and prompted discussions about the need for stricter regulation and surveillance. The Roman Catholic Church, in particular, faced scrutiny, leading to increased efforts to prevent the rise of extremist religious groups. The tragedy also highlighted social and political challenges in Uganda, contributing to a broader conversation about the impact of such issues on vulnerable populations susceptible to manipulation by charismatic leaders.

19. What were the international reactions to the Kanungu cult tragedy, and did it lead to changes in how cults were monitored and addressed globally?

Answer: The Kanungu cult tragedy elicited international reactions, with various countries expressing condolences and concern about the rise of extremist religious groups. The involvement of international agencies in assisting with the investigation underscored the global implications of such incidents. While the tragedy did not directly lead to immediate changes in how cults were monitored globally, it did contribute to discussions about the

need for international cooperation and vigilance in addressing the activities of cults that pose a threat to their followers and society at large.

20. What lessons can be drawn from the Kanungu cult tragedy, and how have authorities and communities sought to prevent similar incidents in the aftermath?

Answer: The Kanungu cult tragedy offers several lessons for authorities and communities. It highlights the importance of vigilant monitoring of religious and mystical groups, especially those exhibiting signs of manipulation and exploitation. Authorities have since increased efforts to scrutinize such groups, emphasizing the need for clear regulations and intervention strategies. The tragedy has prompted communities to be more aware of the signs of potential cult activity and to report suspicious behavior. The events in Kanungu serve as a cautionary tale, prompting ongoing efforts to prevent the rise of similar cults and protect vulnerable individuals from exploitation.

HARD WORDS:

1. **Apocalyptic:** Relating to or involving predictions or descriptions of an imminent catastrophic event, often associated with the end of the world.
2. **Excommunicate:** To officially exclude someone from participation in the sacraments and services of the Christian Church, typically as a punishment for serious wrongdoing.
3. **Inferno:** A large and destructive fire, often used metaphorically to describe a chaotic or hellish situation.
4. **Credulity:** A tendency to be too ready to believe that something is real or true, especially without proper evidence or justification.
5. **Charred:** Partially burned or scorched, often referring to the blackened remains of objects or surfaces after exposure to fire.
6. **Rift:** A serious break in friendly relations between people, groups, or countries.
7. **Catastrophe:** An event causing great and often sudden damage or suffering; a disaster.
8. **Skepticism:** A skeptical attitude or doubt as to the truth of something, often accompanied by a demand for proof or evidence.
9. **Hierarchical:** Relating to or arranged in a hierarchy, a system or organization in which people or groups are ranked one above the other.
10. **Surveillance:** The monitoring, observation, and supervision of activities, behavior, or information, often carried out in a covert or systematic manner.
11. **Orchestrated:** Carefully arranged or directed, often implying a complex and coordinated effort.
12. **Apologetics:** The reasoned arguments or writings in justification of something, typically a theory or religious doctrine.
13. **Exploitation:** The action or fact of treating someone unfairly in order to benefit from their work, typically taking advantage of their vulnerability.
14. **Vigilance:** The action or state of keeping careful watch for possible dangers or difficulties.
15. **Vulnerable:** Susceptible to physical or emotional harm, often due to a lack of protection or support.
16. **Prophecy:** A prediction of what will happen in the future, often considered to be of divine inspiration.

LESSONS LEARNT:

1. The Dangers of Cults and Extremist Beliefs:

The articles highlight the perilous consequences associated with cults and extremist religious beliefs. The tragedy in Kanungu resulted from the actions of a doomsday cult led by Joseph Kibwetere, illustrating the potential harm that can arise when individuals are swayed by radical ideologies.

2. Impact of Social and Political Problems on Religious Movements:

The emergence of mystical religious groups in Uganda is noted to coincide with deepening social and political issues. This connection suggests that such groups may exploit or be fueled by societal challenges, emphasizing the need for addressing root problems to prevent the rise of extremist movements.

3. Challenge of Identifying and Monitoring Cults:

The difficulty in identifying and monitoring cults is evident in the articles. The secretive nature of the cult in Kanungu made it challenging for authorities to understand the extent of its activities, emphasizing the importance of vigilance and effective surveillance to prevent tragedies.

4. Religious Freedom vs. Public Safety Debate:

The articles touch upon the delicate balance between religious freedom and public safety. While government and religious leaders are cautious not to infringe on religious freedom, the Kanungu incident prompts a reconsideration of how to address potentially dangerous religious groups without compromising individual liberties.

5. Need for International Collaboration in Investigations:

The limitations of the Ugandan police force in handling such complex cases are highlighted. The request for international assistance underscores the importance of collaboration and support from the global community in investigating and preventing mass tragedies, especially in regions with resource constraints.

6. Impact of Charismatic Leaders on Followers:

The influence of charismatic leaders, such as Joseph Kibwetere, is evident in the cult's growth. Understanding how charismatic figures can manipulate followers is crucial in developing strategies to counteract the appeal of such leaders and protect vulnerable individuals from exploitation.

7. Importance of Religious Institutions' Response:

The response of religious institutions, particularly the Roman Catholic Church in Uganda, is notable. The excommunication of the cult leaders demonstrates the role that established religious bodies can play in condemning and distancing themselves from extremist sects, helping to counteract their influence.

8. Lessons from History:

The reference to previous tragedies, like the mass suicide in Guyana led by Jim Jones, emphasizes the importance of learning from history. Recognizing patterns in the emergence and actions of cults provides valuable insights for governments, religious institutions, and communities to detect and address potential threats more effectively.

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Thank you.

'Balaalo' question & the myth of Uganda

November 29, 2023



On the move.

On 14 February 1990, the Voyager 1 space probe took a now famous photograph of earth, from a distance of about 6 billion kilometers – which depicted earth as a very small, barely visible dot, when ranged against the expanse of the universe.

In his 1994 book, ‘Pale Blue Dot’, the astronomer Carl Sagan provided a powerful commentary on the photograph, observing: ‘Consider again that dot. That’s here. That’s home. That’s us. On it everyone you love, everyone you know, everyone you ever heard of, every human being who ever was, lived out their lives.

The aggregate of our joy and suffering, thousands of confident religions, ideologies, and economic doctrines, every hunter and forager, every hero and coward, every creator and destroyer of civilization, every king and peasant ... every corrupt politician, every “superstar,” every “supreme leader,” every saint and sinner in the history of our species lived there – on a mote of dust suspended in a sunbeam.

The Earth is a very small stage in a vast cosmic arena ... There is perhaps no better demonstration of the folly of human conceits than this distant image of our tiny world. To me, it underscores our responsibility to deal more kindly with one another, and to preserve and cherish the pale blue dot, the only home we’ve ever known.’

As Sagan notes, the power of the picture is in terms of the perspective it provides –the triumphs, hopes, dreams, big things and monumental events that have taken place on this earth over millennia – have occurred in a place which, while apparently expansive, is in the

larger scheme of things, a little, barely visible part of the much larger cosmos that the known world is.

In this small part of earth, in Uganda, we are still struggling to find a meaningful and peaceful means of coexistence. We do not intend today to belabour the historical points made in previous editions of this column as to the problematic nature of the contemporary Ugandan State.



Occupying even centers of power,

We need only to point out that we live, and will continue to live, with the fundamental contradictions of that State, unless and until we summon the courage and creativity required to deal with the sins that attended that founding. The ‘Balaalo’ issue – pitting pastoralist Bahima against parts of the population in Northern Uganda – is only but the most recent manifestation of the internal contradictions embedded within the myth of Uganda.

It makes me realize – with a combination of amusement and some sadness – that, like many of my generation in this country, I have become a young old man, or rather an old young man. We have grown in the age of Museveni, had children in the age of Museveni, and are now threatened with becoming grandparents in the age of Museveni.

And, in the age of Museveni, the sins of Uganda’s founding have proven to be apparently intractable. Of course, there is nothing amusing about the Balaalo issue. It touches on serious questions regarding land ownership, power and vulnerability, identity and belonging, human rights - and dignity.

I just cannot help but recall a similarly heated discourse that occurred in the early 2000s, when my cohort and I were fresh-faced first year law students, full of hope and animated by the sense of endless possibility. In Prof Oloka Onyango’s first year constitutional law class, we were presented with the issue of the ‘Bafuruki’ – Bakiga immigrants in the Bunyoro area, who were beginning to attract resentment and hostility from the local population.

That particular crisis had been triggered by the electoral success of a one Fred Ruremera, a Mukiga who had won the Kibaale LC V Chair. His victory woke the Banyoro up to what they considered to be an existential threat: being overwhelmed – numerically, economically and otherwise by the Bakiga immigrants – with the eventual possibility of becoming landless and dispossessed in their own ancestral area.

The debate in our constitutional law class was passionate – arguments all round being presented. I recall a Munyoro classmate expressing particularly strong views against the Bakiga immigrants – so much so that I wondered whether her apparent resentment did not extend to myself and other persons of Kiga ethnicity in the class (my late father was a

Mukiga, while my mother is a Munyankore). With the benefit of hindsight, I understand her frustration, her fear – and even resentment.

The issue then – as it is at the core of the current ‘Balaalo’ question – is a small provision tucked away in Article 29 of the 1995 Constitution. In terms of Article 29 (2) (a), every Ugandan has the right ‘to move freely throughout Uganda and to reside and settle in any part of Uganda’.



In full force! We are going nowhere. Here, we come!

The provision is as plain as day – the right is to ‘every Ugandan’, the freedom is to move unimpeded ‘throughout Uganda’, and the right to reside and settle relates to ‘any part of Uganda’. It does not say – ‘every Ugandan except Bakiga and Bahima pastoralists’, nor does it say ‘any part of Uganda except Bunyoro and Northern Uganda’.

And yet, of course, the reality is that Article 29 (2) (a), like many other parts of the 1995 Constitution, is based on a fundamental presumption – that the politico-legal entity known as Uganda is founded on, and supported by, socio-cultural reality or ‘facts on the ground’.

The provision, and the entire Constitution, rests of the myth of Uganda – the idea of ‘One Uganda, One People (to borrow from Dr. Kizza Besigye’s FDC slogan). The truth of the matter is that Uganda was and is composed of disparate societies, with unique histories – and distinct social, political and economic identities.

This diversity is not necessarily – or intrinsically – dangerous, but it is one which has to be carefully, sensitively and respectfully managed, if law and reality are to be brought closer together (as they should). In **the Bafuruki** crisis, for instance, as a short-term measure, President Museveni found a way of convincing Mr. Ruremera to stand down as Kibaale LC V Chairperson, which happened in 2002.

This was probably for the best – all considered. In the current Balaalo crisis, the President has called for the pastoralists to leave the affected areas. This, too, is probably for the best. In both instances, the strength of local feeling against the ‘aliens’ is too strong for any reasonable political system to ignore. At the same time, these short-term measures can only be that: short-term.

They are only bandages on what are festering wounds – deep cleavages within the Ugandan political and social fabric, which require equally deep, longer term and better considered responses.

Those in Buganda, for instance, are starting to ask – and rightly so: ‘If land in Northern Uganda can be protected from encroachment by “aliens”, why is it that land in Buganda is open to purchase by non-Baganda?’ The historical answer can be located in an old case –

Mwenge v Migadde (1932- 5) ULR 97 – in which a colonial court found that under the new land regime established under statutory law, land in Buganda could be sold in ways, and to persons, not contemplated or permitted under Buganda customary law.

The Kingdom of Buganda might thus, legitimately, assert a mandate to recover for Baganda – sovereignty over land in Buganda – on an equal basis with the emerging settlement of the Balaalo question. In the alternative, Buganda might rightly assert, based on this contemporary status as the one apparently open home for all Ugandans (regardless of ethnicity), greater consideration and a more significant role in determining the destiny of the Ugandan polity.

Whichever way one looks at it, the current ‘Balaalo’ question is only a window into much broader questions of equity, belonging, identity, citizenship, self-determination and others. It exposes the myth of ‘Uganda’.

This myth is at the heart of the vulnerability of Uganda’s current constitutional arrangements, and the political framework which both created the 1995 Constitution; and which in turn is legalized and legitimized by that constitution. By the same token, it demonstrates the futility of a patchwork or half-hearted approach to constitutional or politico-legal reform.

Now, more than ever, the Ugandan project needs to be rethought – and the courage found to consider effective means for adequately reflecting and accounting for the complexities posed by ethnic diversity. This is the essence of the **‘(Re) Constituting Uganda’ Project of the Human Rights and Peace Centre (HURIPEC)** of the School of Law, Makerere University.

More than a project, it is an agenda for research, popular-engagement and constitution-making – one which recognizes that the duty to reconsider a new design for the Ugandan State and its constituent charter is a shared duty, not one to be left to politicians, who might lack the will to undertake this task.

I am deeply heartened that this can be done at HURIPEC, and look forward to the launch of this effort at the School of Law this Friday, 1st December, from 11am to 2pm. Perhaps not entirely coincidentally, we shall use the same occasion to both commemorate, as much as reflect upon, HURIPEC’s own 30-year journey as an actor in the movement for human rights, peace and social justice in Uganda.

As Uganda experiences a national crisis of identity – this same moment can and must be seized as an opportunity to do the work necessary to extirpate the signs of its founding. I am personally grateful that the Chief Guest at the launch of the (Re)Constituting Uganda effort this Friday will be Nicholas Opiyo – who has both seen, and fought against the worst of the mythical Ugandan project and yet still has the energy required to believe in, and struggle towards, a Uganda that works for all, not some.

In the immortal words of Rev Dr Martin Luther King, Jr, ‘we must learn to live together as brothers or perish together as fools’ – in this very small part of a very small, pale blue dot.

The writer is senior lecturer and acting director of the Human Rights and Peace Centre (HURIPEC) at the School of Law, Makerere University, where he teaches Constitutional Law and Legal Philosophy

Multiple Choice Questions:

1. What significant event is referenced at the beginning of the article?

- a) The founding of Uganda
- b) The Voyager 1 space probe photograph
- c) The publication of 'Pale Blue Dot'
- d) The 1995 Constitution

2. According to Carl Sagan, what does the photograph of Earth from space underscore?

- a) The vastness of the universe
- b) The insignificance of Earth
- c) Human achievements on Earth
- d) The need for space exploration

3. What is the 'Balaalo' issue in Uganda primarily about?

- a) Political corruption
- b) Religious conflicts
- c) Land ownership and pastoralist conflicts
- d) Economic inequality

4. In the early 2000s, what was the focus of the discourse mentioned in the article?

- a) Environmental conservation
- b) Immigration and resentment
- c) Constitutional amendments
- d) Economic development

5. Which article of the 1995 Constitution is central to the 'Balaalo' question?

- a) Article 29 (2) (a)
- b) Article 15 (1) (b)
- c) Article 50 (3)
- d) Article 10 (4)

6. What is the author's perspective on short-term measures in dealing with conflicts like the 'Balaalo' issue?

- a) They are sufficient for resolving deep-seated issues.
- b) They are necessary but only temporary solutions.
- c) They exacerbate the existing problems.
- d) They should be the primary focus of interventions.

7. What historical case is referenced in relation to land ownership in Buganda?

- a) Mwenge v Migadde (1932-5) ULR 97
- b) Buganda v Balaalo (1990-3) LWR 120
- c) Ruremera v Bunyoro (2002) ULR 150
- d) Kibaale v Bakiga (2005) LWR 88

8. What does the author suggest about the diversity in Uganda?

- a) It is inherently dangerous.
- b) It requires careful and respectful management.
- c) It should be ignored for the sake of unity.
- d) It is a recent phenomenon.

9. What is the essence of the '(Re) Constituting Uganda' Project according to the article?

- a) A political campaign
- b) A research and constitution-making agenda

c) A cultural festival

d) A historical reenactment

10. Who is the Chief Guest at the launch of the '(Re)Constituting Uganda' effort?

a) Carl Sagan

b) Nicholas Opiyo

c) Dr. Kizza Besigye

d) President Museveni

11. According to the author, what must be considered in rethinking the Ugandan project?

a) Only political considerations

b) Economic factors

c) Ethnic diversity and complexities

d) International perspectives

12. In the closing quote, what does Rev Dr Martin Luther King, Jr. emphasize?

a) The need for global cooperation

b) The importance of individual freedom

c) The folly of human conceits

d) The necessity of living together harmoniously

BIGGER QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the significance of the Voyager 1 space probe photograph in the context of the article. How does it set the tone for the author's exploration of the 'Balaalo' question in Uganda?

Answer: The Voyager 1 space probe photograph, capturing Earth as a tiny dot in the vast universe, serves as a metaphor for the insignificance of Earth in the cosmic arena. This sets the tone for the author's exploration of the 'Balaalo' question, highlighting that despite the grandeur of human achievements on Earth, the struggles and contradictions within a small part of it, like Uganda, are but a fraction of the larger cosmic reality.

2. Examine Carl Sagan's commentary on the pale blue dot and its implications for human interactions. How does the author connect this perspective to the challenges faced by Uganda in dealing with the 'Balaalo' issue?

Answer: Carl Sagan's commentary underscores the shared human experience on Earth and the need for kindness and preservation. The author connects this perspective to Uganda's challenges by emphasizing the struggles for coexistence, land ownership, and identity brought to light by the 'Balaalo' issue. The shared vulnerability on the pale blue dot magnifies the urgency for peaceful solutions.

3. Explore the historical context of the 'Bafuruki' crisis mentioned in the article. How does it parallel the contemporary 'Balaalo' question, and what lessons can be drawn from this historical comparison?

Answer: The 'Bafuruki' crisis, involving resentment against Bakiga immigrants, parallels the 'Balaalo' question in terms of community tensions and fears of being overwhelmed. Lessons from the past crisis include the need for long-term solutions beyond short-term measures and the importance of addressing underlying societal cleavages.

4. Analyze Article 29 of the 1995 Constitution and its role in the 'Balaalo' issue. How does the legal provision clash with the socio-cultural reality in Uganda, and what challenges does this pose for the country?

Answer: Article 29 grants the right to move freely and settle anywhere in Uganda, but the clash with socio-cultural reality poses challenges. Despite the constitutional provision, the 'Balaalo' issue reflects deep-rooted conflicts, challenging the presumption that Uganda is a unified entity. This presents hurdles in implementing the constitutional ideals in practice.

5. Explain the author's perspective on short-term measures in dealing with conflicts like the 'Balaalo' issue. How does the author view such measures, and what long-term consequences does he foresee?

Answer: The author sees short-term measures as necessary but temporary solutions to deep-seated issues. While acknowledging their immediate importance, the author emphasizes that these measures are mere bandages on festering wounds, and without comprehensive, longer-term solutions, they fail to address the root causes of conflicts.

6. Delve into the historical case of Mwenge v Migadde (1932-5) ULR 97. How does this case impact the current discourse on land ownership in Buganda, and what comparisons can be made with the 'Balaalo' question?

Answer: Mwenge v Migadde is referenced concerning land ownership in Buganda. The case has contemporary implications, as it provides a historical basis for the argument that Buganda could assert sovereignty over its land, drawing parallels with the 'Balaalo' question and raising questions about equity and land rights.

7. Discuss the author's views on the myth of Uganda. How does he characterize Uganda's diversity, and what implications does this diversity hold for constitutional arrangements and political frameworks?

Answer: The author characterizes Uganda's diversity as a complex but manageable reality that requires careful consideration. The myth of 'One Uganda, One People' is challenged by the diverse histories and identities within the country. This diversity, if not carefully managed, poses challenges to constitutional arrangements and political frameworks.

8. Explore the objectives and significance of the '(Re) Constituting Uganda' Project initiated by HURIPEC. How does the project aim to address the complexities posed by ethnic diversity, and what role does it envision for the broader Ugandan society?

Answer: The '(Re) Constituting Uganda' Project seeks to rethink the Ugandan project by addressing ethnic diversity through research, popular engagement, and constitution-making. It recognizes the shared duty of society in shaping the destiny of the Ugandan polity and aims to involve various stakeholders in the process of reconstitution for a more inclusive and equitable Uganda.

9. Examine the author's call for a more thoughtful approach to constitutional and politico-legal reform in Uganda. What challenges does the myth of Uganda present to such reforms, and how can a comprehensive approach be achieved?

Answer: The author advocates for a thoughtful approach to constitutional reform, recognizing the challenges posed by the myth of Uganda – the presumed homogeneity of the country. The comprehensive approach requires a deep understanding of ethnic diversity and careful consideration to bridge the gap between law and societal reality.

10. Discuss the historical case of Mwenge v Migadde in relation to Buganda's potential assertion of sovereignty over its land. How might Buganda's contemporary status impact the resolution of the 'Balaalo' question, and what broader questions does it raise about equity and identity in Uganda?

Answer: Mwenge v Migadde's historical case establishes a precedent for Buganda's potential assertion of sovereignty over its land. Buganda's contemporary status, especially in relation to the 'Balaalo' question, raises questions about equity and identity. The

resolution of the issue requires careful consideration of historical land rights and the implications for broader notions of citizenship and belonging.

11. Evaluate the significance of the launch of the '(Re)Constituting Uganda' effort by HURIPEC. How does this initiative address the current national crisis of identity, and what role does it envision for human rights, peace, and social justice in reshaping Uganda's future?

Answer: The launch of '(Re)Constituting Uganda' by HURIPEC signifies an attempt to address the national crisis of identity. The initiative aims to engage in research and constitution-making, recognizing the role of human rights, peace, and social justice in reshaping Uganda's future. It envisions a more inclusive and just society, providing a platform for diverse voices to contribute to the reconstitution process.

12. Reflect on the closing quote from Rev Dr Martin Luther King, Jr. - "we must learn to live together as brothers or perish together as fools." How does this quote resonate with the challenges presented in the article, and what message does it convey regarding the path forward for Uganda?

Answer: The quote emphasizes the necessity of unity and coexistence, resonating with the challenges presented in the article. It underscores the importance of finding common ground and working together to address the complexities of ethnicity, land ownership, and identity in Uganda. The message conveyed is that only through collective understanding and cooperation can Uganda overcome its current challenges and build a future that works for all its citizens.

HARD WORDS.

1. Conceits:

Definition: Excessive pride or self-confidence; an unwarranted belief in one's abilities or qualities.

Context: "There is perhaps no better demonstration of the folly of human conceits than this distant image of our tiny world."

2. Intractable:

Definition: Difficult to manage, control, or resolve; stubborn or unyielding.

Context: "...the sins of Uganda's founding have proven to be apparently intractable."

3. Belabour:

Definition: To argue or elaborate on a point repeatedly or at excessive length; to explain or insist on something to excess.

Context: "We do not intend today to belabour the historical points made in previous editions of this column..."

4. Cohesion:

Definition: The action or fact of forming a united whole; the process of sticking or holding together.

Context: "...the strength of local feeling against the 'aliens' is too strong for any reasonable political system to ignore."

5. Extirpate:

Definition: To root out or destroy completely; to eliminate or exterminate.

Context: "...this same moment can and must be seized as an opportunity to do the work necessary to extirpate the signs of its founding."

6. Cleavages:

Definition: Divisions or splits, especially within a social or political context.

Context: "These short-term measures can only be that: short-term. They are only bandages on what are festering wounds – deep cleavages within the Ugandan political and social fabric."

7. Homogeneity:

Definition: The quality or state of being homogeneous, of the same or similar kind or nature.

Context: "The comprehensive approach requires a deep understanding of ethnic diversity and careful consideration to bridge the gap between law and societal reality."

8. Constituent:

Definition: Being a part of a whole; a component or element of something larger.

Context: "...the political framework which both created the 1995 Constitution; and which in turn is legalized and legitimized by that constitution."

9. Presumption:

Definition: An idea that is taken to be true, and often used as the basis for other ideas, although it is not known for certain.

Context: "Article 29 (2) (a), like many other parts of the 1995 Constitution, is based on a fundamental presumption..."

10. Futility:

Definition: Pointlessness or uselessness; the quality of having no practical result or effect.

Context: "...it demonstrates the futility of a patchwork or half-hearted approach to constitutional or politico-legal reform."

11. Exacerbate:

Definition: To make a problem, bad situation, or negative feeling worse.

Context: "They are necessary but only temporary solutions... without comprehensive, longer-term solutions, they fail to address the root causes of conflicts."

12. Mandate:

Definition: An official order or commission to do something; the authority to carry out a policy or course of action.

Context: "The Kingdom of Buganda might thus, legitimately, assert a mandate to recover for Baganda – sovereignty over land in Buganda..."

LESSONS LEARNT.

The 'Balaalo' issue in Northern Uganda raises several important lessons for Ugandans:

1. Complexity of Land Ownership:

The issue highlights the complexities surrounding land ownership, reflecting historical and cultural dimensions. It prompts Ugandans to delve into the intricate relationships between communities and their land, acknowledging that solutions must consider historical contexts.

2. Challenges of Ethnic Diversity:

The conflict underscores the challenges posed by ethnic diversity within Uganda. The tensions between pastoralist Bahima and other populations bring to the forefront the need for respectful and inclusive strategies to manage diversity effectively.

3. Implications of Short-term Measures:

The temporary measures taken, such as asking pastoralists to leave affected areas, showcase the limitations of short-term solutions. Ugandans learn that while these measures might

address immediate concerns, they are insufficient for resolving deep-rooted issues and may require more comprehensive, long-term approaches.

4. Constitutional Discrepancies:

The conflict draws attention to the disparities between constitutional provisions, such as the right to move freely throughout Uganda, and the socio-cultural realities on the ground.

Ugandans may learn the importance of aligning legal frameworks with the diverse historical and cultural contexts within the country.

5. Importance of Dialogue:

The 'Balaalo' issue emphasizes the significance of open dialogue and communication. It encourages Ugandans to engage in conversations that foster understanding, address grievances, and work towards solutions that accommodate the needs of different communities.

Responsibility for National Unity:

Ugandans may learn that maintaining national unity requires collective responsibility. The conflicts expose the fragility of unity when confronted with internal tensions, prompting citizens to consider their roles in fostering harmony and understanding.

6. Long-term Socio-economic Impacts:

The 'Balaalo' issue reveals the potential long-term socio-economic impacts of internal conflicts. Ugandans might reflect on the broader consequences, such as displacement, economic instability, and social discord, and recognize the need for sustainable solutions.

Role of Leadership:

- The response of political leaders to the 'Balaalo' issue becomes a lesson in leadership. Citizens may scrutinize how leaders address and navigate such conflicts, assessing their effectiveness in finding equitable and just resolutions.

7. Historical Precedents:

Reflecting on historical cases, such as the 'Bafuruki' crisis, Ugandans learn that similar issues have arisen in the past. Understanding the historical context provides valuable insights into the cyclical nature of conflicts and the importance of learning from previous experiences.

8. Call for Constitutional Reevaluation:

The 'Balaalo' issue may prompt Ugandans to consider the necessity of constitutional reforms. Lessons may involve reevaluating the adequacy of existing legal frameworks in addressing contemporary challenges related to land ownership, identity, and coexistence.

9. Ethical Considerations:

The conflict poses ethical questions regarding the fair treatment of different ethnic groups and their rights. Ugandans may learn about the importance of ethical considerations in policymaking and conflict resolution.

10. Opportunity for National Reflection and Change:

The 'Balaalo' issue offers Ugandans an opportunity for national reflection and change. It prompts individuals and communities to think critically about the myths and realities of Uganda, encouraging a collective effort towards building a more inclusive, equitable, and united nation.

CONCLUSION

Resolving the 'Balaalo' issue in Acholi sub-region requires a multifaceted and inclusive approach that addresses the underlying

causes and fosters sustainable solutions. Here is a comprehensive conclusion:

1. Inclusive Dialogue and Mediation:

Initiate inclusive and facilitated dialogues involving all stakeholders, including representatives from the pastoralist Bahima community, local populations, government officials, and community leaders. Engage professional mediators to create a platform for open communication, understanding, and consensus-building.

2. Land Use Planning and Allocation:

Conduct a comprehensive land use planning exercise that takes into account the historical, cultural, and economic factors influencing land ownership in Achooli sub-region. Establish clear guidelines for land allocation that consider the needs and aspirations of all communities, ensuring equitable access to and use of land resources.

3. Community-Based Conflict Resolution Mechanisms:

Strengthen and promote community-based conflict resolution mechanisms that empower local communities to address grievances and disputes at the grassroots level. This could involve the establishment of community councils or committees tasked with conflict resolution and fostering social cohesion.

4. Livelihood Diversification Programs:

Implement sustainable livelihood diversification programs to reduce dependency on specific land uses. Support the pastoralist Bahima community in exploring alternative economic activities that contribute to their well-being while minimizing the impact on agricultural land in Achooli sub-region.

5. Legal Reforms and Constitutional Review:

Evaluate existing land laws and constitutional provisions to identify and address any discrepancies that contribute to the 'Balaalo' issue. Consider constitutional reviews or amendments that better reflect the socio-cultural realities of Achooli sub-region while upholding the rights of all communities.

6. Human Rights and Social Justice Considerations:

Integrate human rights and social justice considerations into the resolution process. Ensure that any proposed solutions uphold the rights of individuals and communities, fostering a sense of justice, equality, and dignity for all residents of Achooli sub-region.

7. Capacity Building and Education:

Implement capacity-building programs and educational initiatives aimed at enhancing the understanding of diverse cultures within Achooli sub-region. Promote cultural sensitivity, tolerance, and mutual respect among different communities to foster a harmonious coexistence.

8. Government Support and Intervention:

Ensure active involvement and support from government agencies at both local and national levels. Governments should play a facilitating role in the resolution process, providing resources, technical expertise, and policy frameworks that promote sustainable development and conflict resolution.

9. Monitoring and Evaluation Mechanisms:

Establish robust monitoring and evaluation mechanisms to track the progress of implemented solutions. Regularly assess the impact of interventions on the ground, gather feedback from affected communities, and adjust strategies accordingly to address emerging challenges.

10. International Support and Collaboration:

Seek international support and collaboration, engaging with organizations and entities experienced in conflict resolution, land governance, and community development. Draw on best practices and experiences from similar contexts to inform and enhance the effectiveness of the resolution process.

11. Youth and Women Inclusion:

Ensure the active involvement and inclusion of youth and women in decision-making processes. Their perspectives and contributions are vital to the success of sustainable solutions and the promotion of intergenerational and gender-sensitive approaches to conflict resolution.

12. Long-Term Vision for Sustainable Development:

Develop a long-term vision for sustainable development in Achooli sub-region that considers the aspirations of all communities. This vision should encompass social, economic, and environmental dimensions, aiming to create a resilient and inclusive community where diverse groups can coexist harmoniously.

SAPIENS

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Thank you.

Rwanda's troops in Mozambique have done well to protect civilians – the factors at play.

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Rwandan soldiers on patrol in northern Mozambique in 2021.

Emidio Jozine/AFP via Getty Images

Rwanda's involvement in **peacekeeping operations** for the United Nations (UN) and African Union (AU) has increased since 2004.

The relatively small east African nation is Africa's most active troop-contributing country and the fourth most active worldwide. It has **nearly 6,000 soldiers and police** committed to UN peacekeeping missions.

In recent years, however, Rwanda has deployed its army independently of the UN or AU. In 2020, it sent 1,000 troops to fight anti-government rebels in the **Central African Republic**.

A year later, it sent soldiers to deal with jihadist militants in northern Mozambique, and now has **2,500 troops** there.

These two missions aim to confront and eliminate armed enemies of the host state. The operations – which aren't under the UN and AU protocols – raise questions about the conduct of Rwanda's army and its counterinsurgency doctrine. Specifically when it comes to avoiding civilian casualties.

Traditional peacekeeping missions have a **disappointing record** on protecting innocent bystanders. UN and AU forces have been **criticised** for being risk averse and under-resourced in preventing crimes and violence against civilians.

In 2015, Rwanda was one of several countries arguing that the UN should do more to defend civilians in conflict. It sponsored a set of recommendations eventually codified as

the **Kigali Principles on the Protection of Civilians**. They identified various shortfalls that handicap many peacekeeping missions.

I'm a **conflict researcher** who has examined Rwanda's military intervention in Mozambique. In a recent [paper](#), I used the deployment to evaluate the Rwandan army's commitment to protecting civilians.

The Mozambique mission is independent of the UN and AU. Therefore, the Rwandan military is less subject to the monitoring that guards against excessive force and abusive practices. As an offensive counterterrorism operation, the mission is also potentially more aggressive and violent than peacekeeping.

Conventional wisdom would predict that an **authoritarian government** like Rwanda's would be heavy-handed in putting down an insurrection. But my findings suggest that's not so in Mozambique.

The Mozambique campaign is unlike the disaster across Rwanda's border in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). There, Rwanda's army stands [accused](#) of backing the **M23 rebels** who have committed war crimes and accelerated a humanitarian crisis.

The Mozambique mission

The province of Cabo Delgado in northern Mozambique had been struggling with a **vicious jihadist insurgency** since [2017](#). Efforts by Mozambique's security forces and foreign mercenaries failed to stop decapitations, village burnings and attacks on government forces and infrastructure.

When militants threatened **oil and gas development projects** that once promised to lift Mozambique out of poverty, President **Felipe Nyusi turned to Rwanda for help in 2021**. The Rwandan Defence Forces began to [attack](#) Islamic State-aligned militants.

Yet, the Rwandan army has balanced the pursuit of insurgents and the protection of the population. Operations to annihilate insurgents often kill and injure civilians as well. Strategies that focus narrowly on protecting civilians, on the other hand, tend to make **counterinsurgent forces gun shy**.

What worked

[My study](#) suggests how Rwanda has been able to hold down civilian casualties while battling insurgents. The Rwandan army was in Mozambique nearly a year before inflicting its first recorded **civilian fatality** – a single curfew breaker in a tense recovered town. First, Rwandan troops actively patrol and interact with the community to collect information about the local people and the insurgents who threaten them. Rwandan soldiers benefit from their knowledge of Swahili, which enables them to communicate directly with the locals. It helps them tell friend from foe.

The second factor is restraint: a more disciplined use of firepower. As the experience of western armies in Iraq and **Afghanistan** has shown, maintaining restraint under the persistent threat of ambush isn't easy. It comes with some risk too.

Other conditions likely contributed to **Rwanda's early success** in Mozambique. The insurgents don't use suicide tactics, for instance. And at least **until recently** they have lacked sophisticated explosives. Also, portions of the affected area in Cabo Delgado were largely abandoned when the Rwandans arrived. This helped in sorting insurgents from innocents. Still, these considerations shouldn't discount the Rwandan army's achievements. Its record in the **Central African Republic** is also consistent with its conduct in Mozambique. There as well, Rwandan forces have attained impressive battlefield results without inflicting substantial civilian harm.

Rwanda in DRC

The story is different in the DRC. **A case has been made** that Rwanda's destabilising activities there are motivated by **strategic interests** that don't apply in Mozambique or the Central African Republic.

This doesn't explain the mentality of rank-and-file soldiers, though. The army's record in Mozambique and the DRC suggests instead that Rwandan battlefield behaviour may be conditioned by cognitive framing and service culture.

Studies of the way foreign armies approach missions in places like Iraq, Afghanistan, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Lebanon have found that **culture and framing** often shape how troops perceive their environment, interpret threats and understand their role.

Fighting in eastern DRC may be perceived differently by Rwandan soldiers because it's so intimately tied to the traumas of the **1994 genocide**. They may worry about spillover violence affecting stability in Rwanda, or about ethnic discord tearing the army itself apart.

Armed forces elsewhere have demonstrated a tendency to prize their own cohesion above human rights concerns in high-stress scenarios.

The civilian factor

My research suggests the Rwandan army's actions in Mozambique have been consistent with the core promises of the Kigali Principles.

In response to **persistent militant raids**, Rwandan troops in Cabo Delgado have conducted pursuits across district boundaries. Troops have gone further afield at Maputo's request.

The presence of Rwanda's soldiers has also helped to curb the mistreatment of local inhabitants by Mozambique's police and armed forces. These forces have a history of **corruption and abuse**.

The Islamist insurgency in Mozambique, however, has yet to be defeated. A long-term solution will require more fundamental political and social measures, as well as reform of Mozambique's security services.

Rwandan army operations have demonstrated what a competent African force can do when properly resourced and committed to the mission. It also suggests that soldiers are more effective when empowered to **exercise discretion** in applying force.

Multiple Choice Questions:

1. What is the primary focus of the news article?
 - a) Rwanda's economic development
 - b) Rwanda's military involvement in Mozambique
 - c) United Nations peacekeeping missions
 - d) African Union counterinsurgency efforts
2. In which year did Rwanda increase its independent military deployments, sending troops to the Central African Republic?
 - a) 2004
 - b) 2020
 - c) 2021
 - d) 2015
3. How many troops does Rwanda currently have deployed in Mozambique according to the article?
 - a) 1,000
 - b) 2,000
 - c) 2,500
 - d) 6,000
4. What is the purpose of Rwanda's military missions in Mozambique, according to the article?
 - a) UN and AU peacekeeping
 - b) Fighting anti-government rebels
 - c) Confronting and eliminating armed enemies
 - d) Protecting civilians in conflict zones
5. What raised concerns about Rwanda's army conduct in Mozambique?
 - a) Excessive force and abusive practices
 - b) Lack of UN and AU protocols
 - c) Inadequate troop contributions
 - d) Civilian resistance to military presence
6. In 2015, Rwanda sponsored a set of recommendations known as:
 - a) Kigali Protocols on Military Engagement
 - b) Rwandan Doctrine for Peacekeeping
 - c) Kigali Principles on the Protection of Civilians
 - d) African Union Guidelines for Conflict Resolution
7. The Mozambique mission is independent of which international organizations?
 - a) United Nations (UN) and African Union (AU)
 - b) European Union (EU) and NATO
 - c) Organization of American States (OAS) and ASEAN
 - d) Arab League and Commonwealth

8. What language skill is highlighted as an advantage for Rwandan troops in Mozambique?
- a) French
 - b) English
 - c) Swahili
 - d) Portuguese
9. According to the article, what conditions likely contributed to Rwanda's early success in Mozambique?
- a) Insurgent use of suicide tactics
 - b) Lack of sophisticated explosives by insurgents
 - c) Excessive force by Rwandan troops
 - d) A and B
10. What distinguishes Rwanda's army behavior in Mozambique from its involvement in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)?
- a) Strategic interests
 - b) Cognitive framing and service culture
 - c) Lack of military presence
 - d) Linguistic challenges
11. The article suggests that the Rwandan army's actions in Mozambique align with which set of principles?
- a) Geneva Conventions
 - b) Kigali Principles on the Protection of Civilians
 - c) Nuremberg Code
 - d) Hague Conventions
12. What does the article propose as a long-term solution to the Islamist insurgency in Mozambique?
- a) Continued military interventions
 - b) Reform of Mozambique's security services
 - c) Withdrawal of Rwandan troops
 - d) Economic development projects

BIGGER QUESTIONS

1. Discuss Rwanda's role in peacekeeping missions for the United Nations (UN) and African Union (AU) since 2004. How has it evolved over the years?

Answer: Rwanda has played a significant role in peacekeeping operations for the UN and AU since 2004. Initially known for its involvement in UN and AU missions, Rwanda has progressively increased its independent military deployments. In 2020, it sent troops to the Central African Republic to combat anti-government rebels, and in 2021, it deployed soldiers to northern Mozambique to address jihadist militants. This shift raises questions about Rwanda's military conduct and counterinsurgency doctrine, particularly in terms of avoiding civilian casualties.

2. Examine the Kigali Principles on the Protection of Civilians. What prompted Rwanda to sponsor these principles, and how have they influenced the conduct of its military in conflict zones?

Answer: The Kigali Principles on the Protection of Civilians were sponsored by Rwanda in 2015, aiming to address shortcomings in UN peacekeeping missions related to the protection of innocent bystanders. Rwanda's advocacy for these principles suggests a commitment to enhancing the defense of civilians in conflict areas. The principles emphasize the importance of avoiding excessive force and abusive practices, reflecting Rwanda's concerns about the conduct of peacekeeping missions and its commitment to protecting civilians.

3. Compare and contrast Rwanda's military interventions in Mozambique and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). How do cognitive framing and service culture influence the behavior of Rwandan soldiers in different conflict zones?

Answer: Rwanda's military interventions in Mozambique and the DRC present contrasting scenarios. While the Mozambique mission demonstrates a balanced approach in confronting insurgents and protecting civilians, the DRC case suggests destabilizing activities and accusations of supporting rebels. The differences may be attributed to cognitive framing and service culture, with soldiers perceiving missions differently based on historical traumas and strategic interests. Understanding these influences is crucial in analyzing the varying behavior of Rwandan troops in different conflict contexts.

4. Evaluate the factors that have contributed to Rwanda's success in minimizing civilian casualties during its military intervention in Mozambique. How does the Rwandan army balance pursuing insurgents with protecting the local population?

Answer: Rwanda's success in minimizing civilian casualties in Mozambique can be attributed to several factors. Firstly, active patrolling and community interaction enable Rwandan troops to gather information about local people and insurgents, aided by their knowledge of Swahili. Secondly, a disciplined use of firepower, despite the persistent threat of ambush, demonstrates a commitment to restraint. Additionally, the absence of suicide tactics and lack of sophisticated explosives by insurgents, coupled with the largely abandoned affected areas, have further facilitated the identification of insurgents and protection of civilians.

5. Explain the challenges and criticisms faced by UN and AU peacekeeping missions in protecting civilians in conflict zones. How do these challenges compare to Rwanda's approach in Mozambique?

Answer: UN and AU peacekeeping missions have faced criticism for being risk-averse and under-resourced in preventing crimes and violence against civilians. The challenges include inadequate troop contributions, excessive use of force, and insufficient monitoring to prevent abusive practices. In contrast, Rwanda's approach in Mozambique involves active patrolling, community interaction, and disciplined use of firepower, addressing some of the shortcomings identified in traditional peacekeeping missions.

6. Investigate the historical context of the jihadist insurgency in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique, and the role played by Rwandan troops. How did the threat to oil and gas development projects contribute to Rwanda's involvement, and what impact has the intervention had on the local population?

Answer: The jihadist insurgency in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique, dates back to 2017, characterized by decapitations, village burnings, and attacks on government forces. President Felipe Nyusi sought Rwanda's help in 2021 when militants threatened oil and gas development projects crucial for Mozambique's economic development. Rwandan troops

intervened, balancing the pursuit of insurgents with the protection of the local population. The presence of Rwandan soldiers has curbed mistreatment by Mozambique's police and armed forces, providing a more stable environment for the affected inhabitants.

7. Discuss the importance of linguistic skills, specifically Swahili, for Rwandan troops in Mozambique. How does effective communication with the local population contribute to the success of military operations and the protection of civilians?

Answer: Linguistic skills, particularly Swahili proficiency, play a crucial role for Rwandan troops in Mozambique. Effective communication with the local population allows troops to gather information about people and insurgents, aiding in distinguishing friend from foe. This communication helps build trust and cooperation, contributing to the success of military operations. The ability to directly engage with locals enhances the Rwandan army's capacity to protect civilians by understanding their needs, concerns, and potential threats.

8. Examine the concept of cognitive framing and its impact on Rwandan soldiers' behavior in different conflict zones. How might the traumatic experiences of the 1994 genocide influence their perception of missions, particularly in the Democratic Republic of Congo?

Answer: Cognitive framing, influenced by historical traumas such as the 1994 genocide, can significantly impact how Rwandan soldiers perceive and approach missions. In the case of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), soldiers may view the conflict through the lens of potential spillover violence affecting stability in Rwanda or concerns about ethnic discord tearing the army apart. Understanding these cognitive frames is essential in comprehending the variations in Rwandan soldiers' behavior across different conflict zones.

9. Assess the long-term prospects for stability and resolution of the Islamist insurgency in Mozambique. What measures, beyond military intervention, are identified in the article as necessary for a comprehensive solution to the conflict?

Answer: The article suggests that a long-term solution to the Islamist insurgency in Mozambique requires more than military intervention. While Rwandan army operations have demonstrated effectiveness, a comprehensive solution entails fundamental political and social measures. Reform of Mozambique's security services is identified as crucial, along with broader political and social changes. Economic development projects and addressing underlying issues contributing to the insurgency are essential for lasting stability.

10. Reflect on the broader implications of Rwanda's military interventions in Mozambique and the Central African Republic for the perception of African forces in peacekeeping and counterinsurgency efforts. How does Rwanda's success contribute to changing perceptions of African military capabilities in conflict zones?

Answer: Rwanda's success in military interventions in Mozambique and the Central African Republic has broader implications for the perception of African forces in peacekeeping and counterinsurgency efforts. The demonstrated competence of the Rwandan army, when properly resourced and committed to the mission, challenges stereotypes and contributes to changing perceptions of African military capabilities. It underscores the effectiveness of African forces and the importance of empowering them to exercise discretion in applying force, challenging preconceived notions about the capabilities of African militaries in conflict zones.

HARD WORDS

1. Counterinsurgency:

Definition: The military or political action taken by a government to counteract and defeat insurgency, typically involving both military and non-military strategies.

2. Doctrine:

Definition: A set of principles or beliefs accepted by a group or organization, guiding their actions and decision-making, often applied in a specific context such as military strategy.

3. Cohesion:

Definition: The state of being united or connected in a logical or consistent way; in the context of armed forces, it refers to the unity and solidarity among members of a military unit.

4. Trauma:

Definition: A deeply distressing or disturbing experience, often causing psychological or emotional injury; in the article, it refers to historical traumas such as the 1994 genocide shaping soldiers' perceptions.

5. Decapitations:

Definition: The act of cutting off the head, used metaphorically in the context of the article to describe a brutal method employed by insurgents in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique.

6. Restraint:

Definition: The action or means of holding something back, controlling, or limiting; in the military context, it refers to disciplined and controlled use of force.

7. Patrol:

Definition: A detachment of soldiers or vehicles sent to guard an area, gather information, or maintain order; in the article, Rwandan troops actively patrol to collect information and interact with the community.

8. Advocacy:

Definition: Public support or recommendation of a particular cause or policy; in the article, it refers to Rwanda's sponsorship and promotion of the Kigali Principles on the Protection of Civilians.

9. Abusive Practices:

Definition: Unethical or harmful behaviors, often involving mistreatment or violence; in the context of the article, it highlights concerns about the conduct of UN and AU peacekeeping missions.

10. Spillover Violence:

Definition: The extension or spread of violence from one area or situation to another; in the article, it suggests concerns about potential violence affecting stability in Rwanda due to the conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

LESSONS LEARNT

Learning from Rwanda's Example:

1. Effective Peacekeeping Contributions:

Rwanda serves as a model for effective peacekeeping contributions, showcasing the importance of actively participating in international efforts to maintain peace and security.

2. Independent Military Interventions:

The willingness of Rwanda to deploy its troops independently demonstrates the capacity for African nations to address regional conflicts proactively.

3. Protection of Civilians:

Rwanda's commitment to the Kigali Principles highlights the significance of prioritizing the protection of civilians in conflict zones, influencing other African nations to adopt similar principles.

4. Balancing Military Aggression and Civilian Protection:

Rwanda's ability to balance pursuing insurgents with protecting the local population provides a valuable lesson in achieving military objectives without causing excessive harm to civilians.

5. Linguistic Skills and Cultural Understanding:

Rwanda's emphasis on linguistic skills, such as Swahili proficiency, underscores the importance of effective communication and cultural understanding in conflict zones.

6. Restraint in the Use of Force:

The disciplined use of firepower by the Rwandan army highlights the importance of restraint, even in the face of persistent threats, to avoid unnecessary civilian casualties.

7. Active Community Engagement:

Rwanda's practice of actively patrolling and engaging with the local community exemplifies the positive impact of involving the population in conflict resolution efforts.

8. Leadership in Conflict Resolution:

Rwanda's role in Mozambique and the Central African Republic positions the country as a leader in conflict resolution, inspiring other African nations to play proactive roles in addressing regional crises.

9. Promotion of Regional Stability:

By contributing to the stability of neighboring countries, Rwanda sets an example for fostering regional stability, showcasing the interconnectedness of peace and development.

10. Commitment to Human Rights:

Rwanda's adherence to principles that prioritize human rights over excessive force demonstrates a commitment to ethical military conduct and serves as a lesson for upholding human rights standards.

11. Strategic Diplomacy:

Rwanda's strategic diplomacy, as seen in responding to Mozambique's request for assistance, highlights the importance of diplomatic relations and cooperation in addressing security challenges.

12. Capacity Building and Empowerment:

Rwanda's success suggests that when properly resourced and empowered, African forces can effectively handle complex missions, emphasizing the need for ongoing capacity building within the continent.

In learning from Rwanda's example, African nations can draw insights on the importance of proactive engagement, ethical conduct, and collaborative efforts to address the diverse security challenges facing the continent.

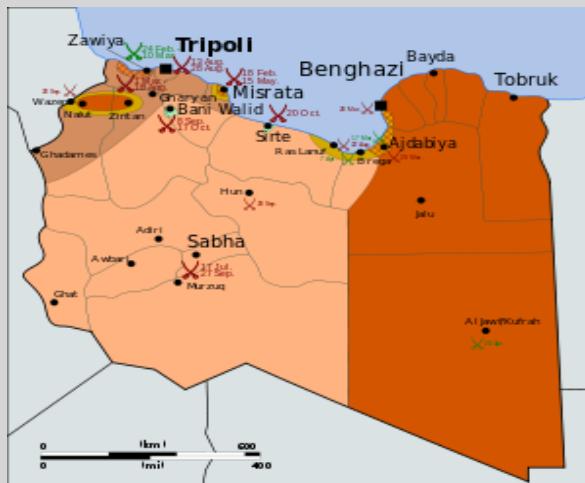
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Thank you.

Libya needs dialogue

Apr 1, 2011



By: Yoweri Museveni(The President of Uganda)

BY the time Muammar Gaddafi came to power in 1969, I was a third year university student at Dar-es-Salaam. We welcomed him because he was in the tradition of Col. Gamal Abdul Nasser of Egypt who had a nationalist and pan-Arabist position.

Soon, however, problems cropped up with Col. Gaddafi as far as Uganda and Black Africa were concerned:

Idi Amin came to power with the support of Britain and Israel because they thought he was uneducated enough to be used by them.

Amin, however, turned against his sponsors when they refused to sell him guns to fight Tanzania. Unfortunately, Col. Muammar Gaddafi, without getting enough information about Uganda, jumped in to support Idi Amin. This was because Amin was a ‘Moslem’ and Uganda was a ‘Moslem country’ where Moslems were being ‘oppressed’ by Christians.

Amin killed a lot of people extra-judiciary and Gaddafi was identified with these mistakes. In 1972 and 1979, Gaddafi sent Libyan troops to defend Idi Amin when we attacked him. I remember a Libyan Tupolev 22 bomber trying to bomb us in Mbarara in 1979.

The bomb ended up in Nyarubanga because the pilots were scared. They could not come close to bomb properly. We had already shot-down many Amin MIGs using surface-to-air missiles. The Tanzanian brothers and sisters were doing much of this fighting.

Many Libyan militias were captured and repatriated to Libya by Tanzania. This was a big mistake by Gaddafi and a direct aggression against the people of Uganda and East Africa.

The second big mistake by Gaddafi was his position vis-à-vis the African Union (AU) Continental Government “now”. Since 1999, he has been pushing this position. Black people are always polite.

They, normally, do not want to offend other people. This is called *obufura* in Runyankore, *mwolo* in Luo – handling, especially strangers, with care and respect. It seems some of the non-African cultures do not have *obufura*. You can witness a person talking to a mature person as if he/she is talking to a kindergarten child. “You should do this; you should do that; etc.” We tried to politely point out to Col. Gaddafi that this was difficult in the short and medium term.

We should, instead, aim at the Economic Community of Africa and, where possible, also aim at Regional Federations. Col. Gaddafi would not relent. He would not respect the rules of the AU.



Something that has been covered by previous meetings would be resurrected by Gaddafi. He would ‘overrule’ a decision taken by all other African Heads of State. Some of us were forced to come out and oppose his wrong position and, working with others, we repeatedly defeated his illogical position.

□ The third mistake has been the tendency by Col. Gaddafi to interfere in the internal affairs of many African countries using the little money Libya has compared to those countries.

One blatant example was his involvement with cultural leaders of Black Africa – kings, chiefs, etc. Since the political leaders of Africa had refused to back his project of an African Government, Gaddafi, incredibly, thought that he could by-pass them and work with these kings to implement his wishes.

I warned Gaddafi in Addis Ababa that action would be taken against any Ugandan king that involved himself in politics because it was against our Constitution. I moved a motion in Addis Ababa to expunge from the records of the AU all references to kings (cultural leaders) who had made speeches in our forum because they had been invited there illegally by Col. Gaddafi.

The fourth big mistake was by most of the Arab leaders, including Gaddafi to some extent. This was in connection with the long suffering people of Southern Sudan. Many of the Arab leaders either supported or ignored the suffering of the Black people in that country. This unfairness always created tension and friction between us and the Arabs, including Gaddafi to some extent. However, I must salute H.E. Gaddafi and H.E. Hosni Mubarak for travelling to Khartoum just before the Referendum in Sudan and advised H.E. Bashir to respect the results of that exercise.

Sometimes Gaddafi and other Middle Eastern radicals do not distance themselves sufficiently from terrorism even when they are fighting for a just cause. Terrorism is the use of indiscriminate violence – not distinguishing between military and non-military targets.

The Middle Eastern radicals, quite different from the revolutionaries of Black Africa, seem to say that any means is acceptable as long as you are fighting the enemy. That is why they

hijack planes, use assassinations, plant bombs in bars, etc. Why bomb bars? People who go to bars are normally merry-makers, not politically minded people.

We were together with the Arabs in the anti-colonial struggle. The Black African liberation movements, however, developed differently from the Arab ones.

Where we used arms, we fought soldiers or sabotaged infrastructure but never targeted non-combatants. These indiscriminate methods tend to isolate the struggles of the Middle East and the Arab world. It would be good if the radicals in these areas could streamline their work methods in this area of using violence indiscriminately.

These five points above are some of the negative points in connection to Col. Gaddafi as far as Uganda's patriots have been concerned over the years. These positions of Col. Gaddafi have been unfortunate and unnecessary.

Nevertheless, Gaddafi has also had many positive points objectively speaking. These positive points have been in favour of Africa, Libya and the Third World. I will deal with them point by point:

Col. Gaddafi has been having an independent foreign policy and, of course, also independent internal policies. I am not able to understand the position of Western countries which appear to resent independent-minded leaders and seem to prefer puppets. Puppets are not good for any country.

Most of the countries that have transitioned from Third World to First World status since 1945 have had independent-minded leaders: South Korea (Park Chung-hee), Singapore (Lee Kuan Yew), China People's Republic (Mao Tse Tung, Chou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping, Marshal Yang Shangkun, Li Peng, Jiang Zemin, Hu Jing Tao, etc), Malaysia (Dr. Mahthir Mohamad), Brazil (Lula Da Silva), Iran (the Ayatollahs), etc.

Between the First World War and the Second World War, the Soviet Union transitioned into an industrial country propelled by the dictatorial but independent-minded Joseph Stalin. In Africa we have benefited from a number of independent-minded leaders: Col. Nasser of Egypt, Mwalimu Nyerere of Tanzania, Samora Machel of Mozambique, etc. That is how Southern Africa was liberated. That is how we got rid of Idi Amin.

The stopping of genocide in Rwanda and the overthrow of Mobutu, etc., were as a result of efforts of independent-minded African leaders. Muammar Gaddafi, whatever his faults, is a true nationalist.

I prefer nationalists to puppets of foreign interests. Where have the puppets caused the transformation of countries? I need some assistance with information on this from those who are familiar with puppetry.

Therefore, the independent-minded Gaddafi had some positive contribution to Libya, I believe, as well as Africa and the Third World. I will take one little example.

At the time we were fighting the criminal dictatorships here in Uganda, we had a problem arising of a complication caused by our failure to capture enough guns at Kabamba on the 6th of February, 1981. Gaddafi gave us a small consignment of 96 rifles, 100 anti-tank mines, etc., that was very useful. He did not consult Washington or Moscow before he did this. This was good for Libya, for Africa and for the Middle East.

We should also remember as part of that independent-mindedness he expelled British and American military bases from Libya, etc.

Before Gaddafi came to power in 1969, a barrel of oil was 40 American cents. He launched a campaign to withhold Arab oil unless the West paid more for it. I think the price went up to US\$ 20 per barrel. When the Arab-Israel war of 1973 broke out, the barrel of oil went to US\$ 40.

I am, therefore, surprised to hear that many oil producers in the world, including the Gulf

countries, do not appreciate the historical role played by Gaddafi on this issue. The huge wealth many of these oil producers are enjoying was, at least in part, due to Gaddafi's efforts. The Western countries have continued to develop in spite of paying more for oil.

It, therefore, means that the pre-Gaddafi oil situation was characterised by super exploitation in favour of the Western countries.

I have never taken time to investigate socio-economic conditions within Libya. When I was last there, I could see good roads even from the air.

From the TV pictures, you can even see the rebels zooming up and down in pick-up vehicles on very good roads accompanied by Western journalists. Who built these good roads?



Who built the oil refineries in Brega and those other places where the fighting has been taking place recently? Were these facilities built during the time of the king and his American as well as British allies or were they built by Gaddafi?

In Tunisia and Egypt, some youths immolated (burnt) themselves because they had failed to get jobs. Are the Libyans without jobs also? If so, why, then, are there hundreds of thousands of foreign workers? Is Libya's policy of providing so many jobs to Third World workers bad?

Are all the children going to school in Libya? Was that the case in the past – before Gaddafi? Is the conflict in Libya economic or purely political? Possibly Libya could have transitioned more if they encouraged the private sector more. However, this is something the Libyans are better placed to judge.

As it is, Libya is a middle income country with GDP standing at US\$ 89.03 billion. This is about the same as the GDP of South Africa at the time Mandela took over leadership in 1994 and about the current size of GDP of Spain.

Gaddafi is one of the few secular leaders in the Arab world. He does not believe in Islamic fundamentalism that is why women have been able to go to school, to join the Army, etc. This is a positive point on Gaddafi's side.

Coming to the present crisis, therefore, we need to point out some issues:

The first issue is to distinguish between demonstrations and insurrections. Peaceful demonstrations should not be fired on with live bullets. Of course, even peaceful demonstrations should coordinate with the Police to ensure that they do not interfere with the rights of other citizens.

When rioters are, however, attacking Police stations and Army barracks with the aim of

taking power, then, they are no longer demonstrators; they are insurrectionists. They will have to be treated as such.

A responsible Government would have to use reasonable force to neutralise them. Of course, the ideal responsible Government should also be an elected one by the people at periodic intervals. If there is a doubt about the legitimacy of a Government and the people decide to launch an insurrection, that should be the decision of the internal forces.

It should not be for external forces to arrogate themselves that role, often, they do not have enough knowledge to decide rightly. Excessive external involvement always brings terrible distortions.

Why should external forces involve themselves? That is a vote of no confidence in the people themselves. A legitimate internal insurrection, if that is the strategy chosen by the leaders of that effort, can succeed. The Shah of Iran was defeated by an internal insurrection; **the Russian Revolution in 1917** was an internal insurrection; the Revolution in Zanzibar in 1964 was an internal insurrection; the changes in Ukraine, Georgia, etc., all were internal insurrections.

It should be for the leaders of the Resistance in that country to decide their to sponsor insurrection groups in sovereign countries. I am totally allergic to foreign, political and military involvement in sovereign countries, especially the African countries.

If foreign intervention is good, then, African countries should be the most prosperous countries in the world because we have had the greatest dosages of that: slave trade, colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism, etc. All those foreign imposed phenomena have, however, been disastrous. It is only recently that Africa is beginning to come up partly because of rejecting external meddling.

External meddling and the acquiescence by Africans into that meddling have been responsible for the stagnation in Africa. The wrong definition of priorities in many of the African countries is, in many cases, imposed by external groups. Failure to prioritise infrastructure, for instance, especially energy, is, in part, due to some of these pressures. Instead, consumption is promoted.

I have witnessed this wrong definition of priorities even here in Uganda. External interests linked up, for instance, with internal bogus groups to oppose energy projects for false reasons. How will an economy develop without energy? Quislings and their external backers do not care about all this.

If you promote foreign backed insurrections in small countries like Libya, what will you do with the big ones like China which has got a different system from the Western systems? Are you going to impose a no-fly-zone over China in case of some internal insurrections as happened in Tiananmen Square, in Tibet or in Urumuqi?

The Western countries always use double standards. In Libya, they are very eager to impose a no-fly-zone. In Bahrain and other areas where there are pro-Western regimes, they turn a blind eye to the very same conditions or even worse conditions.

We have been appealing to the UN to impose a no-fly-zone over Somalia so as to impede the free movement of terrorists, linked to Al-Qaeda, that killed Americans on September 11th, killed Ugandans last July and have caused so much damage to the Somalis, without success. Why? Are there no human beings in Somalia similar to the ones in Benghazi? Or is it because Somalia does not have oil which is not fully controlled by the western oil companies on account of Gaddafi's nationalist posture?

The Western countries are always very prompt in commenting on every problem in the Third World – Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, etc. Yet, some of these very countries were the ones

impeding growth in those countries.

There was a military coup d'état that slowly became a Revolution in backward Egypt in 1952. The new leader, Nasser, had ambition to cause transformation in Egypt. He wanted to build a dam not only to generate electricity but also to help with the ancient irrigation system of Egypt. He was denied money by the West because they did not believe that Egyptians needed electricity. Nasser decided to raise that money by nationalising the Suez Canal. He was attacked by Israel, France and Britain.

To be fair to the US, President Eisenhower opposed that aggression that time. Of course, there was also the firm stand of the Soviet Union at that time. How much electricity was this dam supposed to produce? Just 2000 mgws for a country like Egypt!! What moral right, then, do such people have to comment on the affairs of these countries?

Another negative point is going to arise out of the by now habit of the Western countries over-using their superiority in technology to impose war on less developed societies without impeachable logic. This will be the igniting of an arms race in the world.

The actions of the Western countries in Iraq and now Libya are emphasising that might is “right.” I am quite sure that many countries that are able will scale up their military research and in a few decades we may have a more armed world.

This **weapons science is not magic**. A small country like Israel is now a super power in terms of military technology. Yet 60 years ago, Israel had to buy second-hand fougou magister planes from France. There are many countries that can become small Israels if this trend of overusing military means by the Western countries continues.

All this notwithstanding, Col. Gaddafi should be ready to sit down with the opposition, through the mediation of the AU, with the opposition cluster of groups which now includes individuals well known to us – Ambassador Abdalla, Dr. Zubeda, etc.

I know Gaddafi has his system of elected committees that end up in a National People’s Conference. Actually Gaddafi thinks this is superior to our multi-party systems. Of course, I have never had time to know how truly competitive this system is.

Anyway, even if it is competitive, there is now, apparently, a significant number of Libyans that think that there is a problem in Libya in terms of governance. Since there has not been internationally observed elections in Libya, not even by the AU, we cannot know what is correct and what is wrong. Therefore, a dialogue is the correct way forward.

The AU mission could not get to Libya because the Western countries started bombing Libya the day before they were supposed to arrive. However, the mission will continue. My opinion is that, in addition, to what the AU mission is doing, it may be important to call an extra-ordinary Summit of the AU in Addis Ababa to discuss this grave situation.

Regarding the Libyan opposition, I would feel embarrassed to be backed by Western war planes because quislings of foreign interests have never helped Africa. We have had a copious supply of them in the last 50 years – Mobutu, Houphout Boigny, Kamuzu Banda, etc.

The West made a lot of mistakes in Africa and in the Middle East in the past. Apart from the slave trade and colonialism, they participated in the killing of Lumumba, until recently, the only elected leader of Congo, the killing of Felix Moummie of Cameroon, Bartholomew Boganda of Central African Republic, the support for UNITA in Angola, the support for Idi Amin at the beginning of his regime, the counter-revolution in Iran in 1953, etc.

Recently, there has been some improvement in the arrogant attitudes of some of these Western countries. Certainly, with Black Africa and, particularly, Uganda, the relations are good following their fair stand on the Black people of Southern Sudan. With the

democratisation of South Africa and the freedom of the Black people in Southern Sudan, the difference between the patriots of Uganda and the Western Governments had disappeared. Unfortunately, these rush actions on Libya are beginning to raise new problems. They should be resolved quickly.

Therefore, if the Libyan opposition groups are patriots, they should fight their war by themselves and conduct their affairs by themselves. After all, they easily captured so much equipment from the Libyan Army, why do they need foreign military support? I only had 27 rifles. To be puppets is not good.

The African members of the Security Council voted for this Resolution of the Security Council. This was contrary to what the Africa Peace and Security Council had decided in Addis Ababa recently. This is something that only the extra-ordinary summit can resolve.

It was good that certain big countries in the Security Council abstained on this Resolution. These were: Russia, China, Brazil, India, etc. This shows that there are balanced forces in the world that will, with more consultations, evolve more correct positions.

Being members of the UN, we are bound by the Resolution that was passed, however rush the process. Nevertheless, there is a mechanism for review.

The Western countries, which are most active in these rush actions, should look at that route. It may be one way of extricating all of us from possible nasty complications. What if the Libyans loyal to Gaddafi decide to fight on?

Using tanks and planes that are easily targeted by **Mr. Sarkozy's planes is not the only way of fighting.** Who will be responsible for such a protracted war? It is high time we did more careful thinking.

Multiple Choice Questions:

1. What influenced the author's initial positive reception of Muammar Gaddafi in 1969?

- A. Gaddafi's education
- B. Gaddafi's nationalist and pan-Arabist position
- C. Gaddafi's alliance with Western countries
- D. Gaddafi's economic policies

2. Why did Muammar Gaddafi initially support Idi Amin in Uganda?

- A. Amin's educational background
- B. Amin's alliance with Western powers
- C. Amin's request for military support
- D. Amin's commitment to democracy

3. In 1972 and 1979, what action did Gaddafi take to support Idi Amin in Uganda?

- A. Sent financial aid
- B. Deployed Libyan troops
- C. Initiated peace talks
- D. Issued a diplomatic protest

4. What historical event does the author mention in connection with Gaddafi's attempt to bomb Mbarara in 1979?

- A. Capture of Libyan militias
- B. The Tanzanian Revolution
- C. The Arab-Israel war of 1973
- D. The overthrow of Mobutu

5. What does the author criticize Gaddafi for regarding the African Union?

- A. Respecting the rules of the AU
- B. Rejecting the Economic Community of Africa
- C. Overruling decisions made by other African Heads of State
- D. Supporting internal insurrections

6. What does the author consider a mistake by Gaddafi regarding African cultural leaders?

- A. Supporting their political involvement
- B. Ignoring their influence
- C. Mediating conflicts with them
- D. Bypassing political leaders to work with them

7. According to the author, what positive contribution did Gaddafi make to Libya's economic development?

- A. Supporting foreign military bases
- B. Imposing low oil prices
- C. Building infrastructure
- D. Expelling foreign workers

8. Why does the author prefer nationalists over puppets of foreign interests?

- A. Puppets are bad for the economy
- B. Nationalists are more independent-minded
- C. Puppets lead to military conflicts
- D. Nationalists support terrorism

9. What does the author suggest as the correct way forward in the Libyan crisis?

- A. Foreign military intervention
- B. Continued internal conflict
- C. Dialogue mediated by the AU
- D. Puppets of foreign interests

10. What action does the author criticize Western countries for in the Libyan crisis?

- A. Supporting peaceful demonstrations
- B. Imposing a no-fly zone
- C. Abstaining from the UN Resolution
- D. Overusing military means

11. What does the author warn about the consequences of Western countries' actions in Iraq and Libya?

- A. Arms race
- B. Economic prosperity
- C. Technological advancement
- D. Global cooperation

12. What does the author recommend to resolve the situation in Libya?

- A. Continued military intervention
- B. Review of the UN Resolution
- C. Support for foreign-backed insurrections
- D. Increased external meddling

BIGGER QUESTIONS.

1. Question: Why did the author welcome Muammar Gaddafi when he came to power in 1969?

Answer: The author welcomed Gaddafi because he perceived Gaddafi to be in the tradition of Col. Gamal Abdul Nasser of Egypt, who had a nationalist and pan-Arabist position. This aligns with the author's political beliefs at the time.

2. Question: What issues led to problems between Gaddafi and Black Africa, particularly Uganda?

Answer: The issues arose when Gaddafi supported Ugandan leader Idi Amin, who, after coming to power with support from Britain and Israel, turned against his sponsors when they refused to sell him weapons to fight against Tanzania. Gaddafi's support for Amin led to negative perceptions in Black Africa.

3. Question: How did Gaddafi's involvement in Uganda lead to tensions between him and the author?

Answer: Gaddafi's support for Idi Amin, including sending Libyan troops and attempting military actions, created tensions. The author mentions incidents such as a Libyan bomber trying to bomb Mbarara in 1979, which further strained relations between Gaddafi and Uganda.

4. Question: What mistakes does the author attribute to Gaddafi's position on the African Union?

Answer: The author criticizes Gaddafi for overruling decisions made by other African Heads of State within the African Union. Gaddafi's persistence in pushing for a Continental Government, against the consensus, is seen as a mistake that undermines the AU's cohesion.

5. Question: Why does the author consider Gaddafi's involvement with African cultural leaders a mistake?

Answer: The author sees Gaddafi's attempt to work with African cultural leaders, such as kings and chiefs, as a mistake because it bypasses political leaders and constitutes interference in the internal affairs of African countries.

6. Question: According to the author, what positive contributions did Gaddafi make to Libya's development?

Answer: Despite the criticism, the author acknowledges Gaddafi's positive contributions, such as an independent foreign policy, expulsion of foreign military bases, and support for Libya's infrastructure development, including building good roads.

7. Question: Why does the author prefer leaders like Gaddafi who have an independent-minded approach?

Answer: The author prefers leaders like Gaddafi because they have an independent-minded approach, which he sees as beneficial for the country. Independent-minded leaders are contrasted with puppets of foreign interests, whom the author believes are not good for any country.

8. Question: What is the author's stance on the involvement of foreign powers in internal conflicts, especially in Libya?

Answer: The author is critical of foreign involvement in internal conflicts, expressing a preference for internal insurrections to be decided by the people of the country. He opposes foreign military intervention and emphasizes the importance of internal forces determining their fate.

9. Question: How does the author view the actions of Western countries in the Libyan crisis?

Answer: The author criticizes Western countries for their eagerness to impose a no-fly zone in Libya while ignoring similar conditions or worse in countries with pro-Western regimes. He suggests that the Western countries use double standards in their approach.

10. Question: What does the author foresee as a consequence of overusing military means by Western countries in Iraq and Libya?

Answer: The author anticipates that overusing military means by Western countries may lead to an arms race in the world. He expresses concern that the emphasis on might as "right" could encourage more countries to scale up their military research.

11. Question: What recommendation does the author provide to resolve the situation in Libya?

Answer: The author recommends sitting down with the opposition through the mediation of the African Union (AU) for a dialogue. He suggests an extra-ordinary Summit of the AU in Addis Ababa to discuss the grave situation in Libya.

12. Question: Why does the author express concern about the rush actions on Libya and suggests a mechanism for review?

Answer: The author is concerned that the rush actions on Libya may lead to nasty complications, especially if loyalists to Gaddafi decide to fight on. He suggests a mechanism for review to extricate all parties from possible negative consequences, emphasizing the need for careful thinking.

HARD WORDS

1. Pan-Arabist:

Definition: A political ideology advocating the unity of Arab countries and emphasizing their shared cultural, historical, and linguistic heritage.

2. Extra-judiciary:

Definition: Actions or decisions that occur outside or beyond the legal system or without due legal process.

3. Repatriated:

Definition: The act of returning someone to their own country, often referring to individuals sent back to their home country.

4. Illogical:

Definition: Lacking logical reasoning; not reasonable or sensible.

5. Vis-à-vis:

Definition: In relation to; concerning; with regard to.

6. Nationalist:

Definition: A person who advocates or supports strong devotion to one's own nation, often involving a sense of patriotism and national pride.

7. Indiscriminate:

Definition: Done at random or without careful selection; haphazard.

8. Secular:

Definition: Pertaining to activities or things that are not religious, spiritual, or sacred; worldly.

9. Impeachable:

Definition: Open to criticism or questioning; capable of being challenged or doubted.

10. Acquiescence:

Definition: The reluctant acceptance of something without protest; compliance or consent without objection.

11. Quislings:

Definition: Collaborators or traitors who work with an enemy occupying force, especially during wartime.

12. Extricating:

Definition: To free or release from entanglement; to disentangle or remove from a difficult or complex situation.

LESSONS LEARNT:

1. Historical Context Matters:

The article highlights the historical context of Muammar Gaddafi's rise to power and his interactions with other African nations, emphasizing the importance of understanding the past to make sense of current events.

2. Foreign Influence in African Affairs:

It discusses instances of foreign involvement in African nations, such as the support of Idi Amin by Britain and Israel, and Gaddafi's attempts to influence African politics, illustrating the impact of external forces on the continent.

3. Negative Consequences of Interference:

The article suggests that Gaddafi's interference in the internal affairs of African countries, particularly his support for Idi Amin, had negative consequences, leading to conflicts and tensions in the region.

4. African Union's Role:

It underscores the challenges faced by the African Union (AU) in managing divergent opinions among member states and dealing with leaders who may not respect the organization's rules.

5. Tensions between Arab Leaders and Black Africa:

The article discusses tensions between Arab leaders, including Gaddafi, and Black African nations, particularly concerning the situation in Southern Sudan. This highlights the complexities in relationships between different regions and ethnic groups.

6. Different Approaches to Liberation Movements:

It contrasts the methods used by Black African liberation movements with those of Middle Eastern radicals, emphasizing the importance of strategic choices in pursuing just causes without resorting to indiscriminate violence.

7. Importance of Independent Leadership:

The article praises leaders with independent-minded policies, citing examples like Gaddafi's expulsion of foreign military bases and his efforts to increase oil prices. It suggests that independent leadership can contribute to a nation's development.

8. Selective Western Intervention:

The author criticizes what they perceive as Western double standards in intervention, pointing out instances where Western countries seem eager to intervene in some regions while turning a blind eye to similar situations in others.

9. Caution Against External Meddling:

The article strongly cautions against foreign political and military involvement in sovereign countries, expressing skepticism about the positive outcomes of such interventions in Africa.

10. Call for Dialogue and AU Mediation:

The piece advocates for dialogue as the correct way forward in resolving conflicts, especially in Libya. It emphasizes the importance of the African Union in mediating disputes and calls for an extraordinary summit to address the situation.

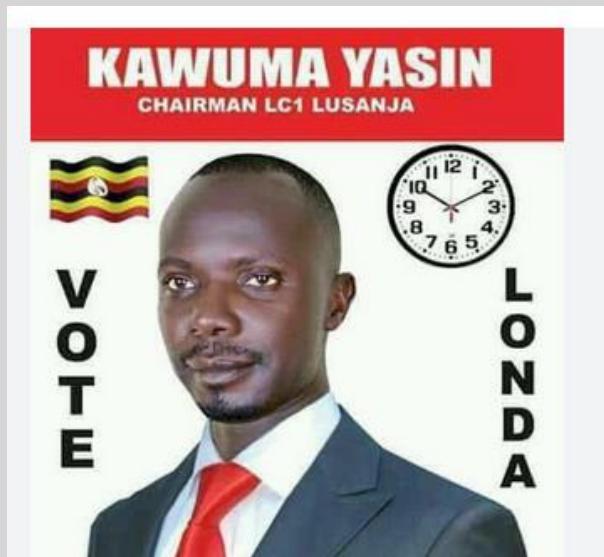
SAPIENS

- The above is a NEWS company domiciled in Canada and a Startup.
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- Sapiens does not originate any news or facts.
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- LEGTEK GROUP is a partner in Uganda.
- Currently, Sapiens operates in 32 Countries across the Globe.

Thank you.

WHAT EXACTLY HAPPENED IN ARUA? MY STORY!

Bobi Wine: September 3 2018 at 7:08 AM .



Fellow Ugandans, friends and well-wishers from around the world, I am sorry, I have taken a bit long to write to you about the trials and tribulations, for which you all stood with me. It's been tough days, as I recover from the physical and mental trauma I endured. I am overwhelmed by your support and words of encouragement. I cannot repay you in any other way, except sticking to those values which bind all of us together- justice, equality and human dignity.

I will be communicating more in the coming days and where possible send my appreciation to the different individuals and organizations. In this post however, I want to recount what exactly happened to me. I am very grateful to my wife Barbie, and my lawyers who narrated to the world these events, but I also wanted to tell this sad story PERSONALLY. I felt more compelled to speak out after reading the many posts written by President Museveni and other government officials about what happened. I read the things they were saying while I was in detention, and found them absurd to say the least. I was shocked on how they tried to downplay the atrocities committed by security agencies on innocent citizens.



So let me set the record straight. It was 13th August and it was the last day of campaigns in the Arua municipality by-election. As always we had a great campaign day. As I left the rally, I was convinced that our candidate Hon. Kassiano Wadri would win the election. So we moved from the rally at about 5:30pm and the people followed us, singing songs of freedom and chanting “People Power - Our Power.” Together with Hon. Kassiano and a few other leaders, we parted with the multitude, bade them farewell and went into Royal hotel where Hon. Wadri was staying. We watched the 7:00pm news from the hotel lobby as we took tea and took stock of the day’s events. It was of course very exciting to watch that day’s news. The anchor said we were clearly ahead of the other candidates and the television relayed images of the massive rally and procession we had had on that day. Shortly after, I decided to move to Pacific hotel where I was staying so as to rest after the very busy day. It was at that point that I sat in my tundra vehicle, in the co-driver’s seat.

The gentleman who was driving the tundra that day is one of our drivers (not Yasin). He moved out of the vehicle to call other team members who were supposed to drive with us. He took a bit long and I moved into my other vehicle (a land cruiser) which was right next to the tundra and whose driver was already seated on the driver's seat. We immediately set off for Pacific hotel as the tundra drove behind us. I did not even see what happened after or how late Yasin ended up on my seat in the tundra.

For clarity, he had been driving another vehicle that day. I had started taking the stairs to my room when this driver came running to say that Yasin Kawuma had been shot. I could not believe it. I asked him where he was and he told me they were parked outside the hotel. We paced down and I saw with my own eyes, my friend and comrade Yasin, giving way as he bled profusely. I quickly asked a team member to take him to hospital and another to call the police. We had not stepped away from that place when angry looking SFC soldiers came, beating up everyone they could see.

As soon as they saw me, they charged saying “there he is” in Swahili. So many bullets were being fired and everyone scampered to safety. I also ran up into the hotel with a throng of people who had gathered around. Inside the hotel, I entered a random room and locked myself in. It is at that point that my media assistant shared with me Yasin’s picture which I tweeted because the world needed to know what was going on. I could hear the people outside and in the hotel corridors crying for help. I could also hear the soldiers pulling these helpless people past the room in which I was, saying all sorts of profanities to them while beating them mercilessly. I stayed in the room for a long time.

At some point, I heard soldiers pull some woman out of her room and ask her which room Bobi Wine had entered. The woman wailed saying she didn’t know and what followed were terrible beatings. I could hear her cry and plead for help as she was being dragged down the stairs. Up to now, that is one experience that haunts me; that I could hear a woman cry for help, yet I was so vulnerable and helpless. I could not help her. I stayed put for some hours, and I could hear the soldiers come every few minutes, bang some doors on my floor or other floors and go away. At different times I would sleep off, but was always rudely awakened by the banging of doors and the impatient boots that paced throughout the hotel for the whole night. In the wee hours of the morning, the soldiers started breaking doors of the different hotel rooms. With rage, they broke doors, and I knew they would soon come to my room. I therefore put my wallet and phone into my socks. I also had with me some

money which I had earned from a previous music show. I also put it into the socks. A few minutes later, a soldier hit my door with an iron bar and after two or three attempts the door fell in. We looked each other in the eye as he summoned his colleagues in Swahili. Another soldier pointed a pistol on my head and ordered me to kneel down. I put my hands up and just before my knees could reach the floor, the soldier who broke into the room used the same iron bar to hit me. He aimed it at my head and I put up my hand in defence so he hit my arm. The second blow came straight to my head on the side of my right eye. He hit me with this iron bar and I fell down. In no minute, all these guys were on me- each one looking for the best place to hurt. I can't tell how many they were but they were quite a number. They beat me, punched me, and kicked me with their boots. No part of my body was spared. They hit my eyes, mouth and nose. They hit my elbows and my knees. Those guys are heartless! As they dragged me out of the room, they continued to hit me from all sides. After some time, I could almost no longer feel the pain. I could only hear what they were doing from a far. My cries and pleas went unheeded. The things they were speaking to me all this while, I cannot reproduce here. Up to now, I cannot understand how these soldiers who I probably had never met before in person could hate me so much. They wrapped me in a thick piece of cloth and bundled me into a vehicle. Those guys did to me unspeakable things in that vehicle! They pulled my manhood and squeezed my testicles while punching me with objects I didn't see. They pulled off my shoes and took my wallet, phone and the money I had. As soon as the shoes were off, they started hitting my ankles with pistol butts. I groaned in pain and they ordered me to stop making noise for them. They used something like pliers to pull my ears. Some guy unwrapped me and instead tied the thick cloth around my head. They forced my head below the car seat so as to stop me from shouting. Then they hit my back and continued to hit my genitals with objects. The marks on my back, ankles, elbows, legs and head are still visible. I continued to groan in pain and the last I heard was someone hit me at the back of the head with an object - I think a gun butt or something. That was the last time I knew what was going on. By the time I became conscious again, I was somewhere in a small room with a small window. My legs were tied together with my hands with very tight cuffs. I was bleeding from the nose and ears. I was in great pain. The cloth they had tied me in was red- soaked in blood. My whole body was swollen. I was shaking uncontrollably. Two soldiers came in. I can now recall that they were visibly pleased to see that I was still alive. They came close to me. One of them apologized in tears about what had happened. "Bobi, I am sorry but not all of us are like that. Some of us actually like you," he said. He said that doctors were on their way to treat me. I stayed in the same position and after a few hours, about four soldiers came in and lifted me on a piece of cloth. One of them took a picture of me, (I hope to see that picture some day in my life). As we went out, I read "Arua airfield' somewhere. I was taken into a waiting military helicopter and taken to a place which I later found out was Gulu 4th Division military barracks. It was at that facility that some military doctors came in and started giving me injections. At that point I could not even complain as I was not yet fully alert. I was very dizzy and had not eaten or drank anything for many hours. My sight was very weak as well. I spent the night there. Late in the night, I was picked again from this detention facility. With my head covered with a dark cloth that felt like a t-shirt, I was taken to Gulu Police Station where I was forced to sign a written statement by an officer called Francis Olugo in the presence of some other officer who I later learnt is the CID head of Gulu. I can hardly recall what was contained in that statement! I was then returned to Gulu military barracks, put on a metallic bed and handcuffed on it. Very early morning, I was picked from this room and taken to another very secluded and dirty room where I was put

on another bed, hand-cuffed again and injected with a drug that immediately sent me into a deep sleep. The following day I can recall that at some point, Hon. Medard Ssegona and Hon. Asuman Basalirwa came to me. My efforts to rise and speak to them didn't yield much. The moment they saw me, they could hardly hold tears. I have a faint recollection of what they told me, but their visit was very short. I was later carried into a hall where I saw soldiers dressed smartly. I would lie if I said I fully appreciated what was going on at that point. I was later told that I was appearing before the General Court Martial!!! After a short while, I was again carried into a military helicopter. When it landed, I was put into a vehicle and driven to another place which I later found out was Makindye military barracks. At Makindye, I was now fully alert and had a drink for the first time after two or three days. I saw doctors come in several times and they gave me all kinds of injections. At some point, I tried to object and these guys would hold my arms from behind and inject me anywhere. If I asked what drug it was, the guy would say something like, "This is diclofenac, can't you see?" At some point, some guy came in and wanted to stitch my ear which had an open wound. I pleaded with him not to, and he relented. All the while I was spending the day and night with my hands and legs cuffed until a few days later. Thankfully although the scars are still visible, the wound on my ear healed. It was after some time at Makindye that I was able to see my wife and my brother Eddy Yawe, who came in with some lawyers, some friends and dignitaries from the Uganda Human Rights Commission (UHRC). I will never forget the atmosphere in that room- people started crying upon setting eyes on me. At that point, I could not sit, walk or even stand by myself. I was still swollen and spoke with great difficulty due to chest pains. My teeth were shaking and the headache was unbearable. I am thankful that the UHRC made a report which I later read. At least it captured in part, the state in which they found me. As the government agency mandated to fight human rights violations, I am eagerly waiting to see what actions they will take to ensure that no Ugandan is taken through this ever again. Not even President Museveni. I cannot wish what happened to me upon anyone.

Not even those soldiers who violated me as if they were beasts. I remember two other things about that visit. Despite the pain I had that day, I remember forcing a smile when they told me that I had been charged with unlawful possession of firearms. I was told that three guns had been assembled and said to have been found in my room! I could not believe that the state would torture a Ugandan so bad and then frame him with possession of guns! I did not stop thinking about that for all the days I spent at Makindye. How ruthless, how callous, how inhumane could these guys be? It was also on that day that I was told about the alleged stoning of the President's vehicle. The other thing I remember is this- I asked my visitors if we had won the Arua election. They told me we had won with a big margin and I thanked God. That strengthened my spirit because I knew that the people were with us, even in the kind of sufferings and indignities we were being subjected to. I was very sad as I am today, that they murdered my brother Yasin in cold blood and did not allow me to bury him. They told me about my other comrades who were also incarcerated and I kept praying for them. (Of course every visitor had to speak to me in the presence of military personnel.) Although I was very pleased to see all visitors, when I was released, I read the comments which some of the visitors made to the press (particularly government officials). I felt sad that we have a lot of dishonest, cold people who don't care riding on someone's tragedy for political capital. I want to believe that we are better than that, dear Ugandans. Anyway, while at Makindye I was briefed that I was expected in court on 23rd August, about nine days after I was taken there. Some military doctors continued to come in to inject me, wash

my wounds and give me pain killers. At night on two occasions, I was put into military vehicles and driven to Kampala Imaging Centre for scans. I could not object or even ask questions. I am worried because one of the machines seemed very dangerous. As soon as I was placed into it and it was switched on, the doctors ran to a safe distance and started seeing me from a small window. It was there that the radiologist told me how one of my kidneys and back had been damaged during the assault. I was however not given any written medical report by the military. It was clear they wanted me to appear in better shape at the next time of my court appearance and they did everything possible to achieve that. A day or two at Makindye, this guy was candid. He told me it was in my interest to eat well, take in all the medicine and look better by 23rd or else they would not allow the press to see me and I would be remanded again until I was presentable enough! They even forcefully shaved my hair and beards. When I hesitated, this soldier told me, 'gwe osaaga' (You are kidding). Two of them held my hands from behind and shaved me by force. At some point, they insisted I must wear a suit for my next appearance before the court martial and asked me to tell my wife to bring me one. I also insisted that I did not have it.

At another point I hesitated to allow some eye drops for my right eye which was very red and swollen. I always wanted to know what drugs I was being given. These guys held my arms from behind and one of them literally poured the entire bottle into my eye! Later, the military doctor also provided me with a crutch to aid me in walking. At that point, I was able to stand up, although with difficulty. When you hear all this you may think that all our soldiers are brutal. Far from that, most of them are wonderful people. There are many I interacted with during this ordeal who were extremely professional and sympathetic. It was hard to comprehend how people serving the same force, putting on the same uniform could be very different in appreciation and approach to a citizen of Uganda. When I was taken back to Gulu on 23rd, I was very happy to see the people who came to court including family members, comrades in the struggle and lawyers. I cannot explain how I felt when the lawyer for the army said that charges of unlawful possession of firearms had been dropped. I did not feel vindicated. I was not excited. I was not moved. I just cannot explain how I felt. I just remembered what these people had done to me and tears came to my eyes. Shortly after, I was rearrested right in front of the courtroom and taken to Gulu prison. At the military prison, I was wearing a red uniform - this time, I was given a yellow one. Friends, you cannot believe that you can be happy to be in prison but that day I was. I was very happy to leave solitary military confinement and meet up with colleagues who were being held at the Gulu prison. That night I was taken to Lachor hospital in Gulu- other tests and scans were conducted. At that point I was feeling better, especially psychologically since I had reunited with my comrades in the struggle. Later that night the prison authorities decided to take me into the sickbay as opposed to staying with the other comrades. The other comrades led by Hon. Wadri protested. I could hear them bang the doors of their cell. The following day I was allowed to stay with them. This is when I interacted with the other 32 colleagues who had been arrested in the Arua fracas. Being in the same prison ward with Hon. Gerald Karuhanga, Hon. Paul Mwiru, Hon. Kassiano Wadri, Hon. Mike Mabike, John Mary Sebuufu and many other comrades made it feel like a boarding school. It was not a very happy reunion though. Because of the torture some of our comrades had been permanently injured. I cannot forget the pain which Shaban Atiku was going through. He spent every day and night groaning. The doctors had told him he would never walk again because his back had been permanently broken. Sadly, the world may never know him, but he will never go out of my mind. He would later collapse during a court session at Gulu.



On Political rampage!

When I later met the women who were brutalised, it was very painful to see them and listen to their stories. Many times we joked about the possibility of being hanged if the regime decided to give us the maximum penalty of the offence we had been charged with! This got many of our comrades silent. Away from these sad moments, the overall prison leader had a box guitar in the ward and together we sang songs of freedom all night. This was the routine every night until we appeared before the Gulu High Court a few days later, for our bail hearing. My next communication will be a vote of thanks to the world for the overwhelming support and comradeship. I will also talk about what I think we must do together to continue this struggle for liberty and freedom. I am glad that authorities finally have bowed to your pressure and #HonZaake has been given bond to travel for urgent specialised treatment and I join the world to demand authorities to #FreeEddyMutwe and other political prisoners. **WE SHALL OVERCOME.**

PS: 1. Please ignore calls from my phone **number (0752013306)**. It was taken from me by soldiers and am told they're using it to call my friends pretending it is me. 2. Please ignore any communication from other social media accounts and pages under my name apart from this one (with a blue tick) and my verified twitter account (also with a blue tick). Hon. Kyagulanyi Ssentamu aka Bobi Wine

Multiple Choice Questions:

1. **What event prompted Bobi Wine to share his personal account on Facebook?**
 - a. His victory in the Arua municipality by-election
 - b. His recovery from physical and mental trauma
 - c. Allegations made by government officials
 - d. His release from prison
2. **On what date did the incident in Arua occur, according to Bobi Wine's account?**
 - a. 13th August
 - b. 23rd August
 - c. 3rd September
 - d. 7th August
3. **Where did the incident take place in Arua, according to Bobi Wine's account?**

- a. Pacific hotel
- b. Royal hotel
- c. Lachor hospital
- d. Kampala Imaging Centre

4. Who did Bobi Wine mention as the candidate they supported in the Arua by-election?

- a. Hon. Gerald Karuhanga
- b. Hon. Kassiano Wadri
- c. Hon. Paul Mwiru
- d. Hon. Mike Mabike

5. What did Bobi Wine claim he heard soldiers saying when they charged at him during the incident?

- a. "Stop resisting!"
- b. "There he is!"
- c. "Help him!"
- d. "Get down!"

6. What charge was initially brought against Bobi Wine, as mentioned in his account?

- a. Incitement to violence
- b. Unlawful possession of firearms
- c. Disturbing public peace
- d. Resisting arrest

7. Where was Bobi Wine taken for medical treatment after the incident?

- a. Gulu 4th Division military barracks
- b. Pacific hotel
- c. Makindye military barracks
- d. Lachor hospital in Gulu

8. What did Bobi Wine mention about the alleged stoning of the President's vehicle?

- a. He denied any involvement in it
- b. He admitted to participating in it
- c. He claimed it was a staged event
- d. He expressed regret for it

9. How did Bobi Wine describe his feelings when charges of unlawful possession of firearms were dropped?

- a. Excited
- b. Vindicated
- c. Moved
- d. Indifferent

10. Which facility did Bobi Wine mention being taken to for a court appearance before the General Court Martial?

- a. Gulu Police Station
- b. Gulu 4th Division military barracks
- c. Kampala Imaging Centre
- d. Makindye military barracks

11. Who protested against Bobi Wine being placed in the sickbay at Gulu prison?

- a. Hon. Gerald Karuhanga
- b. Hon. Kassiano Wadri
- c. Hon. Medard Ssegona
- d. Hon. Paul Mwiru

12. What did Bobi Wine express concern about regarding the medical procedures he underwent at Makindye military barracks?
- Lack of professionalism
 - Lack of written medical reports
 - Dangerous machines used
 - Forced shaving of hair and beards

BIGGER QUESTIONS:

1. Describe the events that led to Bobi Wine sharing his personal account on Facebook.

Answer: Bobi Wine shared his personal account on Facebook in response to allegations made by President Museveni and other government officials regarding the events in Arua. He felt compelled to set the record straight and personally recount the incident, addressing the absurd statements made by authorities while he was in detention.

2. Explain the circumstances surrounding the incident in Arua on August 13, according to Bobi Wine's account.

Answer: On August 13, it was the last day of campaigns in the Arua municipality by-election. After a successful rally, Bobi Wine, along with other leaders, went to Royal hotel. Later, as he moved to Pacific hotel, he received news that his friend and comrade, Yasin Kawuma, had been shot. This triggered a series of events, including the arrival of SFC soldiers who started beating everyone in sight, leading to chaos and Bobi Wine's subsequent detention.

3. Detail the sequence of events that transpired from the moment Yasin Kawuma was shot until Bobi Wine's detention.

Answer: After receiving news of Yasin Kawuma's shooting, Bobi Wine attempted to help by directing team members to take him to the hospital and call the police. However, SFC soldiers arrived, recognizing Bobi Wine, and started firing bullets. Fearing for his safety, Bobi Wine sought refuge in a hotel room, where he witnessed soldiers brutalizing and dragging people. He eventually faced arrest, enduring physical assault and subsequent detention.

4. Discuss the physical and mental trauma that Bobi Wine experienced during his detention.

Answer: Bobi Wine described severe physical abuse during his detention, where soldiers beat, punched, and kicked him relentlessly. He detailed how they targeted every part of his body, causing injuries visible on his back, ankles, elbows, legs, and head. The soldiers also engaged in unspeakable acts during transportation, including pulling his manhood and squeezing his testicles. The mental trauma included being helpless to the cries of others and the uncertainty of his situation.

5. Examine the conditions and treatment Bobi Wine received while detained at Gulu 4th Division military barracks.

Answer: At Gulu 4th Division military barracks, Bobi Wine was kept in a small room with tied hands and legs, bleeding from the nose and ears. He was in great pain and subjected to injections by military doctors. The soldiers expressed satisfaction upon seeing him alive, and one apologized tearfully for what had happened. Bobi Wine's physical state was closely monitored, with a focus on presenting him in better shape for his court appearance.

6. Describe the legal proceedings Bobi Wine faced, including his appearance before the General Court Martial.

Answer: Bobi Wine was informed that he would appear before the General Court Martial. He was taken to court, where charges of unlawful possession of firearms were dropped. However, he was immediately rearrested, taken to Gulu prison, and later moved to Lachor hospital for further tests. Despite the legal complexities, Bobi Wine expressed indifference to the dropped charges, reflecting on the brutality he had endured.

7. Discuss Bobi Wine's emotional state upon learning about the alleged stoning of the President's vehicle.

Answer: Bobi Wine expressed disbelief at the allegation of stoning the President's vehicle, denying any involvement. He questioned the government's ruthlessness, framing him with possession of guns after the severe torture he experienced. Despite learning about the alleged stoning, he remained focused on the people's support and the victory in the Arua election, using it as a source of strength.

8. Explore the impact of Bobi Wine's detention on his comrades and the solidarity within the prison.

Answer: Bobi Wine's comrades, including Hon. Kassiano Wadri and others, protested when he was taken to the sickbay at Gulu prison. The prison environment, despite the challenges, became a place of camaraderie. Bobi Wine interacted with other incarcerated colleagues, sang songs of freedom, and shared experiences. However, the pain and suffering of some comrades, like Shaban Atiku, who had a permanently broken back, highlighted the harsh consequences of the incident.

9. Analyze the significance of the support Bobi Wine received from people around the world during his ordeal.

Answer: The overwhelming support and solidarity Bobi Wine received from people worldwide played a crucial role in raising awareness about his situation. The global response pressured authorities to grant bail to others, like #HonZaake, for urgent specialized treatment. Bobi Wine's account highlighted the international community's role in advocating for human rights and justice.

10. Examine the role of social media in disseminating information and rallying support during Bobi Wine's detention.

Answer: Social media, particularly Facebook and Twitter, became powerful platforms for Bobi Wine to share his personal account and garner support. He cautioned against misinformation by discrediting calls and communication from his confiscated phone. Social media also allowed individuals to express their reactions, emotions, and demands for justice, contributing to the global awareness of Bobi Wine's plight.

11. Discuss the reactions of individuals, both supportive and critical, in the comments section of Bobi Wine's Facebook post.

Answer: Reactions in the comments section varied, with some expressing empathy and support for Bobi Wine's ordeal. Others questioned the validity of his account, raising concerns about the quick recovery and the government's treatment of opposition figures like Dr. Besigye. The comments reflected a diversity of opinions and emotions, showcasing the complexity of public perceptions.

12. Reflect on the broader implications of Bobi Wine's experience for the political landscape in Uganda.

Answer: Bobi Wine's account sheds light on the challenges faced by opposition figures in Uganda, including political persecution, violence, and questionable legal proceedings. The international response underscores the importance of human rights advocacy. The episode

raises questions about the state of democracy, freedom, and justice in Uganda, prompting a critical examination of the political landscape.

HARD WORDS.

1. Tundra Vehicle:

Definition: A type of vehicle, often a four-wheel drive, suitable for rough terrain, named after the tundra biome. In Bobi Wine's account, it was the vehicle he initially sat in before the events in Arua unfolded.

2. Cuffs:

Definition: Straps or fasteners used to secure the hands or legs, often made of metal or other materials. In the context of Bobi Wine's account, he mentioned being tightly bound with cuffs during his detention.

3. SFC (Special Forces Command):

Definition: An elite military unit responsible for providing specialized security to the Ugandan government, often involved in high-profile operations. SFC soldiers played a significant role in the events described by Bobi Wine.

4. CID (Criminal Investigation Department):

Definition: A division of the police force focused on investigating and solving criminal cases. Bobi Wine mentioned signing a written statement by an officer from CID during his detention.

5. General Court Martial:

Definition: A military court with jurisdiction over offenses committed by military personnel. Bobi Wine faced the General Court Martial during his legal proceedings.

6. Solitary Confinement:

Definition: A form of imprisonment where an individual is isolated from others, typically spending most of the day alone. Bobi Wine described being initially kept in a small room during his detention.

7. Global Awareness:

Definition: The extent to which information or events are known and understood on a worldwide scale. Bobi Wine's global awareness increased due to the international response and support during his ordeal.

8. Human Rights Advocacy:

Definition: Efforts and actions undertaken to promote and protect the fundamental rights and dignity of individuals. Bobi Wine's situation prompted human rights advocacy from individuals and organizations worldwide.

9. Opposition Figures:

Definition: Individuals or groups who oppose the ruling government or dominant political party. Bobi Wine is considered an opposition figure in Uganda's political landscape.

10. Political Persecution:

Definition: Unfair or oppressive treatment, often involving harassment, discrimination, or violence, directed at individuals based on their political beliefs or affiliations. Bobi Wine's account suggests he experienced political persecution during his detention.

Lessons we learn from the way Bobi Wine was handled?

1. Political Persecution Persists:

Lesson: Bobi Wine's experience highlights that political persecution remains a real threat, with authorities resorting to violence, intimidation, and legal maneuvers against opposition figures.

2. Human Rights Violations Persist:

Lesson: The severe physical and mental abuse Bobi Wine endured underscores the persistence of human rights violations, revealing the challenges faced by those critical of the government.

3. Media as a Tool for Transparency:

Lesson: Bobi Wine's use of social media, particularly Facebook, to share his personal account demonstrates the power of media in bringing transparency to political events and rallying global support.

4. Global Solidarity Matters:

Lesson: The overwhelming international response and solidarity with Bobi Wine emphasize the importance of global alliances in advocating for human rights and justice.

5. Selective Application of Justice:

Lesson: Bobi Wine's ordeal raises questions about the selective application of justice, with charges being dropped after severe torture, pointing to potential inconsistencies within the legal system.

6. Resilience in the Face of Adversity:

Lesson: Bobi Wine's resilience, both physically and mentally, in the face of extreme adversity, serves as an inspiration and a reminder of the strength required in the pursuit of political change.

7. Government Accountability Challenges:

Lesson: The challenges Bobi Wine faced in seeking accountability for the actions of security forces reflect broader issues in holding the government accountable for human rights abuses.

8. Global Advocacy for Political Prisoners:

Lesson: Bobi Wine's case highlights the need for continued global advocacy for political prisoners, as their stories can draw attention to systemic issues and prompt actions for change.

9. Impact on Opposition Movements:

Lesson: The government's handling of Bobi Wine could potentially galvanize opposition movements, as the mistreatment of political figures may lead to increased public support for change.

10. Long-Term Consequences of State Violence:

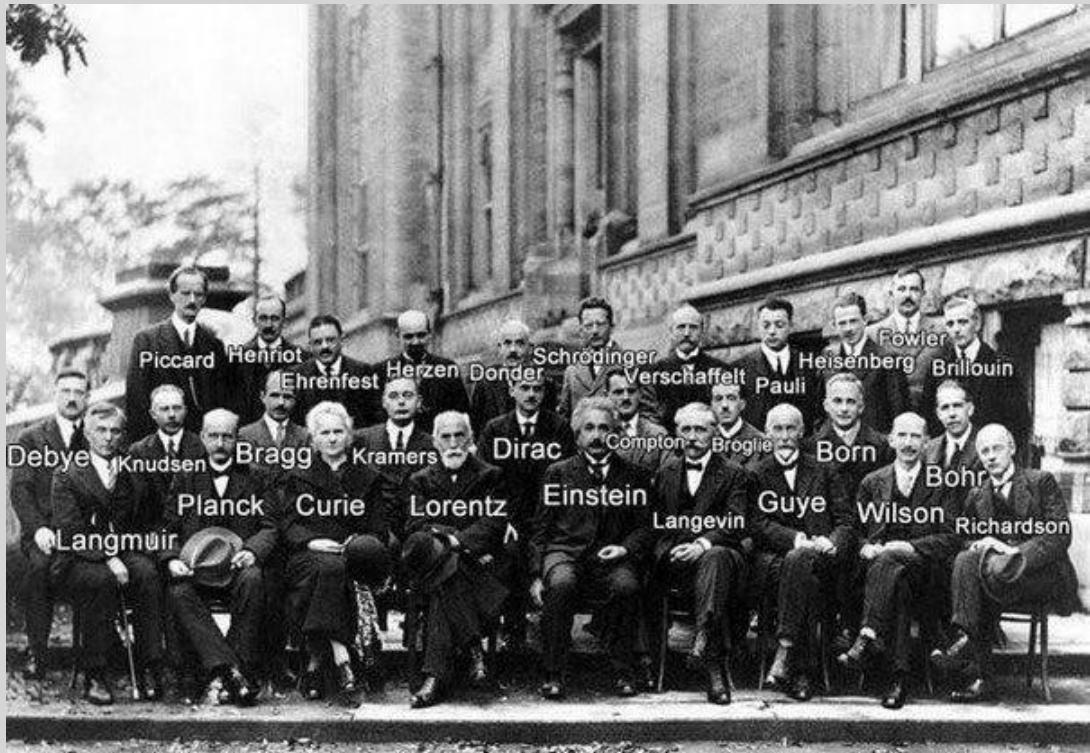
Lesson: The physical and psychological consequences suffered by Bobi Wine and his comrades underscore the long-term impact of state-sponsored violence on individuals and the broader society.

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- The above is a NEWS company domiciled in Canada and a Startup.
- It analyzes legends, historical news and facts and current news and facts.
- Sapiens does not originate any news or facts.
- It scrapes all its information from public domain like libraries and cloud archives.
- Currently, Sapiens does not sell its analytics.
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Thank you.

9 Unusual habits that indicate a high level of intelligence.



Intelligence is often seen as something that comes down to raw brainpower. But, let's face it, there's more to it than just being a human calculator. Some of the most intelligent people I know have certain habits that might seem odd to others.

These unusual habits, however, are often indicators of a high level of intelligence. In this article, I'll be sharing with you 9 offbeat habits that might just indicate you're smarter than the average bear.

You might find that you're already doing some of these things without even realizing their connection to intelligence.

Let's dive in.

1) Daydreaming

If you're constantly in a world of your own, don't worry. It doesn't mean you're not paying attention. In fact, it could be a sign that you're more intelligent than most.

Daydreaming is often seen as a sign of distraction or lack of focus. But research suggests that it can actually be an indicator of a high level of intelligence.

Individuals who daydream frequently are usually highly intelligent and creative.

They have the capacity to let their minds wander while still staying focused on the bigger picture.

If you often find yourself lost in your thoughts while others are busy focusing on the task at hand, it could just mean that your brain is hard at work, processing complex ideas and solving problems in the background.

And that's pretty smart if you ask me.

2) Being a night owl

I've always been more of a night owl than a morning person. My most productive hours tend to be late at night when everyone else is in bed. Turns out, this might not just be a quirk, it could be a sign of high intelligence.

[Studies](#) have shown that people who prefer to stay up late and do their best work in the wee hours of the morning often have higher IQs than those who are early birds.

The theory is that intelligent people are more likely to be nocturnal because in the past, our ancestors would have had to stay awake and alert at night to protect themselves from predators.

So next time someone calls you a night owl, just smile and take it as a compliment. It's just your brain showing off its smarts!

3) Constantly questioning things

If you're the kind of person who never takes things at face value and is always probing deeper, it's not just a sign of curiosity. It's a hallmark of intelligence.

Intelligent people don't just accept the world as it's presented to them. They dig deeper, question assumptions, and seek out answers.

This constant questioning and search for understanding is actually a trait that's shared by some of the world's greatest minds.

Albert Einstein famously said, "I have no special talent. I am only passionately curious."

If you're always asking "why" and "how", keep doing it. It's your intelligence shining through.

4) Enjoying solitude

Do you often find comfort and satisfaction in being alone? This preference for solitude could be an indication of high intelligence.

Intelligent people tend to be more self-reliant and comfortable with their own thoughts. They enjoy having the time and space to dive deep into their interests, ponder life's big questions, or simply unwind without the distractions that come with social interaction.

A [study](#) published in The British Journal of Psychology found that highly intelligent individuals had a lower life satisfaction with more frequent socialization with friends.

It suggests that smarter people are more content to spend time alone.

Choosing to enjoy solitude is different from being anti-social.

It's about understanding and valuing your own needs for personal space and introspection.

5) Reading for pleasure

Do you always have a book by your side? If so, you might be showcasing your intelligence. Reading for pleasure, without any specific goals or outcomes in mind, is a habit often linked to high intelligence.

Reading expands our horizons, improves our vocabulary, and exposes us to different perspectives.

It also boosts our critical thinking and analytical skills.

According to a [study](#) from the University of California, Berkeley, reading can even slow cognitive decline in old age!

If you are someone who loves to curl up with a good book, it's not just a hobby. It's a reflection of your intellectual prowess. Keep turning those pages!

6) Being empathetic

Has someone ever told you that you're good at understanding how they feel? If so, this empathy could indicate a higher level of intelligence.

Being able to empathize means being able to imagine and understand the feelings of others. It requires mental flexibility, emotional intelligence, and a deep understanding of human nature.

These are all traits often associated with high intellectual capacity.

Empathy allows us to build stronger connections and understand the world around us better. It helps us navigate social situations and understand complex dynamics.

If you find yourself being the shoulder your friends cry on or the person people turn to for advice, embrace it. Your ability to empathize is a sure sign of your intelligence.

7) Being forgetful

I've often found myself walking into a room and forgetting why I went there in the first place, or misplacing my keys even though I was holding them just a minute ago. It used to worry me, but I've come to realize that being a bit forgetful can actually be an indicator of high intelligence.

According to [research](#) from the University of Toronto, intelligent people are more likely to forget insignificant details because their brains are better at sifting through and discarding unimportant information.

This allows them to focus on what truly matters.

If you're like me and tend to forget the little things, don't sweat it. It's just your brain being efficient and making room for the important stuff!

8) Enjoying sarcasm

Are you a fan of sarcasm? Do you find it amusing when people use ironic statements to mock or convey contempt? Well, your appreciation for this form of wit might be a sign of high intelligence.

Understanding and using sarcasm requires a certain level of mental agility. It's about reading between the lines and grasping the true intent behind words that, on the surface, may mean something entirely different.

A [study](#) published in the journal *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes* found that exposure to sarcasm can enhance creative problem solving.

So, loving a bit of sarcasm is not just fun, it's a sign of a sharp mind too.

9) Being adaptable

The ability to adapt to new situations and changes is perhaps the most significant indicator of high intelligence. Life is unpredictable, and being able to adjust your plans or thinking in response to new information or circumstances shows a high level of cognitive flexibility.

Intelligent people understand that change is inevitable and rather than resisting it, they embrace it. They use change as an opportunity to learn, grow, and enhance their understanding of the world.

Being adaptable doesn't mean being indecisive. It's about being open-minded and willing to alter your course when necessary. It's the ultimate sign of a highly intelligent mind.

The beauty of individuality.

The essence of intelligence lies in its diversity and uniqueness. It's not confined to academic achievements or high IQ scores, but blooms in the quirkiest corners of our habits and behaviors.

These unusual habits we've explored, from being a night owl to enjoying solitude, are not just random quirks. They're manifestations of a deeper intelligence that thrives on curiosity, empathy, adaptability, and a thirst for knowledge.

So, if you identify with these habits, embrace them. They're not oddities, they're badges of your intellectual prowess.

As Albert Einstein once said, "The true sign of intelligence is not knowledge but imagination." Your unique habits may just be a testament to your extraordinary imagination and intelligence that refuses to be boxed into societal norms.

And that's a beautiful thing. Cherish it. Nurture it. Let it guide you towards constant growth and self-discovery. Because at the end of the day, intelligence isn't about fitting in—it's about standing out.

Multiple Choice Questions:

1. What does the article suggest about daydreaming and intelligence?

- a) Daydreaming indicates a lack of focus.
- b) Daydreaming is a distraction.
- c) Daydreaming can be a sign of high intelligence.
- d) Daydreaming is a waste of time.

2. According to the article, why might some people prefer to stay up late?

- a) They have insomnia.
- b) They are more productive at night.
- c) They have a higher IQ.
- d) They are avoiding social interactions.

3. What trait is associated with constantly questioning things, according to the article?

- a) Curiosity
- b) Complacency
- c) Ignorance
- d) Acceptance

4. What does the article suggest about the relationship between solitude and intelligence?

- a) Intelligent people are antisocial.
- b) Solitude is a sign of low intelligence.
- c) Highly intelligent individuals enjoy solitude.
- d) Intelligent people are always surrounded by friends.

5. What benefit does the article attribute to reading for pleasure?

- a) It improves social skills.
- b) It slows cognitive decline in old age.

c) It reduces intelligence.

d) It causes distraction.

6. What is mentioned as a key aspect of being empathetic in the article?

- a) Mental rigidity
- b) Emotional intelligence
- c) Indifference
- d) Lack of understanding

7. According to research from the University of Toronto, why might intelligent people be forgetful?

- a) They have memory disorders.
- b) Their brains efficiently discard unimportant details.
- c) They lack cognitive abilities.
- d) Forgetfulness is unrelated to intelligence.

8. What does the article suggest about enjoying sarcasm and intelligence?

- a) Sarcasm is a sign of low intelligence.
- b) Sarcasm has no connection to intelligence.
- c) Appreciating sarcasm indicates a sharp mind.
- d) Sarcasm leads to creative blockages.

9. What is described as the most significant indicator of high intelligence in the article?

- a) High IQ scores
- b) Academic achievements
- c) Cognitive flexibility and adaptability
- d) Resistance to change

BIGGER QUESTIONS

1. Explain the correlation between daydreaming and intelligence, as suggested in the article.

Answer: Daydreaming, often considered a sign of distraction, is presented in the article as a potential indicator of high intelligence. The essay should discuss the research suggesting that individuals who daydream frequently are likely to be highly intelligent and creative. It should delve into the idea that daydreaming allows the mind to process complex ideas and solve problems in the background while still maintaining focus on the bigger picture.

2. Discuss the theory behind the relationship between being a night owl and higher intelligence, based on the information in the article.

Answer: The article suggests that people who prefer staying up late might have higher IQs, attributing this to the evolutionary theory that intelligent individuals are more likely to be nocturnal for survival. The essay should explore this theory and elaborate on the idea that staying awake at night was advantageous for our ancestors, fostering a connection between being a night owl and possessing higher intelligence.

3. Explore the importance of constant questioning and curiosity as traits associated with high intelligence, referencing the article.

Answer: The article emphasizes that intelligent individuals don't merely accept the world as presented; they question assumptions and seek deeper understanding. The essay should

delve into the role of curiosity in intellectual development, drawing examples from the article, such as Albert Einstein's quote about being passionately curious, to illustrate how constant questioning is a hallmark of intelligence.

4. Analyze the relationship between enjoying solitude and high intelligence, as discussed in the article.

Answer: According to the article, the preference for solitude can be an indication of high intelligence. The essay should explore the idea that intelligent people tend to be more self-reliant and comfortable with their thoughts. It should also discuss the study from The British Journal of Psychology that suggests highly intelligent individuals may have lower life satisfaction with more frequent socialization, highlighting the distinction between enjoying solitude and being antisocial.

5. Discuss the benefits of reading for pleasure and its association with high intelligence, based on information from the article.

Answer: The article claims that reading for pleasure is linked to high intelligence, citing benefits such as expanding horizons, improving vocabulary, and even slowing cognitive decline. The essay should provide an in-depth analysis of how reading contributes to intellectual development, discussing the cognitive and psychological advantages outlined in the article.

6. Explore the role of empathy in indicating higher intelligence, drawing on examples from the article.

Answer: The article suggests that being empathetic can indicate a higher level of intelligence, emphasizing the need for mental flexibility, emotional intelligence, and an understanding of human nature. The essay should analyze how empathy contributes to intellectual capacity, fostering stronger connections, aiding in social navigation, and enhancing overall understanding.

7. Analyze the research from the University of Toronto regarding forgetfulness and its link to intelligence, as mentioned in the article.

Answer: The article presents the idea that forgetfulness, as per research from the University of Toronto, can be an indicator of high intelligence. The essay should delve into the research findings, discussing how intelligent individuals efficiently discard insignificant details, allowing them to focus on more critical information, and explore the implications of this on cognitive processes.

8. Discuss the relationship between enjoying sarcasm and high intelligence, as suggested in the article.

Answer: According to the article, an appreciation for sarcasm may indicate a sharp mind. The essay should explore how understanding and using sarcasm requires mental agility and the ability to read between the lines. It should also discuss the study published in the journal Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, which found that exposure to sarcasm can enhance creative problem-solving skills.

9. Explore the significance of adaptability as the most significant indicator of high intelligence, drawing from information in the article.

Answer: The article posits that adaptability is a key indicator of high intelligence, emphasizing the importance of cognitive flexibility in responding to new information or circumstances. The essay should discuss how being adaptable reflects an open-minded approach, allowing intelligent individuals to learn, grow, and enhance their understanding of the world.

10. Discuss the idea that intelligence is not confined to academic achievements or high IQ scores, but also manifests in individual habits and behaviors.

Answer: The essay should explore the article's perspective on intelligence, emphasizing its diversity and uniqueness. It should discuss how intelligence, as per the article, is not solely defined by academic achievements or high IQ scores but is also reflected in individual habits and behaviors. Examples from the article can be used to illustrate this concept.

11. Elaborate on the concept that the true sign of intelligence is not knowledge but imagination, as stated by Albert Einstein in the article.

Answer: The essay should delve into Albert Einstein's quote about the true sign of intelligence being imagination. It should explore the article's interpretation of this statement, discussing how individual habits and behaviors, such as daydreaming and constant questioning, reflect an extraordinary imagination that goes beyond traditional measures of intelligence.

12. Reflect on the advice given in the article to embrace and cherish one's unique habits as badges of intellectual prowess.

Answer: The essay should discuss the article's concluding message about embracing unique habits as badges of intellectual prowess. It should analyze the importance of recognizing and nurturing individuality in the context of intelligence, emphasizing that intelligence is not about fitting in but standing out. Examples from the article can be used to reinforce the idea of cherishing one's unique habits and fostering constant growth and self-discovery.

Hard Words.

1. Cognitive Flexibility:

Definition: The ability to adapt one's thinking or approach in response to changing circumstances or new information.

Context: The article highlights cognitive flexibility as a significant indicator of high intelligence, emphasizing the importance of being open-minded and adaptable.

2. Nocturnal:

Definition: Relating to or active during the night; characteristic of nighttime behavior.

Context: The article suggests that being a night owl, or preferring to stay up late, may be linked to higher intelligence, citing an evolutionary perspective.

3. Antisocial:

Definition: Avoiding the company of others; not sociable or friendly.

Context: The essay distinguishes between enjoying solitude, which may indicate high intelligence, and being antisocial, emphasizing the value of personal space for intelligent individuals.

4. Hallmark:

Definition: A distinctive feature or characteristic that is representative of something.

Context: Constant questioning is described as a hallmark of intelligence in the article, suggesting that the trait is a defining characteristic of highly intelligent individuals.

5. Indispensable:

Definition: Absolutely necessary or essential; cannot be omitted or neglected.

Context: Reading for pleasure is portrayed as indispensable to intellectual development in the article, pointing to its crucial role in expanding horizons and improving cognitive skills.

6. Quirk:

Definition: A peculiar behavior or idiosyncrasy; an unusual or unexpected aspect.

Context: The article refers to certain habits as quirks that may indicate a high level of intelligence, emphasizing the uniqueness and individuality of intelligent individuals.

7. Sarcasm:

Definition: The use of irony to mock or convey contempt; a form of wit characterized by cutting or scornful remarks.

Context: The essay discusses the connection between appreciating sarcasm and high intelligence, noting that understanding and using sarcasm requires a certain level of mental agility.

8. Thirst for Knowledge:

Definition: A strong desire or craving for acquiring new information, insights, or understanding.

Context: The article encourages individuals to nurture their thirst for knowledge, emphasizing that intelligence goes beyond conventional measures and is reflected in a continual pursuit of learning.

9. Manifestation:

Definition: An event, action, or object that clearly shows or embodies a particular quality or concept.

Context: The article suggests that certain habits and behaviors are manifestations of deeper intelligence, indicating that these traits visibly represent a person's intellectual capacity.

10. Imagination:

Definition: The faculty or action of forming new ideas, images, or concepts not present to the senses; creativity.

Context: Albert Einstein's quote about imagination being the true sign of intelligence is explored in the essay, emphasizing the role of a vibrant and creative mind in defining intellectual prowess.

Lessons Drawn from the Article on Intelligence:

1. Diversity of Intelligence:

The article emphasizes that intelligence is not solely confined to traditional measures such as academic achievements or high IQ scores. Instead, it highlights the diversity and uniqueness of intelligence, manifesting in a variety of individual habits and behaviors.

2. Unconventional Indicators:

The article challenges conventional notions of intelligence by presenting unusual habits as potential indicators of high intellectual capacity. It suggests that traits like being a night owl, enjoying solitude, or even being forgetful can be associated with heightened intelligence.

3. Curiosity and Questioning:

Constant questioning, curiosity, and a thirst for knowledge are presented as hallmarks of intelligence. The article encourages individuals to embrace a mindset that questions assumptions, seeks understanding, and actively engages with the world to foster intellectual growth.

4. Adaptability as a Key Indicator:

The ability to adapt to new situations and changes is highlighted as a significant indicator of high intelligence. The article underscores the importance of cognitive flexibility, openness to change, and the willingness to alter plans in response to new information.

5. Embracing Solitude and Individuality:

Enjoying solitude is depicted as a positive trait associated with intelligence. The article suggests that intelligent individuals value personal space, introspection, and the pursuit of individual interests, emphasizing the importance of embracing one's unique habits as badges of intellectual prowess.

6. Role of Empathy:

The article indicates that empathy is linked to a higher level of intelligence. It suggests that the ability to understand and connect with others emotionally requires mental flexibility and emotional intelligence, contributing to a deeper understanding of human nature.

7. Sarcasm and Mental Agility:

The appreciation for sarcasm is portrayed as a potential sign of a sharp mind. Understanding and using sarcasm, according to the article, involve a level of mental agility and the ability to decipher underlying meanings, showcasing a unique connection between wit and intelligence.

8. Balancing Social Interaction:

While the article acknowledges the importance of socialization, it also suggests that highly intelligent individuals may find contentment in solitude. It encourages a balance, emphasizing the value of personal space and introspection alongside social interactions for a well-rounded intellectual experience.

9. Imagination Over Knowledge:

The article quotes Albert Einstein, stating that the true sign of intelligence is imagination rather than knowledge. This encourages a shift in perspective, highlighting the importance of creativity, innovation, and the ability to think beyond established norms as integral aspects of intelligence.

10. Continuous Growth and Self-Discovery:

The concluding message encourages individuals to cherish and nurture their unique habits. It emphasizes that intelligence is about standing out rather than fitting in, promoting a mindset of constant growth, self-discovery, and an unwavering pursuit of knowledge and imagination.

In summary, the article underscores the multifaceted nature of intelligence, encouraging readers to broaden their understanding of intellectual capacity and appreciate the diverse ways in which intelligence can manifest in individual habits and behaviors.

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Thank you.

Southern African troops versus M23 rebels in the DRC: four risks this poses.

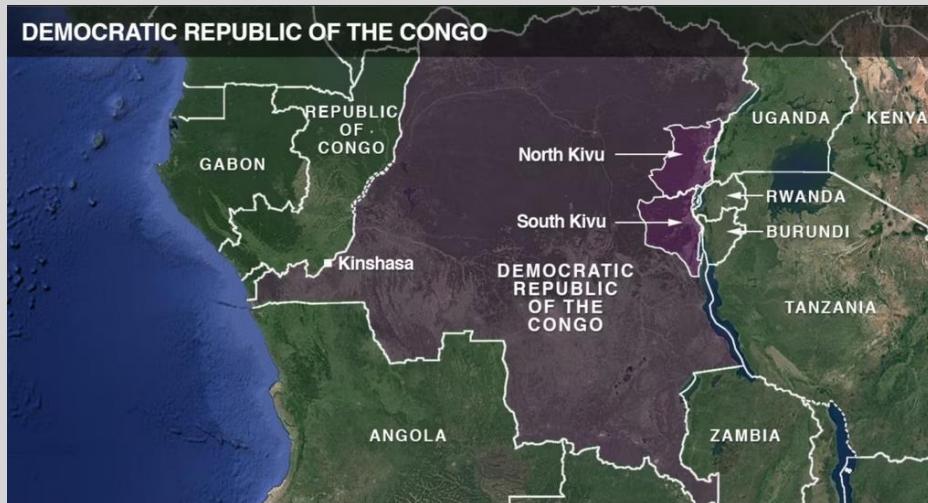
28th November 2023



Joint Kenya/South Africa patrol underway in eastern DR Congo.

The security situation in the eastern region of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) continues to deteriorate. The region comprises North Kivu, South Kivu and Ituri provinces. It's about seven times the size of neighbouring Rwanda.

The violence in North Kivu has drawn most of the attention of the DRC's neighbours and the international community. This close attention is aimed at preventing possible confrontation between Rwanda and the DRC.



Biting what you cannot swallow! DRC believes one Country is interested in annexing North Kivu while another one wants to grab South Kivu.

Since late 2021, North Kivu has been confronted by M23 rebels who have executed people and forcibly displaced thousands within the province and outside the DRC. The DRC and UN officials have accused Rwanda of supporting M23 rebels. Kigali denies this.

In mid 2022, the East African Community sent a regional force into the DRC to halt the military advancement of M23 in an effort to address rising tension between the DRC and

Rwanda. The DRC shares a 2,500km border with five east African countries: Burundi, Rwanda, South Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda.

Since this deployment, however, DRC president Felix Tshisekedi and residents of North Kivu have criticised the east African force, accusing it of deferring to the M23. The East African Community heads of states recently agreed to withdraw the force starting in December 2023.

The DRC's leadership is now seeking support from another regional bloc, the Southern African Development Community (SADC). SADC has pledged to deploy a military unit to North Kivu in the coming days. The DRC is a member of SADC, as are its neighbours Tanzania, Zambia and Angola.

The SADC mission will support the Congolese army in its quest to root out M23 and other armed groups operating in eastern Congo. It's still unclear if these troops will replace the east African force, or cooperate with it. Either way, this deployment comes on the heels of the gradual planned exit of UN peacekeepers from DRC starting in December 2023.

As a researcher on micro-level violence, I have studied the drivers of conflict in eastern DRC since 2017. In my view, there are four risks to the proposed SADC mission. These are:

**it would primarily target M23 rebels, leaving out the other armed groups in eastern DRC
it could give Rwanda more room to exploit the M23 rebel force
it could antagonise the East African Community, which the DRC joined in 2022
the SADC force could end up being outnumbered in a vast region.**



Sultan Makenga of M23

The focus on M23 rebels

The primary mission for the SADC force would be to stabilise and contribute towards peacebuilding in eastern DRC. The danger is that this mission, especially if deployed under the banner of the Congolese national army, could end up condoning the army's perspective. This perspective tends to concentrate on the danger posed by M23 and disregards the armed groups (more than 120) operating in eastern Congo. Further, it tends to accommodate other armed groups that commit atrocities against civilians. In countering M23 attacks, the army has co-opted foreign and local militias, providing them with guns and ammunition.

The SADC mission in the DRC may end up trapped in the Congolese army's approach. This would be dangerous for the stability of the region. Some of these local and foreign militias have vowed to wipe out ethnic communities whom they believe are not "real Congolese".

Any regional force aiming to stabilise eastern Congo should remain neutral in its actions and be alive to the ways the Congolese army has fanned violence and committed atrocities against civilians.

Rwanda and the M23

Efforts to stabilise eastern DRC should dissociate Rwanda's grievances from those of the M23.

The rebel group claims to be fighting for the rights of Congolese Tutsis and other ethnic communities in the Kivus. Rwanda, on its part, accuses the DRC of working with a rebel force, the FDLR, that seeks to overthrow the Rwandan government and operates out of Congo. In a 2022 report, a group of UN experts on the DRC claimed that Rwanda armed M23 rebels to enable them to go after FDLR combatants. Rwanda has dismissed such allegations.

The M23 cause shouldn't be exploited. Instead, preference should be given to enabling peaceful negotiations between the rebels and the Congolese government to address grievances.

However, the Congolese army and Tshisekedi's stance against the M23 – particularly ahead of the DRC's general elections in December 2023 – could push SADC forces to opt for a military solution to the rebel group's offensive. SADC should be careful not to back a stance that would end up forcing M23 to remain a rebel force that regional countries could manipulate for their own agenda.



Antagonising the East African Community

The East African Community's force is largely criticised by Kinshasa and residents of North Kivu for failing to attack M23 rebels. The public – under the influence of Congolese political figures – tends to see the threat posed by M23 and disregards other forms of violence in the region.

Kinshasa has demonised the rebel force and its links to Rwanda for political mileage. Calling the east African troops' efforts to root out M23 a failure after less than two years is premature. Particularly since the UN peacekeeping mission, Monusco, has been in the DRC for more than two decades.

The upside to the East African Community's intervention is that it combines political consultations and dialogue among different belligerents. It is unclear what will happen to the peace talks initiated by former Kenyan president Uhuru Kenyatta should the SADC mission replace the east African one.

Limited force strength in a vast area

Eastern DRC contains at least 120 armed groups, and borders Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda and Burundi. The SADC mission in the DRC will, therefore, be taking on multiple rebel forces in a vast area with complex politics. It runs the risk of having its efforts criticised just like those of the East African Community because of its limited capacity to tackle the [underlying causes of violence in eastern Congo].

The SADC force could choose to focus on attacking M23 rebels – which is how the group was first rooted out in 2012-2013. Or it will get lost in the vast jungles of eastern Congo. Either scenario won't bring lasting peace.

Many of the drivers of violence in eastern DRC are linked to the state's absence in the daily life of ordinary Congolese. This is largely driven by the political elites' focus on their own survival. A purely military approach to addressing the violence would, therefore, be ill-advised.

Multiple Choice Questions:

1. What is the primary objective of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)?
 - a. Protecting UN peacekeepers
 - b. Stabilizing and contributing to peacebuilding in eastern DRC
 - c. Supporting the M23 rebels
 - d. Enforcing DRC-Rwanda confrontation
2. Why did the East African Community decide to withdraw its regional force from North Kivu in the DRC?
 - a. Successful mission completion
 - b. Accusations of deferring to the M23 rebels
 - c. Lack of support from the DRC
 - d. Military defeat by the M23 rebels
3. Which regional bloc is currently pledging to deploy a military unit to North Kivu in the coming days?
 - a. East African Community
 - b. Southern African Development Community (SADC)
 - c. West African Economic Community
 - d. North African Union
4. What is the main concern regarding the focus of the SADC mission on M23 rebels?
 - a. It may neglect other armed groups in eastern DRC
 - b. It could lead to the withdrawal of UN peacekeepers
 - c. It may escalate tensions between the DRC and Rwanda
 - d. It could result in a military coup in the DRC
5. What accusation has been made against Rwanda concerning the M23 rebels?

- a. Accused of supporting the rebels
 - b. Accused of providing humanitarian aid
 - c. Accused of negotiating peace with the rebels
 - d. Accused of plotting against the DRC government
6. According to the UN experts' report, why did Rwanda allegedly arm M23 rebels?
- a. To enable them to go after FDLR combatants
 - b. To strengthen their alliance with the DRC government
 - c. To support the Congolese Tutsis' rights
 - d. To prepare for the DRC general elections
7. What potential danger does the article suggest regarding the SADC mission being deployed under the Congolese national army?
- a. It may lead to a military coup in the DRC
 - b. It may become biased and condone the army's perspective
 - c. It may result in the withdrawal of UN peacekeepers
 - d. It may escalate tensions between the DRC and Rwanda
8. What is the concern regarding the East African Community's force and its intervention in North Kivu?
- a. It has successfully rooted out the M23 rebels
 - b. It has failed to attack M23 rebels, according to Kinshasa
 - c. It is too aggressive in its approach
 - d. It lacks political consultations and dialogue
9. Why does the article suggest that a purely military approach to addressing violence in eastern DRC would be ill-advised?
- a. Military forces lack the necessary training
 - b. It may lead to the escalation of violence
 - c. The state's absence in daily life is the main driver of violence
 - d. Political elites focus on their own survival
10. How many armed groups are estimated to be operating in eastern DRC?
- a. More than 50
 - b. More than 80
 - c. More than 100
 - d. More than 120
11. What risk does the article highlight regarding the SADC force's capacity in the vast region of eastern DRC?
- a. It may have limited support from the Congolese army
 - b. It could become trapped in the Congolese army's approach
 - c. It may be outnumbered by the M23 rebels
 - d. It may face criticism due to its limited capacity to tackle underlying causes of violence
12. What is the suggested alternative to a purely military approach in addressing the violence in eastern DRC?
- a. Increased focus on foreign intervention
 - b. Providing more guns and ammunition to local militias
 - c. Enabling peaceful negotiations between rebels and the Congolese government
 - d. Ignoring the involvement of armed groups

BIGGER QUESTIONS

1. Why is the security situation in the eastern region of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) a matter of concern?

Answer: The security situation in the eastern region of the DRC is concerning due to the presence of M23 rebels since late 2021. These rebels have been executing people and forcibly displacing thousands, leading to humanitarian crises within and outside the province of North Kivu. The international community and neighboring countries are closely monitoring the situation to prevent potential confrontation, especially between Rwanda and the DRC.

2. What prompted the East African Community to deploy a regional force in the DRC in mid-2022, and why has it faced criticism?

Answer: The East African Community deployed a regional force in the DRC in mid-2022 to halt the military advancement of M23 rebels and address rising tensions between the DRC and Rwanda. However, this force has faced criticism, particularly from DRC President Felix Tshisekedi and residents of North Kivu, who accuse it of deferring to the M23 rebels. This criticism has led to the decision to withdraw the East African force starting in December 2023.

3. Why is the DRC seeking support from the Southern African Development Community (SADC) after the withdrawal of the East African force?

Answer: With the withdrawal of the East African force, the DRC is now seeking support from SADC to address the ongoing conflict in the eastern region. The DRC is a member of SADC, and the regional bloc has pledged to deploy a military unit to North Kivu. This intervention is aimed at supporting the Congolese army in its efforts to root out not only M23 but also other armed groups operating in the eastern Congo.

4. What are the potential risks associated with the proposed SADC mission, according to the researcher mentioned in the article?

Answer: The researcher identifies four potential risks to the SADC mission: (1) It may primarily target M23 rebels, neglecting other armed groups in eastern DRC. (2) It could give Rwanda more room to exploit the M23 rebel force. (3) It may antagonize the East African Community, with which the DRC joined in 2022. (4) The SADC force could end up being outnumbered in the vast and complex region, facing challenges in addressing the underlying causes of violence.

5. What is the concern regarding the focus on M23 rebels in the SADC mission, and why is it considered dangerous for the stability of the region?

Answer: The concern is that the SADC mission might primarily target M23 rebels, potentially condoning the perspective of the Congolese national army. This perspective tends to concentrate on the threat posed by M23 while disregarding the presence of more than 120 other armed groups operating in eastern Congo. By aligning with the Congolese army's approach, the SADC mission may inadvertently contribute to the instability of the region.

6. What is the historical context of the M23 rebels' involvement, and how does it relate to accusations against Rwanda?

Answer: The M23 rebel group has been active in North Kivu since late 2021, and accusations have been made that Rwanda supports these rebels. The rebel group claims to be fighting for the rights of Congolese Tutsis and other ethnic communities. Rwanda, in turn, accuses the DRC of working with the FDLR rebel force, operating out of Congo and seeking to overthrow the Rwandan government. The UN experts' report in 2022 claimed that Rwanda armed M23 rebels to go after FDLR combatants, a claim Rwanda denies.

7. What is the potential danger of the SADC mission being deployed under the banner of the Congolese national army?

Answer: The potential danger is that if the SADC mission is deployed under the banner of the Congolese national army, it may become biased and condone the army's perspective. This perspective tends to focus on the threat posed by M23 while neglecting other armed groups in the region. If the SADC mission aligns too closely with the Congolese army's approach, it may inadvertently contribute to further violence and atrocities against civilians.

8. How does the article suggest that a purely military approach to addressing violence in eastern DRC would be ill-advised?

Answer: The article suggests that a purely military approach would be ill-advised because many of the drivers of violence in eastern DRC are linked to the state's absence in the daily life of ordinary Congolese. Political elites' focus on their own survival has contributed to the state's failure to address the root causes of violence. A purely military approach may not address these underlying issues and could potentially exacerbate tensions, leading to further violence.

9. Why has the East African Community's force been criticized, and what is the potential upside mentioned in the article?

Answer: The East African Community's force has been criticized for failing to attack M23 rebels, according to Kinshasa and residents of North Kivu. The criticism, influenced by Congolese political figures, tends to focus on the threat posed by M23 while disregarding other forms of violence in the region. The potential upside of the East African Community's intervention is that it combines political consultations and dialogue among different belligerents, aiming to address the conflict through diplomatic means.

10. What is the significance of the complex political and geographic context in eastern DRC for the SADC mission, and what challenges does it pose?

Answer: Eastern DRC, with its vast area and at least 120 armed groups, poses significant challenges for the SADC mission. The region shares borders with Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda, and Burundi, adding complexity to the political and geographic context. The SADC mission, therefore, faces the risk of being outnumbered and criticized for its limited capacity to tackle the underlying causes of violence. The article suggests that a focus on attacking M23 rebels or getting lost in the vast jungles may not bring lasting peace, emphasizing the need for a comprehensive approach.

HARD WORDS

1. Confrontation:

Definition: A hostile meeting or face-to-face encounter, often involving conflict or opposition.

2. Antagonize:

Definition: To provoke hostility, anger, or resentment; to create an adversary.

3. Condoning:

Definition: Accepting, allowing, or overlooking behavior that is considered morally wrong or offensive.

4. Atrocities:

Definition: Extremely cruel or brutal acts, typically involving violence against innocent people.

5. Proliferation:

Definition: The rapid and widespread increase or growth of something, often referring to the expansion of weapons, ideas, or diseases.

6. Escalate:

Definition: To increase in intensity, magnitude, or scope, often referring to the worsening of a conflict or situation.

7. Dissociate:

Definition: To disconnect or separate oneself or something from a particular association or relationship.

8. Belligerents:

Definition: Parties engaged in warfare or conflict; those involved in a fight or dispute.

9. Inadvertently:

Definition: Without intention or unintentionally; accidentally.

10. Stabilize:

Definition: To make or become stable, steady, or unchanging; to bring into a state of balance or equilibrium.

LESSONS LEARNED

The article provides several lessons that can be learned:

1. Complexity of Regional Conflicts:

The situation in the DRC highlights the complexity of regional conflicts involving multiple armed groups, neighboring countries, and political dynamics. Understanding and addressing such conflicts require a nuanced and comprehensive approach.

2. Importance of Neutrality in Interventions:

The article suggests that any regional force intervening in a conflict should strive to remain neutral and avoid aligning too closely with the perspectives of local armies. Neutrality is crucial to building trust and achieving lasting peace.

3. Need for Comprehensive Solutions:

Focusing solely on one rebel group, such as the M23, may not address the underlying causes of violence. A comprehensive solution should consider the multitude of armed groups, political complexities, and social issues contributing to the conflict.

4. Potential Risks of Military Solutions:

The article cautions against a purely military approach, emphasizing that addressing violence requires more than just military intervention. Military actions should be complemented by diplomatic efforts, political dialogue, and attention to the root causes of the conflict.

5. Diplomacy and Negotiation:

Peace building efforts should prioritize diplomatic solutions and negotiations. Enabling peaceful talks between rebels and the government can offer a more sustainable path to resolution than relying solely on military force.

6. Importance of Regional Cooperation:

The involvement of regional bodies, such as the East African Community and SADC, underscores the significance of regional cooperation in addressing conflicts. Collaboration among neighboring countries can contribute to stability and peace in the affected region.

7. Awareness of Accusations and Grievances:

Understanding the historical context and accusations between involved parties is essential. Efforts to stabilize a region should take into account the grievances of all parties involved, preventing the exacerbation of existing tensions.

8. Avoiding Unintended Consequences:

Interventions should carefully consider potential unintended consequences. For instance, focusing on one rebel group might unintentionally give other armed groups room to exploit the situation or create further tensions.

9. Critical Evaluation of Previous Interventions:

The criticism of the East African Community's force highlights the importance of critically evaluating and learning from past interventions. Understanding what has worked and what hasn't is crucial for improving future efforts.

10. Acknowledging the Role of Governance:

The article indirectly emphasizes the importance of effective governance. The absence of the state in daily life and the focus of political elites on personal survival contribute to the perpetuation of violence. Efforts to stabilize a region should address governance issues for long-term stability.

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Thank you.

KATANGA MURDER BROTHER – IN – LAW SPILLS WIDOW MOLLY’S SECRETS.



In a strongly –worded missive clearly aimed at countering media users churning out a contrary narrative and version of events, James Mudingi, a brother to slain Mbuya Money-lending resident Henry Katanga, has tackled widow Molly Bananukye Katanga like no one else has. Henry Katanga, has tackled widow Molly Bananukye Katanga like no one else has done before.

James vigorously rejects suggestions that Henry Katanga was a lazy pauper who didn't own much to his name. He asserts that even the Mbuya residential property, whose ownership social media reports had attributed to Molly, was Henry Katanga's. He goes ahead to explain the circumstances under which Katanga, his brother, accumulated under which Katanga, his brother, accumulated means to acquire such high end property. That he sold more than 100 acres of land at Karuroko/ Kiruhura, his village, to a one Jimrex Mujuni and used the proceeds to acquire the land and put up the palatial home in Mbuya. Branding Molly's social media supporters liars, James says all this information can be corroborated by Jimrex Mujuni who fortunately is still alive.

In his lengthy missive, James Mudingi contemptuously describes Molly, his sister –in-law, as a flat –footed woman (whatever that means) who “merits neither grace nor sympathy.” He also states that the acrimonious circumstances under which Henry Katanga, an Ankole Royal family member, met his death allegedly at the hands of his spouse, can only lead to multiple spontaneous curses that will torment Molly for the rest of her life as will be case with her children namely Martha, Patricia and Arthur Katanga.

That in history, nobody ever treated Ankore royals with such contempt and didn't end their life in extreme misery. He advises Molly to just own up to everything the DPP is charging her with, get her mat and walk herself to Luzira prison because that's where she deserves to live for the rest of her life.



James Mudingi also predicts failed marriages for the two Molly Katanga daughters Martha and Patricia whose husbands (**respectively Muhwezi and Kamu Kachere**) he prophesies will have to dump and walk away from them because of the turbulent history surrounding their mum-as a woman who, before clocking 60, has had two of her husband's lose their lives under very controversial circumstances. That failure to be remorseful even after being charged by the DPP, an act he says was widely welcomed by majority Ugandans, is proof that Molly was never meant to be marriage material. He concludes that her two daughters (being charged along with their mum) must be sharing these unenviable traits.

Besides claiming that former CDF, and now Internal Affairs Minister, Gen David Muohozi must be ashamed of being a close relative to Molly whose sudden riches are now being attributed to the support she received from his office for the years he commanded UPDF, James Mudingi submits that the deceased Henry Katanga deserves credit for having contributed and been there for her at the time Molly Bananukye totally had nothing.

That, that time many years ago Molly was grassing and exclusively lived on financial lifeline that derived from the modest Kyeyo money Henry Katanga used to earn while doing odd jobs in Japan. James Mudingi is also angry that Molly's social media supporters haven't recognized that and all they have resorted to doing is portraying the deceased as a pauper who didn't own much in his lifetime. James Mudingi says even if it may be true that at some point Bananukye provided him with clothing, food, shelter and cars; it's total misinformation to imply that Henry Katanga was totally a useless fellow.

Besides asking hard question regarding things like why electricity was on everywhere in Mbuya except at Katanga's home that fateful Thursday 2nd November morning and why

no effect was made to reach out to Gen Burundi (a close relative who lives near there) or why the maid and shamba boy didn't raise any alarm, James Mudingi also defends Kampala businessman Barnabas Taremwa against claims recently made by Molly's tattooed son Arthur Katanga (who one time was forced out of the Malaysian University) that he was never close to the deceased.



James Mudingi demands for answers as to why both Molly and Henry Katanga insisted on and chose Barnabas Taremwa to be the one to speak on behalf of the uncles at the Kuhingira and weddings ceremonies of the two daughters-Patricia and Martha not very long ago. He also responds to claims that the one between Henry and Molly Katanga was a forced marriage which the latter was very reluctant to go into. Contrary to that, James Mudingi says there was no reluctance whatsoever because Molly (who months earlier had lost her husband James Katanga under very curious circumstances) was so desperate to get a new man and overcome her widow-hood.

He also challenges the narrative that Molly Katanga was unconscious and doesn't even know how she found her way at IHK Hospital that fateful Thursday 2nd November morning where she continues to be confined. James Mudingi wonders how Martha obtained the signature to authenticate the cheque that very morning which she used to withdraw up to Shs400m from the Stanbic Bank branch at Forest Mall.

He also demands to know why the young lady prioritized going to the bank as opposed to helping cover up and wrap her father's body that had initially been abandoned in a pool of blood. He also rejects claims that the maid, shamba boy and the two daughters naively, inadvertently tempered with the crime scene at the Mbuya home. That this can't be true because they actually managed the crime scene so effectively and the aim was cover up and shielding their mother's potential culpability.

James Mudingi also wildly claims that Molly had enough time to prepare for what was coming. That she spent two days having what he calls "**camp fire**" moments at IHK Hospital where she was for the two evenings preceding Henry Katanga's murder (31st October and 1st November). That even on 2nd November, she was seen at IHK

walking along unaided while cheerfully interacting with **Ferry Kyamananga** who happens to be the mother-in-law mothering the husband of her daughter Patricia.

He demands that the DPP and the entire investigating team interest themselves with why it's at the same IHK that Molly Bananukye ended up being admitted after the Henry Katanga murder incident at her Mbuya residence. Towards the end of his four page missive, James Mudingi makes reference to the 8:29am phone call which he says was made to a one Furugensio Tumwesigye requiring him to quickly deliver new clothes, fragrance and perfume to IHK Hospital where Molly Bananukye had just been checked in that fateful morning of Thursday 2nd November.



James Mudingi also disapprovingly responds to social media claims that the residential property both in Mbarara and Karuroko in Kiruhura are Molly Bananukye's. He says these are Henry Katanga's as is the case with Mbuya. He also rebuts the pro-Molly Bananukye narrative regarding where the couple's last born (the 12 –year-old) Siima Katanga (delivered in a Nairobi hospital in 2010) was at the time the bloody events of Thursday 2nd November unfolded inside their Mbuya home.



Multiple Choice Questions:

1. What does James Mudingi assert about the ownership of the Mbuya residential property?

- A. It belongs to Molly Bananukye Katanga.
- B. It belongs to Henry Katanga.
- C. It is co-owned by Molly and Henry Katanga.
- D. It is disputed, and the ownership is unclear.

2. How did Henry Katanga reportedly acquire the Mbuya residential property, according to James Mudingi?

- A. Through a business investment.
- B. By selling land in Karuroko/Kiruhura.
- C. It was a gift from Molly Bananukye.
- D. By inheriting it from his family.

3. How does James Mudingi describe Molly Bananukye Katanga in his missive?

- A. Graceful and sympathetic.
- B. Flat-footed and unsympathetic.
- C. Hardworking and admirable.
- D. Mysterious and elusive.

4. According to James Mudingi, what advice does he give to Molly Bananukye Katanga?

- A. To deny all charges and fight for her innocence.
- B. To confess to the charges and accept the consequences.
- C. To flee the country and avoid prosecution.
- D. To seek forgiveness from the Ankole Royal family.

5. What prophecy does James Mudingi make about Molly Katanga's daughters' marriages?

- A. They will have successful marriages.
- B. They will end up divorced.
- C. Their husbands will face controversy.
- D. They will follow in their mother's footsteps.

6. According to James Mudingi, why does Molly Katanga's daughter Martha withdraw money from Stanbic Bank?

- A. To cover up the crime scene.
- B. To buy new clothes and perfume.
- C. To assist her father's body.
- D. To pay off debts.

7. What does James Mudingi demand to know about Martha Katanga's actions on the day of the murder?

- A. Why she went to the bank instead of helping her father.
- B. Why she didn't inform the police immediately.
- C. Why she interacted with Ferry Kyamanianga.
- D. Why she was at IHK Hospital for two evenings.

8. Who does James Mudingi defend against claims made by Arthur Katanga?

- A. Molly Bananukye Katanga.
- B. Gen David Muhozi.

- C. Barnabas Taremwa.
- D. Jimrex Mujuni.

9. What allegation does James Mudingi make about Molly Katanga's activities before the murder?

- A. She spent time preparing for her husband's murder.
- B. She was having "camp fire" moments at IHK Hospital.
- C. She was conspiring with relatives to frame Martha Katanga.
- D. She was involved in illicit activities with Furugensio Tumwesigye.

10. What claim does James Mudingi make about Molly Katanga's financial support in the past?

- A. Molly received financial support from Henry Katanga.
- B. Henry Katanga lived on financial lifeline from Molly.
- C. Molly gained sudden riches through business investments.
- D. Molly's wealth was solely attributed to Gen David Muhozi's support.

11. What demand does James Mudingi make regarding Molly Bananukye's admission at IHK Hospital?

- A. He demands an investigation into her activities at IHK.
- B. He demands answers about her sudden admission.
- C. He demands her immediate release from IHK.
- D. He demands an apology from Molly Katanga.

12. Who does James Mudingi claim Molly Bananukye admitted to IHK Hospital with the help of a phone call?

- A. Furugensio Tumwesigye.
- B. Jimrex Mujuni.
- C. Ferry Kyamanianga.
- D. Martha Katanga.

BIGGER QUESTIONS

1. Question: What is the primary dispute over the ownership of the Mbuya residential property, and how does James Mudingi counter this narrative?

Answer: The primary dispute centers around whether the Mbuya residential property belongs to Henry Katanga or Molly Bananukye Katanga. James Mudingi vehemently asserts that the property unequivocally belongs to Henry Katanga, rejecting media reports suggesting otherwise. He claims that social media had erroneously attributed the property to Molly and goes on to explain that Henry acquired the property through the sale of over 100 acres of land in Karuroko/Kiruhura to Jimrex Mujuni. To substantiate this, James suggests that Jimrex Mujuni, the buyer, is still alive and can corroborate these details.

2. Question: What derogatory term does James Mudingi use to describe Molly Bananukye Katanga, and how does he further characterize her in his missive?

Answer: James Mudingi uses the term "flat-footed" to describe Molly Bananukye Katanga. In his missive, he goes beyond this term and characterizes her as a woman who "merits neither grace nor sympathy." This choice of language reflects his strong disapproval and lack of empathy towards Molly, portraying her in an unfavorable light.

3. Question: According to James Mudingi, what consequences does he predict for Molly Bananukye Katanga as a result of the acrimonious circumstances surrounding Henry Katanga's death?

Answer: James Mudingi predicts that the circumstances surrounding Henry Katanga's death will lead to multiple spontaneous curses that will torment Molly for the rest of her life. He specifically mentions that, given Henry Katanga's status as an Ankole Royal family member, nobody in history who treated Ankore royals with contempt escaped extreme misery. This foreshadowing suggests a belief in karmic consequences for Molly.

4. Question: How does James Mudingi challenge Molly Katanga's social media supporters, and what evidence does he claim can support Henry Katanga's financial standing?

Answer: James Mudingi challenges Molly's social media supporters by asserting that Henry Katanga was not a lazy pauper, contrary to the narrative they portray. He claims that Molly's brother can corroborate the information about Henry's wealth, specifically mentioning Jimrex Mujuni, the buyer of the land in Karuroko/Kiruhura. This appeal to a living witness suggests that there is tangible evidence supporting Henry Katanga's financial standing.

5. Question: Describe James Mudingi's predictions regarding the marriages of Molly Katanga's daughters, Martha and Patricia.

Answer: James Mudingi predicts failed marriages for Martha and Patricia, Molly Katanga's daughters. He prophesies that their husbands (Muhwezi and Kamu Kachere, respectively) will eventually dump and walk away from them due to the turbulent history surrounding their mother. This prediction reflects a negative outlook on the daughters' future relationships, linking them to the controversial circumstances surrounding their mother's marriages.

6. Question: According to James Mudingi, what role does Molly Katanga's deceased husband, Henry Katanga, play in her financial stability before his death?

Answer: James Mudingi credits Henry Katanga for contributing and being there for Molly at a time when she had nothing. He asserts that Molly was financially supported by Henry Katanga when she was in a precarious situation, highlighting that Molly lived on the financial lifeline derived from Henry Katanga's modest Kyeyo money earned while doing odd jobs in Japan. This portrayal contrasts with the image of Molly as a sudden beneficiary of wealth.

7. Question: What hard questions does James Mudingi pose regarding the circumstances surrounding Henry Katanga's death, and what details does he challenge?

Answer: James Mudingi raises questions about the lack of electricity in Mbuya on the morning of November 2nd and the absence of efforts to reach out to Gen Burundi, who lived nearby. He also challenges the actions of the maid and shamba boy, questioning why no alarm was raised. These questions suggest a skepticism towards the reported events and a desire for a more thorough investigation into the incident.

8. Question: Whom does James Mudingi defend against claims made by Molly's son, Arthur Katanga, and what specific claims are refuted?

Answer: James Mudingi defends Kampala businessman Barnabas Taremwa against claims made by Arthur Katanga. He demands answers regarding why Molly and Henry Katanga chose Barnabas Taremwa to speak on behalf of the uncles at the Kuhingira and wedding ceremonies of the two daughters. James responds to claims that Molly's marriage to Henry was forced, asserting that there was no reluctance on Molly's part due to her desperation to overcome widowhood.

9. Question: How does James Mudingi challenge the narrative surrounding Molly Katanga's admission to IHK Hospital, and what inconsistencies does he point out?

Answer: James Mudingi challenges claims that Molly was unconscious and unaware of her way to IHK Hospital. He questions how Martha obtained the signature to authenticate a cheque, used to withdraw up to Shs400m from Stanbic Bank, on the morning of November 2nd. James emphasizes Martha's prioritization of going to the bank over assisting her father's body, raising doubts about the narrative surrounding Molly's state of consciousness.

10. Question: What claim does James Mudingi make about Molly Katanga's alleged preparation for the events surrounding Henry Katanga's death, and what details does he provide?

Answer: James Mudingi claims that Molly had enough time to prepare for what was coming. He alleges that she spent two days having "campfire" moments at IHK Hospital on the evenings preceding Henry Katanga's murder. This assertion implies a level of premeditation and awareness on Molly's part, suggesting that she anticipated the unfolding events.

11. Question: Whose involvement does James Mudingi highlight in Molly Katanga's admission to IHK Hospital, and what does he demand from the investigating team?

Answer: James Mudingi highlights the involvement of Furugensio Tumwesigye, to whom a 8:29 am phone call was made on the morning of November 2nd. He demands that the DPP and the entire investigating team look into why Molly Bananukye ended up being admitted to IHK after the Henry Katanga murder incident at her Mbuya residence. This suggests a focus on the circumstances leading to Molly's hospitalization.

12. Question: How does James Mudingi respond to claims about Molly Katanga's property in Mbarara and Karuroko, and what details does he provide?

Answer: James Mudingi disapprovingly responds to social media claims that the residential properties in Mbarara and Karuroko belong to Molly Bananukye. He asserts that these properties, along with the one in Mbuya, are unequivocally Henry Katanga's. This challenges the narrative surrounding Molly's wealth and property ownership, presenting an alternative perspective.

13. Question: What does James Mudingi reveal about Molly Katanga's daughter Martha's actions on the morning of November 2nd, and what implications does he suggest?

Answer: James Mudingi questions why Martha prioritized going to the bank instead of assisting with her father's body, which had been left in a pool of blood. He rejects claims that Martha and others inadvertently tampered with the crime scene, arguing that they effectively managed the crime scene to cover up and shield their mother's potential culpability. This raises suspicions about the daughters' actions and their involvement in the events surrounding Henry Katanga's death.

HARD WORDS

1. Missive:

Definition: A written message or letter.

Context: In a strongly-worded missive, James Mudingi addressed the media, countering narratives surrounding the death of Henry Katanga.

2. Acrimonious:

Definition: Characterized by bitterness or sharpness, especially in speech or behavior.

Context: James Mudingi described the circumstances of Henry Katanga's death as acrimonious, suggesting bitterness and hostility.

3. Contemptuously:

Definition: In a scornful or disdainful manner, expressing strong disapproval.

Context: In his missive, James Mudingi contemptuously describes Molly Bananukye Katanga, emphasizing his strong disapproval.

4. Foreshadowing:

Definition: The act of indicating or hinting at a future event or outcome.

Context: James Mudingi's predictions about curses tormenting Molly's life foreshadow potential future consequences.

5. Prophecies:

Definition: Predictions of future events or outcomes, often with a supernatural or divine element.

Context: James Mudingi prophesies failed marriages for Molly Katanga's daughters, Martha and Patricia.

6. Corroborate:

Definition: To confirm or support with additional evidence; to strengthen or validate.

Context: James Mudingi claims that Jimrex Mujuni can corroborate the information about Henry Katanga's wealth.

7. Flat-footed:

Definition: Lacking grace or agility; clumsy or awkward in movement or demeanor.

Context: James Mudingi uses the term "flat-footed" to derogatorily describe Molly Bananukye Katanga in his missive.

8. Premeditation:

Definition: The act of planning or thinking about an action before carrying it out, especially if it is harmful or illegal.

Context: James Mudingi suggests premeditation when claiming Molly had enough time to prepare for the events surrounding Henry Katanga's death.

9. Inadvertently:

Definition: Without intention; unintentionally or accidentally.

Context: James Mudingi rejects claims that the maid, shamba boy, and the two daughters inadvertently tampered with the crime scene.

10. Culpability:

Definition: The state of being responsible for a wrongdoing or error; guilt or blame.

Context: James Mudingi argues that Martha and others effectively managed the crime scene to cover up and shield their mother's potential culpability.

11. Disapprovingly:

Definition: In a manner showing strong disapproval or disagreement.

Context: James Mudingi responded disapprovingly to social media claims regarding the ownership of properties in Mbarara and Karuroko.

12. Unenviable:

Definition: Not desirable or enjoyable; lacking positive qualities.

Context: James Mudingi suggested that Molly Katanga's daughters must be sharing unenviable traits given their mother's controversial history and charges.

LESSONS LEARNT:

If we consider the hypothetical scenario presented, some general lessons can be derived from such situations:

1. Caution in Drawing Conclusions:

Lesson: It's crucial to exercise caution and avoid jumping to conclusions based solely on initial reports or narratives. Investigations may reveal additional details that can reshape the understanding of the situation.

2. Importance of Thorough Investigations:

Lesson: The alleged murder underscores the significance of thorough and impartial investigations. Gathering all available evidence and considering different perspectives are essential to establishing the truth.

3. Media Scrutiny and Responsibility:

Lesson: The story highlights the potential impact of media coverage on public perceptions. Media outlets should prioritize responsible reporting, ensuring accuracy and fairness, especially in cases involving criminal allegations.

4. Family Dynamics and Public Scrutiny:

Lesson: Family disputes and personal matters can become highly publicized, leading to increased scrutiny. Such situations emphasize the importance of handling family issues with sensitivity and privacy.

5. Risks of Social Media Influence:

Lesson: The story suggests that social media can contribute to the spread of misinformation and the shaping of public opinions. It underscores the need for critical thinking and fact-checking when consuming information from social media platforms.

6. Legal Implications and Due Process:

Lesson: Legal proceedings should be allowed to unfold, and individuals are presumed innocent until proven guilty. The alleged murder emphasizes the significance of due process, fair trials, and respect for the rule of law.

7. Complexity of Family Relationships:

Lesson: Family dynamics can be complex, and conflicts within families can have far-reaching consequences. The story highlights the potential impact of family disputes on individuals' reputations and relationships.

8. The Role of Communication:

Lesson: Open and honest communication within families can prevent misunderstandings and potential conflicts. Effective communication can contribute to resolving issues before they escalate.

9. Public Perception and Reputation:

Lesson: Public perception can significantly impact individuals' lives, especially when criminal allegations are involved. Maintaining a positive reputation requires careful consideration of one's actions and public image.

10. Emphasis on Empathy and Compassion:

Lesson: Regardless of the circumstances, it's essential to approach these situations with empathy and compassion. Accusations and conflicts can have profound emotional impacts on all parties involved.

11. Acknowledgment of Complexity:

Lesson: Real-life situations are often complex and multifaceted. The story emphasizes the need to consider various perspectives and avoid oversimplifying issues.

It's crucial to approach discussions of alleged crimes and legal matters with sensitivity and respect for the legal process. In any real-life situation, it is advisable to rely on verified information from credible sources and to let legal authorities handle investigations and legal proceedings.

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- Sapiens does not originate any news or facts.
- It scrapes all its information from public domain like libraries and cloud archives.
- Currently, Sapiens does not sell its analytics.
- LEGTEK GROUP is a partner in Uganda.
- Currently, Sapiens operates in 32 Countries across the Globe.

Thank you.

Farewell Republic of Uganda, welcome Rwakitura kingdom

March 11, 2009



Mwenda, the Republican!

Young , vibrant and vitriolic too! Gone are the days.

And so, we have finally neared the summit of our journey from the Republic of Uganda to the Kingdom of Rwakitura under the Kaguta dynasty.

The crowning moment of this journey was two weeks ago when President Yoweri Museveni appointed his wife, Mrs Janet Museveni, to cabinet. That there has not been a major outcry in the country against this increasing and narrowing patrimony is a sign of how deeply people's expectations of the president have sunk. Short of walking nude on the streets of Kampala, there is really nothing that Museveni can do that can shock anyone anymore. Whenever I think he has reached the rock-bottom of moral and political depravity, Museveni somehow still finds a new depth to fall into.

During its 48-year history, our nation has seen many leaders but none has been as openly corrupt and nepotistic as Museveni 's not Idi Amin, Tito Okello and not Milton Obote. Our cover story shows the vast number of known relatives and in-laws of the president in government positions (see page 8) " his son, brother, sister, daughter, brothers-in-law, sisters-in-law etc. Therefore, the appointment of his wife to cabinet is a small symbol of an otherwise large and chronic malaise that has been eating at our nation's entrails. Museveni has been stripping away the difference between himself as a person and his official job as president.

For example, in 2006, I was told by a number of government officials that each time they went to see him at his country home in Rwakitura, Museveni would hold official meetings with them in his night gown. I was also informed that the special presidential assistant on veterinary services, Dr Sam Byagageire, literary works as the farm manager of Museveni's ranches in Kisozi and Rwakitura. Equally, Presidential Guard Brigade soldiers guard and graze his cows.

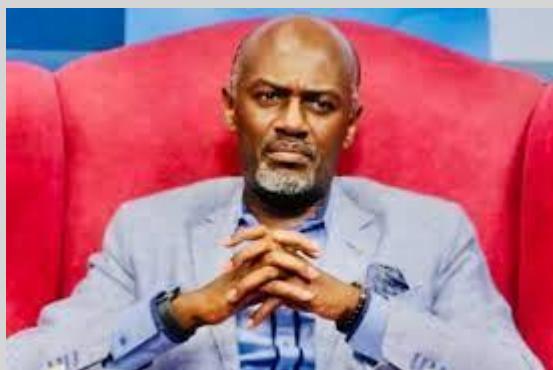
These actions show that our president still behaves like African chiefs of old ‘ for example Nyungu ya Maawe of the 19th Century Nyamwezi kingdom ‘ by not separating personal from official business. Yet Museveni always criticises pre-colonial African chiefs for this ‘backwardness’ in his speeches on modernisation. The president needs to modernise himself first before thinking of modernising Uganda.

The president treats UPDF soldiers almost as if they are his children and many government officials as his servants. He also treats our nation’s treasury as his personal bank account by issuing orders to give free money to persons of his choice. Generally, he treats our country as his private estate ‘ witness how he gives out public land and public enterprises for free to ‘investors’ of his choice. These days he openly moves with brown envelopes filled with cash which he dishes out at will to groups meeting him. The last Ugandan president to do that was Amin.

In such circumstances, what difference is there between the resources of our nation and the private wealth of the president? In many ways, we the citizens of the republic are not treated any differently from the porters on his farm ‘ or even his cows and goats. No wonder, most people cynically refer to Pay As You Earn (PAYE) tax as Pay As Yoweri Enjoys.

I understand that given his peasant upbringing in a nomadic culture, our president may not appreciate the difference between public resources and his personal wealth. Among his Bahima sub-ethnic group, when a friend visits, you bid them farewell by giving them a cow. When he gives public money or public land for free, Museveni is acting true to his Kihima peasant roots; just like a peasant in Nyabushozi would see off a friend with the words ‘Nakuha ente’ (I have given you a cow). Yet a Muhima peasant does not give away his/her cow without some criteria.

Thus to explain the irregular giving away of taxpayers’ money, Museveni has always advanced dubious reasons. In the case of Tri-Star Apparels factory in which he sank \$13m before it collapsed under his nose, he claimed it was to break a ‘psychological inferiority complex’ of Ugandans exporting finished goods to America. Apparently, such a complex must have been his because by 1970, Uganda was a net supplier of finished garments to some of the world’s leading stores like Marx and Spencer, C&A and so on.



Disillusioned about the future of Uganda.

But the businessman he gave free taxpayers’ money to build the garment factory was not Ugandan. So, if the complex existed at all, using an Asian to export the goods to America was not a formula for removing such a ‘psychological inferiority complex’ among Ugandans. Most critically, he did not seem to realise that he caused huge financial loss to the government of Uganda, a crime under the law for which he has arrested other public officials like Jim Muhwezi and Mike Mukula.

The list of issues around which Museveni has personalised the state in Uganda is long and inexhaustible. The point, however, is that the appointment of his wife to cabinet is not unique or unusual as it falls into the pattern of his actions over time ‘ appointing family members to run the government ‘A daughter, nephew, son, brother, sister etc. But how has our nation traversed from a republic to a dynastic kingdom akin to that of Louis XVI in France on the eve of the French Revolution of 1789? How did a revolution seeking modernity for Uganda turn into a corrupt neo-patrimonial order?



Andrew perceived that President Museveni was strategically attempting to entrench monarchism in Uganda; then.

Here lies the tragedy of Africa. Though Museveni initially positioned himself as the leader seeking to change how Africa was managed, he has exposed himself as the ultimate symbol of our continent’s dysfunctions. Because of low levels of institutional development, decision making in our countries tends to be highly personalised; individual rulers tend to exercise a disproportionate influence on the fate or fortunes of a nation.

In such circumstances, the paranoia of an Idi Amin, Jean Bokasa and Samuel Doe can lay a country to ruins. Equally, the charisma, discipline and moral quality of a Kwame Nkrumah, Nelson Mandela and Paul Kagame can inspire hope and mould a nation. Sadly, Uganda is walking the footsteps of the worse Africa has produced. We need to stand up and oppose this creeping monarchy.



Is he now a Monarchist?

Multiple Choice Questions:

- 1. What was the significant event two weeks ago in the Republic of Uganda, according to the article?**
 - a. A presidential election
 - b. Appointment of Janet Museveni to cabinet
 - c. Passage of a new law
 - d. Signing of a major trade agreement
- 2. How does the article describe the public's reaction to President Museveni's actions?**
 - a. Overwhelming support
 - b. Major outcry
 - c. Indifference
 - d. Celebration
- 3. What is the article's criticism of President Museveni's behavior in official meetings at his country home in Rwakitura?**
 - a. Lack of discipline
 - b. Holding meetings in his night gown
 - c. Failure to address crucial issues
 - d. Excessive formality
- 4. In what ways does the article suggest that President Museveni blurs the line between personal and official business?**
 - a. By separating his ranches from official duties
 - b. By not holding official meetings at home
 - c. By treating soldiers and officials as servants
 - d. By avoiding involvement in personal wealth matters
- 5. What historical comparison does the article make regarding President Museveni's behavior?**
 - a. Comparison to Nelson Mandela
 - b. Comparison to Idi Amin
 - c. Comparison to Kwame Nkrumah
 - d. Comparison to Paul Kagame
- 6. What criticism does the article make regarding President Museveni's handling of public resources?**
 - a. Transparent management
 - b. Acting as a responsible steward
 - c. Treating the nation's treasury as his personal bank account
 - d. Strict adherence to financial regulations
- 7. What term does the article use to describe President Museveni's apparent distribution of cash in brown envelopes?**
 - a. Transparent financial management
 - b. Responsible financial stewardship
 - c. Cynically referred to as Pay As Yoweri Enjoys
 - d. Standard government procedure
- 8. What reason did President Museveni give for investing in the Tri-Star Apparels factory, according to the article?**
 - a. To promote Ugandan fashion globally
 - b. To break a psychological inferiority complex

- c. To support local entrepreneurs
- d. To modernize Uganda's textile industry

9. According to the article, what is the crime for which President Museveni could be held accountable?

- a. Public disturbance
- b. Financial mismanagement
- c. Political dissent
- d. Promoting economic growth

10. What is the article's overall call to action regarding President Museveni's leadership style?

- a. Support for a dynastic order
- b. Opposition to a creeping monarchy
- c. Celebration of personalized decision-making
- d. Indifference to institutional development

BIGGER QUESTIONS

1. Why does the article consider the appointment of Janet Museveni to the cabinet as a significant event, and what does it suggest about public sentiment?

Answer: The article considers the appointment of Janet Museveni as significant because it reflects a continuation of a pattern where President Museveni appoints family members to key government positions. The lack of a major outcry is seen as an indication of how public expectations of the president have lowered over time. This suggests a growing acceptance or resignation among the public regarding nepotism and increasing patrimony in the government.

2. How does the article criticize President Museveni's behavior during official meetings at his country home in Rwakitura?

Answer: The article criticizes President Museveni for holding official meetings with government officials in his night gown. This behavior is portrayed as a symbol of his failure to separate personal life from official duties, contributing to a blurred line between the president as an individual and his role as the head of the state.

3. In what ways does the article suggest that President Museveni treats the resources of the nation as his own, and what impact does this have on governance?

Answer: President Museveni is portrayed as treating the nation's treasury as his personal bank account by giving free money to individuals of his choice and freely distributing public land and enterprises. This behavior erodes the distinction between public resources and the president's personal wealth, potentially leading to issues of accountability, financial mismanagement, and corruption.

4. How does the article draw historical comparisons to highlight President Museveni's behavior, and what is the significance of these comparisons?

Answer: The article compares President Museveni's behavior to that of African leaders like Idi Amin, suggesting that despite initial promises of modernization and change, Museveni has become a symbol of the dysfunctions seen in some African leaders. The historical comparisons underscore the tragedy of Africa where personalized decision-making by leaders can have detrimental effects on the fate and fortunes of a nation.

5. What criticism does the article make regarding President Museveni's handling of public money and public enterprises?

Answer: The article criticizes President Museveni for openly moving with brown envelopes filled with cash, which he distributes at will to groups meeting him. This behavior is compared to actions by Amin and is seen as evidence of treating the nation's resources as his private estate, with the author noting similarities to Amin's practices.

6. What is the article's argument regarding President Museveni's understanding of the difference between public resources and personal wealth?

Answer: The article suggests that President Museveni, with a peasant upbringing in a nomadic culture, may not fully appreciate the distinction between public resources and personal wealth. His actions, such as giving away public money and land freely, are attributed to his Kihima peasant roots and cultural practices, highlighting a lack of understanding of modern governance principles.

7. Why does the article raise concerns about President Museveni's irregular giving away of taxpayers' money and cite the example of the Tri-Star Apparels factory?

Answer: The article expresses concerns about the irregular giving away of taxpayers' money, citing the example of the Tri-Star Apparels factory where President Museveni invested \$13 million before it collapsed. The author questions the validity of the reasons given by Museveni for such investments, suggesting a lack of clear criteria and potential financial losses to the government.

8. How does the article perceive President Museveni's treatment of the military and government officials, and what impact does it have on governance?

Answer: The article portrays President Museveni as treating the UPDF soldiers almost as if they are his children and many government officials as his servants. This behavior contributes to a perception of the president as not differentiating between personal relationships and official duties, potentially undermining the professionalism and independence of key institutions.

9. What historical context does the article provide to explain President Museveni's behavior and the transformation of Uganda into a dynastic kingdom?

Answer: The article traces President Museveni's journey from positioning himself as a leader seeking change to becoming a symbol of Africa's dysfunctions. It suggests that due to low levels of institutional development, personalized decision-making by individual rulers, including Museveni, has led to a situation where the presidency is increasingly resembling a dynastic kingdom.

10. What is the article's call to action regarding President Museveni's leadership style, and what does it propose for the future of Uganda?

Answer: The article calls for opposition to what it perceives as a creeping monarchy under President Museveni. It encourages citizens to stand up against the trend of appointing family members to key positions and the personalized decision-making that erodes democratic principles. The article implies that Uganda needs to resist the path towards a dynastic order and advocate for more transparent, accountable, and modern governance.

Hard Words

1. Patrimony:

Definition: An inheritance or legacy from a father or ancestor.

Context: The appointment of Janet Museveni to the cabinet is seen as a sign of increasing patrimony, indicating a growing concentration of power within President Museveni's family.

2. Nepotistic:

Definition: Favoritism shown to family or close friends, especially in granting positions of influence.

Context: The article criticizes President Museveni for his openly nepotistic practices, appointing family members to various government positions.

3. Dysfunctions:

Definition: Abnormal or impaired functioning, often used to describe problems or maladies within a system.

Context: President Museveni is portrayed as a symbol of Africa's dysfunctions, indicating the perceived issues and malaise within the political system.

4. Paranoia:

Definition: A mental condition characterized by extreme distrust and suspicion of others.

Context: The article suggests that in circumstances of personalized decision-making, the paranoia of leaders like Idi Amin can lead a country to ruins.

5. Charisma:

Definition: Compelling attractiveness or charm that can inspire devotion in others.

Context: The article contrasts leaders with the charisma of figures like Nelson Mandela, implying that such qualities can positively shape a nation.

6. Inexhaustible:

Definition: Incapable of being used up or depleted, limitless.

Context: The article refers to the list of issues around which Museveni has personalized the state as inexhaustible, emphasizing the ongoing nature of such problems.

7. Cynically:

Definition: Distrustful of human sincerity or integrity, often expressing a belief that people are motivated by self-interest.

Context: The article mentions that most people cynically refer to Pay As You Earn (PAYE) tax as Pay As Yoweri Enjoys, suggesting a skeptical view of the taxation system.

8. Irregular:

Definition: Contrary to established rules or customs; not regular or consistent.

Context: The article raises concerns about President Museveni's irregular giving away of taxpayers' money, citing examples like the Tri-Star Apparels factory.

9. Dynastic:

Definition: Pertaining to or characteristic of a succession of rulers from the same family or line.

Context: The article raises questions about Uganda's transformation into a dynastic kingdom, implying a concentration of power within President Museveni's family.

10. Resignation:

Definition: Acceptance of a situation as it is, without protest or resistance.

Context: The lack of a major outcry against the appointment of Janet Museveni to the cabinet is seen as a sign of how deeply people's expectations of the president have sunk, indicating a sense of resignation among the public.

LESSONS LEARNT.

1. Erosion of Public Expectations:

The appointment of family members, such as Janet Museveni, to key government positions without a major public outcry suggests a potential erosion of public expectations. This highlights the importance of maintaining high standards of governance and accountability to prevent a decline in public trust.

2. Personalization of Power:

The narrative illustrates concerns about the personalization of power, with President Museveni accused of blurring the lines between personal and official matters. The lesson here is the importance of separating individual interests from the responsibilities of public office to uphold the integrity of governance.

3. Historical Parallels and Leadership Styles:

Drawing historical parallels with leaders like Idi Amin emphasizes the impact of leadership styles on the fate of a nation. It serves as a lesson on how the behavior and decisions of leaders can shape public perception and influence the course of a country.

4. Nepotism's Negative Consequences:

The narrative criticizes nepotistic practices, highlighting the negative consequences of favoritism in government appointments. The lesson is that nepotism can lead to perceptions of corruption and erode trust in the fairness of political processes.

5. Public Resources and Accountability:

The article raises concerns about the irregular giving away of taxpayers' money and public resources. This underscores the lesson that leaders must be accountable for their financial decisions and adhere to transparent and responsible management of public funds.

6. Cultural Context and Governance:

Understanding the cultural context, such as President Museveni's peasant upbringing, is crucial in evaluating leadership decisions. The narrative suggests that cultural influences may impact a leader's perspective on governance, emphasizing the need for a nuanced understanding of individual backgrounds.

7. Resistance to Monarchic Trends:

The narrative calls for opposition to what it perceives as a creeping monarchy. The lesson is that citizens play a crucial role in resisting trends that undermine democratic principles and institutions, emphasizing the importance of civic engagement and advocacy.

8. Leadership and Modernization:

The narrative contends that leaders, like President Museveni, need to modernize themselves before attempting to modernize the nation. This underscores the lesson that effective leadership involves personal growth, adapting to contemporary values, and aligning with the principles of good governance.

9. Importance of Institutional Development:

The narrative links low levels of institutional development to personalized decision-making. The lesson here is that fostering strong institutions is essential for preventing excessive concentration of power in individual leaders and promoting stable governance.

10. Public Perception and Political Behavior:

The lack of public outcry against certain actions, as described in the narrative, highlights the role of public perception in shaping political behavior. It emphasizes the lesson that public awareness, engagement, and demand for accountability are essential for maintaining a healthy and functioning democracy.

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Thank you.

ARTICLE A: Uganda Airlines tipped to save over ugx9.5bn, If it starts self-handling.

23rd July 2021

“In the third phase, the Airline will embark on third party handling, by attracting business from other airlines operating at Entebbe International Airport,” an inside source told this website.



If Uganda Airlines commences self-handling in a phased rollout, the move will save the national airline billions of shillings it has been paying to Ground handling companies at Entebbe Airport.

Currently, DAS Company does ground handling for Uganda Airlines, but its contract will soon come to an end, according to sources. Experts advise Uganda Airlines to do its ground handling to stop the new airline from bleeding.

In the Business Implementation Plan, Uganda Airlines will start with the Ramp activities (Ramp, Loading, Baggage etc) and the second phase will see the national carrier take on the full operation with Passenger handling activities. The main purpose is to save costs (paid to the Ground Handling companies) and increase the company's revenue base.

“In the third phase, the Airline will embark on third party handling, by attracting business from other airlines operating at Entebbe International Airport,” an inside source told this website.

Presently, the source reveals that the national carrier spends approximately US\$900,000 (about Shs3.19bn) annually in handling charges and equipment hire for the CRJ fleet. “With the expected A330 -800 neo entry into service, and the proposed weekly flights to Dubai and London Heathrow, the costs would almost triple the CRJ cost (about Shs9.57bn). This amount once saved, through self-handling will eventually be re-invested into the company's

other projects like Third party handling, A Business Lounge and Training through provision of internationally accredited courses as well as customer product development products,” a highly placed source revealed.



Jeniffer Bamuturaki on the steering wheel

On whether terminating DAS contract won't raise litigation issues, the source said the current contract with the current Handler is set to expire on 31st August, 2021.

“So, there's no termination nor litigation, rather, an engagement between the two parties for on training of our recruited staff or if need arises, and besides we are partners in the aviation business so we will work together in the phased approaches (they will continue to handle our Passenger activities as we take on the Ramp) the source said.

It's also understood that the current handler has a one-year contract and it was awarded in view of starting self-handling.

“This position (self-handling) was shared with our handler who in turn pledged support to Uganda Airlines project through on job training of the recruited staff and a phased cut over process.

Ready To Kick-start

Credible sources say Uganda Airlines has already purchased an assortment of equipment (now in storage) to handle both Aircraft types, having arrived as far back as March 2021, and the Organization is currently undergoing a shortlisting process for skilled manpower that will join the Airline for the self handling process.

“The recruitment was commenced in early 2020 but was delayed due to the global lockdown following the covid-19 pandemic,” a source said, adding that they are confident that once they have the skilled manpower on board, the Airline should commence the project in time with the planned start dates.

This project is expected to contribute to the individual development of the staff with employment base being increased and renumerations will have a positive ripple effect to many households.

“The recruitment process will see over 162 individuals in the first phase and as the Airline moves to third party handling, our numbers will grow by 30% to manage and handle these operations,” the source said.

Uganda Airlines joins other successful airlines embracing self ground handling. Some of the notable airlines doing own self handling include Emirates, KLM, SAS (Scandinavian Airlines), Lufthansa, Ethiopian, Kenya Airways and RwandAir.

ARTICLE B: Why I won't be Flying Uganda Airline Again — Any time Soon!



Nicholas Banulanzezi

On June 12, 2023, I had a scheduled trip to a neighboring Metropolis. The available flight options were Kenya Airways and Uganda (National) Airlines. I opted for the latter, thanks to the patriotic side of me choosing to go BUBU. Little did I know that I had successfully set myself up for the grandmother of distress.

10 hours before the travel time, the good old fellows at Uganda Airline decided to cancel — or rather reschedule — the flight from 10:00 to 21:30 hours, all of 09 hours later. The news came via a casual email, on a Sunday evening.

No sober soul reads emails on a Sunday evening unless one's work environment is so devoid of work-life balance that they cannot tell between Sunday evening and a frenzied mid-morning weekday.

So I missed the email, having sacked out early enough in anticipation of an early morning 45KM trip to the airport. I ended up spending the rest of the day “working from home”. I chose to “understand” because, well, Murphy’s law never has a timetable. The BUBU side of me still wanted to give our beloved Airline the benefit of the doubt.

21:30 hours. Flight time; and the waiting was over, finally. We flew UR204 and not the cited UR206. The 45-minute journey was without incident. A few minutes before 23:00 hours, our experience was over. We arrived in a cold city.

I went through the rest of my visit choosing to forget the past and look forward to a better experience when I eventually returned.

Alas, the return journey — several days later — panned out no differently. A flight earlier scheduled for 10:00 hours seemingly seemed on course until another last-minute change. At

the Airport, we went through the normal check-in process and proceeded to our designated boarding gate. At 9:45 hours, 15 minutes before the planned departure time, there were no signs of the Aircraft.

Nobody knew what was happening. Perhaps the Aircraft's engine stalled. Maybe the entire cabin crew went on strike. Or the morning alarms simply didn't go off. Our repeated inquiries at the boarding gate returned blank stares. The boarding agent looked as bewildered as we were.

15 minutes later, the dreaded announcement was finally made. We would have to wait for another 1 hour 30 minutes, they said. 11:30 hours.

Cometh the hour, and our suspect timekeeping still abounded in all its glory. We finally departed a few minutes past noon. And that's how a full journey that should have lasted 90 minutes ended up wasting 15+ hours of my precious time.

Perhaps they have something up their sleeves that will make for a better experience. For this, I will watch and wait from the sidelines before fully engaging again. In the interim, the relationship remained in limbo.

Multiple choice questions

Article A:

1. What is the main purpose of Uganda Airlines commencing self-handling?

- A. Increase dependence on ground handling companies
- B. Save costs and increase revenue
- C. Expand contracts with DAS Company
- D. Focus solely on Passenger handling activities

2. When is the current contract with DAS Company set to expire?

- A. 23rd July 2021
- B. 31st August 2021
- C. 12th June 2023
- D. 1st January 2022

3. How much does Uganda Airlines spend annually on handling charges and equipment hire for the CRJ fleet?

- A. Shs9.57bn
- B. Shs3.19bn
- C. Shs900,000
- D. Shs1.5bn

4. What project is expected to be funded with the savings from self-handling?

- A. Construction of a new airport
- B. Third-party handling
- C. A Business Lounge
- D. All of the above

5. When did Uganda Airlines start the recruitment process for skilled manpower for self-handling?

- A. Early 2021
- B. Early 2020
- C. March 2021
- D. June 12, 2023

Article B:

6. What influenced the author to choose Uganda Airlines for the scheduled trip?

- A. Better pricing
- B. Early departure time
- C. Patriotic reasons (BUBU)
- D. Larger baggage allowance

7. How did the author learn about the flight rescheduling on the first leg of the journey?

- A. Text message
- B. Phone call
- C. Casual email
- D. In-person announcement at the airport

8. What was the impact of the flight rescheduling on the author's plans?

- A. No impact
- B. Delayed departure
- C. Cancellation of the trip
- D. Upgraded to a better flight

9. What was the reason given for the delayed departure on the return journey?

- A. Technical issues
- B. Crew strike
- C. Unspecified delays
- D. Morning alarms failure

10. How much longer did the return journey take than originally planned?

- A. 5 hours
- B. 9 hours
- C. 15+ hours
- D. 2 hours

11. What is the author's current stance on flying Uganda Airlines again?

- A. Enthusiastic
- B. Uninterested
- C. Willing to try again
- D. Skeptical, with a wait-and-see approach

12. What flight number did the author take on the return journey?

- A. UR204
- B. UR206
- C. UR202
- D. UR208

BIGGER QUESTIONS

Article A: Uganda Airlines tipped to save over ugx9.5bn IF it starts self-handling

1. Describe the phased rollout plan for Uganda Airlines' self-handling initiative. How is it expected to impact the national airline's financial situation?

Answer: Uganda Airlines plans to commence self-handling in a phased rollout, starting with Ramp activities and progressing to full operation with Passenger handling. The move aims to save billions of shillings currently paid to ground handling companies. In the third phase, the airline intends to engage in third-party handling to attract business from other airlines, ultimately boosting revenue.

2. Explain the financial implications of Uganda Airlines' current contract with DAS Company and how the decision to end this contract aligns with the airline's cost-saving objectives.

Answer: Uganda Airlines currently spends approximately US\$900,000 annually on handling charges and equipment hire for the CRJ fleet under the DAS Company's contract. Ending this contract aligns with the airline's cost-saving objectives, as it plans to save significant amounts through self-handling, allowing funds to be redirected to other projects like third-party handling, a Business Lounge, and training.

3. Discuss the challenges and benefits associated with Uganda Airlines' decision to undertake self-handling. How might this decision impact the airline's competitiveness in the aviation industry?

Answer: Undertaking self-handling presents challenges such as initial investment and manpower training. However, the benefits include substantial cost savings and increased revenue. This decision can enhance Uganda Airlines' competitiveness by allowing it to offer more competitive pricing, improved services, and potentially attract business from other airlines.

4. Elaborate on the recruitment and training process for skilled manpower for self-handling. How does Uganda Airlines plan to ensure a smooth transition during the phased cut-over process?

Answer: Uganda Airlines initiated the recruitment process for skilled manpower in early 2020, with delays due to the global lockdown. The organization is shortlisting candidates for the self-handling process. The phased cut-over process involves on-the-job training of recruited staff, ensuring a smooth transition. The skilled workforce is expected to contribute to individual development, increased employment, and successful self-handling operations.

Article B: Why I won't be Flying Uganda Airline Again — Any time Soon!

5. Examine the author's decision-making process in choosing Uganda Airlines over Kenya Airways for the scheduled trip. How does patriotism factor into the decision, and what were the expectations?

Answer: The author's decision to choose Uganda Airlines over Kenya Airways was influenced by patriotism (Buy Uganda, Build Uganda - BUBU). The expectation was a positive and patriotic travel experience with the national airline.

6. Critically analyze the communication strategy employed by Uganda Airlines in informing passengers about the rescheduling of flights. How did the author perceive and respond to the communication?

Answer: Uganda Airlines informed passengers of flight rescheduling through a casual email. The author, missing the email, ended up spending the day working from home. The communication strategy, relying on email, might be deemed ineffective, considering the circumstances and potential impact on passengers' plans.

7. Evaluate the author's experience during the delayed departure on the return journey. How did Uganda Airlines handle the situation, and what impact did it have on the author's perception of the airline?

Answer: The author experienced a delayed departure on the return journey with minimal information provided. Uganda Airlines' handling of the situation, including a last-minute change and a significant delay, negatively impacted the author's perception of the airline, leading to frustration and wasted time.

8. Explain the author's stance on flying Uganda Airlines again. What factors contribute to this stance, and what changes or improvements could potentially alter this perception?

Answer: The author is currently skeptical about flying Uganda Airlines again, adopting a wait-and-see approach. The factors contributing to this stance include flight rescheduling, delays, and overall inconvenience. Improvements in communication, punctuality, and customer service could potentially alter the author's perception and willingness to fly with the airline again.

HARD WORDS

1. Phased Rollout:

Definition: A gradual and systematic introduction or implementation of a plan or project over several stages.

Context: Uganda Airlines plans a phased rollout for self-handling, starting with Ramp activities and progressing to full operation.

2. Renumерations:

Definition: The act of paying compensation or salary to someone for services rendered.

Context: The project to commence self-handling is expected to result in increased renumeration, positively impacting many households.

3. Assortment:

Definition: A collection or variety of different things or elements.

Context: Uganda Airlines has already purchased an assortment of equipment for self-handling, stored since March 2021.

4. Bleeding (metaphorical use):

Definition: Incurring continuous financial losses or experiencing financial strain. **Context:** Experts advise Uganda Airlines to do its ground handling to stop the new airline from bleeding.

5. Limbo:

Definition: A state of uncertainty or neglect; a situation where there is no progress or resolution.

Context: The author's relationship with flying Uganda Airlines remained in limbo, pending potential improvements in service.

6. Credible:

Definition: Worthy of belief or confidence; reliable and trustworthy.

Context: Credible sources indicate that Uganda Airlines has already purchased equipment for self-handling.

7. Patriotic (BUBU):

Definition: Having or showing love and support for one's country; BUBU stands for "Buy Uganda, Build Uganda," emphasizing the support of local products and businesses.

Context: The author chose Uganda Airlines for a trip due to patriotic reasons, following the BUBU initiative.

8. Phased Cut-Over:

Definition: The process of transitioning from one phase to another in a planned and systematic manner.

Context: The phased cut-over process involves on-the-job training of recruited staff for the self-handling project.

9. Ripple Effect:

Definition: The continuing and spreading impact or influence of an event or action.

Context: Increased renumerations from the self-handling project are expected to have a positive ripple effect on many households.

10. Skeptical:

Definition: Having doubt or reservation about something; showing a cautious attitude.

Context: The author is currently skeptical about flying Uganda Airlines again, awaiting potential improvements before fully engaging.

FUTURE OF UGANDA AIRLINES

Business Review: Navigating the Future - Uganda Airlines

Introduction:

Uganda Airlines stands at a critical juncture in its journey as a business venture, facing both challenges and opportunities. This comprehensive business analysis will delve into the recent customer complaint outlined in Article B and explore its implications for the airline's future strategies, customer experience enhancements, and overall business sustainability.

Customer Experience Analysis:

The customer complaint highlighted several significant pain points, including flight rescheduling, lack of effective communication, and substantial delays. These issues have a direct impact on customer satisfaction and loyalty, posing challenges to Uganda Airlines' reputation in the competitive aviation market. Addressing these concerns is paramount for the airline's future success.

Operational Considerations:

The issues raised by the customer complaint shed light on potential operational challenges within Uganda Airlines. Flight rescheduling, especially with short notice, points to challenges in operational planning and scheduling. The lack of clear communication further underscores potential gaps in the airline's operational procedures. To secure a positive future trajectory, Uganda Airlines must address these operational inefficiencies, ensuring better coordination, communication, and crisis management.

Strategic Responses:

In response to customer complaints, Uganda Airlines needs to implement strategic measures to improve its operations and enhance the overall customer experience. This includes a thorough review of its communication protocols, a reevaluation of its scheduling processes, and the implementation of robust crisis management strategies to mitigate the impact of unforeseen circumstances.

Investments in Technology:

To address the issues of communication breakdown, Uganda Airlines should consider investing in advanced communication technologies. Implementing a comprehensive

customer notification system via various channels, including SMS, email, and push notifications, can ensure that passengers are promptly informed of any changes or updates related to their flights. This not only improves customer satisfaction but also demonstrates a commitment to transparency and customer-centricity.

Operational Efficiency:

Improving operational efficiency is crucial for Uganda Airlines to meet and exceed customer expectations. This involves streamlining processes, optimizing resource allocation, and investing in staff training. The implementation of robust systems for monitoring and managing potential delays can minimize disruptions and contribute to a smoother customer experience.

Customer Engagement and Service Recovery:

In response to the specific complaint about the return journey delays, Uganda Airlines should actively engage with affected customers, offering sincere apologies, and providing compensatory measures where applicable. Proactive service recovery initiatives, such as travel vouchers or discounts on future flights, can help rebuild customer trust and loyalty.

Conclusion:

Uganda Airlines' future as a successful business venture hinges on its ability to address the customer concerns highlighted in the complaint. By investing in technology, enhancing operational efficiency, and implementing customer-centric strategies, the airline can not only rectify past issues but also fortify its position as a reliable and customer-focused carrier. By leveraging this feedback as an opportunity for improvement, Uganda Airlines can steer its future trajectory towards enhanced customer satisfaction, strengthened operational resilience, and sustained growth in the competitive aviation industry.

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Court of Appeal stops Cairo Bank from selling assets of Biyinzika Enterprises

03/12/2023



The Court of Appeal's injunction stands as a crucial safeguard for Biyinzika Enterprises Limited, preserving its properties from being auctioned off by Cairo International Bank. This legal restraint follows a contentious dispute between the bank and the enterprise, with the court's decision signaling a temporary but crucial pause in the bank's attempts to liquidate the properties.

In a decisive legal intervention, the Court of Appeal presided over by Justice Monica K. Mugenyi, (sitting as a Single judge) has issued an interim restraining order against Cairo International Bank, preventing the sale of properties owned by Biyinzika Enterprises Limited.

This judicial move marks a significant development in an ongoing dispute, safeguarding the assets of the enterprise from imminent sale by the bank.

The Court of Appeal's injunction stands as a crucial safeguard for Biyinzika Enterprises Limited, preserving its properties from being auctioned off by Cairo International Bank. This legal restraint follows a contentious dispute between the bank and the enterprise, with the court's decision signalling a temporary but crucial pause in the bank's attempts to liquidate the properties.

The ruling that took place on Thursday provides a reprieve for Biyinzika Enterprises Limited, allowing for a more deliberative legal process to unfold and potentially reach a resolution between the conflicting parties.



Biyinzika Enterprises, a renowned company specializing in poultry feed production, hatching chicks, and various other ventures, found itself entangled in a financial ordeal with debts exceeding Shs20 billion owed to both DFCU Bank and Cairo International Bank. As the company encountered business stagnation, its financial liabilities surged, leading to substantial indebtedness to the banks.

In a bid to manage its financial strain, Biyinzika Enterprises approached the bank, proposing to pay interest for an extended period of eight months and requesting an additional year to stabilize their loan repayments. However, the substantial arrearage prompted Cairo International Bank to take steps towards auctioning the company's valuable properties as part of debt recovery measures.



Against this backdrop, Cairo Bank initiated the advertising of Biyinzika's properties in newspapers signalling an intent to proceed with the auction. In response, Biyinzika sought recourse by applying for an injunction in the Commercial Division of the High Court. However, their attempt to halt the bank's actions was met with disappointment as Justice Harriet Grace Magala dismissed the injunction, thereby permitting the auction of Biyinzika's substantial properties to satisfy the outstanding Cairo Bank loan.

In a strategic move to safeguard their assets from imminent auctioning, Biyinzika Enterprises pursued legal recourse in the Court of Appeal. Their plea for intervention met success, as the Court of Appeal granted a much-needed relief, halting the impending sale of their properties, and thereby offering a reprieve from the looming threat to their valuable assets.



In her ruling, Justice Mugenyi alluded that although it has been proposed that one of the properties has already been sold, there is nothing on record to suggest that full payment therefore has been effected. To avert any further alienation of the mortgaged properties, and insofar as the properties listed in Annexure J as due for the Respondent's possession are the subject of contention on appeal, it seems to her that it would serve the interests of justice in this matter that the current status quo is preserved until the substantive application for a temporary injunction has been heard and determined.

"In the result, an interim order is hereby issued restraining the Respondent Bank, its agents, employees, assignees or any persons claiming or deriving authority therefrom from taking any steps, actions or otherwise taking possession or selling the following mortgaged properties pending the determination of Civil Application No.1226of2023," she said.

As of now, the court has restrained the bank from selling or advertising; Bulemezi Block 795 Plot 8, Land at Buswagiro, Nakaseke District; Bulemezi Block 44 Plot 59, Land at Namusansula, Luwero District; Bulemezi Block 194 Plot 67, Land at Kasambya, luwero District; Leasehold Register Volume 1904 Folio 20 Plot 131, Ntinda Road, Kampala; Leasehold Register Volume 1571 Folio 25 Plot 135, Ntinda Road, Kampala, and Leasehold Register Volume 1109 Folio 9 Plot 133, Ntinda Road, Kampala.

Multiple Choice Questions:

- 1. What is the subject of the legal dispute between Biyinzika Enterprises Limited and Cairo International Bank?**
A. Property ownership.
B. Poultry feed production.
C. Financial liabilities.
D. Commercial advertising.
- 2. Who issued the interim restraining order against Cairo International Bank regarding the sale of Biyinzika Enterprises' properties?**
A. Justice Harriet Grace Magala.
B. Justice Monica K. Mugenyi.
C. Commercial Division of the High Court.
D. Biyinzika Enterprises.
- 3. What is the significance of the Court of Appeal's decision in this case?**
A. It allows for the immediate sale of Biyinzika's properties.
B. It marks a crucial safeguard, preventing the auction of Biyinzika's properties.

C. It dismisses the plea for intervention.

D. It signals the initiation of the auction process.

4. Why did Biyinzika Enterprises approach Cairo International Bank with a proposal?

A. To request a loan.

B. To propose interest payments for an extended period.

C. To advertise their properties.

D. To initiate legal proceedings.

5. What was the outcome of Biyinzika's attempt to halt the auction in the Commercial Division of the High Court?

A. The auction was immediately halted.

B. The injunction was granted, stopping the auction.

C. The injunction was dismissed, allowing the auction.

D. The court ruled in favor of Biyinzika, preventing the auction.

6. What actions did Cairo International Bank take after Biyinzika Enterprises' proposal for extended interest payments?

A. Initiated legal proceedings.

B. Rescheduled the loan repayment.

C. Advertised Biyinzika's properties for auction.

D. Accepted the proposal without any actions.

7. Where did Biyinzika Enterprises seek recourse after the dismissal of the injunction in the Commercial Division of the High Court?

A. Court of Appeal.

B. International Court of Justice.

C. Supreme Court.

D. District Court.

8. What was the primary reason for seeking an interim restraining order by Biyinzika Enterprises in the Court of Appeal?

A. To proceed with the auction.

B. To halt the impending sale of their properties.

C. To advertise the properties.

D. To appeal the decision.

9. Which specific properties are mentioned in the court order that Cairo International Bank is restrained from selling or advertising?

A. Various properties across Uganda.

B. Bulemezi Block 795 Plot 8 only.

C. Properties in Nakaseke District only.

D. Properties in Luwero District only.

10. What is the current status of the court order regarding the properties listed in Annexure J?

A. The properties have been sold.

B. The court has allowed the auction to proceed.

C. Full payment for the sold property is confirmed.

D. The court has preserved the current status quo.

11. What is Justice Monica K. Mugenyi's rationale for issuing the interim order?

A. To expedite the auction process.

B. To finalize the legal dispute.

C. To prevent further alienation of mortgaged properties.

D. To allow for immediate possession by Cairo International Bank.

12. What is the primary reason behind the financial strain faced by Biyinzika Enterprises?

- A. Lack of market demand.
- B. Substantial indebtedness to banks.
- C. Economic recession.
- D. Operational inefficiencies.

BIGGER QUESTIONS.

1. Discuss the nature of the financial dispute between Biyinzika Enterprises Limited and Cairo International Bank. What were the factors that led to the legal intervention by the Court of Appeal?

Answer: The financial dispute between Biyinzika Enterprises and Cairo International Bank revolves around substantial indebtedness, with the company facing financial strain and debts exceeding Shs20 billion owed to both DFCU Bank and Cairo International Bank. The legal intervention by the Court of Appeal stemmed from Cairo International Bank's attempts to auction Biyinzika's properties as part of debt recovery measures.

2. Explain the role of Justice Monica K. Mugenyi and the Court of Appeal in issuing the interim restraining order. What significance does this order hold for Biyinzika Enterprises?

Answer: Justice Monica K. Mugenyi, sitting as a Single judge in the Court of Appeal, played a crucial role in issuing the interim restraining order against Cairo International Bank. This order holds immense significance for Biyinzika Enterprises as it temporarily prevents the bank from auctioning the company's properties, offering a reprieve and allowing a more deliberative legal process to unfold.

3. Elaborate on the events that led to Biyinzika Enterprises' financial ordeal, including its proposal to Cairo International Bank. How did the financial strain escalate to the point of potential property auction?

Answer: Biyinzika Enterprises, specializing in poultry feed production, faced a financial ordeal as its business stagnated, leading to debts exceeding Shs20 billion owed to banks. In an attempt to manage this financial strain, Biyinzika proposed paying interest for an extended period and requested an additional year to stabilize loan repayments. The substantial arrearage prompted Cairo International Bank to initiate steps towards auctioning the company's valuable properties for debt recovery.

4. Evaluate the consequences of Justice Harriet Grace Magala's decision to dismiss the injunction in the Commercial Division of the High Court. How did this decision impact Biyinzika Enterprises' legal recourse and subsequent actions?

Answer: Justice Harriet Grace Magala's decision to dismiss the injunction in the Commercial Division of the High Court allowed the auction of Biyinzika's properties to proceed. Faced with disappointment, Biyinzika pursued legal recourse in the Court of Appeal, seeking intervention to halt the impending sale. This decision marked a crucial turning point in the legal battle and paved the way for the issuance of the interim restraining order.

5. Examine the legal basis for Biyinzika Enterprises' application for an injunction in the Commercial Division of the High Court. What arguments or legal grounds were presented, and how did the court respond?

Answer: Biyinzika Enterprises applied for an injunction in the Commercial Division of the High Court to halt the auction initiated by Cairo International Bank. The legal basis likely involved arguments related to the need for a more deliberative legal process, potential resolution between conflicting parties, and possibly challenging the validity of the debt recovery measures. However, Justice Harriet Grace Magala dismissed the injunction, allowing the auction to proceed.

6. Discuss the strategic move by Biyinzika Enterprises to seek legal recourse in the Court of Appeal. What factors may have influenced this decision, and how did it differ from their previous attempt in the Commercial Division of the High Court?

Answer: Biyinzika Enterprises strategically sought legal recourse in the Court of Appeal after the dismissal of the injunction in the Commercial Division of the High Court. Factors influencing this decision may include a perception of a higher likelihood of a favorable outcome, different legal interpretations, or a belief in the need for a more elevated legal intervention. This move differed from their previous attempt as it ultimately proved successful in obtaining the interim restraining order.

7. Explain the significance of the court's ruling in favor of Biyinzika Enterprises, as articulated by Justice Monica K. Mugenyi. How does the ruling impact the ongoing dispute and the future course of action for both parties?

Answer: The court's ruling in favor of Biyinzika Enterprises, as articulated by Justice Monica K. Mugenyi, holds significance by halting the impending sale of properties. The ruling preserves the current status quo until a substantive application for a temporary injunction is heard and determined. This impacts the ongoing dispute by providing Biyinzika with a reprieve and necessitates a more careful legal process. It signals a potential shift in the future course of action, fostering an environment for further legal deliberations.

8. Explore the specific properties mentioned in the court order that Cairo International Bank is restrained from selling or advertising. What potential impact does this have on the bank's debt recovery measures, and how might it influence future negotiations between the parties?

Answer: The court order restrains Cairo International Bank from selling or advertising various properties owned by Biyinzika Enterprises, including those in Nakaseke, Luwero, and Kampala. This significantly impacts the bank's debt recovery measures by temporarily halting the auction of valuable assets. It creates a potential avenue for future negotiations between the parties, emphasizing the need for a resolution that safeguards the interests of both the bank and Biyinzika Enterprises.

9. Analyze Justice Monica K. Mugenyi's rationale for issuing the interim order, citing concerns about the alienation of mortgaged properties. How does this reasoning align with the principles of justice and fairness in legal proceedings?

Answer: Justice Monica K. Mugenyi's rationale for issuing the interim order revolves around concerns about the alienation of mortgaged properties. Her reasoning aligns with the principles of justice and fairness by emphasizing the preservation of the current status quo until a substantive application for a temporary injunction is heard and determined. This ensures a balanced and impartial approach to the ongoing legal proceedings, preventing further alienation of properties before a comprehensive legal assessment.

10. Examine the potential implications for Biyinzika Enterprises if the court had not issued the interim restraining order. How might the auction of valuable properties have affected the company's operations and financial standing?

Answer: If the court had not issued the interim restraining order, the auction of valuable properties might have adversely affected Biyinzika Enterprises. The company could have

faced disruptions in its operations, loss of key assets, and a further deterioration of its financial standing. The auction could have had long-term consequences for the company's viability and ability to recover from its financial strain.

11. Evaluate the current legal landscape for Biyinzika Enterprises following the court's decision. What challenges and opportunities does the company now face as it navigates through the ongoing legal dispute and potential negotiations with Cairo International Bank?

Answer: The current legal landscape for Biyinzika Enterprises is marked by the temporary reprieve granted by the court's decision. Challenges include the need for a comprehensive legal strategy, potential future legal expenses, and the ongoing financial strain.

Opportunities lie in the possibility of negotiations with Cairo International Bank, exploring alternative debt resolution methods, and seeking a sustainable path forward for the company.

12. Discuss the broader implications of this legal dispute between Biyinzika Enterprises and Cairo International Bank on the business environment and legal precedents in Uganda. How might this case influence future interactions between financial institutions and commercial enterprises in the country?

Answer: The legal dispute has broader implications on the business environment and legal precedents in Uganda. It highlights the importance of legal safeguards for businesses facing financial challenges. This case may influence future interactions by encouraging financial institutions to consider alternative debt resolution methods and fostering a more balanced approach to debt recovery. It could set a precedent for ensuring fairness and justice in similar disputes between financial institutions and commercial enterprises in the country.

Hard Words

1. Indebtedness:

Definition: The state of being in debt; owing money.

Context: Biyinzika Enterprises faced significant **indebtedness** with debts exceeding Shs20 billion owed to banks, leading to financial strain and potential auction of properties.

2. Reprieve:

Definition: A temporary relief or escape from a difficult situation.

Context: The interim restraining order issued by the Court of Appeal provided a much-needed **reprieve** for Biyinzika Enterprises, temporarily halting the auction of its valuable properties.

3. Contentious:

Definition: Causing or likely to cause an argument; controversial.

Context: The legal intervention in the ongoing dispute between Biyinzika Enterprises and Cairo International Bank signifies a **contentious** relationship, with conflicting interests between the two parties.

4. Alienation:

Definition: The state of being withdrawn or isolated from the objective world.

Context: Justice Monica K. Mugenyi's rationale for issuing the interim order was to prevent any further **alienation** of mortgaged properties, ensuring a fair legal process.

5. Arrearage:

Definition: The state of being behind or late, especially in the fulfillment of a duty.

Context: The substantial **arrearage** in loan repayments prompted Cairo International Bank to take steps towards auctioning Biyinzika Enterprises' valuable properties as part of debt recovery measures.

6. Deliberative:

Definition: Characterized by or resulting from careful consideration.

Context: The court's decision to issue an interim restraining order allows for a more **deliberative** legal process, fostering careful consideration and examination of the ongoing dispute.

7. Adverse:

Definition: Unfavorable or harmful; acting against one's interests.

Context: The potential auction of valuable properties could have had **adverse** effects on Biyinzika Enterprises, including disruptions in operations and a further deterioration of its financial standing.

8. Repudiation:

Definition: The rejection or denial of the validity or authority of something.

Context: The bank's advertising of Biyinzika's properties signaled an intent to proceed with the auction, leading to the company's pursuit of legal recourse to prevent the **repudiation** of its assets.

9. Preservation:

Definition: The action of maintaining something in its original state.

Context: Justice Mugenyi emphasized the **preservation** of the current status quo until a substantive application for a temporary injunction is heard, ensuring fairness in legal proceedings.

10. Elevated:

Definition: Raised to a higher position or state.

Context: Seeking legal recourse in the Court of Appeal represents an **elevated** approach compared to the previous attempt in the Commercial Division of the High Court, demonstrating a strategic move by Biyinzika Enterprises.

11. Mitigate:

Definition: To make less severe, serious, or painful.

Context: Proactive service recovery initiatives, such as travel vouchers or discounts, can help **mitigate** the impact of delays on customer trust and loyalty, fostering a positive relationship between the airline and its passengers.

12. Recourse:

Definition: The action or option that can be taken in response to a problem or dispute.

Context: Biyinzika Enterprises pursued **recourse** in the Court of Appeal after the dismissal of the injunction in the Commercial Division of the High Court, seeking legal intervention to protect its assets from auction.

LESSONS LEARNT.

1. Financial Mismanagement:

Lesson: The case highlights the potential consequences of financial mismanagement within a business. Biyinzika Enterprises faced substantial indebtedness, suggesting inadequate financial planning and risk management.

2. Overreliance on Debt:

Lesson: Businesses should be cautious about overreliance on debt for expansion or operational needs. Biyinzika's situation, with debts exceeding Shs20 billion, indicates the risks associated with high levels of indebtedness.

3. Ineffective Communication:

Lesson: The communication breakdown between the bank and Biyinzika Enterprises, leading to contentious disputes and potential property auctions, underscores the importance of effective communication in resolving financial issues.

4. Legal Vulnerabilities:

Lesson: The legal vulnerabilities faced by Biyinzika, including the dismissal of an injunction in the Commercial Division, highlight the need for businesses to strengthen their legal positions and anticipate potential legal challenges.

5. Challenges in Debt Resolution:

Lesson: The case demonstrates the challenges businesses may face when negotiating debt resolution with financial institutions. Even with proposals for extended repayment periods, the risk of aggressive debt recovery measures remains.

6. Impact on Operations:

Lesson: The potential adverse effects on Biyinzika's operations, had the auction proceeded, highlight the broader impact of financial disputes on a company's ability to function and serve its customers.

7. Reputation Damage:

Lesson: Legal disputes and financial struggles can damage a company's reputation. Negative publicity from potential property auctions and legal battles may deter customers and investors, impacting long-term business viability.

8. Need for Proactive Financial Strategies:

Lesson: The case underscores the importance of proactive financial strategies, including early detection of financial distress, effective debt management, and exploring alternative financial solutions before reaching a critical point.

9. Importance of Risk Mitigation:

Lesson: Businesses should implement effective risk mitigation strategies to address financial challenges. Biyinzika's situation may have been mitigated with proactive risk management and contingency planning.

10. Legal System Complexity:

Lesson: The complexity and delays within the legal system, as seen in Biyinzika's pursuit of legal recourse, emphasize the challenges businesses may encounter when seeking legal intervention. This complexity may contribute to prolonged disputes.

11. Strategic Decision-Making:

Lesson: The strategic decision by Biyinzika to pursue legal recourse in the Court of Appeal after a setback in the Commercial Division highlights the importance of strategic decision-making in navigating complex legal issues.

12. Impact on Employees and Stakeholders:

Lesson: Financial struggles and legal disputes have a broader impact on employees and stakeholders. Biyinzika's situation could have resulted in job losses, affecting livelihoods and creating a ripple effect in the community.

While these lessons may be perceived as negative, they offer valuable insights for businesses to learn from challenges faced by others and implement measures to avoid similar pitfalls.

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The 'Unsinkable' Titanic

Originally published in 1986, Reader's Digest editors drew on dozens of sources to compile and condense this remarkable tale of the White Star liner, RMS Titanic, which sank on 15 April 1912



The largest ship the world had ever known, The Titanic sailed from Southampton, England, on her maiden voyage to New York City on Wednesday, 10 April, 1912. She was built with double bottoms, and her hull was divided into 16 watertight compartments. She was thought to be unsinkable and carried more than 2200 people.

Occupying the first-class suites were many well-known men and women—millionaire John Jacob Astor and his young bride; US President William Howard Taft's close adviser Archibald W. Butt; former congressman and department store Macy's chief executive Isidor Straus and J. Bruce Ismay, managing director of the White Star Line. In the crowded cabins of steerage class were more than 700 immigrants heading to the land of promise.

Sunday the 14th dawned fair and clear. At nine a.m., a message from the steamer Caronia sputtered into the wireless shack: "Captain, Titanic—westbound steamers report bergs, growlers and field ice in 42 degrees N. from 49 degrees to 51 degrees W. Compliments—Barr." The message was delivered to Captain E. J. Smith, who wired an acknowledgment. Just before noon, the rasping spark of early wireless spoke again across the water. It was the Baltic, warning the Titanic of ice on the steamer track. The wireless operator sent the message up to the bridge. Captain Smith read it as he was walking on the promenade deck and then handed it to Bruce Ismay without comment.

Ismay read it, stuffed it into his pocket, told two women about the icebergs, and resumed his walk. It was bitter cold on deck that evening, but the night was calm and fine. After dinner, some of the second-class passengers gathered for hymn singing. It was almost 10 p.m. as the group sang the words of the mariner's hymn: "Oh, hear us when we cry to thee, for those in peril on the sea."

On the bridge was First Officer William Murdoch. At least seven wireless warnings about ice had reached the ship; lookouts had been cautioned to be alert. At 22 knots, its speed unslackened, the Titanic ploughed on through the night.

High in the crow's nest, lookout Frederick Fleet peered into a dazzling night. There was no moon, but the cloudless sky blazed with stars, and the Atlantic was like polished plate glass. Lookouts were not supplied with binoculars, but at 11:40 p.m. Fleet's eyes suddenly

detected something directly ahead, even darker than the darkness. At first it was small, but every second it grew larger and closer. Fleet quickly banged the crow's nest bell three times, the warning of the danger ahead. At the same time, he lifted the phone and rang the bridge.

"What did you see?" asked a calm voice at the other end.

"Iceberg right ahead," replied Fleet.

"Thank you," acknowledged the voice. Nothing more was said.

On the bridge, Quartermaster Robert Hichens was at the wheel. First Officer Murdoch gave the order: "Hard astarboard!" This meant turning the stern of the ship to starboard and the bow to port. As Murdoch telegraphed the engine room "full astern," Hichens obeyed the spoken order and threw his full weight to the wheel.

In the crow's nest, Fleet stood motionless as the silhouette loomed larger and larger. After what seemed an eternity, the Titanic's bow [forward part] finally swung to port [left, if you stood on board facing the bow] and was beginning to clear the iceberg. Fleet braced himself as the forecastle brushed against the berg and ice tumbled onto the farewell deck.



First Officer William Murdoch (far left) and Captain John Smith (far right) of the Titanic.

A Ripping Sound

At the very bottom of the ship, fireman Frederick Barrett had been hard at work stoking the furnaces in No. 6 boiler room. Foaming green seawater suddenly exploded through the Titanic's side, about half a metre above the floor plates, shearing the starboard [right, opposite of port] wall for the entire length of No. 6 and slightly into the coal bunker in No. 5. The alarm bell was jangling above the watertight door, which had just begun to descend. Barrett managed to leap through the doorway and into No. 5 boiler room as the door shut. Meanwhile, in the first-class dining saloon far above Barrett, four members of the ship's crew heard a faint grinding jolt that seemed to come from somewhere deep inside the ship.

It was not much, but enough to rattle the silverware that was set for breakfast the next morning.

Passengers in their cabins felt the jar too. Major Arthur G. Peuchen, starting to undress for the night, thought it was like a heavy wave striking the ship. To Lady Duff Gordon, waking up from the jolt, it seemed “as though somebody had drawn a giant finger along the side of the ship.” Hearing that grinding jar in the first-class smoking room, Spencer V. Silverthorne rushed out onto the deck. With a few other passengers, he was in time to see the iceberg scraping along the starboard side, a little higher than the boat (topmost) deck. As it slid by, they watched chunks of ice breaking and tumbling off into the water. In another moment, it faded into the darkness astern.

The excitement soon disappeared. The Titanic seemed as solid as ever, and it was too cold to stay outside any longer. Slowly, everyone filed back inside.

As the grinding noise died away, Captain Smith rushed onto the bridge from his cabin next to the wheelhouse.

There were a few quick words: “Mr Murdoch, what was that?”

“An iceberg, sir. I hard-a-starboarded and reversed the engines, but she was too close. I couldn’t do any more.”

In the stateroom of the Titanic’s principal designer, Thomas Andrews, the impact was so slight it escaped his notice. A knock on the door drew his attention. A sailor summoned him to the bridge, where the captain told Andrews what had happened. Water in the forepeak ... No. 1 hold ... No. 2 hold ... mail room ... boiler room No. 6 ... boiler room No. 5.

Water four metres above keel level in the first ten minutes, everywhere except boiler room No. 5. Put together, the facts showed a 90-metre gash, with the first five compartments hopelessly flooded. The conclusion was inescapable. The Titanic was on her way to the ocean floor, some 4,000 metres below. Andrews estimated the ship had but 90 minutes left. At 12:05 a.m.—about 25 minutes after that grinding jar—Captain Smith ordered Chief Officer H. F. Wilde to uncover the lifeboats. The Titanic carried only 16 boats and four canvas collapsibles capable altogether of holding about 1,180 of the 2,200 or so aboard. The captain himself then walked to the wireless shack. “Send the call for assistance,” he ordered.

“What call should I send?” Jack Phillips asked.

“The regulation international call for help. Just that.”

Less than 16 kilometres away, the Californian wireless operator Cyril F. Evans had closed down his set at the scheduled hour of 11:30.

The Light That Failed

The Cunard liner Carpathia, sailing from New York City, was bound for Gibraltar and the Mediterranean. Her extensive passenger accommodations—providentially—were nearly half empty. The Carpathia’s radio operator was H. T. Cottam. Cottam’s heart nearly missed a beat when out of the night came the dread letters of the international distress call: “CQD CQD SOS SOS. Come at once. We have struck a berg. Position 41.46 N., 50.14 W. CQD SOS!”

Cottam raced up to the bridge and breathlessly informed the officer of the watch, who in turn went to the captain’s cabin.

Captain Arthur H. Rostron later wrote: “So incredible seemed the news that, having at once given orders to turn the ship, I got hold of the Marconi operator. ‘Are you sure it is the

Titanic?" I asked him. "Quite certain," he replied. "All right," I said then. "Tell him we are coming."

"We are coming as quickly as possible," Cottam telegraphed, "and expect to be there within four hours."

"TU OM" ["Thank you, old man"].

After that, Cottam switched off his transmitter. He was careful not to do anything that might interfere with the Titanic's signals. Presently, however, he overheard her exchanges with the Frankfurt, Mount Temple and other ships—though all this time the Californian, which now lay less than 16 kilometres distant from the sinking liner, remained silent.

Playing the Game

Aboard the Titanic, the passengers stood calmly on the boat deck—unworried but confused, waiting for the next orders. Each class kept to its own decks—first class in the centre of the ship, second a little aft, third at the very stern or on the well deck near the bow. With uneasy amusement, they eyed how one another looked in life belts.

There had been no boat drill, the passengers had no boat assignments, and the going was slow. Second Officer Charles H. Lightoller, in charge of the port side, stood with one foot in Boat 6 and one on deck. He called for women and children. The response was anything but enthusiastic. Why trade the bright decks of the Titanic for a few dark hours in a rowboat? Even John Jacob Astor ridiculed the idea: "We are safer here than in that little boat."

When Constance Willard flatly refused to enter the boat, an exasperated officer finally said, "Don't waste time—let her go if she won't get in!"

There was music to lull them too. Bandmaster Wallace Henry Hartley had assembled his men, and the band was playing ragtime music. At 12:45 a.m., a blinding flash seared the night as the first rocket shot up from the starboard side of the bridge. There was no more joking or lingering. In fact, there was hardly time to say goodbye.

"It's all right, little girl," called Dan Marvin to his new bride. "You go and I'll stay awhile." He blew her a kiss as she entered the boat. "Be brave, no matter what happens," Dr W. T. Minahan told his wife as he stepped back with the other men. But Mrs Isidor Straus refused to go. "I've always stayed with my husband; where you go, I go," she said. Time was clearly running out.

Soon the sea slopped over the Titanic's forward well deck and rippled around the cranes, the hatches, and the foot of the mast. The nerve-racking rockets stopped, but the slant of the deck was steeper, and there was an ugly list to port.

A little group of millionaires stood quietly apart from the rest of the passengers on the boat deck; there were John Jacob Astor, George B. Widener, John B. Thayer and a few others. Benjamin Guggenheim and his male secretary had changed back into evening dress.

Declared Guggenheim, "We are prepared to go down like gentlemen." He gave his steward—in case he survived—a message for his wife. "Tell her I played the game out straight and to the end. No woman shall be left aboard this ship because Ben Guggenheim was a coward."

The poor Irish boys and girls from steerage were down on their knees, praying. An English priest, Father Thomas Byles, was moving to and fro among the passengers, hearing confessions and giving absolution. Every moment the black water was drawing nearer and nearer. At 2:15 a.m., as the crewmen were tugging at the last two collapsible boats, the bridge dipped under, and the sea rolled aft along the boat deck. At this moment, the ragtime

ended, and strains of the hymn “Autumn” flowed across the deck and drifted into the still night far over the water.

“She’s Gone”

Second Officer Lightoller later wrote: “There was only one thing to do, and I [decided I] might just as well do it and get it over, so, turning to the fore part of the bridge, I took a header. Striking the water was like a thousand knives being driven into one’s body, and no wonder, for the temperature of the water was minus two degrees C.

“I suddenly found myself drawn to an air shaft by the sudden rush of the surface water now pouring down. I was held flat and firmly up against a grating on this opening with the full and clear knowledge that if this light wire carried away, there was a sheer drop of close to 30 metres, right to the bottom of the ship. Although worth, it was impossible to get away, for as fast as I pushed myself off, I was irresistibly dragged back, every instant expecting the wire to go, and to find myself shot down into the bowels of the ship. I was still struggling and fighting when suddenly a terrific blast of hot air came up the shaft and blew me right away and up to the surface.”

Lightoller survived by joining some 30 others on an overturned collapsible boat before transferring to a lifeboat. Passenger Lawrence Beesley described the great ship’s last moments as seen from Boat No. 7, a kilometre and a half away: “We gazed awestruck as she tilted slowly up, revolving apparently about a centre of gravity just astern of amidships, until she attained a vertically upright position; and there she remained—motionless!”

In the maelstrom of ropes, deck chairs, planking, and wildly swirling water, nobody knew what happened to most of the people. From the boats, they could be seen clinging like swarms of bees to deckhouses, winches and ventilators.

The famous and the unknown tumbled together in a writhing heap as the bow plunged deeper and the stern rose higher. Then a steady roar thundered across the water as everything movable broke loose—29 boilers … 15,000 bottles of ale and stout beer … 30 cases of golf clubs and tennis racquets … huge anchor chains … tonnes of coal … 30,000 fresh eggs … five grand pianos.

The structure supporting the first funnel collapsed. The mammoth smokestack seemed to lift off like a missile—its steel hawsers tearing the planking out of the decks—before it toppled on the people in the water.

The ship’s innards were now giving way. Crushed between the pressure of the sea and the gargantuan tonnage of the foundering liner, the celebrated watertight bulkheads crumpled with “big booms.” The Titanic’s stern steadily lifted, and suddenly her lights snapped off. They came on again with a searing flash and then went out forever.

Two minutes passed, the noise stopped, and the Titanic settled back slightly at the stern. Then slowly she began sliding under at a steep slant. As she glided down, the ship seemed to pick up speed. When the sea closed over the flagstaff on her stern, there was a gulp.

“She’s gone; that’s the last of her,” someone sighed to lookout Reginald Lee in Boat 13.

The starlight revealed a scene of utter horror. The sea all around was covered with a mass of tangled wreckage and the struggling forms of many hundreds of men, women, and children—slowly, inexorably freezing to death in ice-cold water. A sheet of thin, grey vapour hung like a pall a few metres above the surface.

Burial at Sea

Meanwhile, the Carpathia was making its way towards the Titanic. "Icebergs loomed up and fell astern," wrote Carpathia's Captain Rostron. "We never slackened, though sometimes we altered course to avoid them. As soon as there was a chance that we were in view, we started sending up rockets at intervals of about a quarter of an hour.

"There was no sign of the Titanic herself. By now—it was about 3:35am—we were almost up to the position. I saw a green light just ahead of us, low down. I knew that must be a boat. I brought the vessel alongside, and the passengers started climbing aboard. They were in the charge of an officer. I asked that he should come to me as soon as he was on board."

Without preliminaries, Rostron burst out excitedly, "Where is the Titanic?"

"Gone!" replied Fourth Officer Joseph G. Boxhall. "She sank at 2:20am."

"Were many people left on board when she sank?"

"Hundreds! Perhaps a thousand or more!" Boxhall's voice broke with emotion. "My God, sir, they've gone down with her!"

"Daylight was just setting in," Rostron wrote, "and what a sight that new day revealed. Everywhere were icebergs. And amid the tragic splendour of them as they lay in the first shafts of the rising sun, boats of the lost ship floated."

At 8:30, the last of the lifeboats and the collapsibles to arrive made fast and began to unload.

The Californian (which all night long had failed to react to the Titanic's distress) had got under way at 6am, steering for the position where she had earlier been informed the Titanic had sent out her distress call. Shortly after 8am, steaming cautiously through the ice, she was near enough to the Carpathia for semaphore signalling. The Californian inquired what had happened; the reply came that the Titanic had sunk. Later the Californian received a wireless message from Captain Rostron: "I am taking the survivors to New York. Please stay in the vicinity and pick up any bodies."

Before heading back, Rostron sent for the Reverend Anderson, a clergyman aboard, and the people from the Titanic and Carpathia assembled in the main lounge to pay their respects to the dead. While they murmured their prayers, the Carpathia steamed slowly over the Titanic's grave. There were few traces of the great ship. And at 8:50, Rostron felt sure there couldn't possibly be another survivor. He rang "full speed ahead" and turned his ship for New York. According to the captain of the Californian, no bodies could be found, and after an hour or so he resumed his voyage. There were in fact hundreds of corpses, drifting to and fro on the face of the waters. They may not have been seen because they were caught up in an immense ice mass moving in a northeasterly direction, and ships dared not venture near it. Later, those bodies were dispersed, possibly as a result of the ice breaking up in the Gulf Stream.

A week after the sinking, the cable ship MacKay-Bennett found 306 of them. When first sighted, they had seemed like a great flock of gulls on the water, bobbing gently in the swell. They were all floating in an upright position as if treading water, most of them in a great cluster surrounded by debris from the ship.

All day, crewmen worked at dragging the sodden bodies onto the deck. Those victims without identification were prepared for a proper burial at sea. By 8pm that Sunday, the first burials began. MacKay-Bennett engineer Fred Hamilton kept a diary: "The tolling of the bell summoned all hands to the forecastle, where 30 bodies are to be committed to the deep, each carefully weighted and sewed in canvas. The crescent moon is shedding a faint light on us as the ship lies wallowing in the great rollers. The funeral service is conducted by the

Reverend Canon Hind; for nearly an hour the words ‘For as much as it hath pleased ... we therefore commit his body to the deep’ are repeated, and at each interval comes, splash! as the weighted body plunges into the sea, there to sink to a depth of about two miles [three kilometres].

“Splash, splash, splash.”

Final Resting Place

“Like an enormous black finger pointing at the sky,” as one survivor described her, the Titanic had heaved herself upright at 2:18am. She hovered “in this amazing attitude” for moments—some said for several minutes—and took a sudden plunge forward as everything from dynamos to cabin furniture broke loose and fell towards the bow. Then she corkscrewed slightly to port; her submerged forecastle began to shudder, and the ocean surged into A and B decks. Before the Titanic’s lights went out for good, she appeared “like an enormous glowworm”—even the lamps in the underwater sections of the ship continued to burn, flooding the water around the bow with a green radiance.

Then she settled back to an angle of about 70 degrees and began slowly sliding into the sea. Muffled thunder sounded deep beneath the surface, and “she went down with an awful grating, like a boat running off a shingly beach.” She disappeared from view at 2:20am. Within 15 seconds, the Titanic was 15 metres under the surface and accelerating.

There was desperate life, still, among the more than 1000 souls remaining aboard. But only the few that somehow got to the surface had more than a moment’s hope. After another several seconds, the Titanic passed through the 30-metre level.

Somewhat deeper, there were implosions as the heavy steel bulkheads crumpled like tinfoil. The remaining buoyancy of the ship was sharply reduced. Her speed picked up to perhaps 20 knots. A few minutes after total submersion, the inclination of the Titanic relented a bit from the steep angle at which she had slipped beneath the pond-smooth surface. Her giant boilers, which had crashed down through all the ship’s bulkheads and punched holes in the side of the bow, had gone on ahead, advance scouts seeking the ocean floor.

Levelled out in a flatter angle, the great ship now “kited” as it made its way through the icy depths, oscillating back and forth as she descended, somewhat in the manner of a leaf floating to earth.

Around 1000 metres, she entered a zone never penetrated by sunlight. At that depth, where the ocean bears down at 114 kilos per square centimetre, no human life is possible. The stern, which had endured unimaginable stress when it rose towards the sky, had already pulled away. More cargo broke loose—cranes, the engine-room telegraph, chamber pots, serving platters, bottles of claret and champagne from the ship’s wine cellar near the stern. Then, at about 2400 metres, the Titanic thrust her bow into the benthic current, a vast, subsurface, slow-moving river.

The ship had been sinking for seven minutes now, and the ocean floor was still several hundred metres below. She entered a hilly landscape of river valleys, tributary streams, and outcroppings. Her stern had been floating free of the forward section and had partially disintegrated, scattering derricks, propellers, and even personal effects from the crew’s quarters. Bursting open, too, were the individual refrigerators, aft on G Deck, to disgorge their contents: fish, vegetables, ice cream, beef, poultry, cheese, fruit, and flowers.

Finally the Titanic slammed down. It will never be known which of the two sections, bow or stern, hit the brownish seafloor first. They kicked up huge clouds of sediment, which mingled with great clods of the ship’s boiler coal. The bow section came to rest on its keel,

with only a slight list to port. The stern, some 300 metres away, disintegrated further upon impact. Unseen, the sediment drifted down as a ghostly snow.

Now the fractured hulk would be a permanent tomb for the mighty and the lowly; for the ship's captain and most of his crew, for musicians, clergymen, and millionaires, and for teachers, bricklayers, carpenters, nurses, farmers, dishwashers. There, at about 4000 metres, people from some 20 nations lay in 3-degree C water under a pressure of 448 kilos per square centimetre. The time was close to 2:30am, Monday, April 15, 1912. The Titanic's maiden voyage had lasted four days, 17 hours, and 30 minutes.

Multiple Choice Questions:

1. What was the RMS Titanic's maiden voyage destination?

- A) Paris
- B) New York City
- C) London
- D) Gibraltar

2. How many people did the Titanic carry on her maiden voyage?

- A) Approximately 1,000
- B) More than 2,200
- C) Around 500
- D) Exactly 1,500

3. Who was the managing director of the White Star Line on the Titanic?

- A) John Jacob Astor
- B) Archibald W. Butt
- C) Isidor Straus
- D) J. Bruce Ismay

4. What warnings did the Titanic receive about ice on the day of the disaster?

- A) Two
- B) Five
- C) Seven
- D) Ten

5. At what time did the lookout spot the iceberg?

- A) 9:30 p.m.
- B) 10:45 p.m.
- C) 11:40 p.m.
- D) 1:15 a.m.

6. What was the first officer's order when the iceberg was spotted?

- A) Full speed ahead
- B) Hard astarboard
- C) Lower lifeboats
- D) Abandon ship

7. How did the fireman Frederick Barrett escape the rising water in the Titanic?

- A) He swam to the surface.
- B) He climbed up to the upper decks.
- C) He entered a lifeboat.

D) He leaped through a watertight doorway.

8. What sound did the passengers in the first-class dining saloon hear during the impact?

- A) Explosion
- B) Grinding jolt
- C) Hymn singing
- D) Bell ringing

9. How many lifeboats did the Titanic carry?

- A) 12
- B) 20
- C) 16
- D) 24

10. What was the radio distress call signal used by the Titanic?

- A) SOS
- B) HELP
- C) MAYDAY
- D) EMERGENCY

11. Which ship eventually responded to the Titanic's distress call?

- A) Caronia
- B) Californian
- C) Carpathia
- D) Baltic

12. What was the reaction of John Jacob Astor to the suggestion of entering lifeboats?

- A) He entered immediately.
- B) He ridiculed the idea.
- C) He panicked.
- D) He started singing.

13. What music was played by the Titanic's band as the ship was sinking?

- A) Classical
- B) Jazz
- C) Ragtime
- D) Rock and Roll

14. What was the condition of the sea as the Titanic sank?

- A) Stormy
- B) Calm and fine
- C) Foggy
- D) Icy

15. At what time did the Titanic sink below the surface of the ocean?

- A) 1:30 a.m.
- B) 2:05 a.m.
- C) 2:20 a.m.
- D) 3:00 a.m.

16. What message did the Carpathia's captain receive from the Californian?

- A) Information about icebergs
- B) Request for assistance
- C) Inquiry about the Titanic's sinking
- D) Offer of help

17. What was the depth of the ocean when the Titanic finally settled on the seabed?

- A) 500 meters
- B) 1,000 meters
- C) 2,400 meters
- D) 4,000 meters

18. What did Benjamin Guggenheim say about facing the disaster?

- A) "I want to survive at any cost."
- B) "We are prepared to go down like gentlemen."
- C) "Let's abandon ship immediately."
- D) "Save the women and children first."

19. How did the Titanic's lights behave as she sank?

- A) Flickered and went out
- B) Remained on until the end
- C) Turned red
- D) Flashed SOS signals

20. When did the Carpathia start heading towards New York after rescuing survivors?

- A) 2:35 a.m.
- B) 6:00 a.m.
- C) 8:50 a.m.
- D) 12:00 p.m.

BIGGER QUESTIONS:

1. What were the key features of the RMS Titanic that contributed to the belief that it was unsinkable?

Answer: The Titanic was built with double bottoms, and its hull was divided into 16 watertight compartments. This design, combined with the perception of the ship as the largest ever known, led to the belief that it was unsinkable.

2. Who were some of the prominent individuals in the first-class suites aboard the Titanic on its maiden voyage?

Answer: The first-class suites housed notable figures such as millionaire John Jacob Astor and his young bride, US President William Howard Taft's adviser Archibald W. Butt, Macy's chief executive Isidor Straus, and J. Bruce Ismay, the managing director of the White Star Line.

3. Describe the weather conditions and events leading up to the Titanic's encounter with the iceberg.

Answer: On the night of the disaster, Sunday the 14th, the weather was calm and fine. The ship received wireless warnings about ice, but despite these cautions and multiple reports, the Titanic maintained its speed through the icy waters.

4. How did the lookout discover the iceberg, and what was the response on the ship's bridge?

Answer: Lookout Frederick Fleet spotted the iceberg in the crow's nest and immediately sounded the crow's nest bell three times, indicating danger. The information was relayed to the bridge, where Captain Smith acknowledged the warning but took no further immediate action.

5. What measures were taken on the Titanic's bridge and engine room to avoid the iceberg, and were they successful?

Answer: First Officer Murdoch ordered "Hard astarboard" to turn the ship's stern to starboard and the bow to port. Additionally, the engines were set to "full astern." Despite these efforts, the Titanic's bow brushed against the iceberg, causing ice to tumble onto the deck.

6. How did passengers in different classes react to the sinking, and what challenges did the lack of a boat drill pose?

Answer: Passengers stood calmly on the boat deck, with each class staying in their designated areas. The absence of a boat drill and boat assignments led to confusion and slow evacuation. Some first-class passengers were initially reluctant to board lifeboats.

7. Describe the role of the Carpathia in responding to the Titanic's distress call and rescuing survivors.

Answer: The Carpathia, sailing from New York, responded to the distress call, altered its course, and reached the Titanic's position. The Carpathia's radio operator confirmed the sinking. Captain Rostron immediately organized the rescue, and survivors were brought aboard.

8. How did Second Officer Lightoller describe the Titanic's final moments, and what happened to him during the sinking?

Answer: Lightoller mentioned the ship tilting upright before plunging forward and corkscrewing to port. He personally experienced a harrowing moment when he leaped into the water, only to be drawn towards an air shaft before a blast of hot air propelled him to the surface.

9. What were the conditions during the burial at sea, and how did crew members honor the deceased?

Answer: Bodies recovered by the cable ship MacKay-Bennett were carefully weighted, sewn in canvas, and buried at sea. The crew, led by Reverend Canon Hind, conducted a somber funeral service, committing 30 bodies to the deep with a tolling bell.

10. How did Captain Rostron of the Carpathia react to the news of the Titanic's sinking, and what did he witness upon arrival at the scene?

Answer: Captain Rostron was initially incredulous but quickly organized the rescue. Upon arrival, he saw icebergs and, amidst their tragic splendor, found lifeboats from the Titanic. The survivors were transferred to the Carpathia, and the ship set course for New York.

11. What was the Californian's response to the Titanic's distress signals, and why did it not immediately assist in the rescue?

Answer: The Californian failed to react to the Titanic's distress signals initially. Only after the Carpathia's semaphore signaling did the Californian inquire about the Titanic's sinking. It eventually received orders to stay in the vicinity and pick up any bodies.

12. How did the Titanic's sinking impact the lives of survivors, and what measures were taken to recover bodies from the ocean?

Answer: Survivors faced physical and emotional trauma. The cable ship MacKay-Bennett found 306 bodies a week after the sinking. Crew members worked to retrieve bodies from the sea, and those without identification were given a proper burial at sea.

13. Describe the Titanic's final descent to the ocean floor and the conditions at its resting place.

Answer: The Titanic's bow and stern sections hit the ocean floor at around 4,000 meters. The ship's descent involved implosions, disintegration, and scattering of debris. The fractured hulk became a permanent tomb for people from diverse backgrounds and nations.

14. What were the environmental conditions as the Titanic sank, and how did the ship behave in its final moments?

Answer: As the Titanic sank, it created a ghostly scene underwater, with sediment clouds mingling with clods of coal from the boilers. The ship settled on the seabed at a depth of around 4,000 meters, becoming a permanent resting place for the victims.

15. What challenges did the Carpathia face as it rescued survivors, and how did Captain Rostron handle the situation?

Answer: The Carpathia navigated through icebergs and sent up rockets to signal its location. Captain Rostron coordinated the rescue effort efficiently, bringing survivors aboard and later paying respects to the dead as the ship steamed over the Titanic's grave.

16. How did the recovery of bodies from the ocean unfold, and what was the process of burial at sea like?

Answer: The cable ship MacKay-Bennett recovered 306 bodies. Crewmen conducted a solemn burial at sea, with bodies carefully weighted and sewn in canvas. The bell tolled, and each body was committed to the deep as the ship lay in the swell, surrounded by a faint light from the crescent moon.

HARD WORDS.

1. **Watertight (adjective):** Impervious to the passage of water; sealed tightly.

Context: The Titanic was believed to be watertight with its hull divided into 16 watertight compartments.

2. **Maiden Voyage (noun):** The first journey of a newly built ship or the inaugural trip of any vehicle.

Context: The Titanic set sail from Southampton on her maiden voyage to New York City.

3. **Crow's Nest (noun):** A small platform for a lookout at the top of a ship's mast.

Context: Frederick Fleet, in the crow's nest, spotted the iceberg and sounded the warning bell.

4. **Implosion (noun):** The inward collapse of a structure or object due to the external pressure.

Context: The Titanic experienced implosions as heavy steel bulkheads crumpled during its descent to the ocean floor.

5. **Semaphore (noun):** A system of sending messages by holding the arms or two flags or poles in certain positions according to an alphabetic code.

Context: The Californian used semaphore signaling to inquire about the Titanic's sinking.

6. **Benthic (adjective):** Relating to the bottom of a sea or lake or to the organisms that live there.

Context: The Titanic's bow thrust into the benthic current as it descended to the ocean floor.

7. **Corkscrew (verb):** To move in a spiral or twisting path.

Context: The Titanic corkscrewed slightly to port during its final moments before sinking.

8. **Incredulous (adjective):** Unwilling or unable to believe something.

Context: Captain Rostron was incredulous upon hearing the news of the Titanic's sinking.

9. **Collapsible (adjective):** Capable of being folded or flattened to save space or make transportation easier.

Context: The Titanic carried 16 lifeboats and four canvas collapsibles for emergency situations.

10. **Fo'c'sle (noun):** The forward part of a ship below the deck, typically used for crew quarters.

Context: Water slopped over the Titanic's forward well deck as the iceberg scraped along the starboard side.

11. Hawsers (noun): Large ropes or cables used for towing or mooring a ship.

Context: The Titanic's mammoth smokestack seemed to lift off like a missile, its steel hawsers tearing the planking out of the decks.

12. Pall (noun): A dark cloud or covering of smoke, dust, or similar matter.

Context: A sheet of thin, grey vapor hung like a pall a few meters above the sea surface after the Titanic's sinking.

13. Mariner (noun): A sailor or seaman.

Context: Passengers sang the mariner's hymn on the Titanic's deck, expressing prayers for those in peril on the sea.

14. Foreshadow (verb): To indicate or represent beforehand; to suggest or anticipate.

Context: The faint grinding jolt foreshadowed the impending disaster, rattling silverware in the first-class dining saloon.

15. Promenade (noun): A paved public walk, typically one along a waterfront at a resort.

Context: Captain Smith read the wireless message while walking on the promenade deck just before the Titanic's encounter with the iceberg.

16. Jangling (verb): To make a metallic ringing sound.

Context: The alarm bell was jangling above the watertight door in the boiler room as seawater suddenly exploded into the Titanic.

17. Unslackened (adjective): Not reduced in intensity or speed.

Context: The Titanic maintained its speed unslackened at 22 knots, ploughing through the night despite multiple warnings about ice.

18. Maelstrom (noun): A situation or state of confused movement or violent turmoil.

Context: In the maelstrom of ropes, deck chairs, and swirling water, the Titanic's fate unfolded during its sinking.

19. Ragtime (noun): A style of music characterized by a syncopated melody and a steadily accented accompaniment.

Context: The band on the Titanic played ragtime music, providing a surreal backdrop to the unfolding tragedy.

20. Gargantuan (adjective): Enormous, immense, gigantic.

Context: The Titanic, regarded as the largest ship ever known, was a gargantuan vessel that tragically met its demise on its maiden voyage.

The sinking of the Titanic offers several crucial lessons:

1. Overconfidence and Complacency: The belief that the Titanic was unsinkable led to complacency in safety measures. This overconfidence contributed to inadequate lifeboat provisions and a lack of preparedness for emergencies.

2. Inadequate Safety Protocols: The absence of a mandatory lifeboat drill and the lack of clear instructions for passengers during emergencies underscore the importance of robust safety protocols and drills on any mode of transportation.

3. **Communication Failures:** The Titanic disaster highlights the critical role of effective communication. Despite multiple warnings about icebergs, the communication breakdown between the lookout, officers, and the captain hindered swift and decisive action.
4. **Hubris and Ignoring Warnings:** Disregarding iceberg warnings and maintaining high speed in icy waters reflects the dangers of hubris. The belief that the ship was impervious to natural elements contributed to the tragedy.
5. **Insufficient Lifeboat Capacity:** The limited number of lifeboats on the Titanic, capable of accommodating only a fraction of the passengers and crew, emphasizes the importance of adequate safety measures and equipment corresponding to the capacity of the vessel.
6. **Responsibility of Nearby Vessels:** The response of nearby vessels, such as the Californian's failure to assist, underscores the moral and legal responsibility of vessels to aid in distress situations at sea.
7. **Technological Hubris:** The reliance on advanced technology can breed a false sense of security. While the Titanic was equipped with state-of-the-art features for its time, the disaster highlights the need for a cautious approach and continuous improvements in safety measures.
8. **Human Response in Crisis:** The passengers' varying responses during the evacuation reveal the importance of structured emergency training and drills to ensure a more orderly and effective response in crisis situations.
9. **International Cooperation:** The aftermath of the sinking emphasized the need for international cooperation in maritime safety, leading to the establishment of stricter regulations and the International Ice Patrol.
10. **Continuous Learning:** The Titanic disaster serves as a historical lesson, prompting ongoing improvements in maritime safety regulations, technology, and emergency response procedures to prevent similar tragedies in the future.

SAPIENS

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Thank you.

Just read the President's article (as shared below) on the recently concluded Kyadondo East by-election. {I am tempted to respond to it and indeed I soon will.}

NB: The President's article was shared by Hon. Robert Kyagulanyi on facebook

**Article , By H.E. Yoweri Kaguta Museveni
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA**

On By-elections
10th July, 2017



ARTICL A : Since the general elections of last year, February, we have had seven Parliamentary by-elections. The NRM, its organizational weaknesses notwithstanding, has won five of the seven. The NRM has won: Kamuli Municipality, Kagoma, Moroto District Woman (unopposed), Toroma and Upper Madi-Okolo. It has lost Aruu North and Kyadondo East to Independents.

I congratulate all those who were elected including the two Independents (Hon. Lucy Aciro of Aruu County North and Robert Kyagulanyi a.k.a. Bobi Wine of Kyadondo East).

The NRM wins most of those electoral contests, ever-since 1993 when we had Constituent Assembly (CA) elections, mainly because of the spontaneous goodwill of the population towards the Movement on account of its contribution to security and the economic recovery of the country. The NRM vision is correct and if only the NRM leaders and the civil servants could vigorously implement its programmes, the gaps that are still there would also be covered.

The gaps that have emerged are: jobs for the large youth population, fighting corruption of public servants and politicians, some hike in crime and leaders not connecting with the population, particularly the youth, sufficiently.

Some of the gaps are a result of the success of the NRM programmes. Take for example, the large number of youth, many of whom have the basic education of UPE or higher. This is as a result of the NRM programme of immunization that I launched with Dr. Ruhakana Rugunda in 1987. Dr. Rugunda was the Minister of Health at that time.

The infant mortality has, as a result, dropped to 43 per 1,000 babies born alive in the year 2016 compared to 156 per 1,000 babies born alive in 1986. That is how our population has jumped to almost 40 million people today. It was 7 million at Independence and 16 million in 1991. Few populations in the world have grown faster than this throughout human history. I am told that only the populations of Yemen and Benin have grown faster than this population. This is definitely the success of the NRM.

It is the slow pace of creating jobs for them that is at fault. What caused the slow pace, especially in the past, was the wrong budgeting after 1990 when the Ugandan economy started recovering. The wrong budgeting takes the form of scattering resources everywhere (kumemeerera, keto, kumansamansa, aisiarisiar) and trying to be everywhere but end up being nowhere.

However, in 2006, I put my foot down and insisted on prioritizing the roads and electricity. As a consequence, the budget of the Ministry of Works went from 398.2 billion shillings to 4,587.3 billion shillings today. The one of Energy went from 178.9 billion shillings to 2,319.8 billion shillings.

As a consequence, we have many new tarmac roads and more electricity. If it was not for the mistake of Bujagali, which we are solving, the price of electricity would be, by now, lower, especially for manufacturing. It is these more factories that will create jobs for the youth. All the NRM leaders should concentrate on this and so should the youths themselves. Anybody who fights or delays factories is an enemy of the youth. You go to the RIHAM factories in Kawempe and see how the 400 youths there are happy.

With the more and cheaper electricity, it is those experiences that we shall proliferate. The NRM leaders and the RDCs everywhere, need to engage all the youth groups and explain this to them. This is apart from everybody in Government knowing that more and more factories are the future for the country. Fortunately, we have the natural resources. We have been lacking electricity. We now have it.

The NRM leaders should also concentrate on the implementation of the other mass-oriented programmes: Universal Primary Education (UPE), Universal Secondary Education (USE); the Youth, the Women, the Innovation, the NAADS and the SACCO funds. Why should an MP or any other leader tolerate the violation of the UPE policy by allowing the charging of illegal school charges when the families cannot yet afford? How many times have I talked about this? It is when the NRM leaders choose to stand with the parasitic elite that people, including the youth, move away from them.

When the NRM wins the by-elections, the Press, including the New Vision, are not happy. They do not talk about the victories. It is when the NRM loses that the Press is happy. The radios, the newspapers devote a lot of space and time.

This is not correct. The Press should be balanced. Otherwise, they will become part of the problem and not part of the solution. The Press also misleads the people, especially the

youth. After the Kyadondo by-election, for instance, the news-papers at least, spent a lot of space and time talking about the youth but in a defective and confusing way.

Yes, the youth in Uganda today are 78% of the population, thanks to the Uganda families who are not lazy to have babies and the NRM that has improved some aspects of the health services and created security for those children, including the street children, to grow up, the social-economic problems they face notwithstanding. It is to the credit of the NRM that our slum-dweller children can today even make it to Parliament because those avenues are there.

Nevertheless, our esteemed editors and news persons need to know that when we talk about the management of society, we are not talking about biology only but also about ideology. What is the ideological position of those youth or those elders? Youth or elders are biological categories. They will not help society by themselves.

It is only when they espouse correct and accurate viewpoints vis a vis society, vis a vis the world, that they become part of the solution.

When Kabaka Mwanga slaughtered the new believers in 1885, he was 17 years old. He was a youth. At Independence in 1962, almost all the actors were youth. Mutesa was 38 years old, Obote was 37 years old etc. Some of the Ministers such as Ibingira, Nekyon etc., were 28 years old. Idi Amin at Independence was 37 years old. John Kakonge (who was UPC Secretary General at the time) was 26 years old. Belonging to the biological category of youth did not help them to solve the problems of the country. By 1966, the country was in a crisis.

In our own time, we were, of course, biologically youth. However, we took different ideological positions. Quite early on, by 1965, the youth I belonged to ideologically, took a position that, eventually, evolved the four principles of the NRM: patriotism (anti-sectarianism); Pan-Africanism; social-economic metamorphosis; and democracy. The other youth took the ideological position of sectarianism, parochialism and subservience to foreign interests.

Some of the youth on the other side joined the State Research and the UPC young supporters that were committing crimes against the population were actually called "Yusi" (youth).

Our respective positions were, eventually, tested in the field of battle (two wars — 1971-79 and 1981-86). Those who preached patriotism, who preached Pan-Africanism etc., won at a high cost. Uganda recovered and built institutions following some of those principles. When our principles are followed, we succeed. Where they are not, we under-perform. It is, therefore, a pity to see media houses (including the New Vision) not helping our Youth to find their bearings.

The African people need prosperity and security. The NRM's conclusion, after many years of study, is that it is the four principles that are and will guarantee these. Uganda already has peace for the first time in the last 500 years. It is because of some of the youth of the 1960s and 1970s that took a correct ideological position. What are these media houses telling the youth of today? The newspapers (including the New Vision) are telling our youth that biology is enough.

Well, biology is not enough. It must be biology and ideology. Which ideology, then? Progressive ideology or reactionary one?

Back to the bye-elections, there are some bad practices that I saw in Kamuli and Kyadondo that should not be repeated. When I was driving to the District headquarters through Kamuli town, I passed through a gathering of Salamu Musumba's supporters gathered at the round-about in the town, on the two sides of the road, heckling and shouting at me.

I saw the same practice in Kyadondo East at the junction of Zirobwe road. This is unacceptable. The supporters of the different parties should go to their rally points and, thereafter, walk home; not assemble anywhere to taunt their opponents. The Police should not tolerate that. The turn-up was low in some of these by-elections. Was it due to intimidation?

Now that Uganda has the base (electricity, roads, etc.,) to industrialize, let us not waste time.

Finally, the NRM actors should go back to our history and understand how we built up the NRM.

By 1968, when I was 23 years old, I was in Katwe with the youth of the area that included Zubairi Bakari, Haruna Kibuye, Kabara, Mayanja, Kalyesubula and others. I was in Kibuli with older persons like Abbasi Kibazo. This was in very difficult and, even, dangerous circumstances. Why should the present NRM actors fail to connect with the youth in these urban centres or the rural ones? Do not tell me about money, please, because I had no money at all in 1968 when I was mobilizing these people. It is just understanding the vision of the NRM and passing it on to the masses painstakingly and patiently.

The politics of Uganda is evolving very well, in fact. The electors are beginning to lose interest in those who were exploiting the opportunistic issues of identity of religion or tribes. The NRM has been defeating this opportunism ever-since 1993, the elections of the CA. Now, however, even those who have been inclined to the anti-NRM positions are abandoning that politics of identity. That is how the likes of Kato Lubwama were able to retire the likes of Kenny Lukyamuzi who was the epitome of that type of politics.

Even the money users for elections are getting out of business. The Ugandans seem to rightly want involvement, wealth creation, service delivery or, at least, timely explanations in case of any shortfall. This is the type of politics that NRM should excel in. It is now the task of the NRM leaders at all levels.

**Yoweri Kaguta Museveni
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA**

10th July, 2017 - Rwakitura

ARTICLE B : RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT MUSEVENI'S ARTICLE ON THE RECENT BY-ELECTIONS.

Article B, by Robert Kyagulanyi(Bobi Wine)



Mr. President, I have read your article dated 10th July, 2017 on the recent by-elections. I thank you for congratulating me on my victory in the Kyadondo East polls. For emphasis, it is not me who won but rather the ideas which I presented to the electorate. It was especially a victory of a people determined to get involved in how they are governed.

While I agree with some aspects of your article, I don't agree with many of the conclusions you draw. For example, I agree that unemployment, corruption, increased levels of crime and leaders not connecting with the population are serious issues. These are not mere gaps but are grave questions of national importance which must be addressed. I am constrained to respond to some of your points, mainly three.

Firstly Mr. President, you castigate the media for covering our campaigns very widely and accuse them of not being happy when the NRM wins by-elections. In this regard you single out the New Vision. Anyone who has been to Uganda or who has followed our politics knows that this is not an accurate analysis. Rather than focus on the recent by-election, it is better for one to consider our electioneering process and politics in general. It is on record that due to direct and indirect pressure from the government, in most cases media coverage favours the NRM. Only last year, the European Union Observation Mission said this of the 2016 elections; "...the overall reporting environment was conducive to self-censorship and yielded coverage overwhelmingly in favour of the incumbent and the NRM. Thus, despite the fact that more than 300 media outlets operate in Uganda, the variety of information available across the media landscape was constrained, limiting voters' ability to make an informed choice."

On its part, the Supreme Court while noting that this issue has been recurrent, held that state owned media failed to give balanced coverage to all presidential candidates as required by law.

Therefore, despite the progress made with regards to media freedom, the NRM gets more coverage on a daily.

What happened in Kyadondo East was not a reflection that the media had been 'freed'. It

was partly because of the extra ordinary nature of that election that print and digital, local and international media widely covered it. Our campaign inspired the people, even beyond the constituency, because we correctly diagnosed the problems of our society, understood people's frustrations and identified with their struggles.

In the process we were able to effectively suggest practical solutions to improve the conditions of our people. Although you would have wished to see the NRM and its candidate dominate headlines, the media should be balanced while reflecting the wishes and aspirations of the people, which is what our campaign offered. The press could not be expected to headline stale ideas which people had rejected. I therefore applaud them for rejecting intimidation and other machinations to fulfil their duty to society.

Secondly, Mr. President, in your article, you talk about the question of ideology versus biology and the role of youth in politics.

In sum, your argument is that the solution to society's problems lies in ideas and not in the physical/ biological state of the actors. This is indeed true but my point of departure lies in so far as you seem to think that the present young people lack in ideology. You seem to suggest that the NRA/M ideology is superior and forget that as society evolves better ideas crop up and they should be given opportunity to flourish.

Even then, the NRM hasn't fared very well with what you identify as the core principles of your ideology- patriotism, Pan-Africanism, social-economic metamorphosis and democracy. Many would agree that these are noble ideals, the problem being that the NRM prefers to constantly talk and sing about them and not practice them. Had you fully implemented them no doubt our society would be much better.

You have laboured to point out leaders who rose to positions of responsibility in their youthful years and did great harm to society. You give examples of Ssekabaka Mwanga, Ssekabaka Mutesa II, Obote, Ibingeri, Amin and John Kakonge. I definitely DISAGREE on your conclusion here.

As a student of Uganda's constitutional history, I know that the crises our society went through in the past years were caused by many factors beyond the leaders of the times. Because of constraints in time and space I will not discuss them here.

However, while it is true that correct ideology overrides biology, the biggest question is '**WHAT IDEOLOGY?**' You rightly point out that the electorate is losing interest in issues of identity of religion or tribes as basis for electing leaders. Again, rather than look at it as an achievement of your government, I think of it more as a natural result of our population demographics and their struggles. Our society is more blended today as a result of intermarriages between people from different backgrounds(I am an example). You note that 78% of our population comprises of youth. Many of them are unemployed or underemployed. The hustle for them is real. They have to make ends meet and are definitely uninterested in chauvinism of any kind. I do not want to say that you do not fully understand this but it is rather troubling how you choose to downplay it.

Our society has moved on and new issues are emerging. The generation of the 1960s and 1970s had to respond to challenges of that time and we are grateful to those of you who rose to the occasion and played a role. However, the challenges of our time require a new kind of ideology and approach.

We are talking about a generation where technology is evolving at a terrific speed. A generation which must struggle with the effects of climate change! Today's generation has to deal with complex issues in science and technology. Young Africans must find out what economic models work best for their times and work hard to improve the living conditions of our people.

As someone who has interacted with so many of these young Ugandans, I know that they have great ideas on how to get there or at least have some idea which simply needs an enabling environment for it to blossom. I do not think that Ugandan youth or Africans generally have a gene for slowness or stupidity.

As someone who has led an African country for over three decades, you might be better placed to explain why youth on other continents are inventing and innovating useful products every day, for which we pay a lot of money.

Part of the problem has been that the NRM views money as the solution to everything in itself. Only God knows how many funds you have put in place for innovation, prosperity, etc. only for them to fail flat. In any case most of that money is lost through corruption. We must rethink our education system. Those UPE and USE schools might not help the situation in their current state.

Now, almost all these young people were born when you were President and they unfortunately have to put up with a system which tries to respond to challenges of the 21st century using the approaches of the 20th century! Their ideas are viewed as disruptive and discomforting. They are not understood by the leaders most of whom are out of touch with the world reality.

This is why we have been saying that the government is not in touch with the people who they claim to work for. For example, every day I interact with those 'slum dweller' youth you talk about. (I prefer to call them GHETTO YOUTH).

Despite lack of advanced education for most of them, these are people with great ideas. They have ideas for innovation and transformation. They have a proper ideology!

But they have been left out completely.

No one listens to them. In supporting me massively, those people were just yearning for a microphone (obwogelero/obugambiro) so that they could also be heard.

They could no longer afford to see government only through its officials who drive through the ghetto in their expensive, guarded vehicles with tinted glasses, moreover paid for by tax payers.

They need a leadership which works for them.

My humble view Mr. President is that those who govern us today should first of all appreciate the fact that the **TIMES HAVE CHANGED** and involve young people in making decisions for their country.

This 'lack of proper ideology argument' has been used far too long to keep them outside.

This is a contradiction given that in the initial years of your government, most people in leadership were just over 30 years of age. Key government positions were occupied by young men and women who in their prime were able to do a lot of good things for the country.

Most Ugandans would find it unbelievable that at only 36 Suleiman Kuggundu (RIP) was Governor Bank of Uganda, Gen. Mugisha Muntu was Army Commander at 31, Dr. Kiiza

Besigye was deputy minister for internal affairs and national political commissar at 30, Dr. Crispus Kiyonga was minister for finance at 34, etc.

I am mindful of the contribution of those who were slightly older and society needs both the old and the young.

Elders are capable of providing wise counsel. However, younger people with vigour and fresh ideas should be given opportunity to take the lead. Therefore rest assured that many young Ugandans are able and in fact ready to steer their country forward.

It would be better if they are given the opportunity, **PEACEFULLY**, and without requiring the country to go through turmoil whenever one generation has to pave way for another. It is for this reason that I join most Ugandans to request that you stick to your promise and not tamper with the Constitution to remove the age-limit provision for presidency. The country will be grateful for your service when you retire peacefully and let a new breed of leaders with generation-relevant skills and ideas take charge of the affairs of our mother land.

I might understand that your frustration with the generation is born out of the nature of leaders you mostly interact with. Our society is unfortunately dominated by two kinds of leaders.

The first category is the hardliners whose stance is that everything about Uganda is wrong. I do not subscribe to that notion because in seeking a way forward for a better country, we must be willing to talk to each other, being aware that all of us have our failings.

The other category are those leaders who come to you only for monetary favours, whether they belong to the ruling NRM or the opposition.

As a result, many politicians are viewed as buyable and unprincipled.

Uganda today does not need these two kinds of leaders. It simply needs principled leaders who engage with respect for each other and only for the good of the country and not for their own benefit. There are very many such Ugandans. We should only give them opportunity.

Finally on the question of our supporters heckling you at Zirobwe Road junction, I hope you are aware of the events of that day. Whereas I do not condone violence or bad politics, many times our people are provoked by state agencies.

On that day my supporters were charged because we were supposed to hold our rally in Kasangati and the police decided to unlawfully block me from holding it there because you were expected in the area.

That said, Mr. President, you must also note that some of this conduct comes out of deep seated frustration and anger by the people about how they are governed. A powerless, suppressed people may heckle a Head of State simply because that's the only opportunity they ever got to have their leader listen to them since the government is very far from them.

Many years ago you justified your going to the bush thus, "If you have a government which has closed off all other channels of peaceful change, what else could we do, except to surrender, to resign ourselves to slavery? And we couldn't do that as long as people were willing to fight."

I think that is the message you should read in those people who heckled you. Today they have no guns but many feel as oppressed as you felt in 1981. A tired people using whatever

tool with in their power to express their discontent.

Hopefully we can rethink these things and all of us strive to build a better country.

As it has been put before, it's time to focus not on the **NEXT GENERAL-ELECTION** but rather on the **NEXT GENERATION**.

Hon. Kyagulanyi Ssentamu Robert-Bobi Wine, MP- Kyadondo East

Integrated Article: Unraveling Scandals and Political Dynamics: A Tale of Power and Accountability

Introduction: In the wake of Uganda's recent political landscape, two articles shed light on the intricacies of power, corruption, and the evolving socio-political dynamics. President Yoweri Museveni, in a post-election analysis, discusses the challenges faced by the ruling NRM party, emphasizing the need for correct ideological alignment and a focus on youth engagement. In response, Robert Kyagulanyi, popularly known as Bobi Wine, counters the President's views, asserting the importance of fresh ideas and the need for leaders to adapt to the changing needs of the youth.

MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

1. What is the primary reason for the NRM's success in electoral contests since 1993, according to President Museveni?

- A) Effective organizational structure
- B) Economic recovery and security contributions
- C) Comprehensive healthcare programs
- D) Technological advancements

2. Which two parliamentary by-elections did the NRM lose, according to President Museveni's article?

- A) Kamuli and Kyadondo East
- B) Aruu North and Kagoma
- C) Toroma and Moroto District Woman
- D) Upper Madi-Okolo and Kyadondo East

3. According to President Museveni, what are the gaps that have emerged in Uganda, contributing to challenges such as crime and youth unemployment?

- A) Lack of infrastructure development
- B) Economic inequalities
- C) Failure to implement NRM programs
- D) Insufficient healthcare facilities

4. What significant change does President Museveni attribute to the NRM program of immunization launched in 1987?

- A) Increase in GDP
- B) Reduction in infant mortality
- C) Expansion of educational facilities
- D) Boost in agricultural production

5. How does President Museveni suggest addressing the slow pace of job creation for the youth?

- A) Encouraging foreign investments
- B) Focusing on roads and electricity

C) Implementing comprehensive healthcare programs

D) Prioritizing environmental conservation

6. What significant mistake does President Museveni mention in relation to Bujagali in his article?

A) Mismanagement of agricultural projects

B) Delayed implementation of road projects

C) Failure in the creation of job opportunities

D) Flawed decision related to electricity pricing

7. According to President Museveni, what role should the NRM leaders play in addressing societal challenges?

A) Concentrate on divisive politics

B) Prioritize the needs of the elite

C) Focus on the implementation of mass-oriented programs

D) Exclusively engage in foreign policy matters

8. What does President Museveni criticize the press, including the New Vision, for in his article?

A) Focusing on NRM victories

B) Unbalanced reporting

C) Excessive coverage of opposition parties

D) Lack of interest in political events

9. In Robert Kyagulanyi's response, what does he consider the victory in Kyadondo East to be?

A) A personal achievement

B) A victory of ideas

C) A triumph over the NRM

D) A demonstration of youth power

10. What does Robert Kyagulanyi suggest as a key issue that needs to be addressed, contrary to President Museveni's perspective?

A) Youth lack of engagement

B) Corruption in public service

C) Overemphasis on infrastructure

D) Failure of UPE and USE programs

11. How does Robert Kyagulanyi respond to President Museveni's argument about ideology versus biology?

A) He agrees with the President's viewpoint.

B) He emphasizes the importance of both biology and ideology.

C) He rejects the significance of ideology.

D) He asserts the exclusive importance of biology.

12. According to Robert Kyagulanyi, what is the biggest question regarding ideology and the youth?

A) Whether the youth lack ideology

B) Which ideology is being propagated

C) The role of biology in shaping ideology

D) Whether the NRM ideology is superior

13. How does Robert Kyagulanyi characterize the current generation's challenges and needs?

A) The need for religious identity

B) The need for increased tribalism

C) The struggle with issues of science and technology

D) The pursuit of chauvinism

14. According to Robert Kyagulanyi, what should the government focus on to address the challenges faced by the youth?

A) More funds for innovation

B) Rethinking the education system

C) Strengthening UPE and USE schools

D) Introducing more corruption prevention measures

15. What does Robert Kyagulanyi criticize about the present leaders' engagement with the youth?

A) Lack of involvement of elders

B) Overemphasis on technology

C) The government's use of force

D) Failure to appreciate the changing times

16. What does Robert Kyagulanyi specifically address concerning the supporters' actions at Zirobwe Road junction?

A) He justifies the heckling as a valid form of protest.

B) He condemns the violence and advocates for peaceful politics.

C) He blames President Museveni for provoking the supporters.

D) He downplays the significance of the supporters' actions.

BIGGER QUESTIONS

1. Question: According to President Museveni, what is the primary factor contributing to the NRM's success in electoral contests since 1993?

Answer: President Museveni attributes the NRM's success to the spontaneous goodwill of the population, driven by the Movement's contribution to security and the economic recovery of the country.

2. Question: In the by-elections mentioned by President Museveni, which two constituencies did the NRM lose to Independents?

Answer: The NRM lost Aruu North and Kyadondo East to Independents in the mentioned by-elections.

3. Question: What gaps, as per President Museveni, have emerged in Uganda, leading to issues such as crime and youth unemployment?

Answer: President Museveni identifies gaps such as slow job creation, corruption, and leaders not connecting with the population, particularly the youth, as contributors to challenges in Uganda.

4. Question: According to President Museveni, what significant change resulted from the NRM program of immunization launched in 1987?

Answer: The NRM's immunization program, launched in 1987, significantly reduced infant mortality, leading to a drop from 156 per 1,000 babies born alive in 1986 to 43 per 1,000 in 2016.

5. Question: How does President Museveni propose to address the slow pace of job creation for the youth in Uganda?

Answer: President Museveni suggests prioritizing roads and electricity, focusing on infrastructure development to attract more factories and create job opportunities for the youth.

6. **Question:** What significant mistake related to Bujagali does President Museveni mention in his article?

Answer: President Museveni mentions the mistake of Bujagali, stating that if not for this mistake, the price of electricity would be lower, especially for manufacturing.

7. **Question:** According to President Museveni, what should NRM leaders concentrate on to address societal challenges?

Answer: President Museveni urges NRM leaders to focus on implementing mass-oriented programs such as Universal Primary Education (UPE), Universal Secondary Education (USE), and other funds for youth, women, innovation, and cooperatives.

8. **Question:** What does President Museveni criticize the press, including the New Vision, for in his article?

Answer: President Museveni criticizes the press, including the New Vision, for not being balanced, emphasizing that they often focus on NRM losses rather than victories in by-elections.

9. **Question:** According to Robert Kyagulanyi, what does he consider the victory in Kyadondo East to be?

Answer: Robert Kyagulanyi considers the victory in Kyadondo East to be a victory of ideas that he presented to the electorate, emphasizing the people's determination to be involved in governance.

10. **Question:** What key issue does Robert Kyagulanyi suggest needs to be addressed, contrary to President Museveni's perspective?

Answer: Robert Kyagulanyi suggests that corruption in public service is a serious issue that needs to be addressed, contrary to President Museveni's focus on infrastructure and mass-oriented programs.

11. **Question:** How does Robert Kyagulanyi respond to President Museveni's argument about ideology versus biology?

Answer: Robert Kyagulanyi emphasizes that while correct ideology overrides biology, he disagrees with the notion that the present young people lack ideology, asserting that the challenges of the time require new ideas.

12. **Question:** According to Robert Kyagulanyi, what is the biggest question regarding ideology and the youth?

Answer: Robert Kyagulanyi's biggest question is "WHAT IDEOLOGY?" He questions the superiority of the NRM ideology and emphasizes the need for evolving ideas to address contemporary challenges.

13. **Question:** How does Robert Kyagulanyi characterize the current generation's challenges and needs?

Answer: Robert Kyagulanyi characterizes the challenges of the current generation as dealing with issues in science, technology, and the effects of climate change, requiring new ideologies and approaches.

14. **Question:** According to Robert Kyagulanyi, what should the government focus on to address the challenges faced by the youth?

Answer: Robert Kyagulanyi suggests that the government should focus on rethinking the education system and providing an enabling environment for the blossoming of the ideas of the young generation.

15. **Question:** What does Robert Kyagulanyi criticize about the present leaders' engagement with the youth?

Answer: Robert Kyagulanyi criticizes the present leaders for being out of touch with the youth, viewing their ideas as disruptive, and not appreciating the changing times and needs of the younger generation.

16. Question: What does Robert Kyagulanyi specifically address concerning the supporters' actions at Zirobwe Road junction?

Answer: Robert Kyagulanyi justifies the heckling as a reaction to the police unlawfully blocking him from holding a rally, emphasizing that such conduct arises from deep-seated frustration and anger among the people.

HARD WORDS.

1. Organizational:

Definition: Relating to an organization or its structure.

Context: "Since the general elections of last year, February, we have had seven Parliamentary by-elections. The NRM, its **organizational** weaknesses notwithstanding, has won five of the seven."

2. Constituent Assembly:

Definition: A body of representatives chosen to create or revise a constitution.

Context: "The NRM wins most of those electoral contests, ever-since 1993 when we had **Constituent Assembly (CA)** elections..."

3. Immunization:

Definition: The action of making someone immune to infection, typically by vaccination.

Context: "Take, for example, the large number of youth, many of whom have the basic education of UPE or higher. This is as a result of the NRM programme of **immunization** that I launched with Dr. Ruhakana Rugunda in 1987."

4. Metamorphosis:

Definition: A change of the form or nature of a thing or person into a completely different one.

Context: "In our own time, we were, of course, biologically youth. However, we took different ideological positions. Quite early on, by 1965, the youth I belonged to ideologically, took a position that, eventually, evolved the four principles of the NRM: patriotism (anti-sectarianism); **Pan-Africanism**; social-economic **metamorphosis**; and democracy."

5. Sectarianism:

Definition: Excessive attachment to a particular sect or party, especially in religion.

Context: "Quite early on, by 1965, the youth I belonged to ideologically, took a position that, eventually, evolved the four principles of the NRM: patriotism (anti-**sectarianism**); **Pan-Africanism**; social-economic metamorphosis; and democracy."

6. Parochialism:

Definition: The tendency to focus on a local or narrow point of view and ignore wider issues.

Context: "The other youth took the ideological position of **sectarianism**, **parochialism**, and subservience to foreign interests."

7. Pan-Africanism:

Definition: The idea or advocacy of a political alliance or union of all the African nations.

Context: "The African people need prosperity and security. The NRM's conclusion, after many years of study, is that it is the four principles that are and will guarantee these:

patriotism (anti-sectarianism); **Pan-Africanism**; social-economic metamorphosis; and democracy."

8. Chauvinism:

Definition: Exaggerated or aggressive patriotism.

Context: "You note that 78% of our population comprises of youth. Many of them are unemployed or underemployed. The hustle for them is real. They have to make ends meet and are definitely uninterested in **chauvinism** of any kind."

9. Enabling Environment:

Definition: A surrounding or condition that provides the necessary conditions for something to happen.

Context: "I know that they have great ideas on how to get there or at least have some idea which simply needs an **enabling environment** for it to blossom."

10. Heckling:

Definition: Interrupting a public speaker with derisive or aggressive comments.

Context: "On that day my supporters were charged because we were supposed to hold our rally in Kasangati, and the police decided to unlawfully block me from holding it there because you were expected in the area. That said, Mr. President, you must also note that some of this conduct comes out of deep-seated frustration and anger by the people about how they are governed. A powerless, suppressed people may **heckle** a Head of State simply because that's the only opportunity they ever got to have their leader listen to them since the government is very far from them."

11. Conducive:

Definition: Making a certain situation or outcome likely or possible.

Context: "...the overall reporting environment was **conducive** to self-censorship and yielded coverage overwhelmingly in favor of the incumbent and the NRM."

12. Stale:

Definition: No longer fresh or relevant; out of date.

Context: "Although you would have wished to see the NRM and its candidate dominate headlines, the media should be balanced while reflecting the wishes and aspirations of the people, which is what our campaign offered. The press could not be expected to headline **stale** ideas which people had rejected."

13. Parasitic:

Definition: Of, relating to, or characteristic of a parasite; exploiting others and giving nothing in return.

Context: "It is when the NRM leaders choose to stand with the **parasitic** elite that people, including the youth, move away from them."

14. Epitome:

Definition: A person or thing that is a perfect example of a particular quality or type.

Context: "That is how the likes of Kato Lubwama were able to retire the likes of Kenny Lukyamuzi who was the **epitome** of that type of politics."

15. Censorship:

Definition: The suppression or prohibition of any parts of books, films, news, etc. that are considered obscene, politically unacceptable, or a threat to security.

Context: "...the overall reporting environment was conducive to **self-censorship** and yielded coverage overwhelmingly in favor of the incumbent and the NRM."

16. Machinations:

Definition: Crafty schemes or plots, especially to achieve some sinister purpose.

Context: "I therefore applaud them for rejecting intimidation and other **machinations** to fulfill their duty to society."

LESSONS LEARNT

1. Differing Perspectives on Media Coverage:

Lesson: The initial letter and its response highlight contrasting views on media coverage, with President Museveni criticizing the media's handling of by-elections and Bobi Wine defending the media's role in reflecting the people's wishes.

2. Ideological Differences:

Lesson: The exchange underscores ideological disparities between President Museveni and Bobi Wine, particularly regarding the effectiveness and implementation of the NRM's principles and the need for a new ideology to address contemporary challenges.

3. Youth and Leadership:

- **Lesson:** Both letters touch upon the role of youth in politics. President Museveni emphasizes the importance of ideology for youth, while Bobi Wine advocates for giving young people the opportunity to lead, suggesting a need for a balance between experience and fresh ideas.

4. Interpretation of History:

Lesson: The letters refer to historical events differently, with President Museveni citing past crises and the success of the NRM's principles, while Bobi Wine questions the impact of those principles and emphasizes the need for new approaches given the evolving challenges.

5. Government's Engagement with Youth:

Lesson: Bobi Wine suggests that the government should adapt to the changing times and involve young people in decision-making, acknowledging their ideas and struggles. This highlights the importance of responsive governance to address the needs of the youth.

6. Constitutional Matters:

Lesson: Bobi Wine urges President Museveni not to tamper with the constitution to remove the age-limit provision for presidency, emphasizing the importance of peaceful transitions of power. This raises awareness of the potential impact of constitutional changes on political stability.

7. Challenges of Economic Development:

Lesson: President Museveni emphasizes the slow pace of job creation and attributes it to past budgeting mistakes, while also highlighting progress in infrastructure. This suggests the ongoing challenge of balancing economic development strategies and addressing youth unemployment.

8. Public Expression and Political Frustration:

Lesson: The reference to supporters heckling President Museveni indicates the existence of political frustration and discontent among the public. It underscores the importance of understanding and addressing the concerns of the people to maintain a peaceful political environment.

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Thank you.

(RTD) COL.DR.KIZZA BESIGYE'S INTERNAL MEMO IN 1999 EXPOSED MR.MUSEVENI'S RULE.

1999 MEMO VERBATIM BELOW:



Nov 7, 1999

Note: The pictures in the article below were taken post the article's appearance!

I have taken keen interest and participated in the political activities on the Ugandan scene since the late 1970s. This was during a period of intense jostling to topple and later succeed the Idi Amin regime. I am, therefore, fully aware of the euphoria, excitement and hope with which Ugandans received the Uganda National Liberation Front/Army (UNLF/A). Ugandans supported the UNLF's stated approach of "politics of consensus" through the common front. It was hoped that the new approach to politics would be maintained and Uganda rebuilt from the ruins left by the Amin regime. Unfortunately, instead of nurturing the structures, and regulations which bound the front together, we witnessed a primitive power struggle that resulted in ripping the front apart to the chagrin of the population. Some of us young people then were immediately thrown into serious confusion. We had not belonged to any political party before, and we did not approve of the record and character of the existing parties – UPC and DP. Spontaneously, many people started talking of belonging to a Third Force. This force represented those persons who wished to make a fresh start at political organization, with unity and consensus politics as the centre pin. With a few months left to the 1980 elections, the Third Force crystallized into a new political organization– the Uganda Patriotic Movement (UPM). The population, to a large extent, expressed their appreciation of the ideas and opportunity presented by the young organization, but was pessimistic regarding its electoral success.

Pessimism was justified, because the new organisation simply had no time and resources to organize effectively nationally; and UPC was already positioning itself very loudly and

arrogantly to rig the elections and seemed to have what was essential for them to do so successfully. After the sham 1980 elections, when Paulo Muwanga, a leader of UPC (and chairman of the Military Commission) took over all powers of the Electoral Commission and declared his own election results, there was widespread despondency and tension. While the “minority” DP Members of Parliament took up the opposition benches in Parliament, the rank and file of the party rapidly united behind the new forces of resistance to struggle against the dictatorial rule. The Popular Resistance Army (PRA and later, NRA) led by Yoweri Museveni which started with about 30 fighters, was overwhelmed by people seeking to join its ranks. The NRM was born as a political organization in June 1981. It was created by a protocol that effected the merger of Uganda Freedom Fighters UFF (led by the late Prof Y.K. Lule and Museveni’s PRA). The armed wing of the organization became the National Resistance Army (NRA). The NRM political programme was initially based on seven points which were later increased to become the well-known Ten-Point Programme. The basic consideration in drawing up the programme was that it should form the basis of a broad national political and social force. A national coalition was considered to be of critical importance in establishing peace, security, and optimally moving the country forward. The political programme was, therefore, referred to as a minimum programme around which different political forces in Uganda could unite for rehabilitation and recovery of the country.



To achieve unity, it was envisaged that the minimum programme would be implemented by a broad-based government. After the bush war, discussions were undertaken with the various political forces to establish a broad-based government that would reflect a national consensus. The NRM set up a committee led by Eriya Kageya (then chairman of the NRM Political and Diplomatic committee) for the purpose of engaging the various groups in these discussions. This exercise was, however, never taken to its logical conclusion. It would appear that once the leaders of the political parties were given “good” posts in the NRM government, their enthusiasm for the discussions waned, and the process eventually fizzled out. In spite of the lack of a proper modus operandi, the initial NRM government (executive branch) was impressively broad-based. Consensus politics conducted through elections based on individual merit and formation of broad-based government became the hallmark of the NRM.

Broad base undermined

However, the popular concept of the broad-based government, which had also received support of most political groups, was progressively undermined. It ought to be remembered

that due to the support and cooperation of other political groups, no legal restrictions were imposed –on political parties until August 11, 1992 when the NRC made a resolution on political party activities in the interim period. In my opinion, there were three factors responsible for undermining and later destroying the NRM cardinal principle of broad-basedness, especially in appointment to the Executive: The NRM had set itself to serve for a period of four years as an interim government, then return power to the people. However, it was not very clear how this would happen at the end of the four years.



Some politicians in NRM government who came from other political parties set out to use their advantaged positions to, on the one hand, undermine the NRM and on the other, strengthen themselves in preparation for the post-NRM political period. Consequently, they fell out with the NRM leadership, and a number of them were arrested and charged with treason. Historical NRM politicians who thought that they were not “appropriately” placed in government, blamed this on the large number of the “non-NRM” people in high up places, and set out to campaign against the situation. They created a distinction between government leaders as “NRM”, and “broad-based”. If you were referred to as “broad-based”, it was another way of saying that you were undeserving of your post, or that you were possibly an enemy agent (“5th Columnist”).

After some years of NRM rule, some in the leadership began to feel that there was sufficient grassroots support for the NRM, such that one could “off-load” the “broad-based” elements in government at no political cost. These factors were at the centre of an unprincipled power-struggle which was mostly covert and hence could not be resolved democratically. It continued to play itself out outside the formal Movement organs, with the results of weakening and eventually losing the concept of consensus politics and broad-basedness. By the time of the Constituent Assembly elections were held in 1994, the NRM’s all encompassing, and broad-based concept remained only in name. For instance, while the CA electoral law clearly stated that candidates would stand on “individual merit”, the NRM Secretariat set up special commercial committees at districts whose task was to recommend “NRM candidates” for support. Not only did the logistical and administrative machinery of NRM move against the candidates supporting or suspected to be favouring early return to multi-party politics, it even moved against liberal candidates advocating for the initial NRM broad-based concept.

That is why many people were surprised and confused when some senior NRM leaders declared that “we have won!” after the CA results were announced. Who had won? It was

clear that there were two systems; one described in the law, and another being practised. Moreover, the conduct of the CA, again exhibited the contradictions between the principles of NRM (and the law), and the practice. I was quite alarmed when I read a document titled ‘Minutes Of A Meeting Between H.E The President with CA Group Held On 25.8.94 At Kisozi.’ The copy had been availed to me by my colleague Lt Col Serwanga Lwanga (RIP) who attended the meeting. Present at the meeting were recorded as: H.E. the President (Chair), Eriya Kategaya, Bidandi Ssali, Steven Chebrot, Agard Didi, George Kanyeihamba, Miria Matembe, Mathias Ngobi, Mr Sebalu, Lt Noble Mayombo, Jotham Tumwesigye, Aziz Kasujja, Beatrice Lagada, Faith Mwonda and Margaret Zziwa. The introduction of the meeting reads in part as follows: The National Political Commissar introduced this committee as a Constituent Assembly Movement Group which wants to agree on a common position.

The arbitrary hand-picked group went ahead to take positions on major areas of the draft constitution, which we members of CA, (considered as “NRM supporters”), were supposed to support in the CA. It is interesting to note that among the 16 hand-picked members of the group, only six were directly elected to represent constituencies in the CA. The others were presidential nominees and representatives of special interest groups. One member was not even a CA delegate. We strongly resisted this approach, and after intense pushing and shoving, this group was replaced by the “Movement Caucus” under the chairmanship of the National Political Commissar, Kategaya.

Changing Movement

The Movement caucus acted very much like an organ of a ruling party. All ministers (except Paul Ssemogerere who later resigned from government) were members. The hand-picked group, and the Movement caucus after it, both undermined the principles of the Movement and the law. The Constituent Assembly was negatively influenced by executive appointments. In the middle of the CA proceedings, a cabinet reshuffle saw Speciosa Kazibwe elevated to the vice presidency, Kintu Musoke to premier and several other delegates appointed to ministerial posts. Many others were appointed to be directors of parastatal companies. It is my opinion that after these actions, some CA delegates took positions believed to attract the favourable attention of the executive. Most CA delegates also intended to participate in the elections that would immediately follow the CA.

This had two negative effects:

Being aware of the previous role of the NRM Secretariat in elections, some CA delegates would be compromised to act in such a way as to win the support of the secretariat in the forthcoming elections. Some CA delegates saw themselves as the first beneficiaries of the government structure and arrangements that were being constitutionalised. So, they took positions which would favour them, and not the common good. As a result, the CA progressively became polarized, and its objectivity was diminished, especially when dealing with political systems. For example, at the commencement of the CA, every delegate made an opening statement highlighting major views on the draft constitution. Analysis of these statements shows that few delegates supported the immediate introduction of multiparty system while the majority supported the continuation of the “Movement system” for a transitional period of varying length.

The positions expressed were very much in line with the views gathered by the Constitutional Commission. The commission noted in its report (paragraph 0.46) that a consensus on the issue could not be attained. This was demonstrated by the statistical analysis of views gathered from RC 1 to RC V, plus individual and group memoranda. It will be seen that nationally, at RC 1, “Movement” supporters were 63.2% and this percentage decreased progressively as they went to higher RCs until RCV (District Councils) where Movement supporters were only 38.9% and multiparty supporters were 52.8%. Among the individual memoranda, 43.9% supported a multiparty system, while 42.1% supported Movement. Among the group memoranda, 45.1% supported multiparty, while 41.4% supported Movement. It is important to note that these views were gathered at a time when there was no impending election, and therefore, no campaigning.

Accordingly, the Constitutional Commission proposed the following, as the only limitation on political party activities (in Article 98 of Draft Constitution): “For the period when the Movement is in existence, political parties shall not endorse, sponsor, offer platform to or in anyway campaign for or against any candidate for public office.” The CA under the influences outlined earlier ended up with restrictions contained in the highly contentious article 269 of the Constitution. The character of the Movement gradually changed, and the process of change was not determined democratically. Instead, it was continuously manipulated. Established Movement organs were continuously undetermined, and others completely ignored. For example, the National Executive Committee (NEC) of NRM was the organ supposed to be coordinating change in the NRM, yet NEC had not met for more than three years prior to the promulgation of the 1995 constitution – in spite of a requirement for it to meet at last once every three months. Instead, covert and arbitrarily constituted groups came in, like district election committees, special CA groups, Movement political High Command, Movement caucus, Maj Kakooza Mutale’s group, etc. The Movement created by the CA and completed by Parliament (through the Movement Act 1997) was different from the one of 1986-1995.

The Movement Act 1997 created a political organization with structures outside the governmental structure. For the first time, the Movement was a political organization distinct from government, the only remaining link being that it was funded by the government. Unfortunately, instead of describing the Movement as a political organization, the CA chose to call it a political system – distinct from “Multiparty Political System”, and other systems that may be thought of later. This was, in my opinion, a grave error. We even ignored advice given to us through a letter by President Yoweri Museveni (chairman NRM and Commander in Chief NRA) to the CA-NRM caucus delegates, dated June 21, 1995. In the letter, the chairman says, “the NRM is not a state but a political organization that tries to welcome all Ugandans. It therefore cannot coerce all Ugandans to be loyal to it. Loyalty to NRM is voluntary.”

The reality of the Movement today(1999) is that it is a political organization in much the same way as any political party is. Having no membership cards does not make it less so. In fact, in the letter referred to above, President Museveni further explains: “then some people may ask the question. If NRM could be already to compete for political office with opposing political forces in future, why not do it now? Do not support doing it now because it is not in the best [interest] of governance and fortunately now the people still agree with us. It is only when the majority of the people change that we have to adjust our position. It

would be something imposed on us by circumstances.” So the NRM/Movement system is a convenient and, for the time, popular means to political power.

Manipulation



The characteristics which made the NRM government popular, such as the broad-based strategy, principle of individual merit, and the 10-Point Programme have been seriously eroded. This is evidenced by the bitter antagonism and animosity which exists between Movement supporters in many parts of the country, e.g. Kabale, Ntungamo, Kasese and Iganga. After more than 13 years of NRM rule, armed rebellion rages on in northern Uganda, and has also become entrenched in the western part of the country (REBELLIONS ENDED WHEN MULTI-PARTY POLITICS WAS RE-INTRODUCED in 2005).

All in all, when I reflect on the Movement philosophy and governance, I can conclude that the Movement has been manipulated by those seeking to gain or retain political power, in the same way that political parties in Uganda were manipulated. Evidently, the results of this manipulation are also the same, to wit: factionalism, loss of faith in the system, corruption, insecurity and abuse of human rights, economic distortions and eventually decline. So, whether it's political parties or Movement, the real problem is dishonest, opportunistic and undemocratic leadership operating in a weak institutional framework and a weak civil society which cannot control them. (REMEMBER, THIS IS KB IN 1999). I have shown that over the years the “Movement System” has been defined in the law in a certain way, but the leaders have chosen to act in a difficult way. This is dishonest and opportunistic leadership. I have also shown how changes have been made to the Movement agenda, and other important decisions have been made outside the Movement structures. This too is undemocratic leadership. In my opinion, the way forward in developing a stable political situation is to do the following: Urgently revisit the legal framework with a view to making an equitable law and regulation for all political organizations (Multipartism). The Movement should be treated as a political organization not a system. Implementing this would need amendments to the Constitution, including amendment of articles 69 and 74. This requires the approval of the people through a referendum and the forthcoming referendum could be used for this purpose. In any case, laws are a reflection of the political will, so if there is political will to correct a situation, finding a way is easy.

The primary guarantor of democracy, human rights and the rule of law must be the civil society. Its capacity should, therefore, be quickly developed. Focus on a programme that could quickly raise the standards of living of our people to a decent level. This is an essential antecedent for our society to build a viable democracy. Of course, the approach to raising the standards of living is highly debatable. I have personal views that I hope to share with the public at another time. I pray to the almighty God to guide us so that we do not tumble again.

SIGNED:

(RDT) COL.DR.Kizza-Besigye Wrn (1999)

Multiple-choice questions

1. What was the initial political organization formed by those who opposed existing political parties in the late 1970s?

- A. DP
- B. UPM
- C. NRA
- D. UNLF/A

2. Which leader emerged to lead the Popular Resistance Army (PRA) in 1981?

- A. Idi Amin
- B. Paulo Muwanga
- C. Yoweri Museveni
- D. Y.K. Lule

3. What was the initial political program of the National Resistance Movement (NRM) based on?

- A. Five-Point Program
- B. Ten-Point Program
- C. Seven-Point Program
- D. Twelve-Point Program

4. Why did the concept of a broad-based government in Uganda's politics face challenges according to the article?

- A. Lack of support from the population
- B. Covert power struggles
- C. Legal restrictions on political parties
- D. Lack of qualified leaders

5. What event marked a significant change in the character of the Movement according to Dr. Besigye?

- A. The 1980 elections
- B. The Constituent Assembly elections in 1994
- C. The introduction of the Movement Act in 1997
- D. The removal of legal restrictions on political parties

6. What was the primary argument made by Dr. Besigye regarding the Movement's nature in 1999?

- A. The Movement should be considered a political party.
- B. The Movement is a political system distinct from parties.
- C. The Movement is a temporary phenomenon.

D. The Movement should be disbanded.

7. According to the article, what negative effects did the cabinet reshuffle during the Constituent Assembly have?

- A. Improved objectivity in the CA
- B. Polarization of the CA
- C. Strengthening of the Movement
- D. Unity among CA delegates

8. What event marked the end of rebellions in northern Uganda and the western part of the country according to the article?

- A. Introduction of the Movement Act in 1997
- B. The 1995 constitution
- C. Multi-party politics reintroduction in 2005
- D. The Constituent Assembly elections in 1994

9. According to Dr. Besigye, what is the primary guarantor of democracy, human rights, and the rule of law?

- A. Political parties
- B. Civil society
- C. The military
- D. The executive branch

10. What did Dr. Besigye suggest as a way forward for a stable political situation in Uganda?

- A. Strengthen the Movement structures
- B. Focus on economic distortions
- C. Urgently revisit the legal framework for multiparty politics
- D. Maintain the Movement system

11. According to the article, what was the reason behind the decline in the character of the Movement, similar to political parties?

- A. Weak civil society
- B. Weak institutional framework
- C. Honest and democratic leadership
- D. Lack of political will

12. How did the Movement Act of 1997 change the nature of the Movement?

- A. It dissolved the Movement
- B. It made the Movement a distinct political organization
- C. It strengthened the Movement's ties with the government
- D. It established the Movement as a political system

13. What major event marked the birth of the NRM as a political organization?

- A. The overthrow of Idi Amin
- B. The Constituent Assembly elections
- C. The formation of UPM
- D. The merger of UFF and PRA

14. According to Dr. Besigye, what was the original vision of the NRM's political program?

- A. Ten-Point Program
- B. Maximum program
- C. Broad-based government

D. Minimum program

15. What was the key principle of the NRM's initial political program?

A. Politics of consensus

B. Multiparty system

C. Authoritarian rule

D. Military dictatorship

16. Who was appointed to lead the committee for discussions with various political forces to establish a broad-based government after the bush war?

A. Yoweri Museveni

B. Paulo Muwanga

C. Eriya Kategaya

D. Idi Amin

BIGGER QUESTIONS

1. Question: What was the political context in Uganda during the late 1970s, and why did the Uganda Patriotic Movement (UPM) emerge?

Answer: The late 1970s in Uganda were marked by political turmoil and the effort to overthrow the Idi Amin regime. The Uganda Patriotic Movement (UPM) emerged as a response to the primitive power struggle within the Uganda National Liberation Front/Army (UNLF/A) that followed Amin's regime. Young individuals, not affiliated with existing political parties, sought to create a Third Force with unity and consensus politics as its core.

2. Question: Explain the genesis of the National Resistance Movement (NRM) and the factors that led to its formation.

Answer: The National Resistance Movement (NRM) originated in June 1981, evolving from the Popular Resistance Army (PRA) led by Yoweri Museveni. The NRM's formation was a result of a protocol that merged Uganda Freedom Fighters (UFF) led by the late Prof Y.K. Lule and Museveni's PRA. The armed wing became the National Resistance Army (NRA). The NRM's political program was initially a seven-point program, later expanded to the well-known Ten-Point Programme.

3. Question: What were the objectives of the NRM's initial political program, and how did it envision achieving national unity?

Answer: The NRM's initial political program aimed at establishing a broad national political and social force to bring about peace, security, and national progress. The program, based on seven points, was designed to serve as a minimum basis for different political forces in Uganda to unite for the rehabilitation and recovery of the country. The NRM sought to achieve unity through a broad-based government, where a minimum program would be implemented.

4. Question: Describe the challenges and factors that led to the gradual undermining of the NRM's original principle of broad-basedness, especially in appointments to the Executive.

Answer: Several factors contributed to the erosion of the NRM's principle of broad-basedness. These included the lack of clarity on the transition of power after the initial four years, political infighting among NRM politicians from other parties, and the perception of some leaders that they were not appropriately placed in the government. Additionally, a power struggle labeled as covert played out, leading to the weakening and eventual loss of the concept of consensus politics and broad-basedness.

5. Question: How did the Constituent Assembly (CA) elections in 1994 reflect a departure from the NRM's original concept of a broad-based government?

Answer: The CA elections in 1994 witnessed a departure from the original concept of a broad-based government. Although the CA electoral law emphasized candidates standing on "individual merit," the NRM Secretariat created special commercial committees at districts that recommended "NRM candidates" for support. Logistical and administrative machinery opposed candidates supporting or favoring a return to multi-party politics, contradicting the principles of the NRM's broad-based concept.

6. Question: What role did the Constituent Assembly play in shaping the political landscape, and how did executive appointments negatively impact its objectivity?

Answer: The Constituent Assembly played a significant role in shaping Uganda's political landscape. However, executive appointments during the CA proceedings, including a cabinet reshuffle, negatively influenced the objectivity of the CA. The reshuffle saw individuals elevated to key positions, leading to compromised CA delegates who sought favorable attention from the executive. This compromised the CA's objectivity, especially concerning political systems and decisions on the introduction of a multi-party system.

7. Question: According to Dr. Besigye, how did the Movement Act of 1997 change the nature of the Movement, and what consequences did it bring about?

Answer: The Movement Act of 1997 marked a significant change in the nature of the Movement. It transformed the Movement into a distinct political organization outside the government's structure, maintaining only funding links. This departure from the original concept was considered a grave error by Dr. Besigye. The consequences included the erosion of characteristics that made the NRM popular, such as broad-based strategy, individual merit, and the 10-Point Programme, leading to factionalism, loss of faith, corruption, insecurity, and economic distortions.

8. Question: How did the Constituent Assembly become polarized, and what were the factors contributing to this polarization, according to Dr. Besigye?

Answer: The Constituent Assembly became polarized due to several factors. After the cabinet reshuffle, CA delegates sought positions that would favor them personally rather than promoting the common good. Some delegates aimed to win support from the NRM Secretariat for the forthcoming elections, compromising their objectivity. This polarization diminished the CA's objectivity, especially regarding political systems, as reflected in the contradictory positions taken by delegates during the opening statements.

9. Question: According to Dr. Besigye, what does he identify as the primary guarantor of democracy, human rights, and the rule of law in Uganda's political landscape?

Answer: Dr. Besigye identifies civil society as the primary guarantor of democracy, human rights, and the rule of law in Uganda's political landscape. He emphasizes the urgent need to develop the capacity of civil society to ensure effective checks and balances on political leadership.

10. Question: What steps does Dr. Besigye propose as a way forward for developing a stable political situation in Uganda?

Answer: Dr. Besigye proposes three main steps for developing a stable political situation in Uganda. Firstly, he suggests urgently revisiting the legal framework to create equitable laws and regulations for all political organizations, including multiparty politics. Secondly, he advocates for treating the Movement as a political organization rather than a system, requiring constitutional amendments. Lastly, he underscores the need to focus on a program that can quickly raise the standards of living for the people, considering it as an essential antecedent for building a viable democracy.

11. Question: How did the characteristics that made the NRM government popular, such as broad-based strategy and individual merit, erode over time, and what were the consequences?

Answer: The characteristics that made the NRM government popular, including the broad-based strategy and principle of individual merit, eroded over time due to factors like covert power struggles, arbitrary appointments, and manipulations. The consequences included bitter antagonism and animosity among Movement supporters, armed rebellion in various parts of the country, loss of faith in the system, corruption, insecurity, and economic distortions.

12. Question: How did the political landscape in Uganda change with the reintroduction of multi-party politics in 2005, according to the article?

Answer: The reintroduction of multi-party politics in 2005 marked the end of armed rebellions in northern Uganda and entrenched rebellions in the western part of the country. This change in the political landscape was associated with the shift from the Movement system to a multi-party system.

13. Question: How did Dr. Besigye describe the Movement's nature in 1999, and what key recommendations did he make regarding its treatment in the legal framework?

Answer: In 1999, Dr. Besigye described the Movement as a political organization, akin to any political party. He recommended urgently revisiting the legal framework to treat the Movement as a political organization, emphasizing the need for constitutional amendments, particularly in articles 69 and 74. He suggested that a forthcoming referendum could be used to garner the people's approval for these changes.

14. Question: According to Dr. Besigye, what factors contributed to the decline of the NRM's character, and how did these factors compare to issues within traditional political parties?

Answer: Dr. Besigye attributes the decline of the NRM's character to factors such as dishonest, opportunistic, and undemocratic leadership operating within a weak institutional framework and civil society unable to control them. He draws parallels between the issues facing the NRM and traditional political parties, highlighting factionalism, loss of faith, corruption, insecurity, and economic distortions as common consequences.

15. Question: How did the NRM's philosophy change over the years, and what did President Museveni emphasize in a letter to the CA-NRM caucus delegates in 1995?

Answer: The NRM's philosophy changed over the years, and President Museveni, in a letter to the CA-NRM caucus delegates in 1995, emphasized that the NRM is not a state but a political organization that welcomes all Ugandans. He clarified that loyalty to the NRM should be voluntary and warned against coercing Ugandans into being loyal. However, this advice was not heeded, and the Movement Act of 1997 went on to describe the Movement as a political system.

16. Question: What consequences did the arbitrary hand-picked group's involvement in the Constituent Assembly have, and how was it eventually replaced?

Answer: The arbitrary hand-picked group, involved in the Constituent Assembly, took positions on the draft constitution that were supposed to be supported by CA members. This group faced resistance from CA delegates who perceived it as undemocratic. After intense pushing and shoving, the group was replaced by the "Movement Caucus" under the chairmanship of the National Political Commissar, Eriya Kategaya. The Movement Caucus, acting like an organ of a ruling party, continued to undermine the principles of the Movement and the law during the CA proceedings.

HARD WORDS

1. Euphoria

Definition: A feeling of intense excitement or happiness.

Context: Ugandans experienced a sense of euphoria when the Uganda National Liberation Front/Army (UNLF/A) was formed, hoping for positive changes in the political landscape.

2. Jostling

Definition: To push, elbow, or bump against someone in a crowd, typically in a rough or aggressive way.

Context: The period of intense jostling to topple the Idi Amin regime created a chaotic and competitive political environment.

3. Chagrin

Definition: Distress or embarrassment at having failed or been humiliated.

Context: The primitive power struggle within the UNLF/A resulted in the front being ripped apart, much to the chagrin of the population.

4. Despondency

Definition: A state of low spirits caused by loss of hope or courage.

Context: After the sham 1980 elections, widespread despondency and tension prevailed among the population.

5. Caucus

Definition: A meeting of the members of a legislative body who are members of a particular political party, usually to decide on policy.

Context: The Movement Caucus, acting like an organ of a ruling party, had a significant influence on the Constituent Assembly proceedings.

6. Antagonism

Definition: Active hostility or opposition.

Context: Bitter antagonism and animosity existed among Movement supporters in various parts of the country, reflecting the divisive nature of politics.

7. Covert

Definition: Not openly acknowledged or displayed.

Context: The unprincipled power struggle within the NRM was mostly covert, making it challenging to resolve democratically.

8. Undemocratic

Definition: Not in accordance with democratic principles.

Context: The article criticizes undemocratic leadership practices within the NRM, leading to negative consequences such as factionalism and loss of faith.

9. Constituent

Definition: Being a part of a whole; component.

Context: The Constituent Assembly played a crucial role in shaping Uganda's political landscape and decision-making processes.

10. Factionalism

Definition: The tendency to form factions or separate groups within a larger body, typically caused by differing opinions or interests.

Context: The erosion of the NRM's broad-based strategy led to factionalism among Movement supporters in various regions.

11. Parastatal

Definition: A government-owned corporation or agency, typically operating in commercial areas.

Context: Delegates in the Constituent Assembly were appointed as directors of parastatal companies, affecting the objectivity of the CA proceedings.

12. Antecedent

Definition: A thing or event that existed before or logically precedes another.

Context: Raising the standards of living is seen as an essential antecedent for building a viable democracy in Uganda.

13. Infighting

Definition: Conflict or struggle within a group, especially political or military groups.

Context: Political infighting among NRM politicians from other parties contributed to the undermining of the broad-based government concept.

14. Protocol

Definition: A system of rules that explain the correct conduct and procedures to be followed in formal situations.

Context: The NRM was created by a protocol that merged Uganda Freedom Fighters (UFF) and Museveni's PRA.

15. Inherent

Definition: Existing in something as a permanent, essential, or characteristic attribute.

Context: The erosion of characteristics inherent in the NRM, such as broad-based strategy and individual merit, led to negative consequences.

16. Pragmatic

Definition: Dealing with things sensibly and realistically in a way that is based on practical rather than theoretical considerations.

Context: Dr. Besigye proposes pragmatic steps for developing a stable political situation, emphasizing the need for revisiting the legal framework.

LESSONS LEARNT

1. Erosion of Principles Leads to Consequences:

The letter illustrates how the erosion of foundational principles, such as broad-based governance and individual merit, within the National Resistance Movement (NRM) resulted in negative consequences. Factionalism, loss of faith, corruption, and insecurity were outcomes of deviating from the movement's original ideals.

2. Political Manipulation Undermines Democratic Processes:

Dr. Besigye highlights instances of political manipulation within the NRM, especially during the Constituent Assembly proceedings. Arbitrary appointments, covert power struggles, and undemocratic practices weakened democratic processes and contributed to the polarization of the political landscape.

3. Need for Strong Civil Society as a Safeguard:

The letter emphasizes the crucial role of a strong civil society as the primary guarantor of democracy, human rights, and the rule of law. Dr. Besigye suggests that a robust civil society is essential to control and hold political leadership accountable.

4. Urgent Reevaluation of Legal Framework:

Dr. Besigye recommends an urgent reevaluation of the legal framework, with a focus on creating equitable laws for all political organizations, including the introduction of

multiparty politics. This implies that legal structures play a critical role in shaping the political landscape.

5. Pragmatic Approach to Political Stability:

The letter proposes a pragmatic approach to achieving political stability. Dr. Besigye suggests revisiting the legal framework, treating the Movement as a political organization, and focusing on raising living standards as essential steps. This pragmatic strategy contrasts with entrenched, inflexible approaches.

6. Lessons from History:

Dr. Besigye reflects on historical events, drawing lessons from the past. The experiences of the UNLF/A, the emergence of the NRM, and the subsequent changes provide insights into the challenges faced by political movements and the importance of learning from history to build a stable political situation.

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Dr. Mugisha shares NWSC success story at World Bank Summit in Addis Ababa

November 15, 2023



Dr. Mugisha was among the panelists at the Eastern, Southern Africa Leadership Summit on WASH underway in the Ethiopian capital of Addis Ababa courtesy of the World Bank, and the Ethiopian Government.

KAMPALA — National Water and Sewerage Cooperation (NWSC) Managing Director Eng. Dr. Silver Mugisha shared the success story of Uganda's water utility at the global stage – positioning the corporation as the continent's rollmodel in service delivery. Dr. Mugisha was among the panelists at the Eastern-Southern-Africa Leadership-Summit on WASH, underway in the Ethiopian capital of Addis Ababa, courtesy of the World Bank and the Ethiopian Government.

The two-day summit brought together ministers of finance and water, development partners, and private sector leaders for in-depth discussions about advancing systems change as a pathway to universal WASH access in Africa.

The discussion, where Dr. Mugisha, who is president of the African Water Association (AfWA), explained NWSC's capital investment plan including the post-Covid19 recovery modes, primarily centers around five strategic actions of the systems change approach, addressing sector-level governance bottlenecks, and re-aligning sector-wide incentives. During the panel discussion, Dr. Miugisha shared his experience in tapping the domestic capital market to better serve the population with improved water services during the turbulent COVID-19 pandemic.

According to Dr. Mugisha, NWSC attained the Global Credit Ratings (GCR), a long-term national scale issuer rating of AA (UG), which implies that NWSC has very high creditworthiness and is able to utilize the funds it receives for the specific purpose. On the pathway forward and creditworthiness of NWSC, the MD discussed the bankability of NWSC and the utility's collection efficiency, which stands at 98% and the Response Rate, which he said is at 60%.



Dr Mugisha said that NWSC has experienced tremendous expansions due to a robust strategic plan that has enabled the corporation to expand its footprint from 4.5 million to 18.5 million people, who are projected to increase to 28 million by 2028. He said all these have been achieved, due to the enabling legislation framework, that the Board, Managing Director and the Management have the right competence and strategic intent to drive the corporation in the right direction.



Today, NWSC is among the few government-owned institutions running a profitable business, after many were privatized.

Dr. Mugisha said that NWSC is now focusing on social equity and environmental protection measures as part of its corporate governance agenda.

The MD explained that NWSC has in place a good track record of performance; agenda setting strategic and tactical action plans, a 3 year corporate plan to drive its service to the people of Uganda.

He also noted that the Corporation was critical in accounting to the people of Uganda through service delivery and cited performance accountability instruments in place

including performance contracts with the Government of Uganda, internal performance contracts, operational and financial indicators, Monitoring and Evaluation. The number of towns under NWSC jurisdiction has increased from 23 to 268 and is expected to increase to 350 by 2028, Dr. Mugisha said.

He said that a predictable tariff protection instrument has enabled the utility to protect the tariff from external economic shocks, as a mitigation gap, for service continuity. He said the number of customer connections has increased from 296,000 to 874,000 and is expected to increase to 1,250,000 by 2028.

“Pipe network length has increased from 5,073 Kms to 22,000 Kms and is planned to increase to 32,000 Kms by 2028; annual turnover has increased from UGX 155 Billion to UGX 519 Billion and is projected to increase to UGX 700 Billion by 2028,” he said. In the last 10 years, the assets under the management of NWSC have increased from UGX 650 billion to UGX 4,100 billion.

Last week, Uganda’s deputy Speaker of Parliament, Thomas Tayebwa, commended NWSC for the apt use of USD 150 million.

In 2011 and 2019, the Ugandan Parliament approved the loan from the French Development Agency (AFD) and other partners to construct the Katosi Water Treatment Plant in Mukono district between 2018 and 2021.

The deputy speaker toured the plant to ascertain first-hand, the performance of the loan. He said he was impressed with the facility and by its standards. He hailed this project as one of the country’s best-performing loans, unlike several others that have had challenges.

Multiple Choice Questions:

1. Where is the Eastern-Southern-Africa Leadership Summit on WASH held?
A. Nairobi
B. Addis Ababa
C. Kampala
D. Johannesburg
2. Who is the Managing Director of the National Water and Sewerage Cooperation (NWSC)?
A. Dr. Thomas Tayebwa
B. Eng. Dr. Silver Mugisha
C. Dr. Miugisha
D. Dr. Katosi
3. What is the primary focus of the two-day summit discussed in the article?
A. Financial reforms
B. Infrastructure development
C. Advancing systems change for universal WASH access
D. Political stability in Africa
4. What does NWSC stand for?
A. National Water and Sanitation Corporation
B. Northern Water Supply Company
C. National Water and Sewerage Cooperation
D. Northwest Sewage Control

5. What does the Global Credit Ratings (GCR) of AA (UG) imply about NWSC?

- A. Low creditworthiness
- B. Moderate creditworthiness
- C. High creditworthiness
- D. Very high creditworthiness

6. What is NWSC's collection efficiency, according to Dr. Mugisha?

- A. 50%
- B. 60%
- C. 70%
- D. 80%

7. How many towns are expected to be under NWSC jurisdiction by 2028?

- A. 150
- B. 268
- C. 300
- D. 350

8. What is NWSC's current annual turnover, and what is the projected figure by 2028?

- A. UGX 155 Billion to UGX 519 Billion, projected to increase to UGX 700 Billion
- B. UGX 200 Billion to UGX 600 Billion, projected to increase to UGX 800 Billion
- C. UGX 300 Billion to UGX 700 Billion, projected to increase to UGX 900 Billion
- D. UGX 400 Billion to UGX 800 Billion, projected to increase to UGX 1 Trillion

9. How much did Uganda's Deputy Speaker of Parliament commend NWSC for?

- A. USD 100 million
- B. USD 120 million
- C. USD 150 million
- D. USD 200 million

10. What loan did the Ugandan Parliament approve for NWSC in 2011 and 2019?

- A. World Bank Loan
- B. IMF Loan
- C. French Development Agency (AFD) Loan
- D. African Development Bank Loan

BIGGER QUESTIONS

1. Question: Who is Dr. Silver Mugisha, and what role did he play at the Eastern-Southern Africa Leadership Summit on WASH?

Answer: Dr. Silver Mugisha is the Managing Director of the National Water and Sewerage Cooperation (NWSC). He participated as one of the panelists at the Eastern-Southern Africa Leadership Summit on WASH in Addis Ababa, discussing Uganda's success in water utility and service delivery.

2. Question: What was the focus of the two-day summit, and who were the key participants?

Answer: The summit centered around advancing systems change as a pathway to universal Water, Sanitation, and Hygiene (WASH) access in Africa. Key participants included ministers of finance and water, development partners, and private sector leaders.

3. Question: What were the key strategic actions discussed by Dr. Mugisha during the panel discussion?

Answer: Dr. Mugisha highlighted five strategic actions of the systems change approach. These actions included addressing sector-level governance bottlenecks and re-aligning sector-wide incentives to enhance water service delivery.

4. Question: How did NWSC tap into the domestic capital market during the COVID-19 pandemic, and what was the outcome?

Answer: Dr. Mugisha shared the experience of tapping into the domestic capital market to improve water services during the COVID-19 pandemic. NWSC attained a Global Credit Ratings (GCR) of AA (UG), signifying very high creditworthiness and the ability to utilize funds for specific purposes.

5. Question: What were the key performance indicators discussed by Dr. Mugisha, and how has NWSC performed in terms of customer connections and pipe network length?

Answer: Dr. Mugisha highlighted key performance indicators such as a 98% collection efficiency and a 60% Response Rate. NWSC's customer connections increased from 296,000 to 874,000, with a planned increase to 1,250,000 by 2028. The pipe network length rose from 5,073 Kms to 22,000 Kms, projected to increase to 32,000 Kms by 2028.

6. Question: What has been the impact of NWSC's strategic plan, and what is its corporate governance agenda?

Answer: NWSC's strategic plan facilitated a significant expansion of its footprint from 4.5 million to 18.5 million people, with a projected increase to 28 million by 2028. The corporation is now focusing on social equity and environmental protection measures as part of its corporate governance agenda.

7. Question: How has NWSC contributed to Uganda's economic landscape, and what sets it apart from other government-owned institutions?

Answer: NWSC is among the few government-owned institutions running a profitable business. It has contributed to Uganda's economic growth with a good track record of performance, strategic and tactical action plans, and a focus on service delivery to the people.

8. Question: What was the role of NWSC in the construction of the Katosi Water Treatment Plant, and how was it commended by Uganda's deputy Speaker of Parliament?

Answer: NWSC played a crucial role in the construction of the Katosi Water Treatment Plant, funded by a loan from the French Development Agency (AFD) and other partners. Uganda's deputy Speaker of Parliament commended NWSC for the apt use of the USD 150 million loan, hailing it as one of the country's best-performing loans.

9. Question: How has NWSC managed to protect its tariff from external economic shocks, and what is the significance of a predictable tariff protection instrument?

Answer: NWSC has employed a predictable tariff protection instrument to shield the tariff from external economic shocks, ensuring service continuity. This approach is crucial for maintaining stability in water services amid external economic challenges.

10. Question: What has been the trajectory of NWSC's assets under management in the last 10 years?

Answer: In the last decade, the assets under the management of NWSC have seen significant growth, increasing from UGX 650 billion to UGX 4,100 billion. This demonstrates the corporation's financial stability and effective management.

11. Question: How does NWSC contribute to environmental protection, and what measures has it taken to ensure accountability?

Answer: NWSC is focusing on social equity and environmental protection measures as part of its corporate governance agenda. The corporation maintains performance accountability through various instruments, including performance contracts with the Government of Uganda, internal performance contracts, and monitoring and evaluation mechanisms.

HARD WORDS

1. WASH:

Definition: Water, Sanitation, and Hygiene. It's a collective term for initiatives related to the improvement of water quality, sanitation facilities, and hygiene education.

2. Creditworthiness:

Definition: The measure of an entity's ability to fulfill its financial obligations, indicating how likely it is to repay borrowed money.

3. Bankability:

Definition: The feasibility of a project or business to attract financial support or investment from banks or financial institutions.

4. Collection Efficiency:

Definition: The ability of an organization to collect funds or payments owed to it, often expressed as a percentage.

5. Response Rate:

Definition: The percentage of responses or reactions received concerning a particular action or situation, often used in the context of surveys or initiatives.

6. Corporate Governance:

Definition: The system of rules, practices, and processes by which a company is directed and controlled, involving balancing the interests of various stakeholders.

7. Jurisdiction:

Definition: The official power to make legal decisions and judgments, often referring to a specific geographical area or territory.

8. Tariff Protection Instrument:

Definition: A mechanism to shield a utility's tariff (price for services) from external economic shocks to ensure service continuity.

9. Mitigation Gap:

Definition: The difference between the current state of preparedness for a potential risk and the desired state, indicating areas that need improvement.

10. Monitoring and Evaluation:

Definition: The systematic process of tracking, assessing, and improving the performance of a project or program.

11. Assets Under Management:

Definition: The total market value of assets that an investment company or financial institution manages on behalf of investors.

LESSONS LEARNT

1. Importance of Financial Responsibility:

Lesson: Demonstrates the significance of financial responsibility and creditworthiness for utility companies.

Explanation: NWSC's attainment of a high credit rating reflects its ability to efficiently use funds, which is crucial for providing improved water services.

2. Strategic Planning for Growth:

Lesson: Highlights the role of strategic planning in the expansion of services.

Explanation: NWSC's robust strategic plan enabled the corporation to significantly expand its footprint, increasing the number of people served and towns under its jurisdiction.

3. Social Equity and Environmental Protection:

Lesson: Emphasizes the evolving focus of government-owned institutions towards social equity and environmental protection.

Explanation: NWSC's shift towards social equity and environmental protection aligns with contemporary corporate governance agendas.

4. Infrastructure Investment and Expansion:

- **Lesson:** Illustrates the impact of infrastructure investment on utility service improvements.

Explanation: The increase in pipe network length, customer connections, and the number of towns under NWSC's jurisdiction indicates the positive outcomes of infrastructure investment.

5. Tariff Protection for Service Continuity:

Lesson: Underlines the importance of tariff protection mechanisms for service continuity.

Explanation: NWSC's use of a predictable tariff protection instrument shields its pricing from external economic shocks, ensuring stability in service provision.

6. Performance Accountability and Monitoring:

Lesson: Stresses the significance of performance accountability and monitoring in the utility sector.

Explanation: NWSC's use of performance contracts, operational and financial indicators, and monitoring and evaluation tools indicates a commitment to being accountable for service delivery. These lessons collectively highlight key principles related to financial management, strategic planning, sustainability, and accountability in the context of a water utility company's success.

Dr. Silver Mugisha's leadership at the National Water and Sewerage Corporation (NWSC) stands as a testament to transformative and effective management, significantly impacting the success and growth of the company. His tenure has been marked by strategic initiatives and a commitment to excellence in service delivery. Several key aspects highlight the positive influence of Dr. Mugisha's leadership:

1. Financial Acumen:

Dr. Mugisha's adeptness in financial management is evident through NWSC's attainment of a Global Credit Rating (GCR) of AA (UG), showcasing the corporation's high creditworthiness. This financial stability has allowed NWSC to utilize funds effectively for the benefit of its service provision.

2. Strategic Planning and Expansion:

Dr. Mugisha's emphasis on strategic planning has been instrumental in the remarkable expansion of NWSC's services. The corporation's footprint has grown significantly, covering a larger population and an increased number of towns, reflecting a forward-looking approach under his leadership.

3. Social Equity and Environmental Focus:

Under Dr. Mugisha's guidance, NWSC has evolved to prioritize social equity and environmental protection, aligning with contemporary corporate governance principles. This shift demonstrates a commitment to holistic and sustainable practices beyond the traditional scope of utility services.

4. Infrastructure Investment and Innovation:

Dr. Mugisha's leadership has seen substantial investment in infrastructure, with a notable increase in pipe network length and customer connections. This focus on innovation and expansion has played a pivotal role in improving service delivery and meeting the growing demands of the population.

5. Tariff Protection Mechanism:

The implementation of a predictable tariff protection instrument reflects Dr. Mugisha's strategic foresight. This mechanism has shielded NWSC from external economic shocks, ensuring a stable tariff structure and contributing to the continuity of water services.

6. Performance Accountability and Transparency:

Dr. Mugisha has instilled a culture of performance accountability within NWSC, evident through various accountability instruments and monitoring mechanisms. This commitment to transparency

fosters trust among stakeholders and ensures that the corporation remains accountable for its service delivery objectives.

In conclusion, Dr. Silver Mugisha's leadership at NWSC has been characterized by financial prudence, strategic vision, and a commitment to sustainable and accountable practices. His tenure has steered NWSC into a profitable and socially responsible entity, contributing significantly to Uganda's water and sewerage sector.

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“Poking the Leopard’s Anus”: Legal Spectacle and Queer Feminist Politics

By Anselm Kizza-Besigye

January 17, 2023



Ugandan queer feminist anthropologist, poet, and activist Stella Nyanzi was arrested in November 2018 for violating the Computer Misuse Act when she posted a poem on the occasion of President Yoweri Museveni’s birthday in which she wishes he had been “prematurely miscarried just like [he] prematurely aborted any semblance of democracy, good governance and rule of law.” The portions of the poem which were used to indict Nyanzi, and around which much of her case revolved, were those in which she made repeated reference to the president’s mother’s vagina, describing it in rather vulgar terms. Refusing bail, Nyanzi had already been imprisoned for almost ten months before being convicted on one count of cyber harassment in August 2019 and successfully appealing this decision in January 2020. In the context of Uganda, where activists are routinely incarcerated, disappeared, or maimed, how are we to make sense of Nyanzi’s decision to “poke the leopard’s anus,” to use a term Nyanzi appropriated from President Museveni himself? What politics might loom below the surface of her poetry, the state’s eagerness to find her guilty of obscenity, and the legal and extralegal strategies employed by Nyanzi and her defence during her trial? Why do Ugandan activists employ performative tactics like vulgar rhetoric in their confrontations with sovereignty? What might this reveal about the nature of the law and the possibility of a radical feminist and queer politics in Uganda?

The anxiety around the online circulation of certain vulgar, gendered language deserves particular attention because of the urgency with which the state intervenes to regulate and prohibit vulgar sexual expressions like Nyanzi’s. Historian and theorist Achille Mbembe offers a compelling account of this phenomenon in his analysis of *commandement*, the style of sovereign power he identifies in both the colonial and postcolonial state. *Commandement* is characterized by a brutal capacity for arbitrary violence founded on the original violence of imperial conquest. Crucially, this form of sovereignty secures its violence through the singular power to judge its laws, while producing a common cultural imaginary — an

episteme, or order of meaning — by which this violence is laundered and converted to authority. Mbembe points out that postcolonial African regimes utilize the fetish of the ruler to create cosmologies, symbolic universes, characterized by an aesthetics of vulgarity, a kind of obsession with the grotesque and obscene. This, he argues, is both because the regime itself has “a marked taste for lecherous living” and because the mouth, belly, and phallus — at once images of consumptive power and virile potency — also mark the fetish of the autocrat as originating in a particular body who eats, shits, and farts like everyone else. Writing against the dichotomy between resistance and passivity, Mbembe argues that the subject of postcolonial power becomes *homo ludens*, one who laughs at and therefore desacralizes the fetish of the ruler, bringing power back into a convivial relationship, a correspondence of symbolic thought and action, with its subject. Thus, vulgar popular humour in the postcolony demonstrates not the emergence of a nascent “resistance,” but traces of sovereignty’s own fetish. When, for example, someone like Nyanzi invokes the image of the president’s anus, despite the attempts of the regime to treat it as something out of this world — almost sacrosanct, “people see it as what it really is, capable of defecating like any commoners.” In so doing, the fetish (embodied by the autocrat) is perverted and demystified. Here, of course, we can think of Nyanzi’s repeated reference to her literary and political work as “poking the leopard’s anus.”



Mbembe’s argument has been challenged by Judith Butler, who reminds us that the sovereign’s concern with the anus and realms of invagination demonstrate that the fetish originates, in fact, in a gendered mapping of power along the lines of phallic penetration. The hetero-patriarchal origin to the symbolic order of postcolonial sovereignty is quite evident in the fact that Nyanzi’s most controversial poems have implicated the sexualities of the president’s wife or mother. By poking the leopard’s anus, as it were, Nyanzi threatens Museveni’s masculinity, the symbolic basis of his power as sovereign. Crucially, this challenge appears in the act of laughter, in the vocabulary of Nyanzi’s popular vulgar humour.

However, both Mbembe’s argument and Butler’s intervention fail to account for the spectacular lengths to which the sovereign is willing to go to protect its legal and symbolic order and for the legal dramas which unfold in the process. Let us, then, return to the courtroom, and to the trial of Stella Nyanzi. On November 2, 2018, police arrested Nyanzi

when she appeared at a police station in Kampala to give notice of a public action she intended to stage at Makerere University. Nyanzi's planned march through the main campus was the culmination of a much longer struggle with her former workplace which led to her suspension from the Makerere Institute of Social Research in April 2016, after publicly undressing in protest against the Institute's director, Mahmood Mamdani locking her out of her office after failing to resolve a dispute over her contract and labour conditions.

On an overcast Friday at the beginning of the November rains, Nyanzi made her way to the Wandegeya police station, at the foot of the hill on which Makerere sits, to inform local law enforcement of her intention to exercise her civil right to peacefully assemble on public property. A Uganda Police Force spokesperson later announced that their officers arrested her in relation to the Facebook post she made on September 16, 2018, as part of their investigation into whether the post violated section 24 of the Penal Code, which includes penalties "for acts intended to alarm, annoy or ridicule the President." Over the following 18 months, Nyanzi refused bail on several occasions, leading some of her Ugandan critics, like state-owned newspaper *New Vision*, to speculate her choice was an admission of guilt, citing the fact that she was still bound to the terms of her bail agreement in the cyber harassment case brought against her in 2017. Nyanzi, however, was adamant she chose to remain in prison on political grounds.



On August 1, 2019, after spending close to ten months in jail, Nyanzi appeared in court for her verdict. For the first time in months, she would have the chance to explain herself publicly. Her trial itself had been more theatre than procedure. The state had brought two counts against her, both in offence of the Computer Misuse Act, and presented two witnesses whom it claimed were experts on obscenity. The day Nyanzi received her verdict, the court was, of course, packed with journalists and various allies of Nyanzi from the opposition and activist circles. As Judge Kamasanyu delivered her verdict, she took pause to read each of the charges, repeating Nyanzi's verses about the president's mother, Esiteri. With each reference to "the smelly and itchy cream-coloured candida festering in Esiteri's cunt" or "the acidic pus flooding Esiteri's cursed vaginal canal," the gallery silenced her with their laughter and whistles. Kamasanyu was repeatedly forced to stop reading her judgment to beg for silence from the crowd assembled. In these moments, the spectators

became *hominem ludentes par excellence*, and through their laughter, the line between power and resistance blurred to the point of indistinction.

Chatter was ringing across the hall throughout the reading of the decision, which found Nyanzi guilty of harassing the president but not guilty of offensive communication. At the guilty verdict, the crowd was almost at fever pitch, and when Nyanzi was able to respond to the verdict, she took them and the judges somewhere rather unimaginable. From her first impassioned word, Nyanzi lambasted the court's justice, drowned out by the cheers of her supporters. "Send me to Luzira," the prison in which she had just spent nine months, Stella continued, "if my crime is that I told a dirty delinquent dictator that he is a dictator, and that Ugandans are tired. And I wish his mother's vagina had squeezed him out."

Rather than an admission of her own culpability, which, indeed, one might read this statement as, Nyanzi's blunt provocation had the effect of bringing Museveni and his legal role as sovereign — ignored from the outset by the prosecutors and judge — back into the fold of the courtroom, now not as plaintiff, but defendant. "I celebrate that one woman was bold enough to deploy a dead woman's vagina — *one dead woman's vagina* —", she continued, in a rather authorly tone, before doing something perhaps unexpected: "My name is Stella, it comes from Esiteri. I am Esiteri, right. My great-grandmother was Esiteri. I deployed Esiteri's vagina — she's dead." The crowd's laughter interceded before she could land the sequence's last blow ("It's a metaphor"), and Nyanzi then led the crowd in a chant of "viva opposition, viva."

Why would Nyanzi choose to name herself in this instance, and what can we conclude from the audience's reaction to the moment of contention? On the one hand, Nyanzi chooses to celebrate, rather than refute, the court's findings — calling into question for all assembled the symbolic and material bases of the court's verdict and the law that supports it. On the other hand, Nyanzi also uses the space of the defendant's box to perform an act of naming, a socially significant and iterative practice of subjectivization. Through acts such as these, Nyanzi subverts the expectation to appear before the court as simply a citizen subject to its order of legibility.

Rather, Nyanzi chooses this moment, from within the courtroom, deliberately to enact a transcendent critique of the verdict — articulated from her position as also Esiteri, as part of a lineage of Esiteris and a member of a community whose law might authorize an act of metaphorical violence against the sovereign. During her trial, both Nyanzi and her lawyer Isaac Ssemakadde referred to the fact that Nyanzi is a *nnalongo*, or mother of twins, a position within Baganda society historically invested with privileges like the ability to speak out against the king. Nyanzi employs these citational practices as part of her strategies of "radical rudeness." Described by historian Carol Summers, radical rudeness emerged as a style of decolonial politics practised by Baganda liberation activists in the 1940s as they began to see "Britain's actions less as parental protection, and more as abusive forms of discipline, [and] increasingly found the politics of petition, deference, and appeal to be ineffectual." Despite being pathologized and maligned as a proselytizer of gayism, Nyanzi maintains that radical rudeness is the only viable option for liberatory politics in Uganda. "I can sacrifice motherhood to whatever altar I have to sacrifice motherhood to —", she began, before noticing the judge and stenographer staring in shock: "am I too fast for you?" — the ensuing laughter mutated into cheers of praise.

The next day, Nyanzi arrived in court to receive her sentence. After spending nine months in prison, it was unclear whether the court would release her on time served. This time, the court attempted to limit her ability to make a scene, connecting her to the courtroom from a viewing dock in prison via a video link. When Stella was once again able to speak to the judge before her sentencing, she took the opportunity to use her stage despite its limitations. During her speech, she claimed she was brought from her cell to the dock against her will. As she attempted to explain the many injuries she sustained during the process, her mic was frequently shut off and was largely inaudible to the crowd. “Down with courts that do not work for me. Why are they muting my volume? Fuck you. Why did you bring me to this place without consent?” Through the blurry resolution of the video, one could see Stella stick up two middle fingers, and it became audible that she was repeating the phrase “fuck you, fuck you, fuck you” as loudly as she could. At last, Stella lifted her kitenge top, followed by her bra and began juggling her breasts before the camera. Almost immediately, the footage cut out and returned to a mirror view of the courtroom, where almost everyone was on their feet hollering. Judge Kamasanyu didn’t wait for the crowd to quieten down before beginning to read her sentence. Before she could finish, someone threw an empty water bottle in the judge’s direction. Immediately, the police surrounding the court room began dragging out anyone sitting nearby, especially those wearing the colours of Uganda’s main opposition parties, People Power (now the National Unity Platform) and the Forum for Democratic Change (FDC), of which Nyanzi is a member. Seven people ended up in jail, including a court clerk who was the son of a policeman. The clerk was released when his father appeared in the jailhouse just down the road from the High Court and spoke to the Commissioner. The others, including several known FDC activists, spent weeks in jail.

Multiple Choice Questions:

1. What led to Stella Nyanzi's arrest in November 2018?

- A) Violating traffic regulations
- B) Violating the Cyber Harassment Act
- C) Participating in a public protest
- D) Posting a controversial poem on social media

2. Why was Stella Nyanzi arrested at the Wandegeya police station on November 2, 2018?

- A) Public nudity
- B) Cyber harassment
- C) Planning a public action at Makerere University
- D) Violating traffic regulations

3. What charge was Stella Nyanzi convicted of in August 2019?

- A) Offensive communication
- B) Cyber harassment
- C) Public disturbance
- D) Violating traffic regulations

4. What did Stella Nyanzi's controversial poem focus on, leading to her legal troubles?

- A) Economic policies
- B) President's family members

C) Environmental issues

D) Foreign relations

5. According to Achille Mbembe, what characterizes commandement in postcolonial African regimes?

A) Aesthetic refinement

B) Arbitrary violence

C) Democratic governance

D) Cultural diversity

6. How does Mbembe argue that vulgar popular humor functions in the postcolony?

A) As a form of resistance

B) Reinforcing sovereign power

C) Expressing cultural diversity

D) Promoting democratic ideals

7. What does Judith Butler argue regarding the gendered mapping of power in postcolonial sovereignty?

A) Power originates from cultural diversity

B) The fetish is based on economic policies

C) The fetish originates in gendered power dynamics

D) Postcolonial regimes reject vulgar humor

8. How did the audience react during Stella Nyanzi's trial when the judge read excerpts from her controversial poem?

A) Silence

B) Laughter and whistles

C) Protests and disruptions

D) Applause

9. What role does Stella Nyanzi claim to play in Ugandan society during her trial?

A) Queen

B) Mother of twins

C) Political dissident

D) Journalist

10. What term does Nyanzi use to describe her political strategy during her trial?

A) Civil obedience

B) Radical rudeness

C) Political correctness

D) Diplomatic resistance

11. How did Stella Nyanzi react to her guilty verdict in court?

A) Remained silent

B) Celebrated and challenged the court

C) Fled the courtroom

D) Apologized to the president

12. What privileges historically accompany the position of nnalongo, as mentioned in the text?

A) Tax exemptions

B) Ability to speak out against the king

C) Military authority

D) Access to higher education

13. How did Stella Nyanzi express her dissent during the sentencing process?

A) Through a written statement

- B) Silent protest
- C) Verbal confrontation and nudity
- D) Legal appeal

14. What were the consequences of Stella Nyanzi's provocative actions during her sentencing?

- A) Acquittal
- B) Extended prison sentence
- C) Release on bail
- D) Courtroom disruptions and arrests

15. What political parties were mentioned in connection with the courtroom disruptions during Nyanzi's sentencing?

- A) People Power and Forum for Democratic Change
- B) Democratic Party and National Unity Platform
- C) Conservative Party and Liberal Party
- D) Socialist Party and Green Party

BIGGER QUESTIONS

1. Question: Describe the circumstances that led to Stella Nyanzi's arrest in November 2018. How did her controversial poem contribute to the legal charges against her?

Answer: Stella Nyanzi was arrested in November 2018 for violating the Computer Misuse Act after posting a provocative poem on social media on President Yoweri Museveni's birthday. In the poem, she expressed a desire that the president had been "prematurely miscarried" and made explicit references to the president's mother's vagina. The poem led to charges of cyber harassment, and the vulgar language used became central to her legal case.

2. Question: Analyze Achille Mbembe's concept of commandement and its relevance to postcolonial African regimes. How does Mbembe connect vulgar humor to the exercise of power in the postcolony?

Answer: Mbembe's concept of commandement refers to a form of sovereignty characterized by arbitrary violence rooted in imperial conquest. In postcolonial African regimes, this sovereignty is maintained through a symbolic universe marked by vulgarity and obscenity. Mbembe argues that vulgar popular humor in the postcolony serves to desacralize the fetish of the ruler, exposing the autocrat as a mortal capable of the same bodily functions as commoners. This challenges the regime's attempt to elevate the ruler to a sacrosanct status, and laughter becomes a means of resisting the fetishized authority.

3. Question: How does Judith Butler critique Mbembe's analysis of power dynamics in postcolonial sovereignty, particularly regarding gendered aspects?

Answer: Judith Butler challenges Mbembe's analysis by emphasizing the gendered mapping of power in postcolonial sovereignty. According to Butler, the fetish originates from a gendered perspective, specifically in phallic penetration and hetero-patriarchal power structures. Nyanzi's controversial poems, implicating the sexualities of the president's wife or mother, threaten the president's masculinity and symbolic power. Butler's intervention highlights the importance of understanding power dynamics through a gendered lens.

4. Question: During Stella Nyanzi's trial, how did the audience react to the reading of excerpts from her controversial poem? Discuss the significance of the audience's response in the context of power and resistance.

Answer: The audience reacted with laughter and whistles during the trial, disrupting the proceedings. This response is significant as it blurs the line between power and resistance. Instead of passively accepting the court's authority, the spectators became "hominem ludentes par excellence," laughing at the attempts to treat the president's anus as sacrosanct. The audience's laughter served as a form of resistance, challenging the court's attempt to maintain a symbolic order and highlighting the power of collective action in subverting authority.

5. Question: Explore Stella Nyanzi's use of radical rudeness as a political strategy. How does this strategy challenge established norms and contribute to her liberatory politics in Uganda?

Answer: Radical rudeness, as employed by Nyanzi, is a style of decolonial politics that challenges established norms and practices. Nyanzi sees it as the only viable option for liberatory politics in Uganda, where traditional methods of petition and deference are perceived as ineffectual. By deliberately engaging in acts of vulgarity and provocation, Nyanzi disrupts the expected behavior within the courtroom, subverting the court's authority and bringing attention to the inadequacies of the legal system in addressing issues of governance and human rights.

6. Question: Describe the courtroom dynamics during Stella Nyanzi's trial, focusing on the judge's reading of the verdict and Nyanzi's response. How did Nyanzi use the courtroom as a space for political performance?

Answer: During the trial, the courtroom dynamics were theatrical, with the judge reading explicit verses from Nyanzi's poem. The audience's disruptive laughter blurred the line between power and resistance. Nyanzi, rather than admitting guilt, celebrated the verdict and challenged the court's justice. By naming herself as Esiteri and emphasizing her lineage, she performed a transcendent critique, questioning the symbolic and material bases of the court's authority. This use of the courtroom as a stage allowed Nyanzi to assert her agency and contest the legitimacy of the legal system.

7. Question: Discuss the implications of Stella Nyanzi's naming of herself as Esiteri during her trial. How does this act contribute to her strategies of subjectivization and resistance within the legal framework?

Answer: Nyanzi's naming of herself as Esiteri during the trial is a deliberate act of subjectivization and resistance. By connecting herself to a lineage of Esiteris and claiming the role of a nnalongo (mother of twins), she challenges the court's order of legibility. This act is a form of identity politics that disrupts the expected narrative of a citizen subject to the court's authority. Nyanzi uses her naming as a strategy to subvert the court's categorization and to emphasize her position within a community whose laws might authorize resistance against the sovereign.

8. Question: Analyze the events during Stella Nyanzi's sentencing, particularly her unconventional behavior and the subsequent disruptions in the courtroom. How did these actions impact the proceedings and the response from authorities?

Answer: During the sentencing, Nyanzi's unconventional behavior, including verbal confrontation, nudity, and explicit gestures, disrupted the proceedings. Her actions were met with attempts to limit her ability to make a scene, including connecting her via video link. The disruptions escalated, leading to a chaotic courtroom environment. Nyanzi's explicit gestures and verbal defiance challenged the court's attempts to control the narrative and demonstrated her refusal to conform to established norms. The disruptions also triggered arrests and tensions between authorities and opposition supporters.

9. Question: Explore the role of the audience during Stella Nyanzi's trial and sentencing. How did the audience's reactions, including laughter and protests, contribute to the overall dynamics of power and resistance in the courtroom?

Answer: The audience played a crucial role during Nyanzi's trial and sentencing. Their disruptive laughter during the reading of explicit verses challenged the court's attempt to maintain a symbolic order. The laughter served as a form of resistance, highlighting the vulnerability of the ruler and the demystification of the autocrat's fetish. The disruptions continued during the sentencing, with explicit gestures triggering chaos in the courtroom. The audience's collective actions blurred the lines between power and resistance, emphasizing the potential impact of collective dissent within the legal system.

10. Question: Discuss the significance of Stella Nyanzi's claim to the title of nnalongo, or mother of twins, during her trial. How does this claim relate to her strategies of "radical rudeness" and resistance against the ruling regime?

Answer: Nyanzi's claim to the title of nnalongo during her trial is significant in the context of her strategies of "radical rudeness." Historically, the nnalongo holds privileges, including the ability to speak out against the king. Nyanzi strategically employs this citational practice to challenge the court's authority. By positioning herself as a nnalongo, she not only challenges the court's categorization but also draws on historical precedents that empower her to speak out against the ruling regime. This claim contributes to her broader strategy of resistance and challenges the court's attempts to silence her dissent.

11. Question: Evaluate the response of the authorities to Stella Nyanzi's dissent during her sentencing, including the limitations imposed on her. How did Nyanzi use her stage, despite limitations, to express her resistance?

Answer: During Nyanzi's sentencing, authorities attempted to limit her ability to make a scene by connecting her via video link. Despite these limitations, Nyanzi used her stage to express dissent. She claimed she was brought to the dock against her will, and her mic was frequently shut off. Nyanzi's explicit gestures and verbal defiance, including lifting her top and juggling her breasts, became an act of resistance. The limitations imposed by authorities did not prevent Nyanzi from using her platform to challenge the court, and her actions triggered disruptions and arrests in the courtroom.

12. Question: Explore the consequences of Stella Nyanzi's provocative actions during her sentencing, including the courtroom disruptions and subsequent arrests. How did these events impact the broader political landscape in Uganda?

Answer: Nyanzi's provocative actions during her sentencing, including explicit gestures and disruptions, led to chaos in the courtroom and subsequent arrests. The disruptions triggered tensions between authorities and opposition supporters, with arrests impacting known activists. The events highlighted the fragility of the legal system in handling dissent and demonstrated the potential for collective actions to challenge the ruling regime. The arrests and tensions contributed to the broader political landscape, emphasizing the resistance against perceived injustices and the limitations of the legal system in addressing grievances.

13. Question: Reflect on the role of vulgar humor and performative tactics in Ugandan activism, using Stella Nyanzi's case as an example. How do these tactics contribute to the larger discourse on feminism, queerness, and political resistance in Uganda?

Answer: Vulgar humor and performative tactics, as exemplified by Stella Nyanzi's case, play a crucial role in Ugandan activism. These tactics serve as a form of resistance against oppressive regimes, contributing to the larger discourse on feminism, queerness, and political resistance. Nyanzi's use of explicit language challenges the symbolic order and demystifies the autocrat's fetish. The performative aspect of her actions becomes a powerful

tool to express dissent and create a convivial relationship between power and the subject. This discourse contributes to discussions on radical politics, the limitations of legal systems, and the possibilities for feminist and queer politics in Uganda.

14. Question: Investigate the impact of Stella Nyanzi's trial on freedom of expression in Uganda. How did the legal proceedings shape the public perception of dissent and activism in the country?

Answer: Stella Nyanzi's trial had a significant impact on freedom of expression in Uganda. The legal proceedings, with charges related to cyber harassment and offensive communication, raised concerns about the curtailment of free speech. The public's reaction, including disruptive laughter during the trial and tensions during sentencing, highlighted the complexities of dissent in Uganda. Nyanzi's case became a focal point for discussions on the limits of expression, the role of the legal system in addressing dissent, and the challenges activists face in advocating for human rights.

15. Question: Examine the historical context of radical rudeness in Ugandan politics, referencing Carol Summers' description of the style in the 1940s. How does Nyanzi's use of radical rudeness connect to historical precedents of political activism in Uganda?

Answer: Radical rudeness in Ugandan politics, as described by Carol Summers, emerged in the 1940s as a style of decolonial politics. Activists began to challenge Britain's actions through unconventional means, moving away from deference and appeals. Nyanzi's use of radical rudeness connects to this historical precedent by embracing unconventional tactics to challenge the ruling regime. By pathologizing and maligning radical rudeness, Nyanzi maintains its relevance as the only viable option for liberatory politics in Uganda, drawing on historical practices of resistance against perceived injustices.

16. Question: Discuss the international implications of Stella Nyanzi's case, considering the attention it garnered globally. How did Nyanzi's trial contribute to discussions on human rights, freedom of expression, and feminist activism beyond Uganda's borders?

Answer: Stella Nyanzi's case garnered international attention, contributing to discussions on human rights, freedom of expression, and feminist activism. The trial became a focal point for global debates on the limits of free speech and the challenges faced by activists in oppressive regimes. Nyanzi's provocative actions and the public reactions in the courtroom highlighted the complexities of dissent and resistance. The international community engaged in discussions on the broader implications of Nyanzi's trial, emphasizing the interconnectedness of human rights struggles and the need for solidarity in advocating for freedom of expression and feminist activism worldwide.

HARD WORDS

1. Anthropologist:

Definition: An anthropologist is a person who studies human societies, cultures, and their development.

Context: Stella Nyanzi, the central figure in the article, is described as a Ugandan queer feminist anthropologist, reflecting her expertise in studying human societies and cultures.

2. Misuse:

Definition: The incorrect or improper use of something, often leading to negative consequences.

Context: Stella Nyanzi faced legal consequences for the alleged misuse of the Computer Misuse Act when posting a provocative poem online.

3. Indict:

Definition: To formally accuse or charge someone with a serious crime.

Context: Nyanzi was indicted for violating the Computer Misuse Act based on the content of her provocative poem.

4. Vulgar:

Definition: Lacking refinement or taste; coarse and offensive in language or behavior.

Context: The article discusses Nyanzi's use of vulgar language in her poem, leading to legal charges of obscenity.

5. Constitutive:

Definition: Forming a necessary part; essential for the making or constitution of something.

Context: Mbembe's analysis explores the constitutive elements of postcolonial sovereignty, emphasizing the importance of certain practices and symbols.

6. Episteme:

Definition: A particular body of knowledge or system of ideas characteristic of a certain time or society.

Context: Mbembe refers to the production of a common cultural imaginary, an episteme, by postcolonial African regimes to legitimize their authority.

7. Desacralize:

Definition: To deprive of sacred qualities; to treat something once considered sacred with irreverence.

Context: Mbembe argues that vulgar popular humor serves to desacralize the fetish of the ruler, exposing the autocrat's mortality.

8. Hetero-patriarchal:

Definition: Relating to a social system where power is predominantly held by heterosexual males, often characterized by male dominance.

Context: Butler critiques Mbembe's analysis, emphasizing the hetero-patriarchal origin of the symbolic order in postcolonial sovereignty.

9. Subjectivization:

Definition: The process of making someone or something a subject, often referring to the formation of subjectivity.

Context: Nyanzi's act of naming herself as Esiteri during the trial is a form of subjectivization, challenging the court's categorization.

10. Legibility:

Definition: The quality of being clear, readable, or easily understood.

Context: Nyanzi disrupts the court's order of legibility by naming herself and emphasizing her connection to a historical lineage.

11. Citational:

Definition: Pertaining to the act of citing or quoting as a form of reference or support.

Context: Nyanzi employs citational practices, such as naming herself as nnalongo, to challenge the court's authority during her trial.

12. Fragility:

Definition: The quality of being delicate, vulnerable, or easily damaged.

Context: The events during Nyanzi's sentencing revealed the fragility of the legal system in handling dissent and disruptions.

13. Perceived:

Definition: To become aware or conscious of something through the senses or intellect.

Context: Nyanzi's trial and the subsequent tensions highlighted the perceived injustices and challenges faced by activists in Uganda.

14. Pathologized:

Definition: To represent or regard someone or something as medically or psychologically abnormal.

Context: Nyanzi's advocacy of radical rudeness has been pathologized, depicting it as abnormal or deviant behavior.

15. Solidarity:

Definition: Unity or agreement of feeling or action, especially among individuals with a common interest.

Context: The international community engaged in discussions on the need for solidarity in advocating for freedom of expression and feminist activism.

16. Interconnectedness:

Definition: The state of being connected or related to something else; mutual dependence.

Context: Nyanzi's trial had implications beyond Uganda, emphasizing the interconnectedness of human rights struggles and the importance of global discussions.

The article "Poking the Leopard's Anus": Legal Spectacle and Queer Feminist Politics" provides several lessons and insights:

1. Freedom of Expression Challenges:

The case of Stella Nyanzi highlights the challenges to freedom of expression in certain contexts, where individuals can face legal consequences for expressing dissenting views, especially against political figures.

2. Symbolic Resistance:

Nyanzi's use of vulgar language and radical rudeness serves as a form of symbolic resistance against oppressive regimes. It challenges the sacrosanct image of rulers and demystifies their authority.

3. Power Dynamics and Sovereignty:

The article delves into the power dynamics and sovereignty, emphasizing the postcolonial African regimes' use of vulgar symbolism to maintain authority. It sheds light on how laughter and humor can be powerful tools for challenging autocratic power.

Intersectionality in Activism:

- Stella Nyanzi's identity as a queer feminist anthropologist demonstrates the intersectionality of activism. The article suggests that her activism is not just about political dissent but is deeply connected to gender, sexuality, and cultural contexts.

4. Strategies of Subjectivization:

Nyanzi's strategic naming of herself during the trial illustrates the importance of subjectivization in resistance. By emphasizing her lineage and community ties, she challenges the court's attempt to categorize her solely as a citizen subject to its authority.

5. Global Attention and Solidarity:

The international attention Nyanzi's case garnered underscores the interconnectedness of human rights struggles. It highlights the importance of global solidarity in advocating for freedom of expression, feminist activism, and challenging oppressive regimes.

6. Impact of Performative Tactics:

Nyanzi's use of performative tactics, including explicit gestures and disruptions, demonstrates the impact of such actions in the legal and political spheres. It disrupts the expected norms of behavior in the courtroom and draws attention to the limitations of the legal system.

7. Historical Context of Activism:

The article refers to historical practices of radical rudeness in Ugandan politics, connecting Nyanzi's actions to a broader tradition of unconventional tactics used by activists to challenge oppressive regimes.

8. Fragility of Legal Systems:

The disruptions during Nyanzi's trial reveal the fragility of legal systems in handling dissent. Despite attempts to control the narrative, her actions triggered chaos, arrests, and tensions, exposing the limitations of the legal system in addressing grievances.

9. The Role of Laughter in Resistance:

Laughter, as observed in the courtroom during Nyanzi's trial, becomes a form of resistance. It challenges the attempts to treat certain symbols or figures as sacrosanct and reveals the vulnerability of those in power.

10. Personal Sacrifice for Activism:

Nyanzi's willingness to remain in prison for political grounds, as opposed to accepting bail, raises questions about personal sacrifice for activism. It prompts reflection on the lengths individuals are willing to go to challenge oppressive regimes.

In summary, the article underscores the complex interplay between power, resistance, freedom of expression, and the strategic use of performative tactics in the context of Ugandan activism. It encourages readers to consider the broader implications of such cases for global discussions on human rights and political activism.

SAPIENS

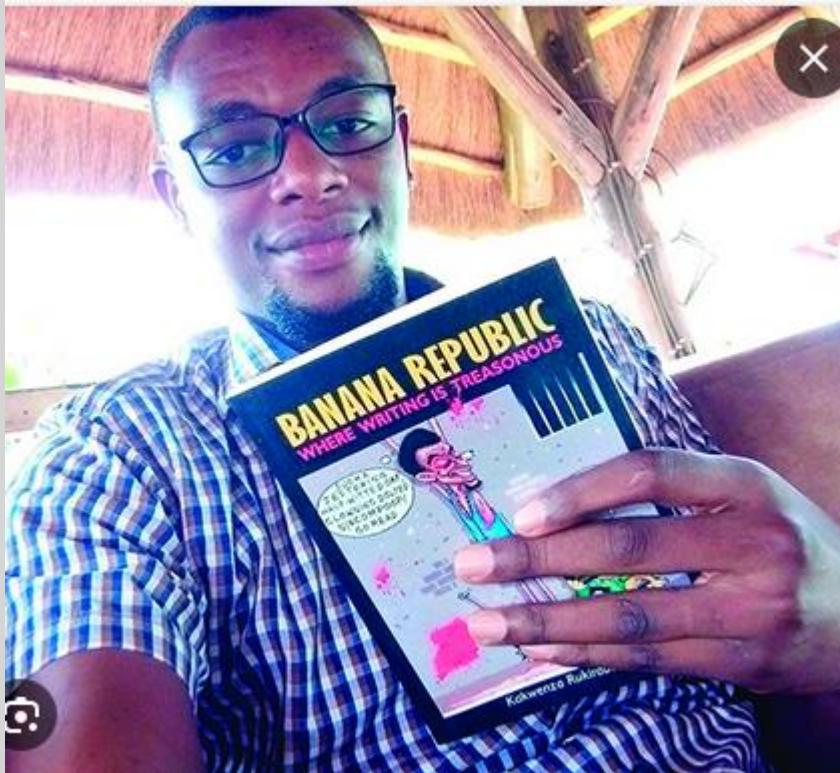
- The above is a NEWS company domiciled in Canada and a Startup.
- It analyzes legends, historical news and facts and current news and facts.
- Sapiens does not originate any news or facts.
- It scrapes all its information from public domain like libraries and cloud archives.
- Currently, Sapiens does not sell its analytics.
- LEGTEK GROUP is a partner in Uganda.
- Currently, Sapiens operates in 32 Countries across the Globe.

Thank you.

THE ARREST

Article adopted from the book “Banana Republic”

By Kakwenza Rukirabashaija



(This article is an extract from the above book.)

The day was Easter Monday, **13th April 2020**. The time was precisely 12.55 p.m. I was bare-assed on my eight-by-six bed, lying prostrate –with the laptop facing me and my phones beside me. I had finished writing an article and now I was researching for the, Equity and Trusts school coursework whose deadline was due the following day . I had hoped that I would jot down the notes I was Googling in my notebook and then do the typing later. I was under pressure because the lecturer had reminded us in our WhatsApp group that we should send the work to her email address the following day without fail or excuse.

I heard loud and impatient bangs on our gate, which was unusual, but I ignored it since the house manager was the one tasked to open and close the gate for visitors at home. After some minutes, I heard the gate squeak open, followed by the thudding of many shod feet on the cemented drive way. I wondered which visitors these were that stomped the ground with their shoes with so much energy, like elephants going to a watering hole.

Upon opening for the said visitors and realising that they were men in army uniform wielding machine guns, the house manager had run away and left the gate open. She was too scared to close the gate in their faces and so she had left it wide open, and they had thronged in. She briskly ran into the house to inform my

wife, Eva, about the presence of military men at the gate. Eva was in the dressing room ironing and organising clothes in the closet. The house manager showed up in the room panting and told Eva about what she had seen with her eyes. Upon being told by the house manager of the predicament we were entangled in, Eva jumped up and ran through the corridor to the bedroom to inform me of the military siege. No sooner had she uttered two or three words about the military siege than the military men invaded our bedroom. I got up and cursorily wrapped myself in a towel and asked them what the matter was.

"Th top athking foolish quethions, idiot. Don't you thee uth in uniform?" one of the intruders, dressed in a black round-necked T-shirt and blue jeans, spoke through dirty, broken teeth.



Birds of the same feathers....Stella Nyanzi and Kakwenza Rukira

All of his front teeth were missing. This was not, however, because of old age but conceivably because he had engaged in innumerable fights that had left him toothless. He appeared to be almost my age, thirty-two or thereabouts, except that he was more muscular and shorter than me, and had knife scars on his arms and face that gave the impression that he had lived all his life in violence. He spoke just a little English with grammatical errors and it made me think that perhaps he had been picked from the streets to be used by the intelligence services to do their dirty inhuman deals.

"You are under arrest, Mr. Kakwenza," another one, in full combat camouflage, announced.

The interloper with the broken teeth pulled me out of bed while another officer in uniform grabbed my computer and phones from the bed where they lay.

"Where is your national identity card?" the one in uniform asked.

I reached for my wallet from the table and pulled out the identity card and gave it to him. He studied it briefly and asked, "You do not have a Christian or English name?"

"You mean to say, a slave name?" I shot back

"You must be a witchdoctor," he retorted.

We walked to the living room where the other armed men had gathered and they all showed me their Chieftaincy of Military Intelligence (CMI) identify cards, and informed me again that I was under arrest.

No arrest warrant was presented contrary to the Magistrates Courts Act and the Criminal Procedure Code Act. I wondered why the police, as the law provides in the Criminal Procedure Code Act, were not the ones to arrest me but military men armed with heavy machine guns!

"Do you want to be taken like that, or we let you dress up?" one officer; whose potbelly protruded like he survived on lard, spoke.

"What crime have I committed and where is the arrest warrant?" I asked.

"Idiot, this is the military arresting you, not police. You either cooperate and be taken alive, or we beat and kill you and take your corpse," the man with a potbelly threatened.

I recalled the Inspector General of Police saying, on a live television broadcast, that any person who comes to arrest you without an arrest warrant should be beaten up. The rascals were armed to the teeth and any attempt to kick one in the crotch would be an invitation to be shot in the mouth, so I withdrew the thought and capitulated to their illegalities.

I was allowed to dress up, guarded by two officers. They asked for a copy of my book. To their chagrin, I told them that I had no copies -- that I had sold off all of them. I opened the closet while the two officers closely watched like a dog watching over skewered meat being roasted on hot coals. I selected, from the closet, my light army green pants, white vest and a white T-shirt which I hurriedly put on. Then I announced to them that I was done.

While I dressed up, I wondered why a civilian like me would be arrested like I had stolen the president's kidney. The soldiers were moving from one bedroom to another, checking every bag and fridge, under the sofas, in the toilets, and in the cupboard, looking for guns.

"Are you armed?" one officer asked.

"Have you found any gun?" I retorted.

The way they looked at me, I formed the impression that they were only sparing me beatings at that moment because they knew they would have an opportunity to make up for lost time where they were taking me.

"Where are you taking my husband?" my wife broke the silence, asking through sobs.

"We are taking him for some small interrogation and will bring him back as soon as possible," one rotund officer in a short-sleeved checkered shirt and jeans answered. My wife had called the local council chairman. He arrived as we stood in the dining room. He watched in awe.

My wife, children and the house manager were crying incessantly and droplets of tears were flowing down their cheeks. I knew I was in trouble but, as a man, I had to be strong and emphasise to my family that all would be well. I gathered my wife into a hug and bid her goodbye and promised her that I would return the following day. She was visibly bereft and loathed the presence of government agents in the house.

We got out of the house through the kitchen and via the drive way. We reached the gate where a waiting vehicle had parked, engine running and driver ensconced in his seat. The men in uniform who had surrounded the house now came upon being called by the commander of the operation. They chained my legs, handcuffed me and bundled me into the vehicle like a sack of potatoes. They didn't care whether I had sat or not. Soon the vehicle roared into life and sped off, leaving the villagers all watching with their mouth agape.

While we moved, I asked them for my phone so that I could communicate with my lawyer and inform him about my illegal arrest. They told me that I was wanted dead or alive and that if I pestered them with conversations concerning my rights and the law, they would burst my ass with a silenced gun, which they pointed in my face, and dump me in Mabira Forest for wildlife to devour. The vehicle was full of guns and chains of ammunition. All the soldiers stuffed themselves into the vehicle, ten in number, and they sat on me right through the journey. I almost fainted because I couldn't breathe properly.

The driver of the vehicle, a reticent middle-aged man, drove the 120 kilometres from Iganga to Kampala in an hour. He drove the car like a mad man. "The road was clear of traffic because the country was in lockdown following the presidential directive due to the coronavirus pandemic.

When we reached Namboole Stadium, the officer who had sat on me got away, eased himself down between me and another officer, pulled out a beanie from his Jacket, and covered my face with it. The army-green beanie reeked of cigarettes, and when I complained of the malodorous smell, he added on another one and punched me in the face. I was still bespectacled and I heard another officer warn him to be careful not to break my specs. The one who sat in front of me leaned over, and removed my glasses.

As a frequent user of that route, I could recognise every rum they took from the time they blind folded me up to when the vehicle stopped in a military barracks after several road blocks and checks. The vehicle pulled over into the parking lot but the engine kept running. Though I was blindfolded with a beanie, I could still see my feet. Upon alighting from the vehicle, and when they pushed me to walk, which I did without lifting the feet because of the chains, I could determine that I had moved two metres from the pavers where the vehicle had parked, and into the building I had now reached.

Multiple Choice Questions:

1. **What was the author doing when the military arrived at his home?**

- A. Sleeping
 - B. Writing an article
 - C. Watching TV
 - D. Cooking
2. **How did the house manager react upon seeing the men in army uniform?**

- A. She welcomed them warmly
- B. She ran away in fear
- C. She confronted them
- D. She invited them inside

3. What did the military men demand from the author upon entering his bedroom?

- A. Money
- B. Identification card
- C. Computer and phones
- D. Book copies

4. How did the author respond to the demand for his national identity card?

- A. Refused to show it
- B. Showed it immediately
- C. Asked for a warrant
- D. Denied having one

5. What derogatory term did the military officer use to address the author?

- A. Sir
- B. Idiot
- C. Mr. Kakwenza
- D. Soldier

6. Why did the soldiers claim to arrest the author without a warrant?

- A. They were police officers
- B. The author had committed a serious crime
- C. Military had the authority
- D. They threatened to beat and kill him if he resisted

7. What was the author's response when asked about having a Christian or English name?

- A. Yes
- B. No
- C. Asked for clarification
- D. Referred to it as a slave name

8. How did the author feel about being arrested?

- A. Happy
- B. Anxious
- C. Indifferent
- D. Angry

9. What reason did the military give for taking the author into custody?

- A. Illegal possession of weapons
- B. Suspected of being a witchdoctor
- C. Political activism
- D. Interrogation

10. How did the author's wife react to his arrest?

- A. Celebrated
- B. Cried and asked questions
- C. Supported the military
- D. Called the police

11. How was the author transported to the military barracks?

- A. Private car
- B. Military tank

C. Public bus

D. Waiting vehicle

12. What was the condition of the author during the journey to the military barracks?

A. Sleeping

B. Comfortable

C. Blindfolded, chained, and uncomfortable

D. Engaging in conversation with the military

BIGGER QUESTIONS

1. Describe the author's initial reaction to the loud and impatient bangs on the gate.

How does this set the tone for the events that follow?

Answer: The author's initial reaction to the loud and impatient bangs on the gate was nonchalant, as he assumed the house manager would handle it. This indifference sets the tone for the unexpected intrusion of military men into his home, creating a contrast between the ordinary nature of his activities and the abrupt and alarming events that unfold.

2. Discuss the significance of the author's use of descriptive language in portraying the military intrusion. How does the author's choice of words contribute to the reader's understanding of the atmosphere and tension in the narrative?

Answer: The author's use of vivid and descriptive language enhances the reader's understanding of the atmosphere and tension during the military intrusion. Phrases like "thudding of many shod feet," "like elephants going to a watering hole," and "armed with heavy machine guns" create a sense of urgency, fear, and militaristic aggression, intensifying the reader's immersion into the narrative.

3. Examine the author's response to the demand for his national identity card. How does this exchange highlight issues of identity, power, and resistance within the context of the arrest?

Answer: The author's response to the demand for his national identity card, questioning the concept of a "slave name," reflects issues of identity and resistance. It underscores the power dynamic between the author and the military, revealing his refusal to conform to perceived norms and his assertion of agency in the face of arrest.

4. Explore the role of the author's wife during the arrest. How does her reaction contribute to the emotional and psychological impact of the events on the family?

Answer: The author's wife plays a crucial role during the arrest, expressing concern and seeking information about her husband's fate. Her emotional response, characterized by incessant crying, adds a human dimension to the narrative, highlighting the impact of political persecution on family dynamics and individual well-being.

5. Analyze the threat made by the military officer regarding the author's cooperation during the arrest. How does this threat reveal broader issues of abuse of power and the suppression of legal rights?

Answer: The threat made by the military officer, coercing the author to cooperate under the threat of violence, exemplifies the abuse of power and the disregard for legal rights. It exposes the authoritarian tactics employed during the arrest, where legal processes are sidelined in favor of intimidation and brutality.

6. Discuss the significance of the author being blindfolded during the journey to the military barracks. How does this symbolize the suppression of information and the lack of transparency in the arrest?

Answer: The author being blindfolded during the journey symbolizes the suppression of information and the lack of transparency in the arrest. It serves as a metaphor for the censorship and secrecy surrounding political arrests, reinforcing the idea that the truth is being concealed from the public eye.

7. Examine the portrayal of the military officers in the narrative. How does the author depict their physical appearance, language, and behavior to convey a specific image?

Answer: The author depicts the military officers with attention to physical appearance, language, and behavior, portraying them as intimidating figures. The description of broken teeth, scars, and the use of vulgar language contributes to a menacing image, reinforcing the narrative's exploration of power dynamics and the authoritarian nature of the arrest.

8. Explore the author's internal conflict and decision-making process when faced with the illegal arrest. How does he navigate between asserting his rights and avoiding potential harm?

Answer: The author's internal conflict during the illegal arrest involves a delicate balance between asserting his rights and avoiding potential harm. Faced with the threat of violence, he grapples with the decision to comply, recognizing the potential consequences of resisting the military's unlawful actions.

9. Evaluate the impact of the arrest on the author's family, as depicted in the narrative. How do family members cope with the sudden upheaval, and what emotional toll does it take on them?

Answer: The impact of the arrest on the author's family is profound, as depicted in the narrative. Family members, including the wife and children, cope with the sudden upheaval through tears and visible distress. The emotional toll underscores the broader societal implications of political persecution on innocent families.

10. Discuss the significance of the setting, particularly the country being in lockdown due to the coronavirus pandemic, in shaping the events of the arrest. How does the broader context contribute to the unfolding narrative?

Answer: The setting of the country being in lockdown due to the coronavirus pandemic adds a layer of complexity to the narrative. It reflects a context of heightened control and restrictions, amplifying the authoritarian nature of the arrest. The lockdown becomes a backdrop that intensifies the atmosphere of the events.

11. Analyze the author's reference to the Inspector General of Police's statement regarding arrests without warrants. How does this reference contribute to the narrative's exploration of legality, authority, and resistance?

Answer: The author's reference to the Inspector General of Police's statement underscores the narrative's exploration of legality, authority, and resistance. It highlights the inconsistency in law enforcement practices and the disregard for established legal procedures during the arrest, reinforcing the theme of abuse of power.

12. Examine the author's observations during the journey, particularly when recognizing familiar routes. How does this add a layer of personal experience to the narrative, and what does it reveal about the author's state of mind during the arrest?

Answer: The author's observations of familiar routes during the journey add a layer of personal experience to the narrative. It reveals a sense of familiarity and connection to the surroundings, contrasting with the distressing circumstances of being blindfolded. This

juxtaposition provides insight into the author's state of mind, emphasizing the surreal nature of the events.

HARD WORDS

1. Innumerable

Definition: Too many to be counted.

Context: "He appeared to be almost my age, thirty-two or thereabouts, except that he was more muscular and shorter than me, and had knife scars on his arms and face that gave the impression that he had lived all his life in violence."

2. Nonchalant

Definition: Feeling or appearing casually calm and relaxed.

Context: "The author's initial reaction to the loud and impatient bangs on the gate was nonchalant, as he assumed the house manager would handle it."

3. Indifferent

Definition: Having no particular interest or sympathy; unconcerned.

Context: "This indifference sets the tone for the unexpected intrusion of military men into his home, creating a contrast between the ordinary nature of his activities and the abrupt and alarming events that unfold."

4. Coercing

Definition: Persuading someone to do something using force or threats.

Context: "The threat made by the military officer, coercing the author to cooperate under the threat of violence, exemplifies the abuse of power and the disregard for legal rights."

5. Militaristic

Definition: Relating to or characteristic of a military or armed force.

Context: "Phrases like 'thudding of many shod feet,' 'like elephants going to a watering hole,' and 'armed with heavy machine guns' create a sense of urgency, fear, and militaristic aggression."

6. Authoritarian

Definition: Favoring or enforcing strict obedience to authority at the expense of personal freedom.

Context: "It exposes the authoritarian tactics employed during the arrest, where legal processes are sidelined in favor of intimidation and brutality."

7. Censorship

Definition: The suppression or prohibition of any parts of books, films, news, etc. that are considered obscene, politically unacceptable, or a threat to security.

Context: "It serves as a metaphor for the censorship and secrecy surrounding political arrests, reinforcing the idea that the truth is being concealed from the public eye."

8. Conform

Definition: Comply with rules, standards, or laws.

Context: "The author's response to the demand for his national identity card, questioning the concept of a 'slave name,' reflects issues of identity and resistance. It underscores the power dynamic between the author and the military, revealing his refusal to conform to perceived norms."

9. Bereft

Definition: Deprived or lacking something, especially a nonmaterial asset.

Context: "She was visibly bereft and loathed the presence of government agents in the house."

10. Potent

Definition: Having great power, influence, or effect.

Context: "The one who sat in front of me leaned over, and removed my glasses, a potent symbol of the deprivation of vision and control."

11. Surreal

Definition: Having the qualities of surrealism; bizarre.

Context: "This juxtaposition provides insight into the author's state of mind, emphasizing the surreal nature of the events."

12. Incessantly

Definition: Continuing without pause or interruption.

Context: "Family members, including the wife and children, cope with the sudden upheaval through tears and incessantly crying, adding a human dimension to the narrative."

LESSONS LEARNT

1. Abuse of Power and Authoritarianism:

The narrative highlights the abuse of power by the military, demonstrating an authoritarian approach to arrests. It exposes how individuals in authority can exploit their positions to suppress dissent and control citizens.

2. Legal Rights and Due Process:

The article underscores the importance of legal rights and due process. The author's illegal arrest without a warrant and the disregard for established legal procedures reflect the vulnerability of individuals when legal norms are ignored.

3. Impact on Families:

The emotional toll on the author's family emphasizes the broader societal impact of political persecution. Families often bear the brunt of such actions, experiencing distress, fear, and uncertainty.

4. Secrecy and Censorship:

The use of blindfolding as a metaphor for censorship and secrecy in political arrests raises awareness about the suppression of information. It sheds light on the deliberate concealment of truth during such events.

5. Resistance and Agency:

The author's subtle resistance, such as questioning the demand for his identity card, illustrates the importance of maintaining agency even in challenging circumstances. It suggests that individuals can resist authoritarian actions within the bounds of their capabilities.

6. Impact on Mental Health:

The article hints at the psychological impact of political persecution. The author's internal conflict and observations during the journey provide insight into the mental strain individuals may endure when subjected to arbitrary arrests and threats.

7. Political Environment:

The setting of the country being in lockdown due to the coronavirus pandemic adds complexity to the narrative. It reflects how political events can be influenced by broader societal conditions, and authoritarian actions may be intensified during periods of crisis.

8. Symbolism in Actions:

Symbolic actions, such as the blindfolding and threat of violence, convey a deeper meaning. These actions serve as symbols of the suppression of information, control, and the use of fear as a tool of authority.

9. Unequal Power Dynamics:

The physical descriptions of the military officers and their behavior highlight the unequal power dynamics at play. It reveals how individuals with authority can use their physical presence and intimidation to exert control over others.

10. Public Awareness:

The narrative raises awareness about the need for public vigilance and knowledge of legal rights. It encourages individuals to be informed about their rights and to question actions that deviate from legal norms.

11. Impact on Freedom of Expression:

The article indirectly addresses the impact of political persecution on freedom of expression. The author's arrest for expressing opinions suggests the challenges individuals face when exercising their right to free speech.

12. Cultural and Historical References:

References to cultural practices, historical events, and legal statements provide a broader context for understanding the narrative. It encourages readers to consider the socio-political landscape and historical precedents in interpreting current events.

SAPIENS

- The above is a NEWS company domiciled in Canada and a Startup.
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Thank you.

TORTURE CHAMBER

Article adopted from the book “Banana Republic”

By Kakwenza Rukirabashaiza



Oooooooooooooohhhhhh ! Jesus!

The agents instructed me to remove my leather sandals and wallet and drop them down on the tiled floor and then kneel on the sharp stones and raise my arms straight and wait. There were other people who had been brought in before me. I could feel their presence by their incessant sobbing and panting. Some of them cried because of kneeling for long stretches of time on the sharp stones and keeping their arms raised - a herculean and inhuman punishment. I wondered what kind of humans could treat someone's offspring in such a manner. Little did I know that what awaited me was worse!

After about thirty minutes or so kneeling on the rough stones with my arms held straight up, the pores in my skin were pouring out sweat, and my clothes were drenched. The whole experience was already despicable and terrifying because, whenever your body shook, however little, or if you showed that that you were tired or needed a rest, the **Standby officers** would hit you with batons and clubs. Some of the sweat had been dripping from my temples and dropping on to the clean tiles. One officer kicked me in the back and instructed me to lick the sweat off the tiles. No sooner had I licked it than another officer came and unchained my legs and instructed me to follow him. The cold breeze had begun seeping through the corridor where we were, onto the ground floor, and one could really feel that outside it was getting dark. The officer led the way and we climbed up the stairs. I counted six

stair-flights and three landings before we got back to the corridor. I was still blindfolded and handcuffed when we entered an office.

"Remove that thing from his head and the handcuffs," a clear voice instructed.

The office looked quite spacious and huge for only one man to occupy. He was ensconced in his office chair and his eyes glued to his Apple laptop when I looked over from where I had been instructed to sit. It was opposite his table and there was some vacant space between us.

"Mr Kakwenza Rukira, I need to ask you some simple questions before it is too late because I have to go home," he spoke as he rolled back his chair to create space to stand up and walk towards the vacant space.

"I cannot see well; I need my contact lenses," I said " I only need your ears, not eyes. Mr Kakwenza," he said in a threatening voice.

"Go and bring his lenses," he instructed the messenger, who was still standing by.

My lenses had been greased by sweating fingers when they touched them and I had to first clean them using my vest that I had worn inside the T-shirt.

"Are you okay, now?" he asked.

"Sir. I am thirsty and hungry. Your boys picked me up from bed and I have not had anything to drink or eat. Hold your questions and I first energise myself," I angrily said in a strained voice.



More was yet to come!

My mouth was dry with dehydration from not eating for a whole day, and the kneeling on rough stones, and the stretching of the arms, and the sweating out all the water in my body. I was inaudible. The officer got up from his chair and walked to a box placed in a corner. He pulled out a bottle of Rwenzori water and handed it to me. By the time he was done with calling his boys downstairs to bring me food, I had guzzled down the entire contents of the bottle and demanded more. The food was brought. It was packed in a small square stainless-steel mess tin. The food consisted of posho and beans cooked with cabbage. It was placed on the table in front of me and the man watched me from across his table eat the food with unwashed hands. It was the holy month of Ramadhan and the man who sat across from me looked like

a Muslim. He had a callus on his forehead, which I believe is a result of persistently putting the forehead down while kneeling to pray. On his head, too, was a Muslim cap.

He was a short man with a dark complexion and appeared to have been crying to lose weight. When he stood near me, he was visibly two thirds of my height and he would look at my face as if looking at a bird flying up in the sky.

"So, Mr Kakwenza, what do you mean by the words superannuated, kleptocracy and gerontocracy?" he asked, his eyes fixed on me as if he thought I was a Chwezi and would disappear into the walls.

He had read my Facebook post where I had described Mr. Museveni, the ruler of Uganda for thirty-four years, as superannuated and unable to steer the country in the right direction. I had, in the same post, branded his government as a kleptocratic gerontocracy.

"From the beginning you suggested that we speak English and you emphasised that you understand it very well. So, please, the words are written in English," I shot back.



He looked at me for more than a minute and I reprimanded myself for answering an officer like that. However, when I recalled how I had been brought to the building, the way they had picked me up from my bed at home and how I had left my children and wife crying, I didn't give a damn.

"Okay, Mr. Kakwenza, who is The Greedy Barbarian you wrote in your novel?" he asked calmly.

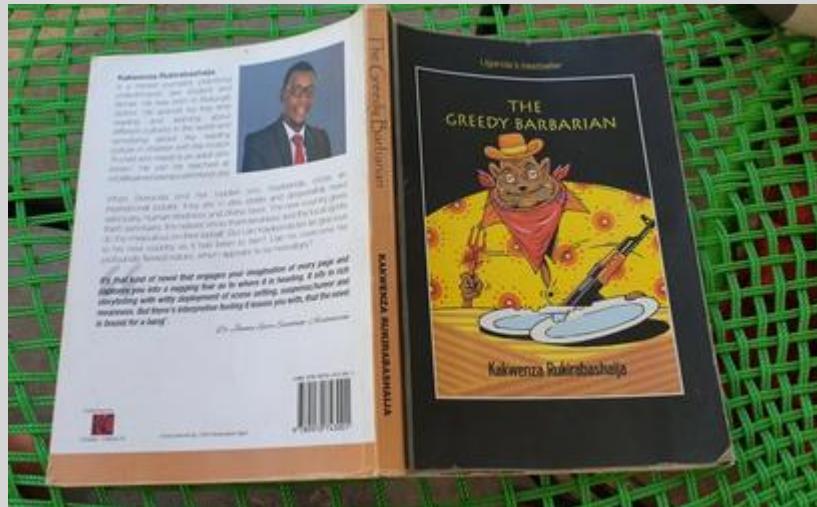
"By the way, may I know the person I am talking to and your designation? And, may I use your phone to call my lawyer, because I have all the rights to access my lawyer, know why I am arrested as enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda 1995, as amended," I quoted like someone who understood their rights as clearly pronounced in the constitution .

The Hajji, if I may refer to him thus, lost his cool. He reached out for his table phone and called his boys downstairs to come and pick me up.

"Tomorrow, you will talk, whether you want or not," he fumed.

As the summoned officer was blindfolding and handcuffing me again, I just stopped short of telling him that, since he was fasting and visibly a follower of his religious beliefs, he needn't sell his conscience by being subservient to the wiles of the devil by kowtowing to the rogue regime's demands to stifle freedom of expression.

However, I reserved my comment since I had seen a pistol well tucked into the waist of his trousers, and he was obviously sufficiently charged to put a bullet through my head.



The book that brought the misery!

I was taken downstairs along the same route we had used to go upstairs. When we had reached the corridor where I had left other prisoners, I noticed that they had been taken away. The beanie had been adjusted and now it covered my head only down to the nose, so, through a tiny hole, I could see to small extent. The officer who led me reeked of tobacco. It was evident that when he was called, he had been smoking. Perhaps he had put out the cigarette and tucked it into his pocket.

He took me to a small toilet and locked the door behind him. For a minute or two, I thought that, perhaps, he had brought me in to ease myself and that he would return and take me to sleep with the inmates I had found sobbing in the corridor. However, as I was still wondering and as my eyes darted about, I saw a steel plate and a plastic cup that had been placed on the floor. There were also iron bars fixed into the two walls that appeared to be handles to help a handicapped person use the toilet. I proceeded to use the toilet in which I had been locked to crap. However, when the officer came back to serve me drinking water and found me relieving myself comfortably, he kicked me viciously, propelling me off the toilet seat. I landed on the floor like a bag of potatoes. The officer had chained both my hands and legs, so gathering myself up again was something of a herculean task.

"You idiot, this is not a toilet!" he fumed, and the whole room was pervaded by a cigarette-polluted breath from his malodorous mouth.

"But this is a toilet, sir," I retorted.

"Kumanyoko. Eat that shit now!" he commanded.

I looked at him askance. The beanie that had blindfolded me had fallen down amidst the altercation.

All along he had been standing at the threshold. Now he walked into the small cell,

grabbed me by the ears and thrust my head it into the toilet bowl. My mouth almost kissed the mound of unflushed constipated shit that had been floating on the water inside the bowl.

With a lot of anger and jeering, he stomped out. In a minute, he 'was back ' with a basin full of water. He flung the water into the toilet and some particles of shit and drops of water splashed onto my clothes. He reached for the keys in his pocket, chained my hands to the bars that jutted out of the toilet rail and chained my legs to the pipe leading to the toilet bowl.

I spent the night there, praying to God.

It was a terrible night for me. I was very cold in the small toilet, and the pain from the tight handcuffs and tight chain around my legs was excruciating. I wondered what the following day would bring if an illiterate hired rascal who hardly spoke English, whose fingers and teeth were blackened by tobacco smoke, could treat me the way bulls being trucked from Kiruhura to Kampala for slaughter are treated. I cursed the president and his men who had violated - my non-derogable rights with such impunity. I knew that, the following day, the brutes ·would interrogate me at gunpoint. I was neither a terrorist nor a deserter nor someone who was threatening the president's continued stay in power by contesting against him in the next election. I was just the writer of a work of political fiction that was selling like hot cakes in Kampala. In fact, the first print-run had already sold out!

The following day, a Tuesday, a medical doctor working in the barracks was the first person to open the toilet where I had spent the night standing, chained to the wall. He introduced himself as a medical doctor and said that he had come to take any medical complaints. I looked at him with resentful eyes and wondered which idiot would really see a man hung in the toilet, hands already swollen, and go ahead to ask whether I had a complaint? Why would the government, the one that I pay my taxes to, the one that I contracted for five years, to protect me and my property, pick me up from my comfortable home and bring me by force to a torture chamber and then pretend to care about my pain? I wanted to spit on him but my mouth turned out to be dry. He banged the door behind him and sauntered away, perhaps to another toilet-cum-cell.

The day had broken and I could sense it by the many movements in the corridor. I also heard frequent flushing of toilets near where I had been hung. The door opened again. This time, a pretty woman encased in tight, high- waist, faded blue denims and a green V-necked T-shirt, which gave her the appearance of a night club pole dancer or a model, entered and stared at me lustfully for a minute or two. She reached for a cup that had been placed on the floor in the corner, switched off the light that had illuminated the small room for the night, and went out without saying a word. She closed the door and returned after five minutes with a cup of white porridge. The cup was full to the brim. She placed it on the floor and unchained me from the wall bars and asked me to sit down and eat the porridge. It was very hot but I managed to slurp it down hungrily while she stood over me and watched.

"What have you been brought here for, young man?" she enquired.

When I looked up at her, I realised that she had been

looking mercifully at me.

"For 'writing a satirical book,'" I answered.

"Ehh, you are the author of The Greedy Barbarian? Where are your specs? You look different when not bespectacled," she remarked.

"Yes, it is me. Have you read the book?" I asked.

She squatted and, holding my chin, raised my face so I could look directly in her eyes and added, "You man, you outdid yourself with that novel. I knew you would be picked up. I read the first two chapters with my mouth open because every sentence is humorous and makes one laugh endlessly. Then when I got to the last chapter, I pitied you."

She got up to her feet, took the empty cup from my hands and got out. Her nice perfume stayed with me in the toilet- cum-cell for more than thirty minutes. She had heaped encomium on me when she remarked that I deserved an accolade for telling a great story and then made my scrotum shrink with fear when she suggested that they would beat me to pulp over the third part of the novel. I sat down on the tiles with my butt and feet level and my head resting on my knees and impatiently waited to be picked up for interrogation.

A few minutes later, a beardless boy who appeared to be barely eighteen years old, opened the door to the toilet and rudely instructed me to cover my face with a beanie and follow him. While he handcuffed me, the smell emanating from him filled my nostrils. He stank like he had spent a week without bathing, and when he spoke, his breath smelt like the water that flows in the Nakivubo channel.

The youth led me to the interrogation room and forced me to kneel on rough stones and to raise my handcuffed arms straight up. The room had many interrogators. Some were seated behind their computers typing in everything I answered while others stood behind me wielding clubs, batons, guns and canes. They would hit me on the back, ankles and the soles of the feet each time I gave an answer they considered unsatisfactory. My legs were still chained and arms handcuffed and I would lose balance every time they hit me and would fall down in a heap. They would then kick me in the crotch and tummy until I gathered myself up, and knelt down on the stones again.

The questions they asked me on that day were basically about myself: about my father, mother and siblings; how I met my wife; whom I dated before meeting her; how many children I had and their names; my friends since I was born; passwords to my computer and social media accounts like Twitter and Facebook; the articles I had written for the newspapers; my non-governmental organization.

The Kakwenza Education foundation; the countries I had travelled to; and much other stuff they intended to use to pin me. They already knew all the countries I had travelled to; perhaps they had carried out some research from border and airport databases. They asked what business had taken me there, about the people I had met and their contacts, the hotels I had slept in and many other things that sounded irrelevant to me. Some of the things I had already forgotten, only to remember them upon being bombarded with questions.

The questions would be coming from different angles, just like the beatings. I was blindfolded but I could feel that I was in the centre of a large room and that they had strategically organised their desks to surround me.

When the time for lunch arrived, the brutes instructed me to crawl out of the room like a lizard.

"Motherfucker, crawl out of here like a lizard," the brute with a Rukiga accent commanded.

"But how do I crawl when my legs and arms are chained and my face blindfolded?" I foolishly asked. In a minute or two, I had received like a hundred beatings from all directions and to all my body parts. My knees and joints hurt so badly that I could hardly help myself, including trying to crawl like they had instructed me to do. Still I tried because the more I declared, the more beatings and kicks I received. I did as they had commanded until I hit my head on a wall and one officer had the gumption to ask: "Don't you see where you are going, idiot?"

"But I am blindfolded," I groaned.

"You deserve death for writing about the president," he said while shoving me to the entrance by rolling me like a log.

In the corridor, there were other people who had been brought in. I found them eating posho and beans with their hands. The officer adjusted the beanie to create a small opening through which I could see the food. The officer threatened that I was to limit my attention to the plate of food and not to dart my eyes hither and whither so as to look at passersby, or talk to my fellow victims of torture. An inmate who appeared to have been there for years brought food and poured for me water to wash my hands and greeted me in Kiswahili. From his skin colour and hair texture, he looked-like a Somali or someone from the Horn of Africa. The poker-faced officer who had stood watching us from a distance unlocked my handcuffs, leaving one hand free to pick up food from the plate. I ate my food in silence, though some of the others noisily licked their fingers after scooping up soup with their hands.

"Tell us about the greedy barbarian you wrote about in your novel." This was the first question that hit my ears immediately I was returned to the interrogation room after lunch.

"I thought, before my arrest, you had read the novel, sirs?"

I answered.

An uncountable number of gun butt descended on me for responding in such a brazen manner. It was as though they were pounding dry ears of maize in a sack to separate the kernels from the cobs. They instructed me to bend over an office chair by placing my crotch on to the holster and then hands on the floor. The backside was appropriately positioned for whipping.

"Okay, let me talk now," I capitulated.

I was losing my mind. The pain was humongous and my mouth was the taste of raw blood. The officers instructed-- me to remove my pants and T-shirt and use them to clean the floor as it bad been stained with sweat and drops of blood. The beanie had covered my face down to the nose. Still, I could see the officer's shoes and denims when he came to remove the chains and handcuffs so that I could undress. The chains and handcuffs were put back after I had undressed and I was made to lie prostrate

as they whipped me. My whole body was beginning to swell, as I succinctly explained the contents of the novel from beginning to end.

In Africa, when you write fiction, especially political fiction, such as the political allegory .Animal Farm by George Orwell, the leaders will always think that one is writing about them. Of course, every dictator will suspect that the writer meant to embarrass him. That is what happened when I wrote the novel in which, as a youth, Kayibanda was provoked by corruption, extrajudicial killings, over-taxation, unemployment, incompetence, vote rigging, lack of freedom of expression, human rights abuses, tribalism and cronyism and many more evils, to wage a war against a legitimate government. Kayibanda defeated the government and installed himself as president and ruled for ever. At the time Kayibanda died, the country that had been great, was shackled by poverty and debt. Yoweri Museveni, the president of Uganda, felt that it was him that I had written about and so he sent his hoodlums to arrest and torture me in order to hamper my creativity. The idea was to completely stop me from being creative.

That evening, another officer, who also reeked of tobacco, picked me up from the interrogation room and led me to the stairs, where he instructed me to stand and wait. I was only dressed in a vest and a pair of boxers . When he returned, precisely after a minute, he instructed me to stretch my hands to the upper rail of the stairs and he tied my hands there. Then he moved down and tied my legs to the lower rail. Thus my body stretched between the upper and the lower rails of the stairs.

"Sir, you have overstretched me. Please loosen a bit,"

"You are being punished for lying. I am doing exactly as they have instructed me," he retorted.

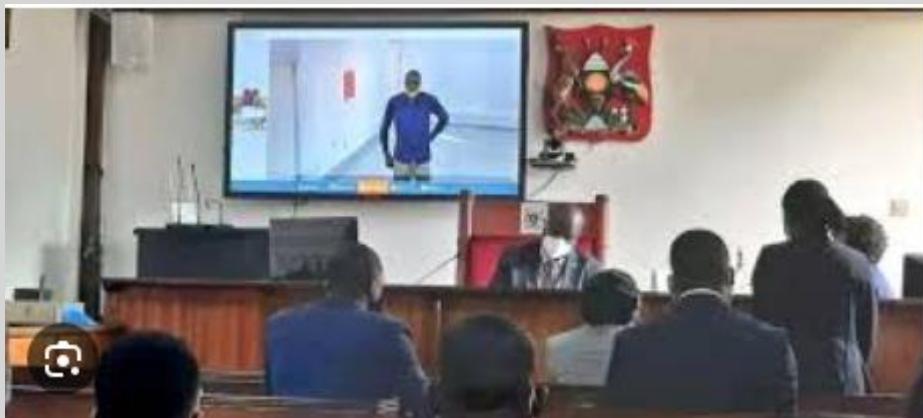
"So you are a robot being controlled by remote?" I tried to crack a joke but the person at whose expense I was doing so seemed oblivious of my attempt. He hung me up on the rails and I started thinking about how Jews had hung Jesus on the cross. Through the small hole in the beanie, i could see everyone who was walking out of the building because the stairs where I had been hung were near the entrance. I could see men and women in uniform, some in casual wear, and others in suits, with their bags in the hands. They were sauntering out as they chatted away in groups. Though the vision was not very clear, I could at least see the blurred silhouettes of human robots hired by the government to dehumanise Ugandans.

I had given up on life when the excruciating pain became unbearable. I couldn't even speak, so couldn't call out for help. My whole body had become numb. I couldn't feel the chain much as I could see my bare legs and face. I knew that i was dying when I felt my eyes popping out of the sockets. I called upon God. I asked him to forgive my tormentors and to revenge on my behalf. I asked him to bless my wife and children with knowledge, life, wealth, wisdom and power. I asked God to forgive me all the sins i had committed and to welcome me into his kingdom. It was around midnight that I passed out. The cold, excruciating pain, desperation and misery were all forgotten.

When I gained consciousness in the morning, i was lying in the corridor, prostrate but still chained. I didn't feel anyone removing me from where I had been hung. When I became conscious again, I saw, through the small hole in the beanie, the

doctor who had visited my toilet-cum-cell gather up his things, which I couldn't identify clearly, and walk away. My whole body was itchy but I couldn't scratch it because , my hands were handcuffed. The doctor had finished administering injections, perhaps of anti-inflammatory drugs, to my body. I asked myself why the government would torture me to near-death and still care enough to administer medicine. Was it acupuncture that I had been subjected to?. Or were the injections meant to dissolve blood clots where my body was swollen. Or was it slow-acting poison? Very many questions ran through my mind but no answers came up. I left everything in the hands of God.

I failed to eat the breakfast that had been brought for me in the corridor where I lay. I could hardly sit up by myself because of the previous day's bearings and being hung up the whole night. I wondered whether I was still alive or whether it was just a dream. I stopped wondering the moment I was pulled from the corridor by the chains up to the interrogating room. I was hauled like a goat meant to be tethered or slaughtered. I was commanded to kneel down on the rough stones again and hold my arms straight up, but I collapsed upon trying to do so. As usual, the kicks and beatings ensued. They asked me to do a hundred push-ups and sit-ups at gunpoint. I was so weak, dehydrated and hungry that I didn't sweat a drop during the whole exercise.



In a digital courtroom!

My body became numb as if I had suffered a stroke. They commanded me to lie prostrate and the only sensitive parts of my body were the stomach, eyes, ears and mouth. The rest of the body felt like something dead. The last question I heard was the demand for a copy of the novel and a laptop larger. I responded that they were available at home.

A few minutes later, they were pulling me through the corridor and pouring water on me and hitting my ankles and shoulders with gun butts while I crawled to and fro. I wasn't feeling anything any more. The beatings were ineffectual and I realized that perhaps something was wrong. I was pulled again like a goat and pushed into a bathroom where I was given five minutes to bathe and dress up. The puller, or officer, removed the handcuffs and chains and went away with them.

I stayed motionless down on the dirty floor of the bathroom for about five minutes and began to feel the numbness going away. I bathed and washed my underwear and put it on again. I threw away the vest because it had changed colour from white to

brown from crawling on the floor where everyone walked with their dirty boots, and it was also all splattered with blood from the beatings.

In about fifteen minutes, the officer showed up with my clothes and threw them at me, and I dressed up while he watched me.

Multiple Choice Questions:

1. What was the author's initial punishment upon arrival at the torture chamber?
 - A. Stand with arms raised
 - B. Kneel on sharp stones with raised arms
 - C. Stand in a cold breeze
 - D. Crawl on the floor
2. What were the consequences if the author showed signs of fatigue during the punishment?
 - A. Verbal warning
 - B. Additional questions
 - C. Hit with batons and clubs
 - D. Given water to drink
3. During the interrogation, what did the officer demand the author to do with the sweat that dropped on the clean tiles?
 - A. Lick it off the tiles
 - B. Ignore it
 - C. Wipe it with a cloth
 - D. Ask for permission to drink water
4. What was the significance of the officer asking for the author's contact lenses?
 - A. To check the author's eyesight
 - B. To test the author's compliance
 - C. To use them as evidence
 - D. To show authority
5. What did the author request before answering the officer's questions?
 - A. Food and water
 - B. Legal representation
 - C. A phone call to his family
 - D. Removal of the blindfold
6. What type of food did the author receive, and why was it significant?
 - A. Pizza to signify normalcy
 - B. Posho and beans to show normalcy during a crisis
 - C. Exotic cuisine to confuse the author
 - D. No food was given
7. How did the author describe the appearance of the officer who questioned him?
 - A. Short, with a dark complexion
 - B. Tall, with a fair complexion
 - C. Unkempt with a disheveled appearance
 - D. Well-dressed and sophisticated
8. What specific words did the officer ask the author to define during the interrogation?
 - A. Superannuated, kleptocracy, and gerontocracy
 - B. Democracy, freedom, and justice

- C. Rebellion, treason, and dissent
 D. Anarchy, terrorism, and dictatorship
9. How did the officer react when the author asked to use his phone to call a lawyer?
 A. Agreed politely
 B. Ignored the request
 C. Called his subordinates to take the author away
 D. Allowed the call but monitored it
10. What was the author's strategy in responding to the officer's questions?
 A. Compliance and submission
 B. Defiance and resistance
 C. Silence and stoicism
 D. Humor and sarcasm
11. What did the author experience during the night in the small toilet?
 A. Pleasant conversation with others
 B. Sleep and relaxation
 C. Physical abuse and discomfort
 D. Freedom and release
12. What was the author's realization about writing political fiction in Africa?
 A. Leaders appreciate literary creativity
 B. Dictators may perceive fiction as a personal attack
 C. Writers are free to express their opinions
 D. Governments encourage critical voices

BIGGER QUESTIONS

1. Describe the author's initial experience in the torture chamber, highlighting the physical and emotional aspects of the punishment.

Answer: The author's initial experience in the torture chamber was harrowing, marked by physical and emotional distress. Forced to kneel on sharp stones with raised arms, the physical toll was evident as sweat poured from his body. The emotional trauma was exacerbated by the constant threat of punishment for any sign of weakness, creating an atmosphere of fear and dehumanization.

2. Examine the significance of the food provided to the author during the interrogation. How does it contribute to the psychological manipulation employed by the interrogators?

Answer: The provision of posho and beans during the interrogation holds psychological significance. By offering a normal meal, the interrogators aim to create a false sense of normalcy, inducing confusion in the author's mind. This psychological manipulation is intended to disrupt the author's mental state, making it challenging for him to distinguish between moments of apparent normalcy and the severity of the torture he endures.

3. Analyze the author's strategy of responding to the officer's questions with humor and sarcasm. How does this strategy reflect resilience and defiance in the face of adversity?

Answer: The author's use of humor and sarcasm in responding to the officer's questions is a testament to his resilience and defiance. In the midst of extreme adversity, the author employs wit as a coping mechanism, subtly challenging the authority and maintaining a

sense of self-dignity. This strategy not only showcases the author's mental strength but also serves as a form of passive resistance against the oppressive environment.

4. Explore the officer's reaction to the author's request to use his phone to call a lawyer. How does this interaction highlight power dynamics and the suppression of legal rights?

Answer: The officer's reaction to the author's request underscores power dynamics and the suppression of legal rights. By refusing the request and immediately summoning subordinates to take the author away, the officer exhibits a disregard for the basic right to legal representation. This interaction illustrates the authoritarian nature of the interrogation process, where the exercise of fundamental legal rights is actively discouraged.

5. Examine the author's reflections on the potential interpretation of his political fiction by leaders. How does the article shed light on the risks faced by writers expressing dissent in authoritarian regimes?

Answer: The author's reflection on the potential interpretation of his political fiction reveals the risks faced by writers expressing dissent in authoritarian regimes. The fear that leaders may perceive fictional narratives as personal attacks highlights the oppressive atmosphere for creative expression. The article provides insight into the challenges writers face when addressing political themes, where even allegorical stories may be construed as direct criticisms by those in power.

6. Discuss the symbolism behind the officer's instruction for the author to "crawl like a lizard." How does this symbolic act contribute to the dehumanization process in the torture chamber?

Answer: The officer's instruction for the author to "crawl like a lizard" holds symbolic significance in the dehumanization process. This act goes beyond physical punishment, aiming to strip the author of his dignity by reducing him to an animalistic state. The symbolism reinforces the power imbalance and serves as a tool to break the author's spirit, emphasizing the psychological cruelty employed within the torture chamber.

7. Analyze the impact of physical abuse on the author during the night in the small toilet. How does the article portray the brutality and inhumanity of the treatment the author receives?

Answer: The physical abuse endured by the author during the night in the small toilet is portrayed as brutal and inhumane. The article details the kicks, viciousness, and degrading acts, such as being kicked while relieving himself. This portrayal underscores the extreme cruelty of the treatment, emphasizing the dehumanizing tactics employed by the interrogators, raising questions about the ethical boundaries of interrogation methods.

8. Examine the psychological toll on the author as he describes his realization about writing political fiction in Africa. How does the article illustrate the impact of governmental oppression on creative freedom and individual expression?

Answer: The article illustrates the psychological toll on the author when he realizes that writing political fiction in Africa comes with severe consequences. The fear of persecution and torture for expressing dissent through creative works underscores the stifling impact of governmental oppression on creative freedom and individual expression. This realization highlights the precarious position of writers under authoritarian regimes, where the pursuit of artistic endeavors may lead to personal torment.

9. Explore the officer's decision to administer medicine to the author after a night of torture. How does this paradoxical act contribute to the complexity of the power dynamics within the torture chamber?

Answer: The officer's decision to administer medicine to the author after a night of torture adds complexity to the power dynamics within the torture chamber. While the act may seem paradoxical, it raises questions about the motives behind the seemingly contradictory behavior. It could be an attempt to maintain control over the author's physical well-being, serving as a means of manipulation or, alternatively, a twisted form of pseudo-care to further confuse and disorient the victim.

10. Discuss the role of the interrogators' questions during the author's ordeal. How do the questions contribute to the overall narrative of oppression and the abuse of power?

Answer: The interrogators' questions during the author's ordeal play a crucial role in shaping the narrative of oppression and the abuse of power. The questions, ranging from personal details to the demand for a copy of the novel, reveal a concerted effort to control and manipulate the author's narrative. This line of inquiry illustrates the interrogators' attempt to suppress dissent by exerting authority over the author's personal and creative life, emphasizing the pervasive nature of the abuse.

11. Analyze the physical and emotional impact on the author when he is hung between the upper and lower rails of the stairs. How does this act exemplify the extreme measures employed by the interrogators to break the author's spirit?

Answer: The act of hanging the author between the upper and lower rails of the stairs exemplifies the extreme measures employed by interrogators to break the author's spirit. This physical torture transcends the bounds of human decency, inflicting excruciating pain and showcasing the interrogators' determination to enforce submission. The author's physical and emotional responses underscore the severity of the abuse, emphasizing the lengths to which those in power are willing to go to suppress dissent.

12. Discuss the author's plea to God during the night of his torment. How does this plea reflect the profound impact of the ordeal on the author's faith and resilience?

Answer: The author's plea to God during the night of his torment reflects the profound impact of the ordeal on his faith and resilience. In the face of extreme suffering, the act of turning to a higher power suggests a desperate search for solace and justice. This plea underscores the author's resilience and determination to endure, even as he faces brutal treatment. It adds a spiritual dimension to the narrative, emphasizing the inner strength required to navigate such traumatic experiences.

HARD WORDS

1. Despicable

Definition: Deserving contempt or scorn; vile.

Context: "The whole experience was already despicable and terrifying because, whenever your body shook, however little, or if you showed that you were tired or needed a rest, the Standby officers would hit you with batons and clubs."

2. Enscouned

Definition: Settled comfortably, securely, or snugly.

Context: "The office looked quite spacious and huge for only one man to occupy. He was ensconced in his office chair and his eyes glued to his Apple laptop when I looked over from where I had been instructed to sit."

3. Excruciating

Definition: Extremely painful; intensely agonizing.

Context: "I spent the night there, praying to God. It was a terrible night for me. I was very cold in the small toilet, and the pain from the tight handcuffs and tight chain around my legs was excruciating."

4. Derogable

Definition: Capable of being annulled or revoked.

Context: "I wondered what the following day would bring if an illiterate hired rascal who hardly spoke English, whose fingers and teeth were blackened by tobacco smoke, could treat me the way bulls being trucked from Kiruhura to Kampala for slaughter are treated. I cursed the president and his men who had violated - my non-derogable rights with such impunity."

5. Lucidly

Definition: Clearly, easily understood, or mentally sound.

Context: "However, when I recalled how I had been brought to the building, the way they had picked me up from my bed at home and how I had left my children and wife crying, I didn't give a damn."

6. Subservient

Definition: Willing to obey others unquestioningly.

Context: "I just stopped short of telling him that, since he was fasting and visibly a follower of his religious beliefs, he needn't sell his conscience by being subservient to the wiles of the devil by kowtowing to the rogue regime's demands to stifle freedom of expression."

7. Accolade

Definition: An award or privilege granted as a special honor or as an acknowledgment of merit.

Context: "He got up from his chair and walked to a box placed in a corner. He pulled out a bottle of Rwenzori water and handed it to me. By the time he was done with calling his boys downstairs to bring me food, I had guzzled down the entire contents of the bottle and demanded more."

8. Pervaded

Definition: Spread through and be perceived in every part of.

Context: "But this is a toilet, sir," I retorted. "Kumanyoko. Eat that shit now!" he commanded. I looked at him askance. The beanie that had blindfolded me had fallen down amidst the altercation.

9. Succinctly

Definition: Expressed in few words; concise and clear.

Context: "I was losing my mind. The pain was humongous and my mouth was the taste of raw blood. The officers instructed-- me to remove my pants and T-shirt and use them to clean the floor as it had been stained with sweat and drops of blood."

10. Paradoxical

Definition: Seemingly contradictory but possibly true.

Context: "The officer's decision to administer medicine to the author after a night of torture adds complexity to the power dynamics within the torture chamber. While the act may seem paradoxical, it raises questions about the motives behind the seemingly contradictory behavior."

11. Allegorical

Definition: Containing or using symbols or extended metaphors.

Context: "In Africa, when you write fiction, especially political fiction, such as the political allegory Animal Farm by George Orwell, the leaders will always think that one is writing about them."

12. Solace

Definition: Comfort or consolation in a time of distress or sadness.

Context: "The author's plea to God during the night of his torment reflects the profound impact of the ordeal on his faith and resilience. In the face of extreme suffering, the act of turning to a higher power suggests a desperate search for solace and justice."

The article titled "Torture Chamber" by Kakwenza Rukirabashaiza in his book "Banana Republic" conveys several poignant lessons, shedding light on human rights abuses and the struggle for freedom of expression. Here are some key lessons:

1. Violation of Human Rights:

The article starkly illustrates the brutal violation of basic human rights, as the author recounts the physical and psychological torture he endured. The use of torture chambers as a means of suppressing dissent raises concerns about the infringement of fundamental human rights.

2. Impunity and Authoritarianism:

The narrative highlights the culture of impunity and authoritarianism in the depicted regime. The arbitrary arrests, torture, and disregard for legal rights point to a system where those in power act with impunity, undermining the rule of law.

3. Freedom of Expression Under Threat:

The article underscores the critical importance of freedom of expression and the press. The author's arrest and torture are linked to his expression of dissenting views, emphasizing the dangers faced by individuals who dare to criticize those in power.

4. Fear and Intimidation:

The pervasive atmosphere of fear and intimidation is evident throughout the article. The use of torture as a tool to instill fear and stifle dissent serves as a stark reminder of the lengths to which oppressive regimes may go to maintain control.

5. Resilience in Adversity:

Despite facing extreme physical and emotional trauma, the author displays resilience and determination. His refusal to succumb to intimidation and his commitment to expressing his views, even in the face of adversity, exemplify the strength of human spirit in resisting oppression.

6. Symbolism and Allegory:

The author's reference to his work as a political allegory draws attention to the power of literature to criticize political systems indirectly. The regime's reaction to perceived criticisms in fiction reflects a paranoia common in authoritarian governments.

7. Selective Justice and Arbitrary Detention:

The arbitrary detention of the author without clear charges or due process highlights the issue of selective justice. The regime's ability to arrest individuals without proper legal procedures raises concerns about the misuse of power for political purposes.

8. International Human Rights Concerns:

The article brings attention to potential international human rights violations. The author's appeal to the international community through his narrative suggests the need for global awareness and intervention in situations where human rights are systematically violated.

9. Role of Religion and Morality:

The inclusion of religious references, such as fasting during Ramadan, adds a layer of complexity to the narrative. It raises questions about the role of religion and morality in the actions of individuals perpetrating torture and human rights abuses.

10. Dangers Faced by Writers:

The plight of the author highlights the risks faced by writers, especially those who choose to critique political regimes. It emphasizes the need for protection mechanisms to safeguard writers and journalists who exercise their right to free expression.

11. International Solidarity:

The article suggests the importance of international solidarity in addressing human rights abuses. The author's hope for support from the international community reflects a belief in the collective responsibility to condemn and act against atrocities.

12. Need for Legal Protections:

The author's assertion of his legal rights and demand to contact his lawyer underscores the importance of legal protections. It emphasizes the need for robust legal frameworks to safeguard individuals from arbitrary detention and torture.

In summary, the article serves as a powerful testament to the enduring struggle for human rights, freedom of expression, and the resilience of individuals in the face of oppressive regimes.

SAPIENS

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- It analyzes legends, historical news and facts and current news and facts.
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Thank you.

Bwengye knows who killed Andrew Kayiira.

21st December 2006

In the sixth part of our series on politicians who have endured imprisonment on account of their political association [or suspicion], MICHAEL MUBANGIZI talks to former presidential candidate FRANCIS WAZARWAHI BWENGEYE

I was born at the end of 1942 at Kyanzaire, Mubanda in Ruhinda, Bushenyi district. My father had two wives, my mother being the first. She had 13 children. I was the eighth born. The second wife had about five children. So we were in a big family of about 20 children.

I studied in a primary school in Bushenyi district, Kasasa Junior School in Masaka, today called St. Charles Lwanga Secondary School. From here, I went to St. Mary's College Kisubi and St. Henry's College Kitovu for O-level.

Then I went to Mbale School of Hygiene where I qualified as a health officer. I worked briefly with Kampala City Council from 1968 to 1973 before going to Makerere for a degree in law. I qualified as a lawyer in 1977 and was appointed KCC Legal Advisor.

I enrolled as a member of the High Court in April 1980 and have since been either in politics or legal practice.

I joined politics at St. Henry's College Kitovu where I was a DP youth winger. Benedict Kiwanuka, who was DP president, persuaded me. He came and addressed us about independence struggles, encouraging youth to participate and join the (DP) youth wing. We mobilised it until independence when I joined DP, [which was] the main party.

It did not take long before the party was banned in 1969. I kept a low profile until parties were restored in 1980.

We reorganised the party with [Paul] Ssemogerere and others. I was elected DP Secretary General. We went into the 1980 elections, which were rigged. I was in charge of DP Electoral Committee. So I knew everything that took place.

When they were rigged, some of us chose to take up arms to fight dictatorship. UPC had imposed themselves on the people, knowing they had not won the election.



Bwengye in Bushenyi shortly after his release

Dr. [Andrew Lutaakome] Kayiira organised us into a rebellion. On one side, we had our group led by him and many of these officers you see in UPDF. [Yoweri] Museveni had his, and others, like Moses Ali's group.

DP was divided on that [decision to fight], but after realising that these people were going to rig the elections, some of us, like Mzee Boniface Byanyima, the late Sam Ssebagereka, Dr. Kayiira, Balaki Kirya, Paul Kagodo and myself, had organised ourselves into an armed wing of the party.

We decided to overlook views of the peaceful side led by Ssemogerere; we took up arms. We would go abroad, to Nairobi, to organise the fighting without informing him (Ssemogerere).



Bwengye with his wife Anny



Andrew Lutaakome Kayiira

At that time, Museveni was in Paulo Muwanga's Military Council government, so we couldn't talk to him about organising an armed struggle. He only came up after the elections had been rigged; that is when he contacted us. We told him that for us we were already prepared; that is when he started preparing.

You must have heard the story that we even had to give him some arms. We had brought in arms through a neighbouring country; they were already somewhere in Wakiso district, ready to start the war.

After the Gen. Tito Okello Lutwa government had fallen, the UFM nominated five people to be appointed ministers, but Museveni named only two - Sam Ssebagereka (Public Service) and Kayiira (Energy). I was among the five.

We thought we would be in the second batch of appointments. Instead, we were arrested in October 1986 from various places. I was arrested at about 2:00a.m. from my residence in Nsambya; Kayiira was arrested from a nightclub in Kabalagala.

Others like Dr. Lwanga, Anthony Ssekweyama, Evaristo Nyanzi, Maj. Aloyzious Lubowa, and another Dr. Lwanga who was a medical superintendent at Rubaga Hospital were arrested from their homes.

Under arrest.

They came and surrounded my home. I was dead asleep. They jumped over the gate. I had some security people, some soldiers, but they overpowered them because they were about one hundred NRA soldiers.

I had only two guards but they thought I had many soldiers inside, so they brought 100 soldiers in a lorry. I was alone in the house with my bodyguards. My family and Kayiira's were abroad all along during the struggle.

They asked my guard to wake me up, so he knocked at my door. I said, "what is it?" He said there were people who wanted me. I said, "which people?" He replied, "security people".

When I opened the curtain, I saw a lot of soldiers in the compound, then I smelt a rat. I asked to talk to one of them. He told me that I was needed at the Police station.

I said why at 2:00a.m? I said I will come to Police tomorrow morning, but he said "no, we want you now". They vowed to blow up my house if I objected.

I had to co-operate and avoid my house being bombed and innocent people being killed.

I had a guard inside, I told him, "don't shoot, let's go". When you are overpowered, ambushed with one or two rifles, they could just blow you up and claim that you were resisting arrest. I had to avoid that.

I even had guns, pistols inside, which they took.

I was still a UFM leader; the government had given us bodyguards because we had just come out of the war, it would have been dangerous if they hadn't. They allowed me to dress, after that they locked the house and off we went.

They had many vehicles. They put me in their Land Rover with my soldiers and took us to Central Police Station. We reached CPS at about 3:00a.m.



Kayiira rings.

Kayiira rang me when they surrounded the place he was in. I think our arrest was simultaneous because when they surrounded him, he called to inform me, thinking I could rescue him.

I told him, "I have also been arrested, don't resist".

There were no mobile phones then, but land lines.

I even rang [Maj. Gen.] Kahinda Otafire; he is my relative. I think he was Minister of State for Internal Affairs.

I asked him, “what is all this?” He sounded surprised but said, “you co-operate, go to the Police station”.

I was not tortured, mistreated or beaten all through. There was a bit of freedom.

At CPS, I found Kayiira had already reached. There was another Pakistani officer, Sadat, and many other officers.

I was put in a room with my three guards. It was very tiny, intended for one or two people, but we stayed there, almost sweating to death. There was no mattress, so we slept on cement. Kayiira was in the next room. They later brought in other people, like Evaristo Nyanzi and the late Anthony Ssekweyama.

Maj. Gen. Jim Muhwezi was in charge of this operation, and several other officers. I think at that time he was in intelligence.

Some Police officers were a bit kind; they brought us food – posho, beans, and sometimes matooke. But they never wanted to be seen as favouring us.

You would urinate in your cell. When they were kind, they brought you a container to ease yourself and take to the toilet later. They allowed us move out at gunpoint, normally in the evening, only when you were going to pour out contents of your bowl. No other reason could take you out.

The charges

After two or three days at CPS, we were taken to Buganda Road Court, charged, and then taken to Luzira Prison. There, we each stayed in our own room.

It was the same charge for all of us – treason - that we wanted to overthrow the government using arms. They said we were arranging soldiers outside the country [for that purpose]. We all pleaded innocent. They had no evidence, so they eventually lost the case. Those [UFM] guns were officially given to us; they were not hidden, they were recorded. In fact, [Gen.] Salim Saleh was the overall commander. He came, recorded our guns and gave us guards. They could not charge us over guns they had recorded!

But eventually, it appeared, some of these fellows (other inmates and UFM colleagues) had held meetings entertaining ideas of organising themselves to overthrow the government. Ssekweyama, Evaristo Nyanzi and other soldiers used to meet at Pope Paul (memorial centre), and in a hotel in Mukono. Me and Kayiira never stepped there.

They had people like Bogere and Drago [who] I think were moles. I think there was some evidence against them. They said these people can't work without Kayiira and Bwengye, so we were arrested on the suspicion that we were the ones controlling them.

But when we went to court, there was nothing, no scintilla of evidence. Kayiira and myself could not have agreed [to fight again]. We had handed all the [UFM] army to President Museveni and Kayiira and Sebagereka were in government! Other people were going to be appointed, so we saw no reason of fighting.

If any body had approached Kayiira, he would not have accepted. Even me, I would have said “no.” That was out.

Because of that, they (UFM officers) thought that we had softened too much and started organising themselves with some officers in the army today.

We asked the Ssekweyamas to find out the truth, but they denied. Using our own intelligence, we learnt that they had participated in some meetings, one of them misled them. In the end we said, “let's not be judges.” We sympathised with them, but the bad thing is that they caused our arrest.

Mistreatment .

My escorts were released when we were going to be charged in court; they were not taken to Luzira.

During the transfer to Luzira, we were mistreated. I remember these officers; Mugisha Muntu, Jim Muhwezi and Fred Bogere. They put us on huge co-operative society lorry, where they had also put firewood, to take us. We were just dumped on top of the firewood. People of our status; some were ministers, Kayiira of Energy, Nyanzi of Co-operatives, Dr. David Lwanga of Environment... Others were army officers, political leaders. We were not small people to be taken on top of firewood! We were not put in a suitable vehicle and that was mistreatment.

By that time Bogere was overzealous about NRM.

They (Muhwezi, Muntu and Bogere) were not rude, did not utter a word, but you could see that they were overzealous, punishing us because we wanted to overthrow their government; that type of behaviour.

Another form of mistreatment, every time we were brought to court, we were tied, handcuffed together with “thieves, criminals” and brought on lorries. We were rarely put on buses.

The cell [at Luzira] was strictly meant for a single person. It was about 20 feet high, a metre wide and about three metres long. It had no window, only a ventilator at the top. The door was metallic, locked from outside. You stayed in alone.

We were allowed only one hour outside the cell in a day.

We got food from outside; we never ate prison food.

We were allowed to see relatives and visitors, twice a week.

Most prison officers were highly trained, they handled us well. They would comfort, get you food from outside and sometimes flout the law so that instead of keeping you inside all the time, they keep you outside and even bring you games to play.

Prayers in prison.

Majority of us were Christians, but there were Hindus and Muslims also. We all had prayer groups, whether you were Catholic, Protestant or Pentecostal. We had to read the Bible and pray.

You may be surprised that some of us Catholics convinced non-Catholics to go into the Novena and it worked.

We had an ex-seminarian, Major Aloysius Lubowa, a strictly religious man. He used to lead us in prayer and was sort of our catechist.

Muslims were also joining us when we were having prayer, but on Fridays a certain Imam would come and pray with them.

We prayed everyday at 5:00p.m. for an hour or two. After praying, we would eat and then be locked inside at 7:00p.m. During Novena time, we also prayed in the morning.

There was no leisure. You only walked inside the cell and did press-ups in your room. Newspapers were not allowed; only a Bible and Quaran.

But some people smuggled some radios for us and we were able to hear the public's response to our arrest. Some people were condemning us, saying that we did wrong, that we started attacking government early. That we should have laid down and revealed our arms.

But others, like churches, were calling for reconciliation. We were not allowed to go anywhere. The doctor was always there, any time you had a problem you informed the prison warder and the prison doctor would come there.

If you were so sickly, you would die in that cell because they locked and went away. There were no lights in the cells. Eventually, they allowed us three-inch mattresses and a blanket. Ordinary people weren't treated like us; they had to dig, do carpentry, were sometimes lashed, but for us I think they were given strict instructions not to mistreat us.

They allowed us one hour outside, doing exercises, but because of co-operating with the prisons authorities, we used to remain out for six hours to meet and talk.

There were no leadership roles. [This exists] where there are many prisoners but for us we were 16 and all equal.

But we employed somebody junior among us to cook for us and gave him a salary. We were allowed visitors and people were bringing us food – meat and matooke - and money. The prisoners were not strict about us getting money.

I never witnessed any killing. But past our cell was the condemned section, where people condemned, like during Amin's time stayed.

Muwanga in.

Later, Paulo Muwanga was arrested for [allegedly] planning to overthrow the government and brought among us.

He was very humble, trying to be friendly. He had a constant flow of money. Having been Defence minister, he had some prisons officers that used to bring him money.

He was giving us money, food...may be he feared we could strangle him there or something.

He was not remorseful when we asked him about his previous roles. He said that what he did, he did it rightly. We left him there. He literally died in prison after about five months. We reported to court every two weeks for six months.

I was a lawyer, Kayiira a criminologist, experienced administrators like Nyanzi, who had been DC, and permanent secretaries; we advised those who did not know the law how to behave.

I never planned to escape because I knew I was innocent. Besides, we were ever surrounded, heavily guarded, making it difficult for one to escape.

After about six months, in March 1987, about four of us, [including] Kayiira and myself, were released.

Peter Kabatsi was the Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP); he came to court and read a statement saying there was no evidence against Kayiira, myself and I think two or three others. Investigations had revealed that we were not connected with the plotters.

He (Kabatsi) did not make a ruling, but an application asking court to release us because there was no evidence against us; the charges couldn't stand.

We were released that very hour. It was very exciting.

Evaristo Nyanzi and his group remained there. Nyanzi was later convicted for treason and [President] Museveni [pardoned] him.

I remember Mugisha Muntu was the head of Military Intelligence. They were always surrounding court; he made an about-turn and said, "you people, you are free to go".

Kayiira was hesitating, saying "no, these people are playing games, we can't be freed with this Museveni and Mugisha Muntu's around?" But Muntu said, "no, you go, you are free." It was ecstatic. Some UFM people and relatives were waiting for us, we went our own

ways.

For me there were some friends who always came whenever we were brought to court. They put me in a car, drove around Nakasero disguising, until they realised nobody was following us. I was put in a certain civil servant's house in Nakasero where I stayed for a night.

Kayiira murdered.

The following night, these people took me to a certain embassy's building in Kampala. They gave me a small radio. At about 9:00a.m. when I switched on, I heard that Kayiira had been killed in the night, three days after our release.

It was devastating. Uganda lost a brave man who sincerely believed in democracy. The real armed struggle against Obote's regime was initiated by him, others just jumped on the bandwagon.

I tried to contact friends and even rang his wife in the United States and informed them that he was dead.

They shot him about 10 times; the body was riddled with bullets. They broke into the house of his confidant, BBC journalist Henry Gombya at Lukuli-Konge, a Kampala suburb; he tried to fight them, holding onto the door. When he held onto the door, they shot him.

They (his killers) are known. People saw them. I don't want to name them. There was a commission of inquiry, [by] the Scotland Yard. We hope one day it will come out.

But what I can say is that they were NRA soldiers and some of them are alive. After our release, I went underground, knowing what kind of people the NRA were in taking away people's lives.

If you read Dr. Kizza Besigye's story in Daily Monitor, it reveals to you what was happening in the bush.

As I went underground, Kayiira kept his neck up; within three days he was dead. For him he came back to the city, made interviews with BBC's Gombya and so on.

He was telling BBC how we were arrested, how he looks at Uganda, whether it was going to be a military dictatorship, and his role in all that.

But one of the infuriating statements was when he said that if there is no democracy, we shall go back to the bush.

When he made that statement, I realised he was with Gombya on Johnson Street. I had Gombya's number, so I rang him from my hideout and asked to talk to Kayiira.

I told him you are in danger, "how can you start making statements on BBC? He said, "no, no, Museveni can't do any harm to us, we have exposed him".

I said "you better get out, distance yourself from Gombya." He said "no, no, leave me alone". I said "you better get out of that place".

The next morning I heard he was dead.

After his death, most of our officers ran away, others went abroad. The brave ones remained in the army. Some of them are senior officers today.

We did not want to look behind at the terms of the agreement previously made with government.

Off to exile.

I did not bury Kayiira; they could either have killed or arrested me. I decided to leave. I was helped by one of the embassies to take me to Britain through Rwanda and Kenya. I stayed in Britain for about three years, partly doing law practice and business. All along during the struggle, my family was in England. It had earlier stayed in Kenya. Government started sending people to convince me to come back. I came back in December 1990.

At the time of our arrest, the situation was a bit tricky; most people were still excited about Museveni and NRM.

Hope and belief in God kept me going. When you feel you are innocent, you keep yourself in the lord's hands.

Prison brings you back to God, sometimes you have no time for God but when you are there, you ask, "in whose hands I am I?" It's Gods. And then you realise how lucky you are. You could have been shot, anything could have happened, but God saved you. Prison taught me a lot. I learnt that anybody, including a Pope or a king can be imprisoned. When I saw Paulo Muwanga, a man who used to torture, terrorise everybody during the Military Commission [which he headed] and Obote II, a man who rigged the 1980 elections, a former Vice President, Prime Minister and Minister of Defence lying in prison! I could see that life can turn around. And when you go into politics, you should use your positions properly, otherwise you end up in a similar or even worse situation. I am sure wherever [ex-Iraq president] Saddam Hussein is, he looks at mistakes he should not have committed. It also made me more determined to oppose dictatorship at whatever level, all the time. There was nothing good or interesting in prison, but my worst experience was being handcuffed together with Paulo Muwanga, my archrival and enemy, when we were going to court. I almost wanted to box him, I felt like tearing him [apart].

Losing weight.

One definitely loses weight in prison, even hefty people like Kayiira lost weight. I went when I was 87 kilos and I came out when I was about 68.

My best friend was Kayiira. We would sit in a corner, talk and plan for the future if we came out. But our plans did not go through. We wanted to ensure democracy, go abroad and drum for democracy in Uganda.

On a positive note, we have had a very good judiciary compared to some other countries. Ugandan courts have been consistent; they have not let down people.

They have not been intimidated. In the past and even today, it is difficult to intimidate many of our judges.

I owe our release to the independence of the judiciary which stood its ground. Of course we felt betrayed and realised how government had not been sincere. When we handed over [the UFM rebel army], we wanted to have a government of national unity and move forward together, but I think they were suspicious of us. They did not treat us well. Much as we were accused of treason, there were other reasons. We were strong people, had the masses, and Kayiira being a Muganda and a fighter, he had big influence in Buganda; they definitely had to get rid of him.

UFM was not a tribal organisation, we entered it as DP; our connecting factor was DP, not tribe, religion or education. We believed DP had been cheated.

Our arrest was a bad omen for the future, up to now you can see the Besigyes and many others being arrested.

The fear of opposition that has been on for a long time continues.

I can never see Museveni accept the opposition, especially when he knows that you are armed and know how to hold a gun. He feels scared.

One thing I don't regret is organising an armed struggle, it opens eyes of Ugandans that if you are a dictator, people can take up arms and fight you. It also gives notice to everybody that you risk your life heading a dictatorial government.

Now of course Museveni uses terrorism, but there is what we call people's war, freedom fighters. Now they call them terrorists but they are freedom fighters.

The people of Uganda should be vigilant about democracy and build on the little bit we have got.

The Judiciary should continue doing its work; that is how democracy can thrive in this country.

Multiple Choice Questions:

1. Why did Francis Wazarwahi Bwengye join politics?

- A) To become a DP president
- B) Due to persuasion from Benedict Kiwanuka
- C) To fight in the armed struggle against dictatorship
- D) To organize rebellion against the government

2. In which year was Francis Wazarwahi Bwengye arrested?

- A) 1980
- B) 1986
- C) 1987
- D) 1990

3. Who organized the armed rebellion that Bwengye participated in?

- A) Benedict Kiwanuka
- B) Yoweri Museveni
- C) Dr. Andrew Kayiira
- D) Paul Ssemogerere

4. How did Bwengye describe the 1980 elections?

- A) Free and fair
- B) Rigged
- C) Democratic
- D) Transparent

5. What charge were Bwengye and others faced with after being arrested?

- A) Treason
- B) Corruption
- C) Kidnapping
- D) Electoral fraud

6. Why did some UFM officers believe Bwengye and Kayiira were involved in their activities?

- A) They were seen with the plotters

B) They were recorded planning in meetings

C) They had a history of armed struggles

D) They were controlling the plotters

7. What happened three days after Bwengye's release from prison?

A) He went into exile

B) He was arrested again

C) He received an award

D) Kayiira was killed

8. How did Bwengye learn about Kayiira's death?

A) From a newspaper

B) Through a phone call

C) During a court hearing

D) Through a radio broadcast

9. Where did Bwengye go into exile after his release from prison?

A) Britain

B) United States

C) Rwanda

D) Kenya

10. What did Bwengye do during his time in exile?

A) Engaged in armed struggle

B) Practiced law and business

C) Organized rebellions

D) Led a political party

11. How did Bwengye describe his experience in prison?

A) Enjoyable

B) Humbling and educational

C) Traumatic

D) Unbearable

12. What role did Paulo Muwanga play in Luzira Prison?

A) A prisoner

B) A prison guard

C) A benefactor

D) A prisoner leader

13. What was Bwengye's view on the judiciary during his imprisonment?

A) Unreliable

B) Intimidated

C) Independent and consistent

D) Corrupt

14. Why did Bwengye believe they were accused of treason?

A) They were plotting against the government

B) They were strong political leaders

C) They were suspected of having a tribal agenda

D) They were advocating for democracy

15. What did Bwengye say about Museveni's attitude towards the opposition?

A) Supportive

B) Indifferent

C) Fearful and reluctant

D) Welcoming

16. According to Bwengye, what is crucial for democracy in Uganda?

- A) Armed struggle
- B) Opposition unity
- C) People's war
- D) A strong and independent judiciary

BIGGER QUESTIONS

1. Describe Francis Wazarwahi Bwengye's early life and educational background.

How did his upbringing influence his later involvement in politics?

Answer: Francis Wazarwahi Bwengye was born in 1942 in Kyanzaire, Mubanda, Ruhinda, Bushenyi district. He came from a large family with two wives and about 20 children. His early education included primary school in Bushenyi, Kasasa Junior School in Masaka, and later, St. Mary's College Kisubi and St. Henry's College Kitovu for O-level. His upbringing in a politically charged environment and exposure to independence struggles during his education laid the foundation for his later engagement in politics.

2. What events led to the banning of the Democratic Party (DP) in 1969, and how did Francis Wazarwahi Bwengye navigate through this period?

Answer: The Democratic Party (DP) was banned in 1969, prompting Bwengye to keep a low profile. He remained politically inactive until the restoration of political parties in 1980. During this period, Bwengye continued his education and professional career, only resuming active political involvement when circumstances allowed.

3. Explain Francis Wazarwahi Bwengye's role in the Democratic Party's reorganization after the restoration of political parties in 1980. How did the 1980 elections impact him personally and politically?

Answer: Bwengye played a crucial role in reorganizing the Democratic Party (DP) with Paul Ssemogerere and others after the restoration of political parties in 1980. He was in charge of the DP Electoral Committee during the 1980 elections, which he claimed were rigged. The experience of witnessing the rigged elections fueled his commitment to opposing dictatorship and set the stage for his involvement in armed resistance.

4. Discuss the factors that led Francis Wazarwahi Bwengye and others to take up arms against the government. What role did Dr. Andrew Kayiira play in organizing the rebellion?

Answer: Bwengye, along with individuals like Dr. Andrew Kayiira, Mzee Boniface Byanyima, and others, decided to take up arms against the government after the 1980 elections were rigged. Dr. Kayiira organized them into a rebellion, forming an armed wing of the Democratic Party. This decision was driven by the belief that the government had imposed itself on the people without winning the election legitimately.

5. Describe the circumstances surrounding Francis Wazarwahi Bwengye's arrest in 1986. How did he and others react to the charges of treason?

Answer: Bwengye and others were arrested in October 1986, about a week after the fall of Gen. Tito Okello Lutwa's government. They were charged with treason, accused of planning to overthrow the government using arms. Bwengye claimed the charges were baseless and that the guns they possessed were officially given to them, recorded, and overseen by Gen. Salim Saleh. They pleaded innocent, and the lack of evidence eventually led to their release.

6. Explore the conditions and treatment of Francis Wazarwahi Bwengye and his fellow detainees during their time at Central Police Station (CPS) and Luzira Prison. How did they cope with mistreatment?

Answer: During their time at CPS, Bwengye and others faced mistreatment, including being cramped in small rooms and tied together during transfers. In Luzira Prison, they were kept in solitary cells with minimal outside time. Despite the mistreatment, some prison officers showed kindness by providing food. The detainees coped by maintaining prayer groups, reading religious texts, and finding solace in their faith.

7. Discuss the release of Francis Wazarwahi Bwengye and others after six months in prison. What factors contributed to their release, and how did they reintegrate into society?

Answer: In March 1987, Bwengye and several others, including Dr. Andrew Kayiira, were released from prison. The Director of Public Prosecutions, Peter Kabatsi, stated there was no evidence against them. Factors contributing to their release included the lack of evidence and the independence of the judiciary. After release, they faced challenges reintegrating into society, with some choosing to go into exile.

8. Examine the impact of Dr. Andrew Kayiira's death on Francis Wazarwahi Bwengye and the political landscape in Uganda. How did Bwengye respond to the news of Kayiira's murder?

Answer: Dr. Andrew Kayiira's death, occurring three days after their release, devastated Bwengye. Kayiira's murder had a profound impact on Uganda's political landscape, with Bwengye emphasizing Kayiira's role in initiating armed struggle against the government. Bwengye, upon hearing the news, went underground, fearing for his own safety.

9. Describe Francis Wazarwahi Bwengye's experience in exile. Why did he leave Uganda, and how did he spend his time abroad?

Answer: Bwengye left Uganda due to threats and the uncertain political climate. He spent about three years in Britain, engaging in law practice and business. Throughout his exile, Bwengye continued advocating for democracy in Uganda. His family had been in England during the struggle, and Bwengye returned to Uganda in December 1990.

10. Reflect on Francis Wazarwahi Bwengye's perspective on prison and its impact on his life. How did his time in prison influence his views on politics and democracy in Uganda?

Answer: Bwengye viewed his time in prison as humbling and educational. He emphasized the importance of faith, noting that prison brings individuals back to God. The experience taught him that anyone, regardless of status, could be imprisoned. Bwengye became more determined to oppose dictatorship, emphasizing the critical role of a strong and independent judiciary in fostering democracy in Uganda.

11. Discuss Bwengye's observations on the mistreatment he and other detainees faced during their transfer to Luzira Prison. How did this mistreatment affect their physical and mental well-being?

Answer: Bwengye and others faced mistreatment during their transfer to Luzira Prison, being placed on top of firewood in a cooperative society lorry. This mistreatment, though not physically abusive, had a psychological impact on their well-being. The conditions during the transfer were substandard and reflected a degree of overzealousness from certain individuals, affecting their morale.

12. Explore the role of religion and prayer during Francis Wazarwahi Bwengye's time in prison. How did different religious groups come together, and what role did prayer play in their daily lives?

Answer: Religion played a significant role during Bwengye's time in prison. Different religious groups, including Christians, Muslims, and Hindus, had prayer groups. Major Aloysius Lubowa, an ex-seminarian, led Christian prayers. Prayer sessions occurred daily, fostering unity among detainees. Bwengye noted that prison brought individuals closer to God, and prayer became a source of solace and hope during their difficult times.

13. Analyze Bwengye's perspective on the judiciary and its independence during his imprisonment. How did he perceive the role of the judiciary in the legal proceedings against him and others?

Answer: Bwengye maintained that the judiciary remained independent and consistent during the legal proceedings against him. He believed that the judiciary was not intimidated and that their release was a testament to the independence of the judiciary. This perspective reflects Bwengye's faith in the rule of law and the importance of an impartial judiciary in upholding justice.

14. Examine Francis Waziarwah Bwengye's views on the accusations of treason against him and others. Why did he believe they were accused, and how did this influence their political standing?

Answer: Bwengye believed they were accused of treason because they were strong political leaders, not because they were plotting against the government. He asserted that their political standing and commitment to democracy made them targets. This accusation aimed to undermine their influence and eliminate them from the political scene, highlighting the challenges faced by political leaders opposing the government.

15. Discuss Bwengye's observations on President Yoweri Museveni's attitude towards the opposition. How did Bwengye perceive Museveni's approach, and what challenges did the opposition face in Uganda?

Answer: Bwengye perceived President Museveni's attitude towards the opposition as fearful and reluctant. He argued that Museveni's reluctance to engage with the opposition hindered the democratic process. The challenges faced by the opposition, including intimidation and limited political space, reinforced the need for a more inclusive and participatory political environment in Uganda.

16. Reflect on Francis Waziarwah Bwengye's vision for democracy in Uganda. According to him, what is crucial for the establishment and sustainability of democracy in the country?

Answer: According to Bwengye, a crucial element for the establishment and sustainability of democracy in Uganda is a strong and independent judiciary. He emphasized the need for a judiciary that is free from interference and intimidation, as it serves as a safeguard against abuses of power. Bwengye's vision underscores the significance of democratic institutions in ensuring the rule of law and protecting citizens' rights in Uganda.

HARD WORDS

1. Authoritarianism

Definition: Authoritarianism refers to a form of government characterized by strong central power and limited political freedoms, where individual rights and civil liberties are often restricted.

Context: Francis Waziarwah Bwengye opposed the authoritarianism of the Ugandan government, advocating for a more democratic and inclusive political system.

2. Clandestine

Definition: Clandestine means characterized by secrecy, concealment, or done in a private and covert manner to avoid detection.

Context: The rebellion against the government involved clandestine meetings and activities to avoid detection by security forces.

3. Repression

Definition: Repression is the act of suppressing or subduing something, often referring to the restriction or prevention of freedom, expression, or dissent.

Context: The government's repression of political opposition led to the arrest and imprisonment of Bwengye and his associates.

4. Autocracy

Definition: Autocracy is a system of government where absolute power is concentrated in the hands of a single ruler or authority, often without effective constitutional limitations.

Context: Bwengye's fight against autocracy aimed to establish a more participatory and democratic political system in Uganda.

5. Reticent

Definition: Reticent describes a reserved or quiet demeanor, often indicating a reluctance to speak or communicate openly.

Context: Bwengye, although reticent about certain aspects of his life, spoke passionately about his commitment to democracy during interviews.

6. Anomaly

Definition: An anomaly is something that deviates from what is standard, normal, or expected, often regarded as an irregularity or abnormal occurrence.

Context: The sudden banning of the Democratic Party in 1969 was considered an anomaly in Uganda's political history.

7. Espionage

Definition: Espionage involves the practice of spying or using covert means to gather information, typically for political, military, or economic purposes.

Context: The government accused Bwengye and his associates of espionage, alleging they were plotting to overthrow the regime.

8. Dystopia

Definition: Dystopia refers to an imagined society or state characterized by oppression, misery, and often totalitarian control.

Context: Bwengye's descriptions of the political climate during certain periods painted a dystopian picture of Uganda.

9. Precarious

Definition: Precarious means uncertain, unstable, or dangerously lacking in security or stability.

Context: The political situation in Uganda during certain periods was precarious, with frequent changes in leadership and civil unrest.

10. Intransigence

Definition: Intransigence refers to stubbornness or an unwillingness to compromise, often in the context of political or diplomatic negotiations.

Context: The intransigence of the government in addressing opposition concerns contributed to the escalation of tensions and armed resistance.

11. Perfidy

Definition: Perfidy involves deceit or betrayal of trust, especially in matters of loyalty or allegiance.

Context: Accusations of perfidy were exchanged between the opposition and the government during the political turmoil.

12. Coercion

Definition: Coercion is the use of force, threats, or intimidation to compel someone to act against their will or interests.

Context: Bwengye highlighted instances of coercion by the government in suppressing political dissent and opposition.

13. Insidious

Definition: Insidious refers to something gradual, subtle, and often harmful or destructive in a way that is not immediately apparent.

Context: Bwengye spoke of the insidious erosion of democratic values during certain periods of Uganda's political history.

14. Hegemony

Definition: Hegemony is the dominance or control of one group or state over others, often achieved through social, economic, or political means.

Context: Bwengye criticized the government's efforts to establish hegemony by suppressing opposition parties and dissenting voices.

15. Inimical

Definition: Inimical describes something harmful, unfriendly, or adverse to one's well-being or interests.

Context: Bwengye faced inimical conditions during his imprisonment, enduring mistreatment and challenging circumstances.

16. Stalwart

Definition: Stalwart refers to a person who is strong, reliable, and committed, often used to describe unwavering loyalty or dedication.

Context: Despite facing adversity, Bwengye remained a stalwart advocate for democracy, consistently opposing authoritarian rule.

LESSONS LEARNT.

1. Challenges of Political Activism:

Bwengye's journey reflects the challenges political activists face, including imprisonment, accusations, and persecution. It underscores the sacrifices individuals make for their political beliefs.

2. Importance of Democracy:

Bwengye's commitment to democracy highlights its significance as a guiding principle. He advocated for inclusive governance, emphasizing the need for political systems that respect individual rights and freedoms.

3. Dangers of Authoritarianism:

The article sheds light on the dangers of living under authoritarian rule. Bwengye's opposition to autocracy underscores the negative impact such regimes can have on political freedoms and human rights.

4. Role of the Judiciary:

Bwengye's belief in the independence of the judiciary underscores the crucial role it plays in upholding justice. The judiciary's ability to stand against political pressure and ensure a fair legal process is vital for a functioning democracy.

5. Complexity of Armed Struggles:

The article reflects the complexity of armed struggles against perceived injustices. Bwengye's involvement in an armed wing and subsequent imprisonment highlights the challenges and consequences of choosing armed resistance as a means of political change.

6. Personal Sacrifice for Beliefs:

Bwengye's personal sacrifices, including imprisonment and the loss of associates like Andrew Kayira, demonstrate the high personal toll individuals may pay when actively opposing a government they perceive as oppressive.

7. Importance of International Relations:

Bwengye's escape and stay in exile showcase the role of international relations in supporting political dissidents. Exile became a means for him to regroup and continue his advocacy from abroad.

8. Human Resilience:

Bwengye's resilience during imprisonment, his commitment to democratic ideals, and his ability to endure challenging conditions highlight the strength of the human spirit in the face of adversity.

9. Unpredictability of Political Environments:

The article reveals the unpredictability of political environments, where sudden changes, bans on political parties, and imprisonment can occur. It emphasizes the need for individuals to adapt and strategize in response to dynamic political landscapes.

10. Lessons from History:

Bwengye's reflections on past events, including the reasons behind the rebellion and the subsequent challenges faced by the opposition, provide lessons for current and future political activists. Understanding history helps shape informed decisions and strategies.

11. Caution Against Intransigence:

The article suggests that intransigence from both government and opposition sides can exacerbate political tensions. Bwengye's experiences caution against an unwillingness to compromise, urging political actors to seek common ground.

12. Public Perception and Media Influence:

The mention of public responses and media coverage highlights the influence these factors can have on political narratives. Bwengye's account suggests that public opinion and media portrayals can shape the trajectory of political movements.

In summary, the article serves as a rich source of lessons encompassing political activism, governance, resilience, and the intricacies of navigating complex political landscapes.

SAPIENS

- The above is a NEWS company domiciled in Canada and a Startup.
- It analyzes legends, historical news and facts and current news and facts.
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Thank you.

The Real Museveni(An Excerpt from Obote's letter)

By A. Milton Obote

April 1990

Lusaka, Zambia.



1. Museveni has a thirst for power in its most naked form. He believes intensely in violence as a means of governance and for holding power. He is an accomplished liar and a total stranger to truth. His method of conducting public affairs or his political Party, the UPM, and now his NRM/NRA is a combination of violence and lies. Museveni is an extremely poor, indeed inept, civil administrator. He seeks nor accepts advice from anybody on any matter and detests the conduct of public affairs through discussion, debate or competing ideas; his own ideas must be accepted as the only valid ones and all others are "bankrupt ideas". Yet he is not averse to steal ideas from others and claim to have been the originator, but often without clear understanding of how to implement the stolen ideas. Museveni prefers militarist (violent) approach in the resolution of problems and issues but would also, at times, put forward a dissembling scheme, while preparing a military solution. Both on personal and public Affairs, there is no ethic, moral values or law which he would not either discard, flout or bend in order for him to achieve his designs. Museveni's propensity for bloodshed did not start in Luwero. The UPC government contained this mass killer within the Luwero Triangle. The Okello and Okello Junta facilitated the killer and now he brutalizes the whole country. Ugandans, who, for whatever reason, have not seen Museveni as a killer or think that they would be safe because they are close to him are in for a rude shock. Museveni kills not only those he sees or regards as his enemies but also those closest to him. I cite some examples:

2. In Tanzania in the early 1970s, a number of Ugandans who were very close to Museveni disappeared and have not been seen again. **They included Mwesiga Black, Raiti Omongin, Miss V. Rwaheru (Museveni's housekeeper) and Martin Mwesiga (brother of Frank Mwine of the Uganda Commercial Bank). In the case of Martin Mwesiga, his sister Margaret, who was living and working in Arusha, personally told me in 1974 in Dar es Salaam the murky story about the disappearance of her brother.** The gist of

Margaret's story is that on several occasions in 1973, she asked Museveni about the whereabouts of her brother, who until he disappeared, was always with Museveni. Margaret told me and others that on each such occasion, Museveni gave her a different version of where Mwesiga was, ranging from Mwesiga being alive and well but on a mission abroad to Mwesiga undergoing a secret course. Late in 1973, Margaret said, Museveni told her that her brother had died in a battle in Mbale in February 1973. One of those present when Margaret gave this account was Enoka Muntuyera, the father of the present Commander of the NRA, Major General Muntu. Enoka and another Ugandan told Margaret that they had stayed in the same hotel as Museveni and Mwesiga in Tabora, Tanzania, in April 1973. Margaret had travelled to Dar es Salaam with another brother, Magara, to enlist my help for Magara to get a place in the University of Dar es Salaam. Magara who after his graduation joined the UNLA, defected and joined the NRA in 1981. In 1983, when he was on an NRA mission in a Kampala suburb, someone rang the Police to say that Museveni was in a house in the suburb. The house was surrounded and its occupants were asked to come out without their arms but instead the occupants opened fire. Magara died in the shoot-out. Two of Magara's NRA colleagues were taken alive; they were wounded. The two told the Police that as far as they knew, the mission was known only to Museveni, the house was safe and they got there at night as they had done previously. Margaret and Frank, Sister and Brother of Mwesiga and Magara are now in very lucrative positions.

3. In early 1979 after the capture of Ankole by the Tanzanian troops, Museveni organized hooligans, mostly from the two Refugee Camps, Rusinga and Nakivale, and led them in attacks and massacres of Muslims. He led the hooligans to the Kakoba Coffee Factory and burnt it down. He also organized an assault to burn down his former school, Ntare, but this was frustrated when patriotic Ugandans appealed to the Tanzanian troops to restrain Museveni which they did. In Mbarara Town, Museveni, the son of an itinerant immigrant, lived in Omugabe's Palace. His reasoning for the massacres of the Muslims, the burning of the coffee Factory, etc. was that in so doing the "wrath" of the "wananchi" (citizens) was being expressed against the Amin regime. It was immaterial to Museveni that the hooligans he was leading were not citizens and that the victims were citizens. What was of greatest importance was to show in the most unmistaken form that he was the new ruler in Ankole and that terror including massacres were to be instruments of his rule.

4. Museveni entered Uganda in early January 1979 in the company of the Tanzanian troops. Contrary to propaganda, he had no army which he left behind either in Tanzania or Mozambique and had no such army anywhere in Uganda. When his hooligans were restrained from attacking Ntare School and after they had dynamited Public Buildings in Mbarara Town, he began to raise an army. In the second part of February 1979, he returned to Dar-es-salaam where, at a meeting with me, President Nyerere determined that Museveni would henceforth lead the Ugandan component of forces then fighting against Amin. From Dar es Salaam Museveni, now the Supreme Commissar, went to Rakai and Masaka Districts where, again, in order to show the "wrath" of the citizens, much destruction was wrought. Houses of the affluent were dynamited as were Public Buildings, including Tropic Inn (Hotel). From there Museveni proceeded to Fort Portal which had fallen to the Tanzanian troops. In Fort Portal, like in Mbarara, Museveni stayed in the Omukama's Palace which was intact and furnished. In 1987 Elizabeth Bagaya, then Museveni's friend and Ambassador to the USA, in a tele-cin video, charged that "Obote's soldiers" destroyed in the 1960s her father's Palace; the same Palace in which Bagaya and Amin once stayed when she was Amin's Foreign Minister and in which Museveni stayed in 1979 when Obote was in Tanzania and had no soldiers in Fort Portal. It is known that Museveni ordered the

destruction of the Palace when on April 11, 1979, David Oyite Ojok announced over Radio Uganda the fall of Kampala. The Supreme Commissar was said to have been very furious that someone else and not him had announced the fall of Amin.

5. With the approval of Tanzania, I sent in January 1979, two Teams to Western and Buganda Regions. Each Team had a medical doctor. The role of the Teams was the mobilization of the people in liberated areas so as to ensure good order, public health, rural production and trade, cooperation with the Anti-Amin forces and collection of arms abandoned by Amin's soldiers and surrendering such arms to the anti-Amin forces. Central to the mobilization exercise, was the establishment of Committees from the village to District levels. The 1970 UPC Party election regulations, for lack of a better form, were to be used with amendments in the establishment of the Committees. This meant that the residents of a village would assemble irrespective of Party affiliations at one place on the appointed day and elect a Committee and officials such as Chairman, Secretary, etc. and also the village delegates to the next Committee above the village level. Elections were to be in the form of the electors filing behind candidates for the various offices. Delegates elected from the villages would form the next Committee in the tier but at that level to the District level delegates were free to decide on whether or not to elect officials by filing behind candidates or by show of hands. Museveni vehemently opposed the very idea of these Committees. His position was that Uganda was in a revolutionary situation in which the barrel of the gun alone should and must be allowed to give birth to the new order. Chris Rwakasisi and Edward Rurangaranga were the leaders of the Team which went to the West and Samwiri Mugwisa led the Team which went to Buganda. After he became the Supreme Commissar, the two Teams were forced out of Uganda. They returned to Dar es Salaam and the exercise was thereby killed. Today, however, Museveni is credited with having been the originator of the so-called "grassroot democracy". The great difference between the original system and Museveni's, is that the latter is part and parcel of Museveni's instrument of control and oppression whereas the former was Peoples' non-partisan instructions. I do not believe that on account of the NRM Committees, Museveni can be said to have moved from being a Saul to being a Saint Paul on the matter of democracy.

6. There was also another Team which I sent to Uganda with the approval of Tanzania in February 1979. This Team was composed of agriculturists, veterinarians and economists. I should mention, in passing, that at that time, it was not certain that Tanzania would fight Amin to the bitter end. It was, therefore, imperative to assess the economic situation in Rakai, Masaka and Ankole which had been liberated with a view of presenting to Tanzania proposals designed to sustain the economic well-being of those areas in the event of such areas and Kigezi being cut-off from the rest of Uganda. Museveni attacked this Team for allegedly interfering with the prosecution of the war. No wonder, therefore, that Museveni's pre-occupation with militarist approach to the exclusion of every other consideration destroyed the economies of Luwero, North and East. The Economic Team of 1979 like the Mobilization Teams were also forced out of Uganda.

7. The sting in the tail is that Milton Obote, whose ideas are described by Museveni as "bankrupt", was the originator of Museveni's so-called NRM grassroot democracy and the man who presided over a Cabinet which, after the 1980 elections, put together for the first time since the 1960s, bankable projects in a Rehabilitation and Recovery Program which Museveni now claims to be his work. That the implementations of the borrowed ideas have been difficult for Museveni can be ascribed to two reasons. First, his pre-occupation with militarist approach. Second, in the Uganda Saying (adage) that a woman who knows not what she is cooking will burn in vain her entire stock of firewood. Museveni does not

believe in democracy and loathes the very heart of civil administration - discussion and competing ideas. He can not, therefore, implement the good ideas and programmes he has borrowed despite claiming them to be his own simply because his nature and temperament are diametrically opposed to those ideas and programs but which are useful to him only for propaganda purposes.

8. I return to 1979. There was a meeting in Mwanza, Tanzania, on June 8 and 9, 1979, between Presidents Nyerere and Lule and their advisors. I was at the meeting as an Observer and on the invitation of the host President. The meeting, as I gathered at the proceedings, was called to resolve a serious political and constitutional issue which had developed between President Yusuf Lule and his supporters on the one hand, and on the other Edward Rugumayo, the Chairman of the Uganda National Liberation Front (UNLF) and also the Chairman of the Interim-Parliament and his supporters. Museveni at that time was Lule's Minister of State for Defence and was at the Mwanza meeting. I gathered from the speeches of the participants that the problem at issue was whether the Moshi Decision took precedent over the 1967 Constitution or vice-versa. Lule held that Chapter IV - (the Presidency) - in particular and indeed the Constitution as a whole, took precedence and that any Moshi Decisions which was at variance with the provisions of the Constitution was ultra vires the Constitution and therefore null and void. Rugumayo on the other hand, argued that the Moshi Conference was a constitutional making body, had on that basis spelt out its rules (Constitution) under which Uganda was to be governed on the fall of the Amin regime and that the 1967 Constitution was never specifically nor generally alluded to or referred to in the Moshi Conference.

9. The situation had been complicated and confused by several events which took place at and after the Moshi Conference. First, Semi Nyanzi, the Chairman of the Conference (before the election of Rugumayo to the office of the Chairman of the UNLF), had his sets of Minutes of the Conference decisions. Nyanzi was in the Lule camp. Another set of Minutes was from Omwony Ojwok (Rugumayo camp), the Secretary of UNLF and who published his Minutes (Moshi Decisions) in a pamphlet whereas Nyanzi's Minutes were cyclostyled and distributed or furnished only to whoever was in the Lule camp or whoever would advance the political fortune of the camp. The existence of the two sets of Minutes which disagreed with each other on vital issues on decisions taken at a Conference which each set purported to record, is a measure of how unstable and freak the foundation was for the new UNLF democratic beginning.

10. The second confusing event was that Lule was actually elected at Moshi, as the President of the UNLF and even the Omwony Ojwok's Minutes showed that the President of the UNLF would assume the office of the President of Uganda, on the fall of Amin. The late David Oyite-Ojok announced soon after midday, on April 11, 1979, on Radio Uganda the fall of Kampala. I must disclose, for the first time, that he rang me before the broadcast to ask for what to say. Telephones from Uganda and to Uganda had been cut. David went to a patriotic Ugandan Engineer and put him on the job, at dawn on that day, to open the lines. The engineer and David assembled the technicians as the battle for Kampala raged and bullets and mortar bombs whizzed over them and their paths to the Radio Station. I was naturally elated to hear his voice and to know that he was alive and in Kampala. My first question to him was whether he had phoned President Nyerere. When he answered "NO", I told him to ring the President before making any pronouncement on the Radio and he did. David asked me what to say. I dictated a short message which he told me he was writing on the back of an envelope. The message, as no one can deny, was a nationalist and a uniting message and was delivered in the name of the UNLF.

11. That evening Lule made a broadcast from Radio Tanzania which was also connected to Radio Uganda. Lule announced his Cabinet and promoted and appointed Military Officers that included David Oyite as Chief of Staff of the (Moshi) Uganda National Liberation Army (UNLA). At Mwanza, Lule agreed that the appointments and promotions he made and announced on April 11 were not vetted and approved before he made them public. Rugumayo's response was that Lule had acted contrary to the Moshi decisions and that since the Minutes had not been produced when the appointments and promotions were made by Lule (alone), they had been accepted in good faith but were not to be repeated. According to the Moshi decisions, Rugumayo said, all Presidential appointments and promotions had to receive the approval of the National Consultative Council (NCC) of the UNLF.

12. The situation was an inappropriate and a short sighted scheme very much as it is today in Museveni's NRM, where an organ of a political entity was deliberately institutionalized as national and designed to direct and control two different and distinct aspects of the body politics of the country. The National Consultative Council (NCC), like Museveni's National Resistance Council (NRC), was not only the supreme body of the UNLF, which in the UPC's case would correlate to our National Council and in the case of Museveni's National Resistance Council, the National Consultative Council, like the NRC, was also the Interim Parliament. Making the supreme organ of a political entity, be it Party, Movement or Front, to be also a national, non-partisan institution, is always a dicey matter in a situation where all political entities had not willingly given their consent. Lule, whose political affiliation hovered and swung rapidly between his membership of Kabaka Yekka (KY) and the DP and whose adherence or commitment to democracy at the very least was highly questionable, was "elected" to lead Uganda at a very trying and testing time. He was, however, not a fool. He saw clearly what he later called the "Moshi fraud" but whose central plank he never was able to discern despite the existence of plenty of evidence being readily in sight. Thus, Lule rejected the role of the National Consultative Council (NCC), the supreme organ of the Uganda National Liberation front (UNLF), itself a loose political entity, to require him, the President of Uganda, to submit to it his decisions on appointments and could find no such provision in the 1967 Constitution.

13. The issue had been compounded in April 1979. On April 13, 1979, Lule, the new President of Uganda, was sworn by Justice Sam Wambuzi on the 1963 Oath - the "Sovereign State of Uganda" and not on the 1967 Oath, the "Republic of Uganda". Within days, George Kanyeihamba, Lule's Attorney General and Minister of Justice, produced Proclamation No. I of 1979 (New Constitution) and Lule signed it. The National Consultative Council (NCC) was not consulted. In the Kanyeihamba/Lule Proclamation, certain chapters of the 1967 Constitution were left intact, others were amended but Chapter IV - the Executive; i.e., the Presidency was completely deleted. The effect was that by the Proclamation, Lule ceased to be the President of Uganda. This ludicrous situation arose because way back in 1971, Kanyeihamba had been fascinated by the Amin coup and wrote a piece in the Transition Magazine about how Amin came with a "Bang". In 1979, Kanyeihamba simply copied Proclamation No. I of 1971 but failed to notice that, as a populist ploy, Amin had in that Proclamation pretended to abolish the Office of the President which he later reinstated. A new Proclamation was hurriedly issued to restore Lule's Presidency but Lule had taken the same Oath as Sir Edward Mutesa had taken and was therefore ipso facto a constitutional and not an Executive President. Edward Rugumayo and the Personnel of the UNLF Secretariat, particularly those who came to be known as the "**Gang of Four**" were also no fools. They knew that Lule was in a corner and they pressed

their advantage. That forced Lule to go to the Interim-Parliament and to announce that from thence onwards governance would be on the basis of the 1967 Constitution, the very Constitution which was anathema to him on April 13, only weeks back.

14. The Mwanza meeting of June 8 and 9, 1979 was held to resolve the crisis within the UNLF. I have given at length the essential elements of the crisis, a political and constitutional crisis which was of great import, to show what part Museveni played in it. At Mwanza, Museveni was indifferent when the crisis was under discussion. He became alive and highly animated in the afternoon of the second day when new arrangements were discussed for the deployment of Tanzanian troops following the collapse of the Amin forces on June 3. Museveni told the meeting that with the assistance of Tanzanian Commanders, he had raised from within Western Uganda and trained more than ten thousand troops, three thousand of whom were in the West Nile and more would be sent there if the situation warranted and Tanzanian troops could therefore be withdrawn from the West Nile zone. As for the Kampala zone, Museveni said that he had seen a proposal that the UNLA, under the command of Tito Okello and Oyite Ojok, be deployed there but he did not approve that proposal. He charged that the UNLA Officers were lax on discipline and had a fixation with legal niceties including Court-Martial. He then threw a bombshell when he told the meeting that in his army, he had ordered many executions without "colonial legal niceties". Today, friends of Museveni's cite cases of Courts-Martial as evidence of proper and legal conduct of the affairs of wayward soldiers. I will show that Museveni's Courts-Martial are a sham and illegal and that they are essentially summary executions.

15. Museveni was the Minister of State for Defense in the 1979 post-Amin Government. He was also the Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the Uganda National Liberation Front (UNLF) founded at Moshi, Tanzania, in March 1979, in a Conference of some then Ugandan exiles. In both capacities, Museveni wielded considerable powers. Although President Lule, and later President Binaisa assumed the office of the minister of Defense, it was Museveni who ran the Ministry and administered it as he wished. The Military Commission was moribund until it seized power in May 1980. Museveni remained Vice-President of the Commission until the General Elections held in December 1980.

16. Museveni's period as Minister of State for Defense was noted on three counts: -

(a)He embarked on a large scale recruitment of a private army outside the Uganda National Liberation Army (UNLA) which was founded at the Moshi Conference. This was without the approval of the Lule/Binaisa Cabinet or of the then Interim-Parliament.

(b)At the fall of Lule, voted out by the National Consultative Council (NCC) of the UNLF, Lule supporters staged peaceful demonstrations in Kampala. Museveni personally led a contingent of troops in indiscriminate shooting of the demonstrators. This was in the third week of June 1979. In July and August of the same year, 15 (fifteen) highly qualified professionals were gunned down in their houses in Kampala. In three known cases, Museveni reached the scenes of crime within minutes of the shootings, allegedly to "console", mark the word "console", the widows!

(c)The Ugandan contingent which together fought with the Tanzanian soldiers numbered around 1,300 men. I was their political leader. Museveni entered Western Uganda from Tanzania alone, of course in the company of Tanzanian troops. That was in January 1979. He immediately embarked on the recruitment of Banyarwanda (Tutsi) refugees who were in Refugee Settlements close to Tanzania border. The men were trained and

armed by Tanzanian troops. It was, like the NRA, Museveni's personal army. It was this army which went with Tanzanian troops, to the West Nile Districts (Nebbi, Arua and Moyo) in May 1979. The Tanzanian troops withdrew from the West Nile in September. Museveni visited his army that month. Following the visit, a campaign of massacres, terror and destruction was launched. President Binaisa was pressed by many in the UNLF to remove Museveni from the Ministry of Defense which he did.



17. During the rule of the Military Commission, there was no Minister of Defense. The Commission as a Collegiate, handled all military matters. Thus Paulo Muwanga, David Oyite-Ojok, Zed Maruru and William Omaria curbed with some difficulties, Museveni's senseless killings. At the beginning of its rule, the Military Commission, with one dissenting voice - Museveni's - pledged and committed itself to holding multi-Party General Elections within the period the Moshi Conference had appointed. The period appointed was "within eighteen months after the total liberation of Uganda". Amin's forces were defeated and driven out of Uganda on June 3, 1979. It is a credit to the members of the Military Commission (minus Museveni) that they kept the pledge. In meetings of the Commission and of the Interim Parliament, Museveni was vehemently opposed to elections. His pet point was that Uganda was in a revolution and election was not necessary. Museveni even went to Tanzania and Mozambique where he appealed, in vain, to Presidents Nyerere and Samora Machel to stop the elections.

18. Museveni is very corrupt and presides over a regime which is equally very corrupt. In fact the nature of Museveni's corruption is some kind of mania. As already stated, he is acutely uncomfortable with his lowly background, a matter which to a normal person would be of pride. But the mania which he exemplified in 1979 by living at the Palaces of former rulers, has now led him to build with public funds, his own Palace in Mbarara District. The Palace was built and completed within three years. Some of the materials for building it were imported as were the furniture, fittings, carpets, etc. The Palace stands on a huge farm with hundreds of exotic cattle imported from abroad. The cattle, farm implements and tractors and vehicles were all bought with public funds. Workers at the farm are paid by the Office of the President and Museveni is, of course, the President.

19. In Museveni's regime, public funds are Museveni's private incomes and he uses public funds and resources as his mania directs him. Whenever he travels abroad he takes with him, as if he fears to return, huge amounts of US dollars in cash. His parents live in a government house in Kampala and all their expenses and requirements are fully met by the

State. In addition, the State also pays them monthly subvention. His friends and those he calls "allies" in the regime or those whose mouths must be sealed are free to loot Uganda as they please. Samwiri Karugire, the Commissioner of Customs, and his wife have ten vehicles in Kampala; six for Karugire and four for his wife; Karugire and Museveni have been allies for many years.

20. Museveni's friends and protectors will not accept this real, corrupt Museveni. Appendix Three contains Museveni's own words where he admits corruption but like when he admits massacring Ugandans, his friends and protectors simply ignore the admissions. They also do not find it inconceivable that Museveni has large sums in banks in Europe. One of the conduits through which the peasants' hard earned dollars is being salted abroad is a Company by the name of ANL TRADING LIMITED, PO Box 4762, Nicosia, Cyprus.

Multiple Choice Questions:

1. According to Dr. Obote, what is Museveni's primary approach to governance?
A) Diplomacy
B) Violence
C) Negotiation
D) Democracy
 2. How does Museveni conduct public affairs, according to Dr. Obote?
A) Through open discussion
B) Through violence and lies
C) By seeking advice from others
D) By promoting civil administration
 3. In which country did Museveni allegedly organize attacks and massacres of Muslims in early 1979?
A) Uganda
B) Tanzania
C) Mozambique
D) Zambia
 4. What is Dr. Obote's opinion about Museveni's civil administrative skills?
A) Highly competent
B) Adequate
C) Inept
D) Excellent
- According to the letter, what does Museveni prefer in problem resolution?
- A) Diplomatic negotiations
 - B) Violent militarist approach
 - C) Grassroots democracy
 - D) International mediation
5. What reason does Dr. Obote provide for Museveni's economic difficulties in implementing borrowed ideas?
A) Lack of resources
B) Militaristic approach
C) Opposition from other leaders
D) Lack of popular support
 6. How does Museveni feel about democracy, according to Dr. Obote?

- A) Strong advocate
- B) Neutral
- C) Opposed
- D) Indifferent

7. In which year did Museveni allegedly enter Uganda with Tanzanian troops?

- A) 1971
- B) 1979
- C) 1980
- D) 1987

8. What role did Museveni play in the Mwanza meeting of June 8 and 9, 1979?

- A) Observer
- B) Mediator
- C) Opponent of elections
- D) Leader of UNLF

9. What accusation does Dr. Obote make about Museveni's economic activities?

- A) Embezzlement
- B) Corruption
- C) Smuggling
- D) Money laundering

11. According to Dr. Obote, how does Museveni use public funds?

- A) Investments
- B) Public services
- C) Personal income
- D) Philanthropy

12. What reason does Dr. Obote give for Museveni's large-scale recruitment of a private army?

- A) National defense
- B) Counterterrorism
- C) Personal army
- D) Peacekeeping

BIGGER QUESTIONS

1. Describe Museveni's approach to governance, as portrayed by Dr. Obote in the letter. Provide examples to support your answer.

Answer: Museveni's approach to governance, according to Dr. Obote, is characterized by a thirst for power through violence and lies. He emphasizes the use of force and militaristic strategies to attain and maintain power. For instance, Dr. Obote mentions Museveni's involvement in attacks and massacres in Uganda, illustrating his inclination towards violence as a means of governance.

2. Explain Museveni's stance on democratic processes, as discussed in the letter. How does Dr. Obote perceive Museveni's view on democracy?

Answer: Dr. Obote asserts that Museveni opposes democracy, preferring a militarist approach. Museveni allegedly dismisses the importance of democratic processes and believes that the barrel of the gun should be the primary force shaping the new order in Uganda. Dr. Obote highlights Museveni's aversion to the democratic principles of discussion and competing ideas.

3. Discuss the role Museveni played in the political and constitutional crisis within the UNLF in 1979, as described by Dr. Obote. What were the key issues at stake, and how did Museveni contribute to the resolution?

Answer: Dr. Obote outlines a political and constitutional crisis within the UNLF involving President Lule and Edward Rugumayo. Museveni, then Minister of State for Defense, was allegedly indifferent during the crisis discussions. However, he became animated when discussing new arrangements for deploying Tanzanian troops, emphasizing his military role rather than addressing the core political and constitutional issues.

4. Examine Museveni's economic policies and their impact, as presented in Dr. Obote's letter. How does Dr. Obote criticize Museveni's economic decisions, and what consequences does he attribute to them?

Answer: Dr. Obote criticizes Museveni's economic decisions, particularly his militaristic focus, which, according to Dr. Obote, led to the destruction of economies in various regions. The letter suggests that Museveni's emphasis on military strategies overshadowed economic considerations, resulting in negative consequences for the affected areas.

5. Elaborate on Museveni's recruitment of a private army, as discussed by Dr. Obote. What were the circumstances surrounding this recruitment, and what implications did it have on the political landscape in Uganda?

Answer: Dr. Obote mentions Museveni's large-scale recruitment of a private army outside the UNLA. The recruitment reportedly occurred without official approval and was linked to Museveni's personal military ambitions. This private army, according to Dr. Obote, played a significant role in the West Nile Districts and contributed to the ensuing campaign of massacres and terror.

6. Discuss the allegations of corruption against Museveni, as outlined by Dr. Obote. Provide details on specific instances of corruption and their impact on the Ugandan political landscape.

Answer: Dr. Obote accuses Museveni of corruption, citing instances such as the use of public funds to build a personal palace and the appropriation of resources for personal benefit. The letter suggests that Museveni's alleged corrupt practices have had a detrimental effect on the Ugandan political landscape, fostering a culture of misuse of public funds.

7. Explore Museveni's stance on elections during the rule of the Military Commission, as mentioned by Dr. Obote. How did Museveni oppose elections, and what were his arguments against them?

Answer: Dr. Obote asserts that Museveni vehemently opposed holding elections during the rule of the Military Commission. Museveni reportedly argued that Uganda was in a revolutionary state, and elections were unnecessary. Dr. Obote suggests that Museveni went so far as to appeal to foreign leaders to halt the election process.

8. Examine Museveni's role in the Mwanza meeting of June 8 and 9, 1979, as discussed by Dr. Obote. What discussions took place during the meeting, and how did Museveni contribute to the outcomes?

Answer: Dr. Obote describes Museveni as indifferent during discussions of the political and constitutional crisis at the Mwanza meeting. However, Museveni becomes animated when discussing new arrangements for deploying Tanzanian troops, indicating a focus on military strategies rather than addressing the core political issues at stake.

9. Analyze Museveni's approach to public affairs and administration, according to Dr. Obote. How does Museveni conduct public affairs, and what consequences does this approach have on governance?

Answer: Dr. Obote claims that Museveni conducts public affairs through a combination of violence and lies, avoiding discussion and competing ideas. Museveni's alleged disdain for democratic principles and preference for militaristic solutions, as outlined in the letter, raises concerns about the impact of his approach on effective governance.

10. Discuss the examples provided by Dr. Obote regarding Museveni's alleged propensity for violence and bloodshed. How do these examples contribute to Dr. Obote's characterization of Museveni?

Answer: Dr. Obote provides examples of individuals who disappeared or were killed, allegedly at the hands of Museveni or his associates. These instances contribute to Dr. Obote's portrayal of Museveni as someone with a propensity for violence and bloodshed. The examples suggest a pattern of brutality that extends beyond political enemies to include individuals close to Museveni.

11. Elaborate on the allegations of Museveni stealing ideas from others, as mentioned by Dr. Obote. How does Dr. Obote support these claims, and what implications does this have on Museveni's leadership style?

Answer: Dr. Obote alleges that Museveni steals ideas from others without a clear understanding of how to implement them. The letter provides examples and suggests that Museveni's leadership style involves claiming credit for ideas without necessarily having the knowledge or competence to effectively implement them, raising questions about his leadership capabilities.

12. Examine Museveni's position on grassroots democracy, as described by Dr. Obote. How does Museveni's version of grassroots democracy differ from the original system, and what impact does it have on governance?

Answer: Dr. Obote asserts that Museveni is credited with grassroots democracy, but the letter suggests that Museveni's version differs significantly from the original non-partisan system. The implications of Museveni's version, as outlined in the letter, suggest that it serves as an instrument of control and oppression rather than a genuine expression of people's will.

13. Evaluate Museveni's actions during the capture of Ankole by Tanzanian troops in early 1979, as discussed by Dr. Obote. How did Museveni's involvement contribute to the political situation at the time?

Answer: Dr. Obote describes Museveni's actions during the capture of Ankole, including leading hooligans in attacks and massacres. The letter suggests that Museveni's actions were aimed at consolidating his rule and intimidating political opponents. This involvement in violence and intimidation had broader implications for the political situation in Uganda at the time.

14. Discuss Dr. Obote's perspective on Museveni's economic difficulties in implementing borrowed ideas. What role does Dr. Obote attribute to Museveni's militaristic approach in hindering economic progress?

Answer: Dr. Obote suggests that Museveni's economic difficulties stem from his militaristic approach, emphasizing the use of force over economic considerations. The letter implies that Museveni's focus on military strategies has hindered the effective implementation of borrowed economic ideas, contributing to economic challenges in the regions affected by his rule.

15. Examine the accusations of Museveni using public funds for personal income, as outlined by Dr. Obote. What evidence or examples does Dr. Obote provide to support these accusations, and what impact does this have on Museveni's credibility?

Answer: Dr. Obote accuses Museveni of using public funds for personal income, citing the construction of a personal palace as an example. The letter implies that such actions have a detrimental effect on Museveni's credibility, raising questions about his integrity and commitment to serving the public interest.

16. Evaluate the impact of Museveni's alleged recruitment of a private army on the security and stability of Uganda. How did this private army contribute to the political landscape, and what consequences did it have on the country's governance?

Answer: Dr. Obote highlights Museveni's recruitment of a private army, suggesting that it played a significant role in campaigns of massacres and terror, particularly in the West Nile Districts. The implications of this private army on the security and stability of Uganda are substantial, contributing to a climate of fear and violence that has long-lasting consequences on the country's governance.

HARD WORDS

1. Militaristic

Definition: Characterized by an emphasis on military power, strategy, and aggressive use of force.

Context: Dr. Obote accuses Museveni of adopting a militaristic approach to governance, relying on the military and forceful tactics to attain and maintain power.

2. Propensity

Definition: An inclination or natural tendency to behave in a particular way.

Context: Dr. Obote suggests that Museveni has a propensity for violence, indicating a natural inclination towards aggressive and forceful actions.

3. Non-partisan

Definition: Not biased or affiliated with any particular political party or group.

Context: Dr. Obote contrasts Museveni's version of grassroots democracy with the original non-partisan system, suggesting a departure from impartiality.

4. Consolidating

Definition: To strengthen or unite; make something more solid or secure.

Context: Museveni's actions during the capture of Ankole, as described by Dr. Obote, were aimed at consolidating his rule by using violence to intimidate political opponents.

5. Aversion

Definition: A strong dislike or disinclination towards something.

Context: Dr. Obote highlights Museveni's aversion to democratic processes, emphasizing his opposition to the principles of discussion and competing ideas.

6. Hooligans

Definition: A group of individuals engaging in rowdy, violent, or destructive behavior, typically associated with rioting or disorder.

Context: Dr. Obote describes Museveni leading hooligans in attacks and massacres during the capture of Ankole, suggesting a chaotic and violent approach.

7. Implications

Definition: The potential consequences or effects of a particular action, situation, or decision.

Context: Dr. Obote discusses the implications of Museveni's economic policies, suggesting negative consequences for the regions affected by his rule.

8. Appropriation

Definition: The act of taking something for one's own use, often without permission.

Context: Dr. Obote accuses Museveni of appropriation, specifically using public funds for personal benefit, such as the construction of a personal palace.

9. Indifferent

Definition: Having a lack of interest, concern, or sympathy.

Context: Dr. Obote describes Museveni as indifferent during discussions of the political and constitutional crisis at the Mwanza meeting, suggesting a lack of engagement with the core issues.

10. Allegations

Definition: Unproven accusations or assertions of wrongdoing.

Context: Dr. Obote presents allegations of corruption against Museveni, claiming misuse of public funds for personal gain.

11. Thirst

Definition: Intense desire or craving for something.

Context: Dr. Obote characterizes Museveni's approach to governance as one driven by a thirst for power, suggesting an intense and insatiable desire.

12. Deteriorating

Definition: Becoming progressively worse or less favorable over time.

Context: Dr. Obote implies that Museveni's economic decisions contributed to the deteriorating economies in various regions, emphasizing a negative impact.

13. Credibility

Definition: The quality of being trusted or believed in.

Context: Dr. Obote questions Museveni's credibility, particularly in relation to the accusations of using public funds for personal income.

14. Nonetheless

Definition: In spite of that; nevertheless.

Context: Dr. Obote raises serious allegations against Museveni; nonetheless, these claims need to be examined critically for accuracy and context.

15. Dismisses

Definition: To reject or disregard something as unimportant or unworthy of consideration.

Context: Dr. Obote suggests that Museveni dismisses the importance of democratic processes, indicating a refusal to acknowledge their significance.

16. Avowed

Definition: Declared openly or publicly, often with strong affirmation or commitment.

Context: Dr. Obote refers to Museveni's avowed opposition to elections during the rule of the Military Commission, indicating a publicly declared stance against the electoral process.

LESSONS LEARNT

1. Leadership Characteristics:

Lesson: Leaders should be open to discussion and diverse ideas, fostering an environment that encourages debate and constructive dialogue.

Context: Museveni is criticized for his aversion to discussion and competing ideas, preferring a unilateral approach to governance.

2. Use of Force:

Lesson: A reliance on violence as a means of governance can have severe consequences, undermining stability and creating a culture of fear.

Context: Museveni is accused of using violence and militaristic tactics throughout his political career.

3. Ethical Governance:

Lesson: Upholding ethical standards, moral values, and adherence to the rule of law are crucial for effective and just governance.

Context: Museveni is portrayed as discarding ethical considerations, moral values, and legal principles for the sake of achieving his objectives.

4. Democracy and Grassroots Participation:

Lesson: Genuine democracy involves the active participation of the grassroots population and should not be used as a mere instrument of control.

Context: Dr. Obote criticizes Museveni for distorting the concept of grassroots democracy to serve his own political agenda.

5. Political Crisis Management:

Lesson: Leaders should be adept at managing political and constitutional crises, prioritizing dialogue and resolution over force.

Context: The letter details a crisis within the UNLF, highlighting Museveni's indifference to the issue until new arrangements for Tanzanian troop deployment were discussed.

6. Economic Impact of Policy Decisions:

Lesson: Economic policies can have far-reaching consequences, and leaders should carefully consider the implications of their decisions.

Context: Dr. Obote suggests that Museveni's militaristic approach contributed to the deteriorating economies in various regions.

7. Corruption and Accountability:

Lesson: Corruption erodes public trust, and leaders must be held accountable for their use of public funds and resources.

Context: Museveni is accused of corruption, including the misuse of public funds for personal gain and building a palace with public resources.

8. Importance of Credibility:

Lesson: Credibility is essential for effective leadership, and leaders should strive to maintain public trust.

Context: Dr. Obote questions Museveni's credibility, particularly in relation to allegations of corruption and misuse of public funds.

9. Opposition to Democratic Processes:

Lesson: A leader's avowed opposition to democratic processes may indicate a reluctance to embrace transparency and accountability.

Context: Museveni is portrayed as opposing elections during the rule of the Military Commission, preferring a revolutionary approach.

10. Complexity of Political Alliances:

Lesson: Political alliances can be complex, with shifting loyalties and conflicting interests among leaders.

Context: Dr. Obote describes the intricate dynamics within the UNLF and Museveni's role during the political and constitutional crisis.

These lessons offer valuable insights into the challenges and complexities of governance, providing a basis for reflection on effective leadership and the principles that underpin a just and transparent political system.

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- It analyzes legends, historical news and facts and current news and facts.
- Sapiens does not originate any news or facts.
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- Currently, Sapiens does not sell its analytics.
- LEGTEK GROUP is a partner in Uganda.
- Currently, Sapiens operates in 32 Countries across the Globe.

Thank you.

ABBEY KIBIRIGE SEMUWEMBA: Being born into money helps a lot to become successful.



Abbey Kibirige Ssemuwemba

Being born in a rich family helps a lot to become richer or successful in business or something else. Yes, having a safety net (**wealthy family in the background**) makes all the difference. Someone without wealth cannot afford to make financial mistakes, which is why it is so difficult to become super wealthy in one generation if one is poor at the outset with only average luck and breaks along the way.

People are sold a lie at school – the lie that everybody can make it and become a billionaire if only he/she really, really wants it. I also think that the youths should be encouraged to do business if their parents can support them, instead of telling them that they can only make it through education. There is an excellent book called, “Capital in the 21st Century” by the economist Thomas Piketty. Essentially, he contends that inheritance is what makes one rich. The central thesis of the book is that inequality is not an accident, but rather a feature of capitalism and can only be reversed through state interventionism. For most people, building wealth is a multi-generational process.



Most people don't realize that most of the super wealthy successful startups are not rags to riches, but rather privileged people who used that privilege to great effect. They only sell the rags to riches story to win over the trust of the public and make themselves relatable. Jeff Bezos (Amazon founder), **Mark Zuckerberg** (Facebook founder), Bill Gates (Microsoft founder), Warren Buffet (worth \$120 b), Richard Branson, etc., were all born in wealth.



Just to give you an idea, **Bill Gates's mother** was on the board of directors of International Business Machines Corporation (IBM) with access to the whole of IBM, and not just an ordinary daughter of a wealthy businessman. She was the first woman on the First Interstate Bank of Washington's Board of directors, and first female president of United Way. Her acquaintance with IBM CEO, John Opel, during her tenure as President of United Way, helped indirectly or directly Bill Gates to use his OS for IBM computers. Bill also had a 3 million inheritance from his grandparents. Bill, like most rich kids with a vision, he never showed off while in college. He used to live on pizzas while he worked on his product and business plan.



Jeff Bezos's grandfather was one of the largest landowners in Texas. When Bezos finished his degree in Computer science and started Amazon, his parents invested some money into the startup. And that was in 1990s money, just to give you an idea of where his

wealth originally came from. Now, Amazon is soon rolling out drones to do deliveries in our homes here in the UK and USA.



Warren Buffet's father was called Howard Buffet, a powerful businessman and politician(senator). Having a rich dad helped him, but he is brilliant, and was worth far more than his father by age 21. Not to mention that he had saved over \$10,000 by age 16 in 1940 – something that was unheard of. He has shown prudence in the way he has handled money throughout his life and has consumed knowledge like no other. He used to sell chewing gums, Coca-Cola, newspapers and weekly magazines as a teenager to earn money and had started investing his money too. He wanted to fully go into business after high school, but he was overruled by his father who wanted him to get degrees.

ELON MUSK



Elon and his brother Kymbal had access to rough gems and even managed to sell one to Tiffany's in New York when they still were teens. His father himself said in an interview that he drove Elon to school in a Rolls Royce Corniche. He also had horses and a motorbike when he was 14. It is believed that Elon Musk's father "arranged" his admission in UPenn as well.

Musk may have been born into privilege, but we need to acknowledge his enormous capacity for risk, hard work, and intellectual drive. Elon's father was against him moving to Canada and refused to pay for his Canadian education. So, he ended up doing odd jobs to pay for his own college and upside down in student debt loans. Elon left South Africa at 17, went to Canada with about 2000 – 4000 bucks to his name. His mother soon followed and lived in a small, rent controlled apartment. He started his own company with a computer he built, and the rest is history. The richest man in the world has vision. That's why his products are very unique. Till date there is no alternative to Tesla cars, no alternative to SpaceX, no alternative to Boring company, and PayPal was a completely new concept back then.



I am not sure about **Jack Ma**. He was a tour guide; he learnt and spoke English while doing that. He began small business and now he's on top of the chain, but he did apply to Harvard 10 times. It costs 75USD to apply; so, applying 10x would be 750 dollars which may be very much for a poor guy. But there are some rags to riches stories. People like Howard Schulz, Lakshmi Mittal, Roman Abramovich etc. They were born into poor families but managed to become among those running the world economy.

The fact is, while there will always be exceptions like Bezos and Gates, most Americans and Europeans will spend their entire lives in the same social and financial class in which they were born. They are engineered, as like most of us, to look at educational courses as the main sure way out of poverty.

UGANDA'S RICH

Back in Uganda, most people we call “rich” today are not wealthy. They are not even rich – They are “middle class”. Unfortunately, most of them continue to masquerade in public as rich, and this is the case with most of our celebrities. When they die or get sick, their children get exposed to poverty.

The age of social media, E-news, and TV has really deluded people’s expectations of what being wealthy actually is. Wealth is comfortably being able to afford a good living, have money to save, and money to invest. In addition to that being able to pass that wealth to your children and grandchildren without affecting your lifestyle. That is Real wealth.

At some point people equated wealth with driving an expensive car, owning a mansion, heading a political party, owning a beach and having a private Jet, but most of those people who do live like that are actually also broke, living paycheque to paycheque, contract to contract, business deal to business deal. Wealth is defined as having an abundance of money or assets. Abundance is defined as having more than what is necessary.

MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

1. What is the main argument presented by Abbey Kibirige Ssemuwemba in the article?

- A) Success is solely determined by education
- B) Inheritance plays a significant role in building wealth
- C) Everyone can become a billionaire with determination
- D) Poverty is a result of lack of education

2. According to the article, what does Thomas Piketty argue in his book, "Capital in the 21st Century"?

- A) Education is the key to success
- B) Inequality is a feature of capitalism
- C) State interventionism is unnecessary
- D) Inheritance is a myth

3. How does the article characterize the success stories of Jeff Bezos, Mark Zuckerberg, and Bill Gates?

- A) Rags to riches tales
- B) Born into privilege
- C) Solely achieved through education
- D) Result of hard work and determination

4. What role did Bill Gates's mother play in his success, according to the article?

- A) She was the first female president of Microsoft
- B) She had a significant role in the success of IBM
- C) She provided Bill with a large inheritance
- D) She was a famous entrepreneur

5. How did Jeff Bezos initially finance his startup, Amazon?

- A) Government grants
- B) Personal savings

C) Venture capital

D) Investment from his parents

6. What is mentioned as Elon Musk's significant achievement despite his privileged background?

A) Selling rough gems to Tiffany's

B) Driving a Rolls Royce Corniche

C) Paying for his own college through odd jobs

D) Having access to horses and a motorbike

7. According to the article, what does Warren Buffet's father, Howard Buffet, contribute to his success?

A) Significant financial investment

B) Overruling his decision to go into business

C) Encouraging him to get degrees

D) A powerful political and business background

8. What is the main point made about Jack Ma in the article?

A) He applied to Harvard 10 times

B) He was a tour guide

C) He was born into a wealthy family

D) He is among those running the world economy

9. How does the article characterize the rich in Uganda?

A) Mostly middle class masquerading as rich

B) Truly wealthy individuals

C) Successful entrepreneurs from poor backgrounds

D) Mainly born into privilege

10. What is the article's definition of "real wealth"?

A) Driving an expensive car

B) Owning a mansion

C) Having more than what is necessary

D) Living paycheck to paycheck

BIGGER QUESTIONS

1. Question: Discuss the role of inheritance in building wealth, as highlighted by Abbey Kibirige Ssemuwemba in the article. Provide examples from successful entrepreneurs mentioned in the article to support your discussion.

Answer: Abbey Kibirige Ssemuwemba emphasizes the significance of inheritance in accumulating wealth. Using examples like Bill Gates, Jeff Bezos, and others, it is evident that being born into privilege often provides a substantial advantage. Gates's mother's role in the success of IBM and Bezos's financial support from his family showcase how inherited connections and resources play a crucial role in entrepreneurial success. The essay should explore these examples in-depth, highlighting the ways in which family background contributes to the trajectory of business success.

2. Question: Critically analyze Thomas Piketty's argument about inheritance and wealth inequality in "Capital in the 21st Century." Discuss how his ideas align with or differ from Abbey Kibirige Ssemuwemba's perspective.

Answer: Thomas Piketty argues that inheritance is a key factor in wealth inequality, a concept supported by Ssemuwemba. The essay should delve into Piketty's central thesis and

elaborate on how state interventionism, as proposed by Piketty, is portrayed in the article. Additionally, it should discuss any potential differences between Piketty and Ssemuwemba's viewpoints on the role of inheritance in shaping economic disparities.

3. Question: Examine the success stories of Jeff Bezos, Mark Zuckerberg, and Bill Gates. How does the article challenge the conventional "rags to riches" narrative associated with these entrepreneurs?

Answer: The essay should analyze how the article challenges the common perception of these entrepreneurs as self-made individuals. It should highlight the privileged backgrounds of Bezos, Zuckerberg, and Gates, emphasizing the role of family wealth and connections in their entrepreneurial journeys. Discussing how these individuals may downplay their privileged backgrounds to appeal to the public would add depth to the analysis.

4. Question: Evaluate the impact of family connections on the success of Bill Gates. How did his mother's position and acquaintances contribute to his entrepreneurial endeavors, especially in relation to IBM?

Answer: This essay should provide a detailed examination of Bill Gates's family connections, particularly his mother's role on the board of IBM. Explore how this connection influenced Gates's access to opportunities, partnerships, and resources, ultimately contributing to the success of Microsoft. The analysis should highlight the importance of familial networks in the business world.

5. Question: Discuss Elon Musk's journey to success, considering both his privileged background and personal challenges. How did Musk overcome obstacles, and what role did his father play in his education?

Answer: The essay should delve into Elon Musk's privileged upbringing, including the gem-selling incident and his father's influence. At the same time, it should explore Musk's personal challenges, such as financing his own education and the resulting student debt. Discuss how Musk's determination, hard work, and intellectual drive played a crucial role in his success despite initial advantages.

6. Question: Explore the contrasting paths taken by Warren Buffet and Elon Musk in their journeys to success. How did their family backgrounds shape their approaches to wealth and business?

Answer: The essay should compare Warren Buffet's background as the son of a powerful businessman and politician with Elon Musk's privileged upbringing. Analyze how Buffet's prudence and financial independence from a young age differ from Musk's risk-taking and self-financed college education. Consider the impact of their family backgrounds on their respective approaches to wealth accumulation.

7. Question: Assess the significance of Jack Ma's story in relation to the concept of "rags to riches." How does his experience challenge or align with the article's discussion on privilege and success?

Answer: The essay should provide an in-depth analysis of Jack Ma's journey, examining how his background as a tour guide and repeated applications to Harvard challenges the conventional narrative of "rags to riches." Discuss the role of persistence, education, and socioeconomic background in Ma's success, and consider how his story fits into the broader theme of privilege outlined in the article.

8. Question: Discuss the article's perspective on wealth and success in Uganda. How does it differentiate between the "rich" and the "middle class," and what impact does this distinction have on societal perceptions of success?

Answer: The essay should analyze the article's characterization of wealth in Uganda, emphasizing the distinction between the "rich" and the "middle class." Explore how societal

expectations and the influence of social media shape perceptions of success. Discuss the consequences faced by children of individuals who masquerade as wealthy but lack true financial stability.

9. Question: Examine the evolving definition of wealth presented in the article. How has the age of social media and E-news impacted people's perceptions of wealth, and how does this differ from the traditional markers of success?

Answer: The essay should analyze the article's discussion on the changing definition of wealth, emphasizing the impact of social media and E-news. Explore how material possessions, expensive cars, and public displays of wealth may not necessarily reflect true financial stability. Discuss the importance of a more nuanced understanding of wealth that includes financial security and the ability to pass down wealth through generations.

10. Question: Discuss the challenges and exceptions mentioned in the article regarding social mobility in America and Europe. How do individuals tend to remain in the same social and financial class throughout their lives, and what exceptions, like Bezos and Gates, exist?

Answer: The essay should explore the challenges highlighted in the article regarding social mobility in America and Europe. Discuss factors that contribute to individuals staying in the same social and financial class. Examine exceptions like Bezos and Gates, analyzing how their stories diverge from the norm and the role of privilege and exceptional circumstances in their success.

HARD WORDS

1. Inheritance

Definition: The practice of receiving money, property, or a title from someone who has died.

Context: In the context of the article, Abbey Kibirige Ssemuwemba discusses the impact of inheritance on building wealth, highlighting how it often provides significant advantages to individuals born into privileged families.

2. Privilege

Definition: A special advantage or immunity that is available only to a particular person or group of people.

Context: The article explores the concept of privilege, emphasizing how individuals born into wealthy families often have access to resources and opportunities that contribute to their success.

3. Interventionism

Definition: The interference or involvement of a state or government in economic or political affairs.

Context: Thomas Piketty's book, "Capital in the 21st Century," discusses the idea of state interventionism as a potential solution to address wealth inequality.

4. Entrepreneurial

Definition: Relating to the activity of setting up and running businesses, taking financial risks in the hope of profit.

Context: The article examines the entrepreneurial journeys of successful individuals, emphasizing the role of family background and financial support in their achievements.

5. Trajectory

Definition: The path or direction that something or someone takes over time.

Context: The essay discusses the trajectory of business success, examining how family connections and inherited wealth influence the paths of entrepreneurs.

6. Prudence

Definition: The quality of being careful, cautious, and wise in making decisions or judgments.

Context: The essay analyzes Warren Buffet's prudence in handling money throughout his life and how it contributed to his success in building wealth.

7. Masquerade

Definition: To pretend to be someone or something that one is not.

Context: The article suggests that some individuals in Uganda masquerade as rich when they are actually middle class, influencing societal perceptions of success.

8. Deluded

Definition: Deceived or misled, often by false beliefs or misconceptions.

Context: The article mentions how social media and E-news may delude people's expectations of what being wealthy truly entails.

9. Nuanced

Definition: Characterized by subtle shades of meaning or understanding.

Context: The essay discusses the need for a more nuanced understanding of wealth that goes beyond material possessions and includes financial security.

10. Socioeconomic

Definition: Relating to or involving a combination of social and economic factors.

Context: The essay explores the socioeconomic background of individuals and how it influences their opportunities and success.

LESSONS LEARNT

1. Inheritance and Privilege Matter: The article highlights the significant impact of being born into wealth and privilege on one's ability to succeed, especially in entrepreneurial ventures. It challenges the notion of a level playing field, emphasizing how familial connections and financial support can play a crucial role in an individual's trajectory to success.

2. Critical Examination of Success Narratives: The article encourages readers to critically examine success stories, particularly those of well-known entrepreneurs like Bill Gates, Jeff Bezos, and Elon Musk. It suggests that these individuals, often portrayed as self-made, had substantial support and privilege, challenging the conventional "rags to riches" narrative.

3. Importance of Family Background: The essay underscores the significance of family background in shaping an individual's journey to success. It explores how connections, financial support, and opportunities provided by family members contribute to the development of successful entrepreneurs.

4. Realities of Social Mobility: The article addresses the challenges associated with social mobility in America, Europe, and Uganda, suggesting that, for many, the social and financial class they are born into may persist throughout their lives. It calls for a nuanced understanding of social and economic mobility.

5. Rethinking Definitions of Wealth: The essay challenges traditional definitions of wealth, pointing out that true wealth is not solely about material possessions but also

involves financial security, the ability to invest, and the capacity to pass wealth down through generations.

6. Education vs. Entrepreneurship: Ssemuwemba questions the emphasis on education as the primary means of achieving success. Instead, he suggests that for those with familial support, entrepreneurship can be a viable path to success. This challenges societal norms that often prioritize academic achievements over other avenues.

7. The Impact of Perception and Social Media: The article discusses how the age of social media has influenced people's perceptions of wealth, often equating it with external displays such as expensive cars and mansions. It suggests that these external markers do not necessarily reflect true financial stability.

8. Exceptions to the Rule: While acknowledging the challenges of social mobility, the article recognizes exceptions such as Bezos and Gates. It emphasizes the need to recognize that, despite systemic barriers, some individuals can break through and achieve success through exceptional circumstances or unique vision.

9. Wealth Preservation and Passing Down Knowledge: The essay stresses the importance of wealth preservation and passing down knowledge through generations. It suggests that true wealth involves not only individual success but also the ability to provide for future generations without compromising one's lifestyle.

10. The Complexity of Success: Overall, the article highlights the complexity of success, acknowledging that while factors like privilege and inheritance can provide advantages, individual traits such as hard work, determination, and intellectual drive also play a role. It encourages a nuanced understanding of success that considers a variety of factors.

Ways in which a person with little or no privilege at all can quickly accumulate wealth legally.

Accumulating wealth, especially for individuals with little or no privilege, can be challenging, but it is not impossible. Here are some legal strategies that may help someone with limited privilege accumulate wealth:

1. Education and Skill Development: Invest time in acquiring valuable skills and education. Continuous learning can enhance employability or provide the foundation for entrepreneurship.

2. Frugality and Budgeting: Practice frugality and create a detailed budget. By managing expenses efficiently, individuals can save more money and redirect it towards wealth-building endeavors.

3. Entrepreneurship: Consider starting a small business or side hustle. Entrepreneurship allows individuals to create income streams independent of traditional employment.

4. Networking and Relationship Building: Cultivate relationships with individuals in relevant industries. Networking can open up opportunities for mentorship, job opportunities, and potential business partnerships.

5. Financial Literacy: Develop a strong understanding of personal finance. Knowledge about budgeting, investing, and managing debt is crucial for making informed financial decisions.

6. Real Estate Investments: Explore real estate as a long-term investment. Purchasing property in an appreciating market can provide a reliable avenue for wealth accumulation.

7. Savings and Investments: Establish a disciplined savings habit and explore investment options. Diversifying investments, such as stocks, bonds, or mutual funds, can help grow wealth over time.

8. Side Jobs and Freelancing: Take on additional jobs or freelance work to supplement income. This extra income can be directed towards savings and investments.

9. Government Programs and Grants: Research government programs and grants that support individuals with limited resources. Some programs offer financial assistance, education, or training opportunities.

10. Community Resources: Leverage community resources, such as local community centers, job placement services, and educational programs, to access support and opportunities for advancement.

11. Online Platforms and Gig Economy: Explore opportunities in the gig economy or freelancing platforms. Online marketplaces offer a variety of tasks and services that individuals can provide to earn extra income.

12. Continuous Career Development: Invest time in career development by seeking out promotions, certifications, or additional training that can enhance professional qualifications and increase earning potential.

13. Smart Debt Management: Be cautious about accumulating unnecessary debt. Manage existing debts wisely, and focus on paying off high-interest debts as quickly as possible.

14. Investing in Marketable Skills: Identify and invest in skills that are in demand in the job market. This may involve taking short courses or certifications to make oneself more marketable.

15. Creating Value: Whether in employment or entrepreneurship, focus on creating value for others. Providing solutions to problems or meeting needs in the market can lead to financial success.

It's important to note that wealth accumulation often requires time, persistence, and disciplined financial habits. While these strategies can provide a foundation, individual circumstances may vary, and success depends on a combination of factors.

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Thank you.

“Besigye's rebuttle.”

Opposition leader Rtd Col. Dr. Kizza

Besigye has written replying President Yoweri Museveni's last week speech on his (Besigye's) arrest and trial.

By Dr. Warren Kizza December 20, 2005



Museveni said the Forum for Democratic Change (FDC) leader created the problems resulting in his arrest for himself and that the Government can only have principled and not opportunistic resolution of the situation. In a letter dated Friday December 17, 2005, Besigye wrote from Luzira Prison where he has been remanded and sent a copy to the Media. "President Yoweri Museveni's statement that appeared in The Sunday Vision of December 11, 2005 is characteristic of his dishonesty. There are many provokingly untrue and shamelessly misrepresented points. However, I will only address three of them:

1. That the NRM (read Museveni) has been firm in dealing with wrongdoers:

It is an indisputable fact that under the Museveni regime, 'wrongdoers' are not treated equally as demanded by the Constitution. In Uganda, there are three criminal Justice systems:

- a) One for Museveni loyalists.
- b) One for the general public.
- c) One for Museveni's political opponents, imaginary or real. Numerous commissions of inquiry have compiled evidence and recommended prosecution of senior military, public and political leaders. The Museveni loyalists, far from being arrested and prosecuted, have been promoted and praised for 'liberating' our country! On the other hand, crimes have been invented for members of the political opposition, who are promptly arrested, tortured and detained for long periods before the DPP (Director of Public Prosecutions) 'loses interest' in the cases. Some people have been in prison for more than five years, without trial. My wife,

Winnie Byanyima, was arrested three times, and the charges were either dropped or dismissed by Court. This is Museveni's "firmness with wrongdoers".

2. Principled reconciliation:

In Museveni's world, "principled reconciliation" can only happen when the "wrongdoer first admits his/her mistake". Obviously, he cannot understand that reconciliation is not about managing "wrongdoing", but rather about managing opposed or conflicting situations towards an amicable solution. That is why reconciliation is usually managed by mediators or facilitators, who help the conflicting parties to appreciate each other's position and to move towards a harmonious solution. Naturally, in the process of reconciliation, wrongdoing on either side may be found and accordingly managed; without losing the primary goal of creating a harmonious understanding known as 'reconciliation'. For that matter, the DPP, the Courts of Law and the Military Court Martial cannot be the appropriate agents for reconciliation. I advise President Museveni to seriously consider the statement by religious leaders of UJCC (Uganda Joint Christian Council) published in The Daily Monitor of December 14, 2005 and the offer they make.



3. The cases of Kizza Besigye:

When I came back to Uganda to face the so-called criminal charges against me, I did not ask or expect to be treated preferentially by the justice system or by anyone in authority in respect of the charges that have been preferred against me. I only ask, and EXPECT to be treated fairly and in accordance with the law and its due process. As a matter of fact, I rejected 'preferential treatment', which came in the form of an offer by President Museveni, to remove me from prison "immediately" and put me under "house arrest" at my residence. This was partly because I thought it was irregular and inevitably shrouded with many uncertainties. I also rejected Museveni's preferential treatment that if I should sign amnesty papers, I would immediately be discharged of all my cases, including rape! The Government of Uganda knows that I have a significant team of lawyers who would be aware of the Amnesty Law. Why then, would it be the Government, the law enforcer, pressurising me to apply for amnesty? Does President Museveni consider this a legitimate role of political leaders in handling criminal matters? My concern and the concern of many people and organisations that have made public expressions are the following:

1. Timing and management of my cases

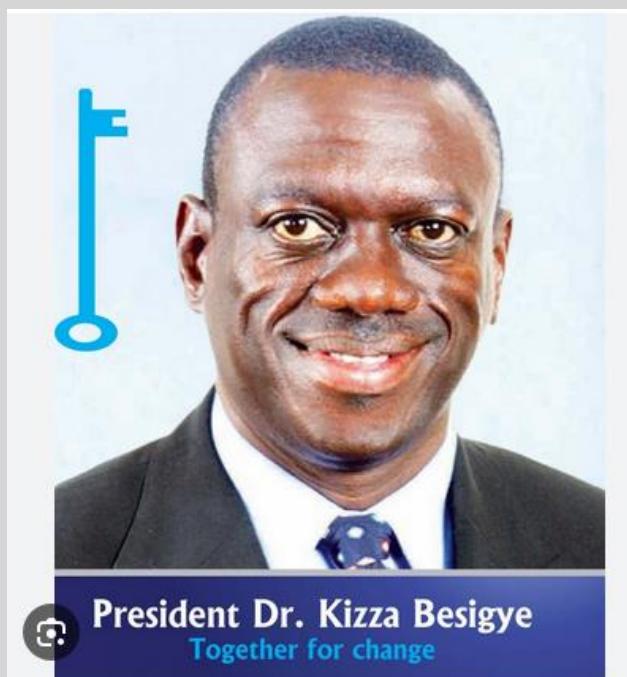
i) The cases I am charged with were allegedly committed between 1997 and 2003. Until November 14, 2005, no charges against me had ever been brought before any court, this in spite of the fact that I have publicly and repeatedly demanded over the past five years that if there were any charges against me, they should be put before court and that I was prepared to face the law. President Museveni's letter to his Cabinet just before my return stated that "there were long-standing criminal charges that would be brought against" me if I came back, although the DPP had just denied any knowledge of impending cases against me.

ii) The Uganda Government knew exactly where I was living in South Africa; if I was plotting to overthrow it, why wouldn't they complain to the friendly government of South Africa. Indeed, shortly before my return to Uganda, President Museveni boasted that if his government needed me to answer any charges, they could easily ask for my extradition from South Africa. So why did he not arrange to extradite me, if I had "long-standing criminal charges" known to his government all those years?

iii) My co-accused were arraigned in court more than a year ago. I only became part of their case on November 15, 2005. All this suggests that these cases were not managed transparently and in accordance with the established legal process. This concern is further accentuated by the fact that I was arrested while very busy doing political work in preparation for the oncoming presidential elections. Further, every effort has been made to deny me bail.

2. Trial by Military Court Martial Through our lawyers, we opposed trial by the Military Court Martial because:

i) The UPDF Court Martial is not an independent and impartial court to which people have a constitutional right. It is really a service court intended to enhance discipline among errant, serving soldiers. It is therefore inherently not intended to be impartial because:



1. It is headed by the Commander-in-Chief, who is the President.

2. All the Court Martial members, including the prosecutor, are senior UPDF officers, appointed by the President and operating under his continuing and direct command. He deploys them, promotes them etc.
3. It is to him that an aggrieved soldier appeals in case of delays of their trial, etc. There is therefore no way this court can be impartial to a person seeking to replace the President. Certainly, I would never willingly subject myself to the jurisdiction of the UPDF Court Martial and expect justice through it. On the other hand, I would be prepared to battle any number of charges in a civilian court.
- ii) We believe the Court Martial action was intended to defeat the ends of justice to deny us bail. This was precisely the reason for the "Black Mambas" abomination and why the High Court hearing of my bail application was delayed so that I could be charged and remanded by the Military Court Martial, first! If the military prosecutor had fresh evidence necessitating fresh charges, why couldn't they just pass it on to the DPP to institute these further offences against me.
- iii) The Court Martial case is based on exactly the same facts as those for the treason case before the High Court. Therefore, we are being tried in two courts for the same alleged acts.
- iv) The Military Court Martial was established to regulate the discipline of soldiers, deriving authority from Article 210 of the Constitution. It is not right to try civilians who have nothing at all to do with UPDF under its court, more so, when it violates their fundamental right to appear before an independent court or tribunal.
- v) The Court Martial is not authorised to try the case of terrorism with which we have been charged in that court (that of illegal possession of firearms being an alternative charge). Section 6 of the Anti-terrorism Act, 2002 states as follows: "The offense of terrorism and any other offences punishable by more than 10 years' imprisonment under this Act are triable only by the High Court and bail in respect of those offences may be granted only by the High Court". It is for those reasons that we have petitioned the Constitutional Court and High Court for appropriate action. President Museveni claims that the use of the Military Court Martial to try civilians has helped deal with crime since civil courts were overstretched. This assertion is an insult to Ugandans. Some people have been waiting in prison for over four years for their cases to be disposed of by the General Court Martial since 1999. From the information I have received while in prison, people who were arrested by Wembley and VCCU (Violent Crime Crack Unit) operations since 2002 are 560 people, of whom 448 have not yet been tried:
- 250 people are in Kigo Farm Prison.**
- 130 people are in Luzira Upper Prison.**
- 60 people are in Makindye Military Police cells.**
- 98 people have been released on GCM bond after paying a bribe of between sh500,000 and sh2,500,000.**
- 12 detainees have died in prisons, mainly from untreated torture injuries.**
- Only 10 people have had their cases disposed of by the GCM.**



The 440 people pending GCM trial, whose names and details I have compiled have been in prison for one to four years, yet Section 190 of the UPDF Act provides that a person triable under military law who has been detained in custody for 90 days before commencement of her/his trial shall be freed all the 440 illegally detained men have families; most with very young children. These families have fallen into destitution as a result of the GCM, to which the President of Uganda is happy to divert cases from civil courts. Such is President Museveni's sense of justice! President Museveni is wrong. As a prisoner of conscience, I neither seek nor expect preferential treatment from him or from anybody else. I will willingly fight the political battle both politically and in the Civil Courts of Law, and I am confident that the truth will set me free, but I will never subject myself to his idea of "preferential treatment" or his dubious and impartial GCM. I may be imprisoned but the political issues I have raised and my resolve to fight for freedom will never be imprisoned. Let's all work to keep hope alive. For God and my country. No UR 898/05 Luzira Maximum Upper Prison

By Dr. Warren Kizza Besigye First published: December 20, 2005

Multiple Choice Questions:

1. What is the primary focus of Dr. Besigye's letter from Luzira Prison?
A. Critique of the Ugandan prison system
B. Rejection of preferential treatment
C. Analysis of Museveni's political tactics
D. Plea for amnesty and immediate release

2. According to Dr. Besigye, how does President Museveni categorize wrongdoers in Uganda?
A. Based on their political affiliations
B. According to their level of criminal activity
C. By their loyalty to the government
D. Through impartial legal processes

3. In the letter, Dr. Besigye expresses concern about the timing and management of his cases. What specific points does he raise regarding this concern?
- A. Lack of evidence against him
 - B. Delayed court proceedings and denial of bail
 - C. Extradition requests from South Africa
 - D. Presidential interference in the legal process
4. Why does Dr. Besigye oppose trial by the Military Court Martial?
- A. Lack of evidence presented against him
 - B. Unconstitutional nature of the court
 - C. Preference for civilian courts
 - D. Fear of harsher penalties
5. According to Dr. Besigye, what does "principled reconciliation" involve?
- A. Admitting wrongdoing
 - B. Managing opposed situations amicably
 - C. Seeking amnesty for criminal charges
 - D. Legal action against political opponents
6. What offer does President Museveni extend to Dr. Besigye in terms of his arrest and imprisonment?
- A. Immediate release from prison
 - B. House arrest at his residence
 - C. Extradition to South Africa
 - D. Complete amnesty for all charges
7. Why does Dr. Besigye reject President Museveni's offer of preferential treatment?
- A. Concerns about irregularities and uncertainties
 - B. Fear of extradition to South Africa
 - C. Lack of awareness of the Amnesty Law
 - D. Desire for a fair legal process
8. What constitutional right does Dr. Besigye argue is violated by the UPDF Court Martial?
- A. Right to a fair trial
 - B. Right to remain silent
 - C. Right to legal representation
 - D. Right to a speedy trial
9. According to Dr. Besigye, why is the Military Court Martial not an impartial court?
- A. Lack of senior UPDF officers
 - B. Direct command from the President
 - C. Independence from the UPDF
 - D. Appointment by the DPP
10. What constitutional action does Dr. Besigye mention regarding the trial by Military Court Martial?
- A. Petition to the Constitutional Court
 - B. Appeal to the International Court of Justice

- C. Request for presidential intervention
- D. Negotiations with religious leaders

11. What assertion does Dr. Besigye make about President Museveni's sense of justice regarding the Military Court Martial?

- A. It promotes transparency and fairness
- B. It is an insult to Ugandans
- C. It prioritizes civil court cases
- D. It guarantees a speedy trial

12. What is Dr. Besigye's overall message in the letter from Luzira Prison?

- A. Acceptance of defeat
- B. Willingness to compromise
- C. Determination to fight for freedom
- D. Request for international intervention

BIGGER QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the three criminal justice systems in Uganda as described by Dr. Besigye in his letter. How does he argue that wrongdoers are treated differently under these systems?

Answer: Dr. Besigye outlines three criminal justice systems in Uganda: one for Museveni loyalists, one for the general public, and one for Museveni's political opponents. He argues that loyalists are often promoted and praised despite evidence of wrongdoing, while political opponents face arrest, torture, and long periods of detention without fair trials. This illustrates a selective and biased approach to justice under President Museveni's regime.

2. Evaluate Dr. Besigye's perspective on "principled reconciliation" and its applicability in Uganda's political context. How does he criticize President Museveni's approach to reconciliation?

Answer: Dr. Besigye contends that principled reconciliation involves managing opposed or conflicting situations toward an amicable solution. He criticizes President Museveni's requirement for wrongdoers to admit their mistakes before reconciliation, arguing that it hinders the genuine resolution of conflicts. He advocates for mediation by impartial parties, such as the UJCC, as a more effective approach to reconciliation.

3. Examine Dr. Besigye's concerns about the timing and management of his cases. What specific issues does he raise, and how does he question the transparency of the legal process?

Answer: Dr. Besigye expresses concerns about the delayed proceedings, denial of bail, and the sudden inclusion of charges after his return to Uganda. He questions the transparency of the legal process, pointing to the lack of charges before November 14, 2005, despite his public demands for a fair trial. This raises issues about the political motivations behind the legal actions against him.

4. Analyze Dr. Besigye's opposition to trial by the Military Court Martial. What constitutional arguments does he present, and how does he view the court's impartiality?

Answer: Dr. Besigye opposes the Military Court Martial, citing its lack of independence and impartiality. He argues that it is not a constitutionally appropriate court for civilians, as it is headed by the Commander-in-Chief (President Museveni) and consists of UPDF officers appointed by the President. This, according to him, violates the constitutional right to a fair trial before an independent tribunal.

5. Explore Dr. Besigye's rejection of President Museveni's offer of preferential treatment. What reasons does he provide, and how does this refusal align with his principles?

Answer: Dr. Besigye rejects preferential treatment, such as house arrest, and signing amnesty papers, as irregular and uncertain. He emphasizes his expectation of fair treatment in accordance with the law and due process. This refusal aligns with his commitment to a just legal process and his rejection of any compromises that may compromise his principles.

6. Critically analyze Dr. Besigye's concerns about the use of the Military Court Martial to try civilians. What constitutional and legal arguments does he present, and how does he view its impact on justice in Uganda?

Answer: Dr. Besigye argues against trying civilians in the Military Court Martial, highlighting constitutional violations and the court's lack of impartiality. He contends that this practice undermines justice, especially when used to divert cases from civil courts. He supports his stance with statistics on delayed trials and the plight of detainees in military custody.

7. Assess Dr. Besigye's assertion that the Military Court Martial violates the constitutional right to appear before an independent court. How does he support this claim, and what implications does it have for justice in Uganda?

Answer: Dr. Besigye supports his assertion by highlighting the court's composition, its dependence on the President, and its lack of independence. The implications include a potential denial of justice and the violation of the constitutional right to a fair trial. This analysis raises questions about the fairness of the legal system under President Museveni.

8. Examine Dr. Besigye's argument that the timing and management of his cases were politically motivated. How does he support this claim, and what does it reveal about the intersection of law and politics in Uganda?

Answer: Dr. Besigye supports his claim by pointing to the sudden inclusion of charges, delays in proceedings, and the arrest during political activities. This suggests a political motivation behind the legal actions, revealing the intertwined nature of law and politics in Uganda and raising concerns about the use of legal processes for political purposes.

9. Discuss the significance of Dr. Besigye's decision to petition the Constitutional Court and High Court. What legal remedies does he seek, and how does this reflect his commitment to a fair and just legal process?

Answer: Dr. Besigye's decision to petition the Constitutional Court and High Court reflects his commitment to challenging the constitutionality of his trial. He seeks remedies against the use of the Military Court Martial for civilians and aims to uphold his constitutional right to a fair trial. This highlights his determination to navigate legal channels for justice.

10. Evaluate Dr. Besigye's claim that the Military Court Martial is not authorized to try cases of terrorism. How does he interpret the relevant legal provisions, and what implications does this argument have for his case?

Answer: Dr. Besigye interprets Section 6 of the Anti-terrorism Act, 2002, to argue that the Military Court Martial lacks the authority to try cases of terrorism. This legal analysis has implications for the legitimacy of the charges against him in that court and raises questions about the appropriateness of the legal framework used for his trial.

11. Explore Dr. Besigye's critique of President Museveni's sense of justice in diverting cases from civil courts to the Military Court Martial. How does he support this critique, and what impact does it have on the broader justice system in Uganda?

Answer: Dr. Besigye supports his critique by presenting statistics on delayed trials and the plight of detainees. This critique suggests that President Museveni's actions undermine the integrity of the justice system, contributing to a backlog of cases and potentially denying justice to those awaiting trial. It raises broader questions about the fairness and efficiency of the justice system.

12. Assess the effectiveness of Dr. Besigye's communication strategy from Luzira Prison. How does he use his letter to convey his perspective, engage with the public, and advocate for justice?

Answer: Dr. Besigye effectively uses his letter to convey his perspective by addressing specific points raised by President Museveni. He engages with the public by highlighting issues of justice and fairness, and he advocates for a just legal process. This communication strategy allows him to maintain his political stance and garner public support while incarcerated.

HARD WORDS

1. Rebuttal

Definition: A counterargument or contradiction.

Context: Dr. Besigye wrote a rebuttal to President Museveni's speech, addressing points he considered dishonest.

2. Indisputable

Definition: Impossible to challenge or deny.

Context: Dr. Besigye refers to the fact that, under Museveni's regime, the unequal treatment of wrongdoers is indisputable.

3. Impeccable

Definition: Flawless; without any mistakes.

Context: Dr. Besigye challenges the impeccable image President Museveni portrays regarding the treatment of wrongdoers.

4. Liberation

Definition: The act of setting someone free from imprisonment, oppression, or domination.

Context: Loyalists are praised for their role in 'liberating' the country, contrasting with the alleged oppression of political opponents.

5. Facilitators

Definition: People who help make a process easy or possible.

Context: Dr. Besigye suggests that reconciliation should be managed by impartial mediators or facilitators.

6. Amicable

Definition: Friendly and peaceful.

Context: Principled reconciliation, according to Dr. Besigye, involves managing conflicting situations toward an amicable solution.

7. Extradition

Definition: The surrender of an accused or convicted person by one state or country to another.

Context: President Museveni boasted about the possibility of extraditing Dr. Besigye from South Africa if needed.

8. Petitioned

Definition: Made a formal request or appeal.

Context: Dr. Besigye mentions that he has petitioned the Constitutional Court and High Court for appropriate action regarding his trial.

9. Constitutionality

Definition: In accordance with the principles outlined in the constitution.

Context: Dr. Besigye questions the constitutionality of his trial by the Military Court Martial.

10. Impartiality

Definition: Treating all parties or people equally; unbiased.

Context: Dr. Besigye argues that the Military Court Martial lacks impartiality due to its composition and dependence on the President.

11. Constitutionally

Definition: In a manner consistent with the principles of a constitution.

Context: Dr. Besigye emphasizes the importance of being tried constitutionally, particularly in civilian courts.

12. Denunciation

Definition: Publicly declaring to be wrong or evil.

Context: Dr. Besigye's letter includes denunciations of the alleged injustices and irregularities in his case.

13. Backlog

Definition: A large accumulation of something, often work or cases, that needs to be dealt with.

Context: President Museveni's diversion of cases to the Military Court Martial is criticized for contributing to a backlog of trials.

14. Abomination

Definition: Something that causes disgust or hatred.

Context: Dr. Besigye refers to the "Black Mambas" abomination, suggesting a negative and unacceptable aspect of the legal process.

15. Destitution

Definition: Extreme poverty and lack of resources.

Context: Families of detainees face destitution due to prolonged imprisonment without trials, as mentioned by Dr. Besigye.

16. Implications

Definition: The possible effects or results of an action or decision.

Context: Dr. Besigye raises implications of trying civilians in the Military Court Martial, pointing to potential violations of their rights.

LESSONS LEARNT

1. Inequality in Justice Systems:

Dr. Besigye highlights the existence of different justice systems for loyalists, the general public, and political opponents. The lesson is that unequal treatment under the law can undermine the principles of justice and fairness.

2. Selective Reconciliation:

The critique of Museveni's approach to reconciliation emphasizes the importance of managing conflicts impartially. The lesson is that reconciliation should not be contingent on admissions of guilt but should aim for an amicable resolution.

3. Questioning Timing and Transparency:

Dr. Besigye's concerns about the timing and management of his cases underscore the importance of a transparent and timely legal process. Delays and sudden changes can raise suspicions about the political motivations behind legal actions.

4. Challenges with Military Courts:

The opposition to trial by the Military Court Martial highlights challenges associated with trying civilians in military courts. The lesson is that such practices can compromise the impartiality and fairness of the legal process.

5. Defense of Constitutional Rights:

Dr. Besigye's emphasis on constitutional rights reminds us of the importance of upholding fundamental rights, especially the right to a fair trial before an independent tribunal. It highlights the need to safeguard constitutional principles.

6. Political Interference in Legal Processes:

The letter suggests the intersection of politics and law, with Dr. Besigye implying that his legal issues may be politically motivated. The lesson is that political interference in legal processes can undermine the integrity of the justice system.

7. Communication as a Tool of Resistance:

Dr. Besigye effectively uses written communication to convey his perspective, engage the public, and advocate for justice. The lesson is that communication can be a powerful tool for those facing legal challenges to maintain their stance and garner public support.

8. Principled Stand Against Preferential Treatment:

Dr. Besigye's rejection of preferential treatment reflects the importance of standing firm on principles, even in challenging circumstances. The lesson is that compromising principles for personal gain may undermine the pursuit of justice.

9. Utilizing Legal Avenues:

The decision to petition the Constitutional Court and High Court highlights the importance of utilizing legal avenues to challenge perceived injustices. It reinforces the idea that individuals should seek remedies within the framework of the law.

10. Human Impact of Legal Decisions:

Dr. Besigye's mention of the impact on families and detainees underscores the human consequences of legal decisions. The lesson is that legal processes should consider the welfare of individuals and their families.

11. Public Awareness and Advocacy:

The letter raises awareness about the alleged injustices and irregularities, emphasizing the role of public advocacy. The lesson is that public awareness and support can influence the perception and outcomes of legal cases.

12. Persistence in the Face of Adversity:

Dr. Besigye's resolve to continue the political battle and fight for freedom, despite imprisonment, teaches the importance of persistence in pursuing justice and principles, even in challenging circumstances.

SAPIENS

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Thank you.

"The Evolution of Peace: From Palaeolithic Harmony to Global Activism"



Anonymous author.

The Palaeolithic Period started 2.5 to 2 million years ago. This is the earliest period of man's history that is marked by the use of tools made of chipped stone. It ended about 10,000 years ago. Cave paintings from this period consistently show an absence of people attacking people. The hunter-gatherer were generally peace loving. When groups started to grow large enough to cause conflict, man's ancestor is supposed to have migrated out of Africa, 1.8 million years ago.

Modern man appeared on the scene only about 200,000 years ago. Man's progress to civilization continued in the Mesolithic period, Neolithic period, Bronze Age and Iron Age. Each period saw a steady increase in the sophistication of weapons and warfare. It would almost look as if fighting wars is an innate quality of the human being. Man's civilisation truly started when he started to look for peace and peaceful co-existence. Today, the world has rapidly become much smaller. How is this possible? Just fifty years ago, it took much longer for news to reach the far corners of the world. Today, with the mobile phone and internet technology, it is not just news that reaches us in real time, as they occur, but we also get to see the events live. The various avenues of social media give the world's citizen direct access to people all over the world. This is a new phenomenon that has gained ground over the last decade. This also means that people get to share their concerns, values and interests. The social media has had a direct impact on the values and beliefs of cultures around the world. Knowledge of conditions and values in each country are freely available to today's generations. Compared to 5 decades ago, people are more pro-active about their basic rights. They also hold companies and governments accountable to transparency. For example, the days of secretly testing experimental drugs on the unsuspecting peoples of poorer countries is a thing of the past. In fact, today there are activists who demonstrate

against the testing of experimental drugs even on lab animals. This is just one example of righteous demonstrations that occur all over the world. People have moved on from human rights to animal rights. Demonstrations occur in places like the United States when the police force is perceived to use excessive force when apprehending suspects to a crime. Social responses and social unrest are not a matter of a few people shouting slogans. Whole communities, towns and cities can go into shut-down because of such social disturbances.



Disillusionment with the authorities today leads to demonstrations all over the developed world. It is only in the less developed countries, where there isn't as much freedom, that we do not see as many social uprisings. Demonstrations can easily get out of hand due to the instant information retrieval that comes from the use of social media. When employees' unions announce strikes in the developed countries, their freedom to do so are guaranteed by their legal rights. The unions are not responsible for the losses incurred by the employer. In today's world, these losses can be massive because most successful companies are massive because of mergers and globalisation. The above mentioned are just a small representation of the how there can be a lack of peace even in the absence of war. We in Malaysia are lucky that we do not have such problems. This is a result of the responsible governments that we have had over the years. The needs and rights of citizens and employees are guaranteed without the need of unions having to go on strike. The non-confrontational approach that has proven so successful in our history is more valuable than we can imagine. The value of the peace that exists here can truly be appreciated when we imagine a situation where it has disappeared, and people are protesting and agitating all the time. This is true of many countries, where there are strikes and demonstrations nearly every day. The pasar malams and al fresco dining that is very common throughout Malaysia is a true example of how peaceful the country and its people are. Inter-racial and inter-religious tolerance and acceptance are typically



Malaysian. This can surely be emulated elsewhere. Gone are the days when governments went to war. Today, terrorist organisations wage insidious war without the limitations of national boundaries. It is up to each citizen to be alert to misguided individuals and to report them to the relevant authorities before our invaluable peace is destroyed.

Multiple Choice Questions:

1. When did the Palaeolithic Period begin?

- A) 10,000 years ago
- B) 2.5 to 2 million years ago
- C) 1.8 million years ago
- D) 200,000 years ago

2. What marked the Palaeolithic Period in terms of tools?

- A) Tools made of bronze
- B) Tools made of iron
- C) Tools made of chipped stone
- D) Tools made of wood

3. How long ago did man's ancestor migrate out of Africa, according to the article?

- A) 1.8 million years ago
- B) 200,000 years ago
- C) 10,000 years ago
- D) 2.5 to 2 million years ago

4. When did modern man appear on the scene?

- A) 1.8 million years ago
- B) 200,000 years ago
- C) 10,000 years ago
- D) 2.5 to 2 million years ago

5. Which period saw a steady increase in the sophistication of weapons and warfare?

- A) Mesolithic period
- B) Neolithic period
- C) Bronze Age
- D) Iron Age

6. According to the article, when did man's civilization truly start?

- A) When using chipped stone tools
- B) During the Bronze Age
- C) When looking for peace and peaceful co-existence
- D) With the appearance of modern man

7. What has made the world rapidly become smaller in recent times?

- A) Cave paintings
- B) Mobile phone and internet technology
- C) Chipped stone tools
- D) Mesolithic period

8. What impact has social media had on the values and beliefs of cultures around the world?

- A) It has no impact
- B) It has reinforced traditional values
- C) It has had a direct impact
- D) It has reduced cultural diversity

9. What is an example of the activism mentioned in the article?

- A) Demonstrations against peaceful co-existence
- B) Demonstrations against social media
- C) Demonstrations against testing experimental drugs on lab animals
- D) Demonstrations in favor of war

10. Where do social uprisings occur less frequently, according to the article?

- A) Developed countries
- B) Less developed countries
- C) Countries with responsible governments
- D) Countries with active employees' unions

11. What guarantees the freedom of employees' unions to announce strikes in developed countries?

- A) Employer compensation for losses
- B) Government approval
- C) Legal rights
- D) Globalization

12. What is highlighted as a true example of the peaceful nature of Malaysia?

- A) Massive companies
- B) Inter-racial and inter-religious tolerance
- C) Strikes and demonstrations
- D) Wars and conflicts

BIGGER QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the significance of the Palaeolithic Period in human history. What marked this period, and how did it contribute to the evolution of early humans?

Answer: The Palaeolithic Period, spanning 2.5 to 2 million years ago, is crucial in human history as it marks the earliest use of tools made of chipped stone. This technological advancement played a pivotal role in early human survival, aiding in hunting, gathering, and defense. The period's significance lies in the development of essential skills and tools that shaped the course of human evolution.

2. Examine the cave paintings from the Palaeolithic Period. What themes are prevalent, and what can we infer about the nature of early human societies from the absence of depictions of people attacking each other?

Answer: Cave paintings from the Palaeolithic Period consistently show an absence of people attacking each other. This suggests that early hunter-gatherer societies were generally peace-loving. The prevalent themes in these paintings often revolve around scenes of hunting, daily life, and interactions with nature, providing insights into the cooperative and harmonious nature of early human communities.

3. Trace the progression of human civilization through the Mesolithic, Neolithic, Bronze Age, and Iron Age. How did each period contribute to the sophistication of weapons and warfare?

Answer: Human civilization evolved through these periods with a steady increase in the sophistication of weapons and warfare. The Mesolithic, Neolithic, Bronze Age, and Iron Age each introduced new materials and techniques, from stone tools to metal weaponry. These advancements reflect a continuous quest for technological superiority and military prowess, shaping the trajectory of human societies.

4. Evaluate the idea that man's civilization truly started when he sought peace and peaceful co-existence. How did this shift contribute to the development of societies and cultures?

Answer: The assertion that civilization truly started when humans sought peace and peaceful co-existence underscores the importance of social harmony. This shift contributed to the development of stable societies and diverse cultures, emphasizing the role of cooperation, trade, and cultural exchange in the advancement of civilization.

5. Examine the impact of modern technology, particularly mobile phones and the internet, on the globalization of information. How has this affected the perception and understanding of global events in real time?

Answer: Modern technology, including mobile phones and the internet, has significantly globalized information. Real-time access to news and live events has transformed the way people perceive and understand global occurrences. The speed of information dissemination has increased, fostering a more interconnected and aware global community.

6. Explore the role of social media in shaping cultural values and beliefs. How has this phenomenon evolved over the last decade, and what impact does it have on societies worldwide?

Answer: Social media has become a powerful tool influencing cultural values and beliefs globally. Over the last decade, it has gained prominence as a platform for individuals to share concerns, values, and interests. This phenomenon has a direct impact on shaping the values of diverse cultures, fostering both cultural exchange and potential conflicts.

7. Discuss the rise of activism in contemporary society. How have individuals become more proactive about basic rights, and what role does social media play in holding entities like companies and governments accountable?

Answer: Activism has surged in contemporary society, with individuals becoming more proactive about basic rights. Social media plays a crucial role in amplifying voices and holding entities accountable to transparency. This shift has transformed the dynamics between citizens, governments, and corporations, emphasizing the importance of accountability and social responsibility.

8. Examine the transition from human rights to animal rights activism. What examples highlight this shift, and how has it impacted societal perceptions and actions?

Answer: The transition from human rights to animal rights activism is evident in contemporary demonstrations against the testing of experimental drugs, even on lab animals. This shift reflects evolving societal values and an increased awareness of ethical treatment not only of humans but also of animals. It marks a broader concern for the well-being of all living beings.

9. Investigate the dynamics of social unrest and demonstrations in developed countries. How do such events, like protests against police force, affect entire communities, and what role does instant information retrieval through social media play in these situations?

Answer: Social unrest and demonstrations in developed countries, particularly protests against issues like police force, have far-reaching effects, leading to community-wide disruptions. The instant information retrieval facilitated by social media intensifies these events, making them more widespread and impactful. It showcases the power of collective action in shaping societal discourse.

10. Explore the role of employees' unions in developed countries. How do legal rights guarantee the freedom to strike, and what are the implications for massive companies in the context of globalization?

Answer: Employees' unions in developed countries exercise their freedom to strike through legal rights, and these rights protect them from bearing the losses incurred by employers. In the era of globalization, where companies are massive due to mergers, these strikes can result in substantial losses, highlighting the complex relationship between labor rights and corporate interests.

11. Examine the contrast between social uprisings in developed and less developed countries. Why do social uprisings occur less frequently in less developed countries, and what role does freedom play in this context?

Answer: Social uprisings occur less frequently in less developed countries due to factors such as limited freedom and governmental control. In contrast, developed countries with greater freedoms may experience more frequent demonstrations. The balance between freedom and social stability becomes a critical factor in understanding the prevalence of social unrest.

12. Reflect on the article's portrayal of Malaysia as a country with a non-confrontational approach. How does this approach contribute to the country's peace and tolerance? What lessons can be learned and emulated by other nations?

Answer: Malaysia's non-confrontational approach, as depicted in the article, contributes to the country's peace and tolerance. The value of peaceful co-existence is evident in societal practices like pasar malams and inter-racial, inter-religious tolerance. Other nations can learn from Malaysia's success in maintaining harmony by prioritizing dialogue, understanding, and respect among diverse communities.

HARD WORDS

1. Palaeolithic:

Definition: Relating to the early phase of the Stone Age, characterized by the use of chipped stone tools.

Context: The Palaeolithic period, spanning millions of years, marks a crucial stage in human prehistory.

2. Sophistication:

Definition: The quality of being complex, refined, or advanced.

Context: Each historical period, from the Mesolithic to the Iron Age, witnessed a gradual sophistication in the tools and technologies used by early humans.

3. Insidious:

Definition: Proceeding in a gradual, subtle way with harmful effects.

Context: Modern terrorism often takes an insidious form, operating without the traditional limitations of national boundaries.

4. Pivot:

Definition: To turn on or as if on a pivot; a central or crucial point.

Context: The shift from seeking conflict to pursuing peace was a pivotal moment in the evolution of human civilization.

5. Amplify:

Definition: To increase the volume or intensity; to make more pronounced.

Context: Social media platforms amplify voices, providing a broader audience for individuals to express their concerns.

6. Harmonious:

Definition: Forming a harmonious or consistent whole; characterized by agreement or unity.

Context: The cave paintings of the Palaeolithic period depict a harmonious existence, with scenes of cooperation and peaceful co-existence.

7. Invaluable:

Definition: Extremely valuable; too valuable to measure.

Context: Citizens need to be alert to misguided individuals to protect the invaluable peace that society enjoys.

8. Uprisings:

Definition: An act of resistance, rebellion, or revolt; a protest or demonstration.

Context: Demonstrations and uprisings are often fueled by societal dissatisfaction with authorities or perceived injustices.

9. Confrontational:

Definition: Tending to deal with situations in an aggressive or hostile way; challenging.

Context: Malaysia's non-confrontational approach has contributed to the country's peaceful co-existence and cultural tolerance.

10. Transparency:

Definition: The quality of being open, honest, and easily understood.

Context: Activists today hold companies and governments accountable to transparency, ensuring that information is readily available to the public.

11. Disillusionment:

Definition: A feeling of disappointment or disenchantment, often resulting from the loss of faith in something previously idealized.

Context: Disillusionment with authorities can lead to widespread social unrest and demonstrations.

12. Pervasiveness:

Definition: The quality of being widespread or prevalent.

Context: The pervasiveness of social media has reshaped how people access and share information, influencing global perspectives.

13. Inter-racial:

Definition: Involving or representing different races.

Context: Malaysia is often cited as an example of inter-racial tolerance, where people from various ethnic backgrounds coexist harmoniously.

14. Al Fresco:

Definition: In the open air; often used to describe outdoor dining or entertainment.

Context: The al fresco dining common in Malaysia reflects the peaceful and enjoyable atmosphere of the country.

15. Inherent:

Definition: Existing as an essential characteristic; intrinsic.

Context: The article suggests that fighting wars might be an inherent quality of human beings, given the historical progression of weaponry.

16. Coexistence:

Definition: The state or fact of living or existing at the same time or in the same place.

Context: The true progress of man's civilization, according to the article, lies in the pursuit of peace and peaceful coexistence.

LESSONS LEARNT

1. The Evolution of Peace:

Lesson: Human civilization has evolved through various periods, demonstrating a shift from conflict and aggression to a pursuit of peace and harmonious co-existence. This evolution suggests that societies progress when they prioritize cooperation over conflict.

2. Technological Impact on Globalization:

Lesson: The rapid advancement of technology, particularly mobile phones and the internet, has significantly contributed to the globalization of information. This has led to increased awareness and interconnectedness, showcasing the transformative power of technology on societal perceptions.

3. Social Media's Influence on Values:

Lesson: The rise of social media has a profound impact on shaping cultural values and beliefs globally. It provides a platform for individuals to share concerns, exchange ideas, and contribute to the collective values of diverse cultures. This highlights the need for responsible and thoughtful use of these platforms.

4. Activism and Accountability:

Lesson: In contemporary society, there is a heightened sense of activism, with individuals becoming more proactive about basic rights. Social media plays a crucial role in holding entities, such as companies and governments, accountable to transparency and ethical practices.

5. Transition from Human to Animal Rights:

Lesson: The shift from human rights to animal rights activism signifies an increasing awareness of ethical treatment not only for humans but also for animals. This evolution in societal values underscores the interconnectedness of ethical concerns across species.

6. Globalization and Social Unrest:

Lesson: In developed countries, demonstrations and social unrest are more prevalent due to increased freedom and instant information retrieval through social media. This dynamic emphasizes the importance of balancing freedom with social stability to prevent widespread disruptions.

7. Labor Rights and Globalization:

Lesson: The article highlights the implications of employees' unions exercising their legal rights in developed countries. In the era of globalization, these actions can result in massive losses for companies, showcasing the complex interplay between labor rights and corporate interests.

8. Cultural Harmony in Malaysia:

Lesson: Malaysia's non-confrontational approach and cultural harmony serve as an example of how societies can thrive through dialogue, understanding, and respect among diverse communities. This lesson suggests that peaceful coexistence is achievable through a commitment to tolerance.

9. Alertness to Threats:

Lesson: The article stresses the importance of citizens being alert to potential threats, particularly in the context of terrorism. It underscores the need for vigilance and reporting to relevant authorities to preserve invaluable peace.

10. Continuous Societal Progress:

Lesson: The article implies that societal progress is an ongoing process. It involves learning from history, adapting to technological advancements, and evolving cultural values to foster a more interconnected, tolerant, and harmonious global community.

In essence, the lessons from the article revolve around the themes of peace, technological impact, cultural evolution, activism, and the delicate balance between freedom and stability in the contemporary world.

SAPIENS

- The above is a NEWS company domiciled in Canada and a Startup.
- It analyzes legends, historical news and facts and current news and facts.
- Sapiens does not originate any news or facts.
- It scrapes all its information from public domain like libraries and cloud archives.
- Currently, Sapiens does not sell its analytics.
- LEGTEK GROUP is a partner in Uganda.
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Thank you.

“MWENDA IS IMMORAL-RWABWOGO”

In 2006 at the height of his unguarded criticism of M7 in 2006, Mwenda published an article showing how the first family was fleecing the country.

In a furious response, Odrek Rwabwogo, Museveni's son in law, exposed Mwenda as a hypocrite who was criticising M7 during the day yet he was seeking favours from the same man at night.

VERBATIM:

3rd September 2006



My attention has been drawn to an article you (**Andrew Mwenda**) wrote in Sunday Monitor of **August 20, 2006** under the headline: Isn't the First Family fleecing us? The article reminded me about your paper's faulty foundation, its narrow minded leadership and lopsided purpose for existence which in turn has led to your apparent negative contribution to the ethics of journalism in Uganda. This is a sad tale of the debasing of our media's professional standards.

In 1993, in my last undergraduate year at the university, I was called for an interview for the position of Administrative Officer at Uganda Think Tank Foundation, where I was an intern. This Foundation was led by Elly Karuhanga, Augustine Ruzindana, John Ndyabagye and your former editor, Wafula Ongutu. I was later told by Karuhanga I had won but Ongutu who had been a panelist had told his colleagues that he would not have another Munyankole in the organisation. He preferred a fellow Easterner who had come second in the interview. I have been told that in politics, that might probably be a clever way of doing things but for me, I knew then that you could not have a head of a newspaper that claims high moral

ground on profession and ethics, run by such a person who puts tribe before merit. I knew it would end up where exactly your paper is today: a forum for partisan politics that promotes politicians cloaked in the garb of reporters and editors who under-serve and violate the profession of journalism.



Something with a cracked foundation normally does not last. One writer said, “**Fame is a vapour, popularity an accident, riches take wings; Only one thing endures and that is character.**” This is so in regard to an organisation. If your foundation is shaped by narrow minded politicians, you cannot be an objective newspaper.

This is the unadmitted quiet crisis of character your paper is undergoing. It is the reason you rejoice and thump your chests whenever the nation of your principal market, Uganda, has a problem either with itself like we have had with a war in the north, or skirmishes with our neighbours at the end of the 1990s. Many times you act as if you are heartless, not knowing that when all chips are down, Uganda is where all of you belong like a monkey laughing at a burning forest. You don’t seem to appreciate that even if you have a problem with President Museveni, governments come and go but a nation remains.

What I find flabbergasting is that in doing all this, you put on a facade of patriotism like the last national conference your paper organised, to show that you care about Uganda. In truth, you are trying to soothe your guilty conscience by making public relations stances. I also find your paper mischievous and devoid of value. One of your colleagues approached our firm at the end of 2005, asking for advertising and public relations representation with government.

He told me he had gotten approval to approach us, from your top management. Your leadership has not the slightest remorse that your paper has been at the fore front of fighting our firm simply because me as an individual, in a firm of 20 people, has a relationship with President Museveni. He didn’t care that what your paper had done affected many families of our employees and directors who have nothing to do with President Museveni.

I guess he came to us not out of respect but wanted to use us for influence peddling, something that I see your paper claiming to abhor. I guess you have the proverbial nine lives of a cat. It just shows that even the government you fight during the day, you make overtures for attention and benefit in the night. That behaviour is immoral.

In 2000, I met with you and Onyango-Obbo at Speke Hotel. I tried to raise these ethical and value judgment issues that bedevil your organisation. You told me: “Mr. Onyango-Obbo

does not regard you highly.” I did not understand that remark then but as I later found out, your group horned all your political tricks from Obbo and Ogutu whom you all regard as role models. I was surprised at how unprofessional you were but I believed then that it was a matter of age, you would outgrow that phase. I was worried at the manner in which you were putting your faith in people whose cause is nothing other than political advocacy dressed in a journalism jacket.

Six years later today, I see that you have learned nothing and forgotten nothing like the Bourbons in France who ruled the country before the French Revolution and sought power 40 years later to rule in a similar fashion. Instead you have thrown all caution to the wind and fully joined a group that is debasing journalism and reducing the role of media to political activism. I see you have even shifted the centre of your political advocacy from the institution of government to individuals you perceive to be associated with anyone in government. The name for that kind of work is political witch hunt and not journalism.



Ten years of **Ogutu and Obbo** tutoring have produced a rabid and reckless politician, not a professional journalist that I thought you wanted to be. That, unfortunately, is the sad tale of many of the kids like you who feed us with garbage everyday on airwaves and in print and expect the nation to sit and listen. The name for that is crying-for-attention and not reporting. As you would expect, that is so straining for people who have other things to do and they just shut off the radios. I hear you once in a while on air in a shouting match with everybody, copying the style of show hosts on some international media right from the naming of your programme to how it is structured and I wonder what happened to originality and creativity in our media houses. What makes you think that Ugandans really enjoy this arrogance born of a sense of some complex that you need to be heard? You have a highly inflated sense of self exaltation. I guess that is the reason you are a presenter, debater, judge and everything else on your talk show.

Someone needs to tell you that there is a different and better way things are done. It is the small things that are done by private citizens, who you lampoon with government and whose businesses your reportage seeks to kill, that build a nation, not the daily noise that pollutes air on radio.

Media houses like other businesses I suppose are founded on strong ethical and professional tenets for them to create an impact and establish respect from their clients. This is not to say that good journalism is about avoiding political analysis. Good journalism, in my opinion, is about respecting the principle of balance and fairness for what you do as reporters and editors has a deep impact on people's lives and relationships. Since in Africa people seem to eat and live politics, those of you who have an opportunity to analyse politics, need to be impartial and not divisive and anarchical, like the politicians you criticise.

Good journalism is about separating your opinions and perceptions from the facts of a story or a feature so you let your readers decide based on the information you have given them. Many times I have seen you and your colleagues allusions and inferences which are highly opinionated and meant to drive your readership to a certain conclusion, placed in the middle of stories with no explanation. I have also seen stories regurgitated many times just because they are associated with some of your major advertisers and political sponsors. I have seen stories that seek to kill or curtail growth of certain businesses whose leaders you perceive as associated with government and you have no single comment from those businesses or their leaders.

I have also personally walked into your editors offices to clarify stories run without my comment and all you do is pick those comments that you judge important from your political stand point and re-write the previous day's negative story as a backgrounder. What is shameful is that all this is presented as an independent and truth everyday to your readers. What is the difference between your paper and politicians who shoot their mouth off about other people just to catch attention?



What is the difference between you, for example, and Betty Kamya who goes on air and says I introduced the television tax, when she clearly should know as an MP that a private citizen like me does not raise motions in Parliament? If a paper is not in business to build a strong foundation for professionalism and ethical judgment of stories they run, they are gutter press and should be seen as nothing more than that.

In your article you claim that my shamba boy and my cook are all paid by the state and my wife drives a sh400m Mercedes Benz from government. I know you had your usual emotional overruns because if you had cross-checked this information with anyone you would never have printed it. You even had no courtesy of calling me since you knew that this kind of story hurts my family. My wife drives a car which we got on hire purchase from Cooper Motors and have been paying from my salary since July 2004. I pay my cook too.

Mr. Mwenda, you need some sense of humility and to give people some respect if you want to be respected in life. We work in the same country like you and we wake up everyday to make our homes and nation better. We don't deserve this kind of biased press. Other than emotional imposition of yourself in the stories and features you run and your attempt to project yourself as knowledgeable on family matters of private citizens who you know nothing about, I can not see the basis for your wild, unprovoked and hateful allegations. You claim your effort to make these allegations up is not driven by hatred. These allegations are meant to cast my family and my colleagues in negative light as people who live off the sweat of other citizens and do nothing for a living. Did you know that hatred manifests itself in one's sub-conscious and they get entangled in it until it consumes them?

If this is the contribution of you and your paper to professional growth of the media industry, I ask you to trade professions. You should campaign for a political office. You cannot continue to use your position in a forum that many private citizens don't have, to tarnish the image of innocent people. On several occasions I have called you and your colleagues to participate as trainers on some of the communication projects we do. Do you pretend that you do not know what I do for a living? Would you really think I need the state to pay my cook? One of your colleagues,

...You have therefore perfected the art of spewing venom and you see nothing good in your country and you think this is the way all of us should see our world.

Whenever I hear all of you on radio advising the country and businesses on growth and development when I know the limited capacity and experience of many of you to stand for something, I weep for our industry.

I pray that the school you are going to will help you grow professionally.

I also pray that our nation gets a better media industry and a group of professional media practitioners, who exercise restraint, are sensitive to the feelings of private citizens, report the truth and are fair and balanced. We cannot continue to have a press that is either for or against government. There is a higher role the media needs to play in helping Africa transit from poverty to self sustenance.

God has been good to our nation. He will turn what you intended for bad into something good. May He give you a sense of maturity. -

Multiple Choice Questions:

1. What is the main subject of the article?

- A) Media ethics in Uganda
- B) Political activism in journalism
- C) Allegations against Andrew Mwenda
- D) Professional growth of the media industry

2. According to Rwabwogo, what was the date of the article written by Andrew Mwenda?

- A) August 20, 2006
- B) September 3, 2006
- C) September 16, 2006
- D) October 3, 2006

3. Why does Rwabwogo criticize the foundation of Mwenda's newspaper?

- A) Lack of political analysis
- B) Faulty foundation and narrow-minded leadership
- C) Inability to separate opinions from facts
- D) Promotion of political activism

4. According to Rwabwogo, what does he consider to be the enduring factor in an organization?

- A) Fame
- B) Popularity
- C) Riches
- D) Character

5. How does Rwabwogo describe Mwenda's paper in relation to patriotism?

- A) Genuine patriotism
- B) Facade of patriotism
- C) Absence of patriotism
- D) Critical patriotism

6. In what year did Rwabwogo have a meeting with Mwenda and Onyango-Obbo at Speke Hotel?

- A) 1993
- B) 2000
- C) 2006
- D) 2010

7. According to Rwabwogo, what has the mentoring by Oguttu and Obbo produced in Mwenda?

- A) Professional journalist
- B) Reckless politician
- C) Ethical reporter
- D) Unbiased commentator

8. What does Rwabwogo accuse Mwenda of regarding his relationship with President Museveni?

- A) Open criticism
- B) Influence peddling
- C) Immorality
- D) Political witch hunt

9. What does Rwabwogo claim Mwenda said about him without verification?

- A) State-funded employees
- B) Luxury car from the government
- C) Personal financial struggles
- D) Alleged unethical practices

10. According to Rwabwogo, what does he see as the basis for Mwenda's allegations?

- A) Professional growth
- B) Personal vendetta
- C) Political motivation
- D) Hatred

11. What does Rwabwogo pray for regarding the media industry in Uganda?

- A) Continued polarization
- B) Professional growth
- C) Government intervention
- D) Political alignment

12. According to Rwabwogo, what role does he think the media should play in Africa?

- A) Advocate for government
- B) Maintain political neutrality
- C) Promote self-sustenance
- D) Encourage poverty

13. What does Rwabwogo accuse Mwenda of in relation to private citizens?

- A) Sensitive reporting
- B) Emotional imposition
- C) Fair and balanced coverage
- D) Objective journalism

14. How does Rwabwogo characterize Mwenda's contribution to the media industry?

- A) Positive growth
- B) Professional development
- C) Political advocacy
- D) Restraint and balance

15. What is the overall tone of Rwabwogo's response to Mwenda's article?

- A) Supportive
- B) Neutral
- C) Confrontational
- D) Indifferent

BIGGER QUESTIONS

1. Describe the main allegations made by Odrek Rwabwogo against Andrew Mwenda in response to Mwenda's article criticizing the first family.

Answer: Odrek Rwabwogo accuses Andrew Mwenda of hypocrisy, asserting that while Mwenda publicly criticized President Museveni and his family in his article, he was allegedly seeking favors from the same individuals in private. Rwabwogo claims that Mwenda's actions demonstrate a lack of morality, accusing him of making overtures for attention and benefits from the government he critiques during the day.

2. Explain the significance of the alleged incident involving Wafula Oguttu and its impact on Rwabwogo's perception of Mwenda's newspaper.

Answer: Rwabwogo recounts an incident from 1993 where Wafula Oguttu, then a panelist in an interview for an administrative position, allegedly expressed a preference for a candidate from his own region over Rwabwogo. This incident shaped Rwabwogo's perception of Mwenda's newspaper, as he believes it exposed a foundation of tribal favoritism, contributing to what he sees as the paper's current lack of objectivity and professionalism.

3. In what ways does Rwabwogo criticize Mwenda's newspaper for its alleged lack of objectivity and balance in political reporting?

Answer: Rwabwogo criticizes Mwenda's newspaper for being a forum for partisan politics, promoting politicians disguised as reporters and editors. He argues that the paper lacks objectivity, engages in political activism, and often fails to separate opinions from facts in its reporting. Additionally, Rwabwogo accuses the newspaper of conducting political witch hunts rather than engaging in true journalism.

4. How does Rwabwogo characterize Mwenda's patriotism and the actions of the newspaper in relation to the nation of Uganda?

Answer: According to Rwabwogo, Mwenda portrays a facade of patriotism. He alleges that Mwenda, despite claiming to care about Uganda, rejoices when the nation faces problems and accuses him of being heartless. Rwabwogo suggests that Mwenda and his newspaper fail to appreciate the importance of national unity and the enduring nature of a nation, even if governments change.

5. Explain the nature of the allegations made by Rwabwogo regarding Mwenda's purported approach to advertising and public relations representation.

Answer: Rwabwogo claims that a colleague of Mwenda approached his firm at the end of 2005, seeking advertising and public relations representation with the government.

According to Rwabwogo, this individual had received approval from the top management of Mwenda's newspaper. Rwabwogo interprets this as an attempt to use his firm for influence peddling, suggesting hypocrisy on the part of Mwenda and his newspaper, which claims to abhor such practices.

6. Elaborate on Rwabwogo's criticism of Mwenda's alleged lack of professionalism and political advocacy in journalism.

Answer: Rwabwogo asserts that Mwenda, influenced by Oguttu and Obbo, has become a reckless politician rather than a professional journalist. He criticizes Mwenda for joining a group that debases journalism and reduces the role of media to political activism.

Rwabwogo argues that Mwenda has shifted his political advocacy from government institutions to individuals associated with the government, labeling it as political witch hunt rather than journalism.

7. Discuss Rwabwogo's perspective on the role of journalism in building a nation, as outlined in his response to Mwenda's article.

Answer: According to Rwabwogo, good journalism is about respecting the principles of balance and fairness. He argues that media houses, including Mwenda's newspaper, should focus on strong ethical and professional tenets to create a positive impact and gain respect from their audience. Rwabwogo emphasizes the need for impartiality, separation of opinions from facts, and responsible reporting to contribute to the growth of the nation.

8. Analyze Rwabwogo's prayer for professional growth and a better media industry in Uganda.

Answer: Rwabwogo expresses a desire for the professional growth of the media industry in Uganda. He prays for a media industry characterized by restraint, sensitivity to private citizens' feelings, truthfulness, and fairness. Rwabwogo emphasizes the importance of a media industry that transcends mere alignment with or opposition to the government, highlighting the potential role of the media in helping Africa transition from poverty to self-sustenance.

9. Evaluate Rwabwogo's response to the specific allegations made by Mwenda regarding his personal life, such as the ownership of a Mercedes Benz and state-funded employees.

Answer: Rwabwogo vehemently denies Mwenda's allegations, providing a detailed explanation of his personal life. He refutes claims about his wife driving a government-funded car, clarifying that they acquired it through hire purchase and have been paying for it since 2004. Rwabwogo expresses dissatisfaction with Mwenda's failure to verify such personal details before making public accusations and emphasizes the emotional impact such allegations have on his family.

10. Discuss Rwabwogo's criticism of Mwenda's reporting practices, particularly in relation to stories about businesses associated with the government.

Answer: Rwabwogo accuses Mwenda's newspaper of running stories without seeking comments from businesses or their leaders, especially those perceived to be associated with the government. He claims that the newspaper selectively picks comments that align with its political standpoint, presenting biased stories as independent and truthful reporting. Rwabwogo argues that this approach tarnishes the image of innocent people and questions the newspaper's commitment to ethical journalism.

11. Examine Rwabwogo's perspective on the impact of media on individuals and businesses, as outlined in his response to Mwenda.

Answer: Rwabwogo criticizes Mwenda's newspaper for what he perceives as damaging reporting that negatively affects individuals and businesses. He argues that media should focus on the small things done by private citizens to build a nation rather than engaging in daily noise that pollutes the airwaves. Rwabwogo emphasizes the importance of media houses upholding ethical and professional standards to establish respect from their clients and contribute positively to society.

12. Evaluate Rwabwogo's critique of Mwenda's alleged lack of humility and respect in his reporting.

Answer: Rwabwogo accuses Mwenda of lacking humility and respect in his reporting, particularly in making allegations without verifying facts and considering the impact on individuals and their families. He argues that Mwenda needs to show more respect for private citizens and exercise restraint, highlighting the emotional imposition caused by the newspaper's coverage. Rwabwogo suggests that Mwenda's alleged biased press contributes to a negative perception of innocent people living off the sweat of others.

13. Examine Rwabwogo's call for a different approach to journalism and media practices in Uganda.

Answer: Rwabwogo calls for a transformation in the media industry, advocating for professional media practitioners who exercise restraint, report the truth, and maintain fairness and balance. He expresses dissatisfaction with media houses aligned either for or against the government, emphasizing the need for a higher role for the media in helping Africa transition from poverty to self-sustenance. Rwabwogo prays for a better media industry that contributes positively to the nation's development.

14. Analyze Rwabwogo's perception of Mwenda's alleged role in spewing venom and negativity in the media.

Answer: Rwabwogo criticizes Mwenda for what he perceives as spewing venom and negativity in the media. He accuses Mwenda of seeing nothing good in the country and suggests that Mwenda's approach of advising the nation on growth and development lacks the necessary capacity and experience. Rwabwogo expresses concern for the media industry, highlighting the need for media practitioners to focus on positive contributions and refrain from contributing to a negative atmosphere.

15. Discuss Rwabwogo's perspective on the potential impact of Mwenda's alleged arrogance and lack of originality in media practices.

Answer: Rwabwogo criticizes Mwenda for alleged arrogance, lack of originality, and copying international media styles. He questions Mwenda's assumption that Ugandans enjoy this style, suggesting that it is straining for those with other responsibilities who may tune out. Rwabwogo emphasizes the importance of different and better approaches to media practices, highlighting the need for originality and creativity in Uganda's media houses.

16. Evaluate Rwabwogo's concluding remarks and his expression of hope for positive change in the media industry.

Answer: In his concluding remarks, Rwabwogo expresses hope for positive change in the media industry and a better future for Uganda's journalism. He prays for professional growth, emphasizing the role of media in nation-building and the need for practitioners who are sensitive, truthful, and fair. Rwabwogo acknowledges the potential for the media to contribute to a stronger foundation for professionalism and ethical judgment, expressing confidence that God will turn negative intentions into something good.

HARD WORDS

1. Hypocrisy

Definition: The practice of claiming to have moral standards or beliefs to which one's own behavior does not conform.

Context: In his response to Mwenda's article, Rwabwogo accuses him of hypocrisy, asserting that Mwenda criticizes the government during the day while seeking favors at night.

2. Debasing

Definition: Reducing something in quality or value; corrupting.

Context: Rwabwogo describes the alleged influence of Oguttu and Obbo on Mwenda, suggesting that their mentoring has led to the debasing of journalism.

3. Flabbergasting

Definition: Extremely surprising or shocking.

Context: Rwabwogo expresses his flabbergastment at Mwenda's actions, finding it astonishing that Mwenda can criticize the government publicly while seeking benefits from it in private.

4. Garb

Definition: Clothing or dress, especially of a distinctive or special kind.

Context: Rwabwogo accuses Mwenda's newspaper of promoting politicians cloaked in the garb of reporters, suggesting that they are not truly objective journalists.

5. Munyankole

Definition: A member of the Munyankole ethnic group, an ethnic group in Uganda.

Context: In 1993, Rwabwogo claims he lost a job opportunity because Oguttu preferred a fellow Easterner over a Munyankole candidate like himself.

6. Vapour

Definition: A substance in the form of a gas or fine mist, often diffused or suspended in the air.

Context: Rwabwogo quotes a writer who said, "Fame is a vapour," suggesting the transient nature of fame compared to enduring qualities.

7. Exaltation

Definition: The action of raising someone or something in status or power.

Context: Rwabwogo accuses Mwenda of having a highly inflated sense of self-exaltation, suggesting that Mwenda sees himself in multiple roles on his talk show.

8. Peddling

Definition: The act of selling or dealing in something, typically illegal or of dubious quality.

Context: Rwabwogo accuses Mwenda's colleague of seeking advertising and public relations representation with the government for influence peddling.

9. Regurgitated

Definition: Repeating or rehashing without adding anything new or original.

Context: Rwabwogo claims to have seen stories regurgitated by Mwenda's newspaper, particularly those associated with major advertisers and political sponsors.

10. Manifests

Definition: To display or show (a quality or feeling) by one's acts or appearance; to demonstrate.

Context: Rwabwogo suggests that hatred manifests itself in one's subconscious, entangling them until it consumes them.

11. Vendetta

Definition: A prolonged bitter quarrel with or campaign against someone.

Context: Rwabwogo questions the basis for Mwenda's wild, unprovoked, and hateful allegations, suggesting that they may be driven by a personal vendetta.

12. Gutter Press

Definition: Journalism that is characterized by sensationalism and lurid content, often considered to be of a low moral or ethical standard.

Context: Rwabwogo implies that if a paper is not in business to build a strong foundation for professionalism and ethical judgment, it is merely gutter press.

13. Vehemently

Definition: In a forceful, passionate, or intense manner.

Context: Rwabwogo vehemently denies Mwenda's allegations about his personal life, expressing strong opposition to the accusations.

14. Polarization

Definition: The division of a group into opposing factions or opinions.

Context: Rwabwogo expresses dissatisfaction with media houses being either for or against the government, emphasizing the need for a more balanced and impartial media.

15. Confrontational

Definition: Tending to deal with situations in an aggressive, hostile, or argumentative manner.

Context: Rwabwogo's response to Mwenda's article is confrontational, with strong criticisms and accusations against Mwenda's actions and the newspaper's practices.

16. Transit

Definition: The act or process of changing from one state or condition to another.

Context: Rwabwogo emphasizes the role of the media in helping Africa transit from poverty to self-sustenance, suggesting a positive change in the continent's economic and social conditions.

LESSONS LEARNT

1. Media Ethics and Professionalism:

The importance of upholding ethical standards and professionalism in journalism is evident. Rwabwogo criticizes Mwenda's newspaper for alleged bias, lack of objectivity, and engaging in practices that undermine the principles of good journalism.

2. Avoiding Hypocrisy:

The article highlights the negative consequences of hypocrisy, particularly in the media. Rwabwogo accuses Mwenda of hypocrisy for publicly criticizing the government while allegedly seeking favors from the same government in private.

3. Objectivity in Reporting:

Rwabwogo emphasizes the need for media to be objective and balanced in reporting. Accusations of political witch hunts and biased reporting suggest the importance of separating personal opinions from factual reporting.

4. Transparency and Verification:

The article underscores the importance of transparency and verification in journalism. Rwabwogo challenges Mwenda for not verifying information before making serious allegations, emphasizing the potential harm caused by inaccurate reporting.

5. Impact on Individuals and Families:

The article highlights the personal and emotional impact of media coverage on individuals and their families. Rwabwogo expresses frustration with Mwenda's alleged lack of consideration for the emotional well-being of private citizens targeted in the reporting.

6. Nation-Building and Patriotism:

Rwabwogo calls for a media industry that contributes positively to nation-building. He criticizes Mwenda for allegedly lacking genuine patriotism and suggests that media should play a role in fostering national unity and development.

7. Originality and Creativity:

The article suggests the importance of originality and creativity in media practices. Rwabwogo criticizes Mwenda for allegedly copying international media styles and emphasizes the need for a different and better approach in Uganda's media houses.

8. Respect and Humility:

Rwabwogo underscores the importance of respect and humility in journalism. He accuses Mwenda of lacking humility and respect in reporting, particularly when making serious allegations without verifying facts.

9. Role of Media in Nation-Building:

Rwabwogo advocates for a higher role for the media in helping Africa transition from poverty to self-sustenance. The article suggests that media should focus on positive contributions, separating itself from mere alignment with or opposition to the government.

10. Consequences of Negative Reporting:

The article demonstrates the potential consequences of negative and sensational reporting. Rwabwogo expresses concern about media practices that focus on spewing venom, negativity, and lacking appreciation for positive aspects within the country.

In essence, the article emphasizes the need for responsible journalism, adherence to ethical standards, and the positive role that media can play in the development and unity of a nation. It serves as a reminder of the impact media practices can have on individuals, families, and the overall fabric of society.

SAPIENS

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- It scrapes all its information from public domain like libraries and cloud archives.
- Currently, Sapiens does not sell its analytics.
- LEGTEK GROUP is a partner in Uganda.
- Currently, Sapiens operates in 32 Countries across the Globe.

Thank you.

UGANDA's MILITARY DEBACLE IN DRC 1999

July 14, 2014

Written by *Observer Media Ltd*

In Part IX of these series, we bring you a speech that President Museveni delivered on August 30, 1999 to Members of Parliament.

In the speech, Museveni explains the role that the UPDF played in the Democratic Republic of Congo. The speech, to be run in two parts, is particularly insightful in light of the ongoing UPDF presence in South Sudan: -

August 30, 1999



Honourable Members of Parliament will recall that in a document that I issued in August 1998 at the Heads of State Summit at Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe, I outlined the background to the situation in the Great Lakes region. I focused on the situation in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and the involvement of Uganda and Rwanda. Copies of that statement were distributed to all of you.

You have also seen my statement on the recent incidents in Kisangani in which the Ugandan and Rwandan troops were involved in some clashes. *The statement was published in The New Vision newspaper of 24th August, 1999.*

Uganda's involvement in the DRC could be traced to the decision that was taken by the Army High Command, which held a meeting on 11th September, 1998, and approved

Uganda's involvement in the DRC. Later on, the Army Council also approved this position. Within the army, the following were the reasons why we thought we should be in the DRC at that time:

- I. To maintain forces in the DRC in order to secure Uganda's security interests by denying the Sudanese government an opportunity to destabilise Uganda through eastern Congo;
- II. To deny habitation to Uganda's dissidents, such as the ADF in the Congo.
- III. To ensure that the political and administrative instability arising from rebel and government clashes in eastern Congo did not destabilise Uganda.
- IV. To demobilise elements of the Interahamwe, the former Rwandan army, and prevent them from terrorising Uganda and Rwanda.
- V. To protect Uganda's territorial integrity from invasion by Kabila forces.

Soon after the meeting of the Army High Command, I addressed Parliament on the developments in the DRC on September 16, 1998. And on September 20, I held a lengthy meeting with the Parliamentary committee on defence and Internal Affairs on the same issue.



Economic ties

Some people argue that Uganda should be indifferent to the troubles of our region. They think that it is a policy because they argue that involving ourselves in the affairs of our neighbours will cause us problems. It is important, however, to appreciate that Uganda's sustained economic growth cannot be ensured in the absence of stability within its major trading partners, of which the DRC, with a population of over 40 million people, constitutes a big part.

If you are to analyse the pattern of our exports, you will find that, apart from coffee, tea, cotton and tobacco, most of our exports go to our neighbours. Therefore, those who argue

that we should be indifferent to what is happening in our neighbourhood are not helping Uganda and, of course, are not helping our other African brothers.

Needless to point out that Uganda would not have easily come out of the nightmare of Amin's reign had it not been for the solidarity from our brothers in Tanzania.

Initially, the Uganda People's Defence Forces (UPDF) went to Beni, Bunya, Watsa and Isiro in the eastern part of the DRC, not far from the Uganda border. The Rwanda Patriotic Army (RPA) were based in Bukavu, Goma and in the area towards Katanga, the south-west of the DRC.

The RPA had, on account of being over-stretched, requested that the UPDF move to Kisangani, to protect the airport there which they had captured earlier. It's important to protect those airports to prevent Sudan from flying their soldiers and Ugandan dissidents to Congo in order to establish bases from which to launch attacks on Uganda and Rwanda.



After moving to Kisangani, the UPDF advanced through Banalia - this is a river some 100 miles north of Kisangani – up to Buta. They fought and defeated the Chadians 75 miles beyond Buta at a place called Dulia. Subsequent attacks on the UPDF by Angolan and Kabila forces, after the Franco- African summit which was held in Paris in November 1998, were repulsed at Bbumba.

Thereafter, the UPDF advanced and captured a town called Lisala. The Chadians again attacked us at Akula but were again defeated. Thereafter, a Sudanese brigade of 2,000 soldiers launched a separate attack to recapture Lisala, but they were also defeated. These fights took place in February 1999. At that point, Chad began overtures for peace and a special envoy from the Chadian government was sent to meet me later that month.

Following those interactions and the eruption of internal conflicts in Chad, the Chadians withdrew their forces from the DRC, but the UPDF did not take advantage of that withdrawal to advance and take over the areas that had been abandoned by the Chadians.

The UPDF's intention in the DRC was not to control territory for the sake of controlling territory, but to ensure the security of our borders and force a political settlement over the Congo question. Nevertheless, President Kabila later organised what he called a 'Hutu brigade', which was assisted by elements of the Angolan army, to attack UPI positions to the north-west of Lisala.

This forced the UPDF to advance around May 1999 and capture Businga. This is a road junction going to Gbadolite and the Central African Republic (CAR). This was in order to prevent more attacks from Kabila and his supporters. This forward movement in May and early June expelled about 8,000 soldiers of Kabila army, the Hutu brigade and the Angolans. They fled to the CAR and Congo Brazzaville.

Therefore, we liberated Gbadolite, Businga and other towns in the area. Right now our forces are on the border with the CAR and Congo Brazzaville. At that point, it became apparent that the war was wearing on Kabila's allies and that they were becoming more receptive to the peace initiatives that were being spearheaded by Zambia's President Frederick Chiluba.



Peace initiatives in Lusaka

Here at home, I set up a committee chaired by the National Political Commissar, Hon James Wapakhabulo, to prepare a document for peace negotiations to be held in Lusaka. The document that was prepared by that committee was essentially the one that was finally adopted at the Lusaka conference. The key elements of the Lusaka document that formed the basis of the Lusaka treaty are:

The acceptance that the belligerents themselves would become the peace enforcers. This was a very big issue because, at the beginning, Zimbabwe and Angola were saying that there were two types of foreigners in the DRC: the invited and the uninvited i.e. those who had been invited by Kabila and those who had not. They were saying that the uninvited foreigners must go back and leave there the invited ones. After many months of arguing and fighting, it was agreed in Lusaka – without debate – that the belligerents i.e Uganda, Rwanda, Zimbabwe, Angola, Namibia, Kabila's army and the rebels should now become the peacekeepers. This idea originally came from President Thabo Mbeki – it was like Saul becoming Paul. This obviated the need to bring in UN peacekeepers whom, you will recall, were in Rwanda when the genocide took place in that country in 1994. The UN was in Rwanda under Chapter 6 of the United Nations Charter. This is the provision to keep the peace when people are no longer quarrelling and to allow you in - if they quarrel, you go away that is why there was a problem in Rwanda. In Kosovo, the peacekeepers went there under Chapter 7, which means that the peacekeepers are ready to shoot anyone who is stopping them from keeping the peace. So, we asked the UN, "Why do you only use Chapter 6 when it comes to Africa and you use Chapter 7 in Europe?" We are no longer called belligerents but 'parties to the agreement' and we are all, including Kabila, duty bound to hunt all the Interahamwe and the ADF.

Another provision concerns the disarming of non-state combatants, such as the ADF and Interahamwe and, importantly for Congo; it also requires Kabila to have a national dialogue in DRC under a neutral chairmanship. The Congolese will now have a forum under which they can discuss the future of their country.

Another provision is that no country involved in the DRC should ever afterwards allow destabilisation by opponents of the other from its territory.

As far as Congo were concerned, right from the beginning, our Rwandese brothers, without consulting us, spearheaded the formation of a political committee, headed initially by Professor Zahidi Ngoma. Later on, we were told by the Rwandese that Ngoma had been replaced by Professor Wamba dia Wamba. All these meetings were taking place in Kigali and Goma and we gave our unconditional support. However, as our army continued to stay in Congo, we noted that the rebels were not mobilising the people, they were not administering the liberated zones; they were not providing social services; and they were not repairing the infrastructure, such as roads, and yet they were collecting taxes.

We talked to the rebels about launching Goma programmes. We asked them to grade just one road - the Kisangani-Bafasende-Bunya [road] which comes up close to Lake Albert. This road would have enabled our army to travel by road instead of flying but it has never been worked upon.

Splits in the Congolese Liberation Movement

A few months after the rebellion in Congo started, Jean-Pierre Bemba, a rich businessman, son of one Bemba who was a close associate of Mobutu, also came on the scene. He expressed an interest in participating in the struggle to liberate his country.

I advised him not to form a separate organisation, but to join the Rally for Congolese Democracy (RCD), the committee that had been formed by the Rwandese in Goma. Bemba refused this advice on the grounds that the RCD was dominated by Rwanda, who seemed to be anti-Congolese. I still encouraged him to go to Kigali and see the Rwandese. He went to Kigali and talked to the leaders there but came back adamant that he would not join the RCD.



Such problems are always common in liberation movements. When we were being supported by Tanzania, initially in 1971, Mwalimu Nyerere wanted us to work under Obote because he was well-known in Africa and we were not. I could not agree to work under Obote because I knew what that would mean internally in Uganda.

I knew that if people had heard that I was working under Obote, they would have opposed me. At one time I even told Mzee Nyerere that if he could not support us separately, I would go away and continue with studies and do something else. It was in September 1971 when Mwalimu Nyerere agreed to give us separate support.

He continued giving the main support to Obote but he gave us some little support which we used very effectively – that is the reason we are here and Obote is not. Therefore, these are not new problems to us. They are problems that I had either faced myself in the past or seen other people face. During our own time in government, there was the African National Congress of Nelson Mandela, and now Thabo Mbeki, and there was the smaller Pan-African Congress.

They asked for support and I said that since they were all against apartheid, I would support both groups. The ANC brought their fighters to Kaweweta in Ngoma, in Luweero, and the PAC took theirs to Kabamba. I was able to tell, later that the PAC did not have much of an internal network because they brought only 49 fighters while the ANC brought 4,000, but we trained all of them.

The Banyankore say: oyorora zonna tomanya erahiigye – meaning that you feed all puppies because when they are young you cannot tell which one will become the best hunter. When Bemba refused to join the group in Goma, and since the group in Goma was not doing anything, I agreed to his request to move to some of the areas controlled by the UPDF in the DRC where he could, at least, operate as a political commissar to our army.

This would help create a link between our army and the population since he had not yet decided whether to join the RCD or leave the struggle altogether.

Three ships

When Bemba went to the UPDF areas, he was indeed quite successful in creating links with the population, as well as winning their support for the struggle. As a result, the UPDF was able to obtain three ships which it used to move heavy equipment along the River Congo.

When we first arrived in Kisangani there were no ships because the people had hidden them.



There was only a small ship of 26 tonnes and you couldn't do anything with 26 tonnes because a tank weighs 40 tonnes. The three ships Bemba obtained were each able to carry

500 tonnes. It was, therefore, clear that the population had not initially been mobilised. When he started working, we told him simply to work for the anti-Kabila line, without decampaigning the other groups.

We wanted him to explain to the population why we were fighting Kabila and he did it. However, when he realised that he had a lot of support in the population, he formed his own organisation Congolese Liberation Movement (MLC). We however, insisted that he should eventually join the RCD or create some linkage with the RCD and they kept corresponding for a while.

However, the real problem with Bemba came when the South Africans on one occasion circulated a peace proposal document and mentioned the MLC as a separate organisation. The moment Bemba saw his group's name as a separate organisation in Lusaka, he would not listen to my proposal of him joining the RCD – he became even more adamant.

I do not think that for the present, this is such a big problem; but it could become one in the future because these groups could fight one another. For the moment, however, when the main interest is to weaken Kabila, the more the participation there is in the struggle, the better. Meanwhile, Prof Wamba dia Wamba had also come to see me complaining that in Goma he had been unable to mobilise the population.

The forces in Goma were not interested in mobilising the population and that he was like a prisoner, he complained. He said that there were some Mbutuists in the RCD and they did not want the population to be mobilised. They had told him that capturing power in Kinshasa was more important than mobilising the people.

Wamba also told me that it seemed that the Rwandese, too, were not in for mobilisation. I, therefore, advised Prof Wamba dia Wamba to move to Kisangani instead, where the UPDF were, to assist in the mobilisation of the population. He agreed and I gave him some little money. When he moved to Kisangani, Prof Wamba was indeed able to mobilise the population through addressing public rallies and giving sensitisation talks to the universities.

He started doing some military training himself and it became clear that the Congolese people could actually be turned into fighters. There had been talk that the Congolese could not fight - similar to the kind of talk that used to be here about some tribes being 'warlike' while others could not fight. I have never accepted that line because anybody can fight if they are angry enough.

I was, therefore, very much encouraged by these developments. However, the move by Wamba from Goma to Kisangani was considered by some of his colleagues in the RCD as a

'desertion' and they insisted that he should return to Goma - he had deserted the liberated zone of Goma and defected to the bad zone of Kisangani.

Joint mediation

Having realised that a rift had occurred in the RCD membership, there were joint mediation efforts involving Rwanda and ourselves with a view to resolving the crisis. We agreed to constitute a joint delegation to Goma to supervise a reconciliation meeting between Prof Wamba and the other members of the RCD. When the reconciliation team went to Goma, they did not do much work because the Hunga-Karaha faction did not give the mediation team a chance.

Instead of working towards a reconciliation of the two groups, Rwanda worked towards having Professor Wamba removed from the leadership of the RCD. They did not prevail upon their Goma allies to behave with restraint and did not condemn the coup. That would not have been a problem provided the anti-Wamba group had done it legally under their own bush constitution.

In their bush constitution, they had an assembly of 147 people by that time, but the people who met to remove Wamba were about 20 or so founder members.

We said that it was not proper for a smaller group to veto the bigger group. Apparently, Otafire, also not agreeing with this move, worked with Mbusa Nyamwisi, a Mukonjo from Congo, who is the speaker of their bush parliament. The bush parliament upheld Wamba's leadership of the RCD.

When the reconciliation failed, Wamba returned to his base in Kisangani and another reconciliation meeting was held in Kabale in Uganda. This meeting did not produce results either. As a consequence of the developments above, by the time the Lusaka talks were held in July 1999, there were three separate rebel factions headed by Bemba, Emile Ilunga (who had been elected by the Goma group to replace Wamba) and Prof Wamba.

Although all the rebel faction leaders did not disagree with the contents of the Lusaka treaty, there was no agreement as to who among them should sign the treaty for the RCD. The document had provided for only one signature for the rebels. A proposal that all of them sign as a troika was not accepted by Ilunga; but later Bemba and Wamba accepted to sign as part of a troika.

Although Wamba has been willing to sign, he had not yet done so, because the issue of the RCD leadership has not been resolved. All the six heads of state of the countries involved in the DRC signed the Lusaka treaty.

The Lusaka meeting subsequently agreed to constitute a verification mission to be sent to the DRC, to establish the strength on the ground of both the RCD Goma and the RCD Kisangani factions, and the legality of the removal of Prof Wamba, with a view to deciding which leader should sign the Lusaka treaty.

The Committee was composed of the Zambian minister for the Presidency and the Foreign minister of South Africa. On 5th August, the Zambian minister led a delegation to the area under the control of the RCD faction in Goma without any disruption from anybody.

END

Multiple Choice Questions:

- 1. What event triggered Uganda's military involvement in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)?**
A. Heads of State Summit at Victoria Falls
B. Rwandan troop clashes in Kisangani
C. Franco-African summit in Paris
D. The Lusaka peace conference
- 2. When did the Army High Command approve Uganda's involvement in the DRC?**
A. August 1998
B. September 11, 1998
C. September 16, 1998
D. August 30, 1999
- 3. What was the primary reason for Uganda's presence in the DRC, according to Museveni's speech?**
A. Economic expansion
B. Territorial control
C. Security interests
D. Humanitarian aid
- 4. Which town did the UPDF capture to prevent attacks from Kabila and his supporters?**
A. Kisangani
B. Banalia
C. Lisala
D. Businga
- 5. What was the main purpose of President Museveni's committee chaired by Hon James Wapakhabulo?**
A. Economic analysis
B. Peace negotiations
C. Military strategy
D. Border security
- 6. What key provision in the Lusaka treaty involved disarmament in the DRC?**
A. Peace enforcers
B. National dialogue
C. Disarming non-state combatants
D. Economic ties
- 7. According to Museveni, why did Jean-Pierre Bemba refuse to join the Rally for Congolese Democracy (RCD)?**
A. Fear of Kabila
B. Dominance by Rwanda
C. Lack of resources

D. Political differences

8. What was the outcome of the reconciliation meeting in Kabale, Uganda?

A. Success

B. Failure

C. Partial agreement

D. Postponed decision

9. What did Museveni advise Prof Wamba dia Wamba to do when faced with difficulties in Goma?

A. Seek asylum

B. Move to Kisangani

C. Join the RCD

D. Abandon the struggle

10. Why did the Lusaka treaty pose a challenge for rebel factions in the DRC?

A. Disagreement over peace terms

B. Competition for leadership

C. Lack of international support

D. Presence of UN peacekeepers

11. Who mediated the reconciliation efforts between RCD factions in Goma?

A. President Museveni

B. President Thabo Mbeki

C. Otafire and Mbusa Nyamwisi

D. The Zambian minister

12. Which African leader's idea influenced the decision for belligerents to become peacekeepers in the DRC?

A. Nelson Mandela

B. Mwalimu Nyerere

C. President Thabo Mbeki

D. President Frederick Chiluba

13. Why did Jean-Pierre Bemba refuse to join the RCD initially?

A. Lack of popular support

B. RCD's anti-Congolese stance

C. Fear of Kabilia

D. Political differences with Museveni

14. What role did South Africans play in the disagreement between RCD factions?

A. Peace mediators

B. Peacekeepers

C. Advocates for Prof Wamba

D. Supporters of Kabilia

15. What did Museveni emphasize as the main interest during the conflict in the DRC?

A. Territory control

B. Weakening Kabilia

C. Mobilizing the population

D. Economic growth

16. What was the outcome of the verification mission's visit to the DRC?

A. Ilunga replaced Wamba

B. Wamba signed the Lusaka treaty

C. Kabilia retained power

D. Resolution of RCD leadership issue

BIGGER QUESTIONS

1. **Describe the background and context leading to Uganda's military involvement in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) in 1999. Discuss the key reasons outlined by President Museveni for Uganda's intervention.**

Answer: Uganda's military involvement in the DRC in 1999 stemmed from a decision taken by the Army High Command in September 1998. President Museveni outlined several reasons for this intervention, including securing Uganda's security interests by preventing destabilization through eastern Congo, denying habitation to Ugandan dissidents, ensuring stability in the face of rebel clashes in eastern Congo, demobilizing elements like the Interahamwe, and protecting Uganda's territorial integrity from Kabilia forces.

2. **Examine the economic ties mentioned in President Museveni's speech as a justification for Uganda's intervention in the DRC. How did economic factors contribute to Uganda's decision to engage in the conflict?**

Answer: Economic ties played a significant role in Uganda's decision to intervene in the DRC. Museveni highlighted that Uganda's sustained economic growth depended on stability in its major trading partners, including the DRC. By analyzing the export patterns, it was evident that a substantial portion of Uganda's exports went to neighboring countries, making stability in the region crucial for Uganda's economic well-being.

3. **Discuss the military strategies employed by the UPDF in the DRC, including their initial movements, battles fought, and the ultimate objectives.**

Answer: The UPDF initially moved to Beni, Bunya, Watsa, and Isiro before advancing to Kisangani. They fought battles at places like Banalia, Buta, Dulia, Bbumba, Lisala, and Akula, repelling attacks from various forces. The objective was not just territorial control but securing borders, preventing attacks, and forcing a political settlement over the Congo question.

4. **Explore the peace initiatives led by President Museveni, both domestically and internationally, to address the conflict in the DRC. Discuss the key elements of the Lusaka treaty and their significance.**

Answer: President Museveni initiated peace efforts both domestically and internationally. The Lusaka treaty, a result of these efforts, had key provisions like belligerents becoming peacekeepers, disarmament of non-state combatants, national dialogue in the DRC, and a commitment to prevent destabilization by opposing forces. These elements aimed to bring stability and resolve the complex issues in the DRC.

5. **Examine the challenges and dynamics within the rebel factions, particularly the case of Jean-Pierre Bemba and his decision not to join the RCD. How did these internal conflicts impact the overall course of the conflict?**

Answer: Jean-Pierre Bemba's refusal to join the RCD due to perceived Rwandan dominance created internal rifts. Museveni's advice to him to operate as a political commissar in UPDF-controlled areas intensified the dynamics. Bemba's subsequent formation of the Congolese Liberation Movement (MLC) and disagreements over leadership significantly impacted the unity of rebel factions, adding complexity to the conflict.

6. Discuss the role of external actors, particularly South Africa and their involvement in the conflict resolution process. How did their actions impact the dynamics between rebel factions and the overall peace negotiations in the DRC?

Answer: South Africa played a role in circulating a peace proposal document that mentioned the MLC as a separate organization. This led to increased adamant behavior from Jean-Pierre Bemba, impacting negotiations. Additionally, South African involvement in the reconciliation process contributed to internal dynamics within the RCD, affecting the overall trajectory of peace negotiations.

7. Evaluate the impact of economic considerations on military decisions in the DRC conflict, with specific reference to the acquisition and use of ships by the UPDF. How did these economic factors influence the strategic choices made during the conflict?

Answer: Economic considerations, such as the acquisition of ships by Jean-Pierre Bemba in UPDF-controlled areas, played a crucial role in shaping military strategies. The ability to move heavy equipment along the River Congo enhanced UPDF's capabilities. This economic factor influenced strategic choices, allowing for more effective military operations and logistics.

8. Examine the challenges faced by Professor Wamba dia Wamba in mobilizing the population and administering liberated zones. How did these challenges impact the overall effectiveness of the rebellion in the DRC?

Answer: Professor Wamba dia Wamba faced challenges in mobilizing the population in Goma, with allegations of resistance from within the RCD. The lack of administration in liberated zones, failure to provide social services, and reluctance to repair infrastructure impacted the rebellion's effectiveness. The internal dynamics within the RCD further complicated the situation.

9. Discuss the significance of the Lusaka treaty and the subsequent verification mission in resolving the leadership dispute within the RCD. How did this diplomatic effort contribute to the peace process in the DRC?

Answer: The Lusaka treaty played a crucial role in establishing a framework for peace in the DRC. The verification mission, consisting of representatives from Zambia and South Africa, aimed to assess the strength and legitimacy of RCD factions. The mission's findings would determine which leader should sign the Lusaka treaty, contributing to a resolution of the leadership dispute and advancing the overall peace process.

10. Analyze the role of President Museveni's committee in preparing a document for peace negotiations in Lusaka. What were the key elements of the document, and how did it influence the Lusaka treaty?

Answer: President Museveni's committee, chaired by Hon James Wapakhabulo, played a pivotal role in preparing a document for peace negotiations in Lusaka. The key elements included the acceptance of belligerents as peace enforcers, disarming non-state combatants, and promoting a national dialogue in the DRC. These elements significantly influenced the Lusaka treaty, providing a foundation for addressing key issues in the conflict.

11. Explore the factors that led to the split within the Congolese Liberation Movement, particularly the case of Jean-Pierre Bemba. How did his refusal to join the RCD and subsequent formation of the MLC impact the rebel dynamics in the DRC?

Answer: Jean-Pierre Bemba's refusal to join the RCD, citing Rwandan dominance, led to the formation of the MLC. This split within the Congolese Liberation Movement introduced new dynamics and complexities to the rebel factions. The impact included internal conflicts, competition for leadership, and potential future confrontations among the factions.

12. Discuss the significance of economic growth for Uganda in the absence of stability within its major trading partners, with specific reference to the DRC. How did regional stability contribute to Uganda's economic well-being?

Answer: Economic growth in Uganda was closely tied to stability in its major trading partners, including the DRC. The absence of stability in the region could jeopardize Uganda's economic interests. The DRC, with its substantial population, constituted a significant trading partner for Uganda. Regional stability was crucial for sustaining economic growth, trade relations, and overall prosperity in Uganda.

13. Evaluate the role of international actors, such as the United Nations, in the peace process in the DRC. How did the Lusaka treaty address the issue of foreign intervention, and what were the implications of belligerents becoming peace enforcers?

Answer: The United Nations' role in the peace process in the DRC was addressed through the Lusaka treaty, which emphasized that belligerents themselves would become peace enforcers. This was a significant departure from traditional UN intervention. The treaty aimed to avoid the challenges associated with distinguishing between invited and uninvited foreigners, providing a unique approach to resolving the conflict.

14. Examine the challenges faced by Prof Wamba dia Wamba in mobilizing the population and administering liberated zones. How did his move from Goma to Kisangani impact the internal dynamics of the RCD, and what was the response from his colleagues?

Answer: Prof Wamba dia Wamba faced challenges in mobilizing the population in Goma, leading to his move to Kisangani. This move was considered a 'desertion' by some RCD members, sparking internal dynamics. The response from his colleagues in Goma highlighted tensions within the RCD, reflecting differing priorities between capturing power in Kinshasa and mobilizing the population.

15. Discuss the implications of the Lusaka treaty's provision that no country involved in the DRC conflict should allow destabilization by opponents from its territory. How did this provision contribute to the prevention of further conflict and the maintenance of regional stability?

Answer: The provision in the Lusaka treaty, stating that no country should allow destabilization by opponents from its territory, aimed to prevent further conflict and maintain regional stability. By holding involved countries accountable for preventing destabilization, the treaty sought to create a framework for lasting peace and security in the DRC and the surrounding region.

16. Analyze the economic and geopolitical factors that influenced Uganda's decision to intervene in the DRC. How did the perceived threats to Uganda's security, economic interests, and regional stability shape the military and diplomatic strategies employed by President Museveni during this conflict?

Answer: Uganda's intervention in the DRC was influenced by a complex interplay of economic and geopolitical factors. Perceived threats to Uganda's security, economic interests, and regional stability were crucial in shaping military and diplomatic strategies. President Museveni's decisions were driven by a need to secure Uganda's borders, prevent destabilization, and maintain economic ties with neighboring countries. The military strategies employed were aligned with these objectives, emphasizing border security, demobilization, and a political settlement. Diplomatic efforts, such as the Lusaka treaty, were crafted to address these multifaceted challenges and foster lasting peace in the region.

HARD WORDS

1. Belligerents

Definition: Parties engaged in conflict or warfare.

Context: In the context of the speech, belligerents refer to the countries involved in the conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), including Uganda, Rwanda, Zimbabwe, Angola, Namibia, Kabila's army, and the rebels.

2. Habitation

Definition: The act of dwelling or residing in a place.

Context: The speech mentions Uganda's intervention in the DRC to deny habitation to Ugandan dissidents, such as the ADF in the Congo.

3. Destabilise

Definition: To disrupt or cause instability.

Context: The intervention in the DRC aimed to prevent the political and administrative instability in eastern Congo from destabilizing Uganda.

4. Demobilise

Definition: To disband or release from military service.

Context: The UPDF's intention in the DRC included demobilizing elements of the Interahamwe and preventing them from terrorizing Uganda and Rwanda.

5. Troika

Definition: A group of three people working together, especially in diplomacy or politics.

Context: The Lusaka treaty required that the belligerents, including Uganda, Rwanda, and others, sign as part of a troika to enforce peace.

6. Verification

Definition: The process of confirming or substantiating the accuracy of something.

Context: The Lusaka treaty involved a verification mission to assess the strength and legality of different rebel factions in the DRC.

7. Disarmament

Definition: The act of reducing or eliminating the military capabilities of a group or nation.

Context: The Lusaka treaty included provisions for the disarmament of non-state combatants, such as the ADF and Interahamwe.

8. Solidarity

Definition: Unity or agreement of feeling or action, especially among individuals with a common interest.

Context: The speech mentions how Uganda's ability to overcome challenges, such as Amin's reign, depended on the solidarity and support from neighboring countries like Tanzania.

9. Receptive

Definition: Open to new ideas or suggestions; willing to consider or accept.

Context: The speech notes that Kabila's allies became more receptive to peace initiatives as the war wore on.

10. Reconciliation

Definition: The restoration of friendly relations; the act of making different or opposing beliefs compatible.

Context: Efforts were made for reconciliation within the RCD factions during the peace process.

11. Destabilization

Definition: The act of causing upheaval or disorder, especially in a political context.

Context: The Lusaka treaty aimed to prevent destabilization by ensuring that no country involved in the DRC conflict allowed opponents to destabilize the region from its territory.

12. Overtures

Definition: Diplomatic or political initiatives intended to open negotiations or establish relations.

Context: Chad made overtures for peace after the UPDF defeated their forces in the DRC.

13. Geopolitical

Definition: Relating to politics, especially international relations, as influenced by geographical factors.

Context: Uganda's intervention in the DRC had geopolitical implications, considering the regional and international dynamics at play.

14. Dissidents

Definition: Individuals who oppose the official policies, especially of an authoritarian state.

Context: Uganda's intervention aimed to deny habitation to dissidents, such as the ADF in the Congo.

15. Receptive

Definition: Open to new ideas or suggestions; willing to consider or accept.

Context: The speech notes that Kabila's allies became more receptive to peace initiatives as the war wore on.

16. Economic Well-being

Definition: The state of prosperity, especially in terms of financial comfort and security.

Context: The speech emphasizes the importance of regional stability for Uganda's sustained economic well-being, considering its major trading partners, including the DRC.

From the speech on Uganda's military involvement in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) delivered by President Museveni in 1999, several lessons can be gleaned:

1. Complexity of Regional Conflicts:

The speech highlights the intricate nature of regional conflicts, with multiple countries and factions involved. The DRC conflict involved Uganda, Rwanda, Zimbabwe, Angola, Namibia, and various rebel groups, showcasing the complexities of regional dynamics.

2. Economic and Geopolitical Considerations:

Economic and geopolitical factors play a significant role in shaping a nation's foreign policy and military interventions. Uganda's decision to intervene in the DRC was influenced by concerns about security, economic ties with neighbors, and the prevention of destabilization.

3. UN Involvement and Alternative Approaches:

The Lusaka treaty's approach to peacekeeping, where belligerents themselves become peace enforcers, offers an alternative to traditional UN interventions. This approach attempts to avoid the challenges associated with distinguishing between invited and uninvited foreigners.

4. Challenges of Liberation Movements:

The speech draws parallels between the challenges faced by liberation movements in different contexts, emphasizing the importance of unity within these movements. The

experiences of Prof Wamba dia Wamba in mobilizing the population underscore the difficulties faced by leaders in fostering cohesion.

5. Negotiation and Diplomacy:

The Lusaka treaty and peace initiatives exemplify the importance of negotiation and diplomacy in resolving conflicts. The treaty addressed issues such as disarmament, national dialogue, and preventing destabilization, providing a framework for lasting peace.

6. Impact of Internal Dynamics on Peace Processes:

Internal dynamics within rebel factions, as seen in the case of Prof Wamba dia Wamba and the RCD, can significantly impact peace processes. Factional disputes, disagreements over leadership, and internal divisions can hinder the effectiveness of peace negotiations.

7. Economic Growth and Regional Stability:

President Museveni emphasizes the connection between Uganda's sustained economic growth and stability within its major trading partners, particularly the DRC. This highlights the interdependence of nations in a region and the importance of stability for economic prosperity.

8. Lessons from Historical Support:

The speech reflects on historical support, citing Tanzania's assistance during Amin's reign. This highlights the significance of solidarity and support from neighboring countries during challenging periods in a nation's history.

9. Flexibility in Military Strategy:

The military strategy employed by the UPDF in the DRC reflects a flexible approach, adapting to changing circumstances and responding to threats. The focus on securing borders, demobilization, and a political settlement demonstrates a multifaceted strategy.

10. Importance of Public Mobilization:

The challenges faced by Prof Wamba in mobilizing the population underscore the importance of garnering public support during liberation movements. Effective communication and engagement with the population are vital for the success of such movements.

In summary, the speech provides insights into the complex nature of regional conflicts, the considerations that influence military interventions, the challenges faced by liberation movements, and the role of negotiation and diplomacy in achieving lasting peace. These lessons remain relevant in understanding contemporary geopolitical challenges and the dynamics of conflict resolution.

SAPIENS

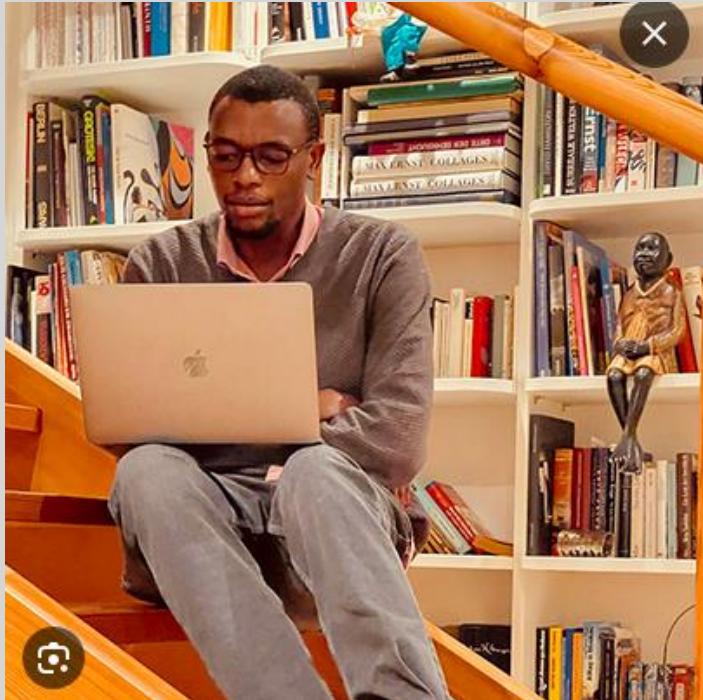
- The above is a NEWS company domiciled in Canada and a Startup.
- It analyzes legends, historical news and facts and current news and facts.
- Sapiens does not originate any news or facts.
- It scrapes all its information from public domain like libraries and cloud archives.
- Currently, Sapiens does not sell its analytics.
- LEGTEK GROUP is a partner in Uganda.
- Currently, Sapiens operates in 32 Countries across the Globe.

Thank you.

BACK TO THE TORTURE CHAMBER

(Adopted from the book “Banana Republic”)

By Kakwenza Rukirabashaiza



By the time we entered the barracks, it was dark already. I was led back to my toilet-cum-cell, where they tethered me to the toilet seat like a goat and then left me to sleep on the cold tiles with my hands cuffed. It was another terrible night for I slept on one side of the body throughout and couldn't turn or stretch my legs. I reached the extent of wishing I had been fleshy so that, when I slept, the flesh could serve as a mattress. However, being bony meant that my bones got into direct contact with the tiles, causing a lot of pain, like I had gone through the previous days.

The night was very long. I would lie down, but upon feeling a lot of pain, I would sit down and lean against the toilet seat.

When the doctor came to my detention cell the following morning, he smiled upon finding me seated with my left cheek resting on my knees and my face directly facing the entrance. He asked whether I was okay and I didn't answer.

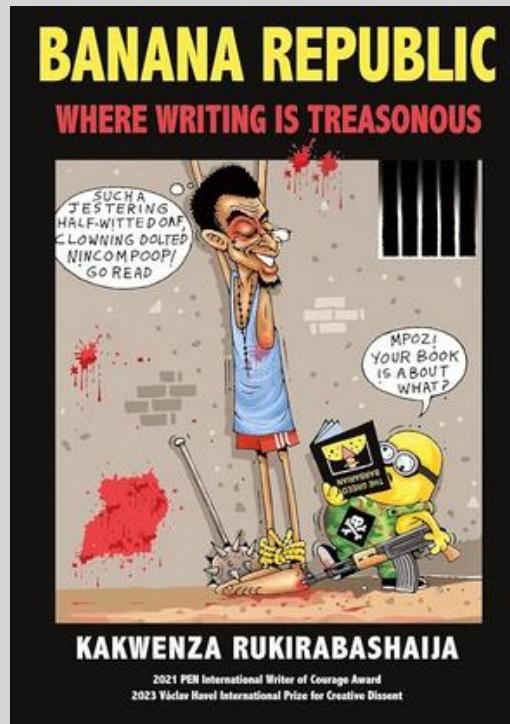
I knew he had come to inject me again but my attitude chased him away. He picked up his bag from the floor and banged the door behind him. The next moment, I heard him opening the adjacent toilet-cum-cell.

That morning's porridge was again served by the lady who had looked at me lustfully the first night I had spent in detention. This time, she was dressed in black jeans, craft shoes and a burgundy sleeveless top that showed off her youthful cleavage. She was demure in appearance and had enough charm to command male attention. When she bent to drop the cup of porridge to the floor, I noticed that she had amulets around her waist I remembered then that I had eavesdropped on some women engrossed in a conversation on a plane as it

soared. They were talking about waist beads and how they are used as good luck charms or jewellery for protection against evil.

"Can I use your phone to call my wife, please?" I initiated a conversation, with a rather strained voice.

"You even have a wife? *Kale* you are gonna die and leave her for other men to marry. Do you think that here we serve beer and roast goat ?" she threatened. She spoke with an urban accent.



I took her words with equanimity and watched as she organised her rich and luxuriant dreadlocks that tumbled over her shoulders.

"You should never wish such a misfortune on anyone, young woman. Today it is me and tomorrow it could be you or your husband," I sternly warned

She looked at me with distaste and sauntered out of my cell, leaving the door ajar.

I was picked up again by a very smart officer, who greeted me first before commanding me to first cover my head with a beanie and then stand up and follow him. I could hardly move. However, owing to the fear that I would be pushed like cattle into a kraal, I limped, following his shiny, well-polished boots, into which the ends of his trouser legs had been neatly tucked. That was all I could see. I followed closely until I reached the interrogation room. I knelt on the stones without any recrimination or command.

That day, they again asked me about the book. I got to understand that one of the officers had read it through the night. The interrogation thus centred on the characters I used, and they beat me to get me to interpret them again. Honestly, I had nothing to say because there is no way I would admit that, for example, Bekunda, who was gang-raped for Kayibanda to be born, was actually Museveni's mother. There is no way I would admit that the president is actually a product of gang rape, though the maladministration, corruption and many other evils committed by Kayibanda, the protagonist in the novel, depicted the National Resistance Movement of Uganda. It would be sheer foolishness to stop people from writing about corruption just because the government you have led for more than three decades is the most corrupt in the whole world.

"So who designed this book cover?" a voice asked.

"He is credited at the back of the book," I answered.

"Yes. I see 'Ogon'. What are his full names?"

"I do not know."

This time, the officer who was interviewing me got up from his sit and administered blistering slaps to my cheeks. The slaps were so hot that they made my ears jam .

"Tell us about Jimmy Spire Ssentongo."

"I do not know much about him."

"Tell us the little you know about him,"

"He is a lecturer and a cartoonist That is all I know about him."

The beatings were coming from all directions. I was being hit on the right, front, top, left and centre and I lost count of the blows. Just because I could not provide details about the person who had designed the book cover and the one who wrote the blurb for it.

They had checked every document in my computer, the draft articles I had written for several newspapers, the mails, the Facebook messages and every contact number I had in my phone. They asked me to explain every contact person in my email and phone.

From the computer, they found a poem I had written on World Corruption Day where Mr. Museveni had led his cartel of corrupt, potbellied people in government on a walk from City Square to Kololo independence grounds to demonstrate against corruption. I had sat down, in disagreement, after seeing them walk in mockery, and written:

And corruption walked

On International Corruption Day People, in Uganda corruption walks

It has legs and moves around swinging buttocks and obesity

Sweating and farting from City Square to Kololo airstrip

People, corruption walked!

It was not alone, no!

It was in company of its sons and grandchildren The whole city watched as corruption walked

Roads closed

For corruption to walk uninterrupted

By traffic

No one gathered an iota of gumption to arrest corruption

It was protected by the army and police Parliament, executive and judiciary

All walked with the corruption

People, I saw with my bespectacled eyes corruption walk!

All roads pouring into the city were corruptly closed

To allow corruption to walk proudly and uninterrupted You people, we should have arrested corruption and its sons, and grandchildren gathered at Kololo

But we chose to fold our hands in despair

We watched corruption mock us

We watched corruption re-energize for more corruption

We watched superannuated corruption install

Indefatigable heir

The corruption of Uganda Walks!

It even eats food

It bribes Parliament to amend the constitution

It bribes voters with salt and soap

It buys opposition to its side

It moves around with envelopes full of money

to fork out to the poor

It moves around with pockets bulging with money to dish out

It is exhibit 1510 in the USA courts

All the thieves are friends of exhibit 1510 Millions are suffering because of this corruption

It installed an heir

Who's on stand by

To take over in case more kilograms keep shedding

Hundreds of lashes were administered to my buttocks and the soles of my feet when they asked me to tell them who the 'corruption' in the poem was, and I told them it was actually President Museveni. Even if I had lied that he wasn't the one, it would still have been quite evident. Museveni is the one who had led his corrupt companions in a march against corruption - and surprisingly on International Corruption Day.

Next, they asked me to explain my relationship with the people's president, Dr. Kizza Besigye, and indicate how often we meet when they found pictures of him and me stored in my laptop. These pictures had been taken by his aide, Ronald Muhinda, at Serena Hotel the day Dr. Olive Kobusingye launched her book, The Patient. They beat me severely because I told them what they never wanted to hear. They expected me perhaps to say that he and I were planning something treasonous.

When they asked me who my lawyers were, and I said Eron Kizza and Nicholas Opio, the beatings only got worse. Because these two are human rights lawyers, they thought that perhaps I am so close to them that I would throw open to them the doors to the CMI's closets of murky secrets. I had nothing valuable for them. Eventually, they gave up on asking about the individuals and switched the interrogation to the article I had written for Chimp Reports about the impact of coronavirus and the warped presidential directives on farming. "The article read thus:

That very night when President Yoweri Museveni declared a transport shutdown in Uganda and suspended the movement of private vehicles, I was driving from Kampala. I had spent the day downtown buying pesticides, seeds and fertiliser for my farms in Kayunga and Busoga. My farm in Kayunga is very big, a hundred acres, so I loaded a truck full of bags of fertiliser and seeds and flagged it off to Kayunga. The ones to take to my farm in Busoga were loaded into the trunk of my private car and some on to the rear seats.

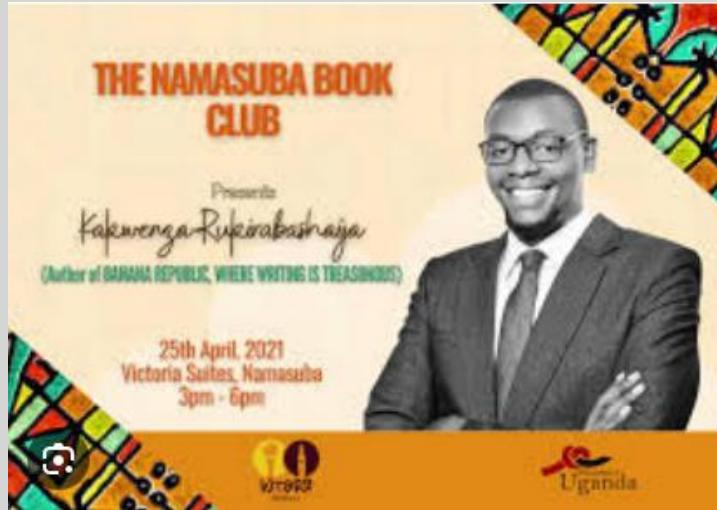
As I drove towards Jinja, listening to NBS Radio, I heard the president declare that all the private vehicles were to stop moving throughout the whole country in an effort to combat the spread of the coronavirus. I first, thought that such a directive would work only in the major cities and towns but, alas, even us in the villages are affected and very badly. I had planned to drop the stuff off at my farm in Busoga and give directives on what to do and then drive to Gaaliraya to tend the other truck which had set off with bags of fertiliser and seeds. Right now, I cannot drive to Kayunga to supervise my workers at the farm as they plant, yet as a farmer, armchair or phone or office farming is the most common cause of failure in the farming business. I can neither walk long distances between my farms nor ride a bicycle. One cannot just sit at home and call at the farm for something to be done without direct and physical supervision. I tried it once and ended up making heavy losses and since then I have been making sure that at least at every farm i appear there a minimum three times a week.

Before the president banned public transport, I had ready chickens amounting to two thousand which are kept in the cages erected in my compound at home. These chickens are ready for slaughter and buyers would move using taxis from Mbale, Tororo and Malaba to

buy them. Broilers eat a lot of feeds and the more you keep them the more they eat even on the profits. Right now, I am stuck with a thousand chickens at home since buyers have been banned from travelling to my farm. I have been sharing with one friend in farming circles, Grace Bwogi, who narrated to me that presidential directives found her in Kampala buying medicine for her sick goats and now she cannot travel in her car to deliver the medicine to her farm in Rakai and, as a result, her goats have started to drop dead. The Ministry of Works and Transport should consider and hastily come to our rescue to provide us with movement permits lest the country is going to run short of food in the coming months. We are also essential workers since we produce food for the country to feed on. Myself, I supply more than five schools with food and right now it is planting season but I am stuck at home following President Museveni's directives.

Let President Museveni revise his directives in favour of us commercial farmers living in the villages. It does not make sense when I am driving to my farm in the village and I am alone in the car loaded with fertiliser and seeds and I am accused of spreading the virus . Spreading the virus to the plants?

I had shared the same article on my Facebook account with a caption:



Museveni be serious otherwise you won't love the comeuppance of your warped and unconstitutional directives. If the country plunges into the abyss of famine in the months to come, never blame coronavirus but yourself.

They asked me, at gunpoint, to explain the unconstitutionality of the presidential directives. They reasoned that my Facebook post would incite my followers to be recalcitrant against the directives and hence increase the spread of coronavirus.

I pointed out to them that the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda 1995, as amended states, under Article 79, that it is only Parliament which is tasked to make laws for the peace, order, development and good governance of Uganda. The same constitution further provides that no person or body other than Parliament shall have the power to make laws. I told them that the president can issue directives only after he declares a state of emergency, which he had not done as the constitution demands under Article 110. I had studied such things in the first year of law school in Introducing Law and Constitutional Law classes so to regurgitate them for the benefit of ignorant torturers was very easy.

After I had spoken, I heard them whisper to one another about what to include and what not to include on the charge sheet. I heard them debate between defamation and doing an act which is likely to spread disease contrary to sections 179 and 171 of the Penal Code Act

Laws of Uganda, respectively. Then another officer, whose accent sounded like he was Luo, suggested that they charge me with cyber harassment.

They pushed me out of the room. An officer then led me into the corridor where I was directed to remove my clothes and stand with my palms pressed flat against the wall. He had removed the chains and handcuffs to allow me to remove the clothes and he had immediately put them back on when I handed him the clothes. Now I had on only a pair of boxers and a vest. The officer returned from stowing away my clothes and commanded me to lie down on my back, facing the ceiling. My head was already covered with a beanie. Now he wrapped a thick piece of cloth around it and was soon pouring water on it to create a drowning sensation. When I later described this method of torture to my lawyer, he called it waterboarding. I believed that the crime to kill me had now arrived, as the pulchritudinous lady who had served me porridge had threatened. They water boarded me while hitting my ankles again and again. After about twenty minutes, they took me back to the rails and hung me on them again.

At 10 p.m I heard someone walking on the stairs and I called out for help. I was dying. The officer came to me and raised my chin and adjusted the beanie. I begged him, as he looked into my eyes, to help me and loosen the handcuffs and chains. Surprisingly, he looked at me with merciful eyes. He was chewing gum and the breath of menthol filled my nostrils. He reached into his pocket and pulled out a bunch of keys and climbed the stairs to unlock my arms from the upper rail. He climbed down and unlocked the chains with which my legs had been fastened to the lower rail.

"Look, I am going to help you. Tonight you will sleep in the basement with others but early morning, I will come and pick you and hang you again here before seven," he spoke for the first time.

I felt so relieved that I showered him with blessings.

He took me down into the basement where I spent a night with fellow inmates - hundreds of them. They included Rwandans, Congolese, Ugandans, Kenyans, and others from the Horn of Africa. There was an Iraqi or Saudi national who told me that he had been an investor in Uganda before he was brought to the dungeon and that his family didn't know of his whereabouts. I was shown a space on the floor that had nothing laid on it to sleep, just like the others. The Good Samaritan didn't remove the handcuffs and leg chains and they hurt throughout the night

The Good Samaritan returned early at six in the morning, and took me back and hung me back on the rails. He confided in me that he had done what he had done out of humanity, and that he had been commanded to have me spend the night hung up again. I blessed him and asked whether, in the future, when I would be writing about the incident, I could include it, and he okayed the idea.

I was picked up again from where they had hung me by another officer and they took me back to the interrogation room. One interrogator demanded that I pluck out my beard one hair at a time because it was overgrown. This would serve as a substitute punishment for not managing to kneel on the rough stones. My body could no longer allow me to stand or sit or kneel and when I requested to go and pee and was allowed to do so, **I urinated blood.** It was a Friday morning. When I told them that I had urinated blood, they rubbed it without a hint of remorse. They said that, after all, they were going to kill me for disturbing the peace of the president with my satirical novel.

On Saturday morning, breakfast was long in coming and I thought that my captors had forgotten all about me. I had listened to the sound of the mop on the floor early in the morning and the pounding of boots on the tiles for a long time and I had concluded that it

was perhaps 10 a.m.

I grew impatient and kicked the door twice. Within a few seconds i heard the key turn in the door lock and saw the inside knob turn slowly. Then i saw a plump officer whose potbelly entered the room first, then his boots, and eventually his whole rotund figure stood in the middle of the toilet-cum-cell. He wore a feminine perfume that smelt strong and nauseatingly unnecessary. He examined my ankles that were visibly swollen and asked what had happened to me before he could even greet me.

"These people are beating me for my novel that I recently published," I answered.

"So you are being beaten for your knowledge?" he asked, laughing. "You are the tall man who dwarfs every one that stands near you? Your arrest is already breaking the internet. You should thank God for you are popular because of your height and book, otherwise you would die here."

He reached into his pocket and pulled out a bunch of keys and unlocked the chains and handcuffs and asked me to follow him. I was amazed at his mercy as he wasn't mistreating me like the other officers had done. I was so hungry and thirsty that my body was shaking. It was shaking because of hunger, thirst and the inhuman treatment they had subjected me to for several days. As we walked slowly, with me tottering behind him like a new-born calf tottering behind its mother, I prayed to God that the hope I had been harbouring that I would be released now turns out not to be misplaced.

I followed the officer as we climbed the stairs. He held my hand so that I would not miss any of the steps. He thought that with the blindfold, I could not see the stairs. I had worn the beanie over my head and adjusted it in such a way that I could see up to a certain limited angle. On the third floor, while we walked in the corridor, he asked me to remove the beanie and pocket it. He pulled out my specs from his breast pocket and gave them back to me to wear. The lenses were clouded by the frequent careless handling with greasy hands and I had to first clean them with a sleeve of my T-shirt in order to be able to see well enough through them. "Sorry for what you have gone through. Forgive them please," he apologised on their behalf.

I forgive them? Why are you exculpating yourself ?" I shot back.

"What is the meaning of that word?"

We had been standing in the corridor until the clatter of boots seemed to be approaching our side.

"We shall talk later. Come on!" he suggested.

In the boardroom, we found about eight men and two women seated comfortably in their seats. I was shown a seat at the head of the huge mahogany table where they sat. They had been breakfasting on English tea and bananas which had not properly ripened. The tea boy, who stood far in the corner, and looked like he was on standby, came forward and served me tea and bananas upon being commanded to do so. Two of the men and women at the table had their smiley faces stuck in the novel.

The clock on the wall soon struck 10.30 am. I didn't know then that I would be interrogated up to 6.00 p.m, and that the interrogation would be centered on the things they had asked me before. It was as if they were confirming the earlier submissions I had made at gunpoint. Later on, the officers walked out, except one lady and a haggard man in his late fifties. The former introduced herself as an officer from the Criminal Investigations Department, Kibuli and the latter said that he was a police officer attached to the CMI, Mbaya. They were friendly and wondered why I had been tortured and denied a lawyer contrary to the provisions of the law. Either they were exculpating

themselves to paint themselves as angels before me or they were genuinely concerned about my plight. They took my statement. Then we were done, the plump officer who had brought me up came again and walked me downstairs, where an army double-cabin pick-up had been waiting for me.

Multiple-choice questions

1. What did the protagonist wish for in the detention cell?

- A) Softer tiles
- B) A fleshy body
- C) Warm blankets
- D) A comfortable mattress

2. How did the lady serving porridge threaten the protagonist?

- A) She would report him to the authorities
- B) He would die and leave his wife for other men to marry
- C) She would file a lawsuit against him
- D) He would be banned from receiving meals

3. What did the officer ask about the book cover designer's full names?

- A) Ogon's full names
- B) The protagonist's full names
- C) The lady's full names
- D) The doctor's full names

4. Why did the protagonist get slapped during the interrogation?

- A) Refusal to answer questions
- B) Incorrect answers about the book characters
- C) Providing details about the book cover designer
- D) Admitting to writing a poem

5. What did the officers find on the protagonist's computer?

- A) A novel
- B) Draft articles for newspapers
- C) Facebook messages
- D) All of the above

6. What did the protagonist write a poem about on World Corruption Day?

- A) Environmental conservation
- B) Political corruption
- C) Economic inequality
- D) Social justice

7. What charge did the officers consider after finding the poem on corruption?

- A) Defamation
- B) Incitement to violence

- C) Cyber harassment
- D) Copyright infringement

8. How did the officers react to the protagonist's explanation of the presidential directives?

- A) They agreed with him
- B) They dismissed his explanation
- C) They praised his legal knowledge
- D) They ignored his response

9. What did the officer call the method of torture involving water?

- A) Water torture
- B) Waterboarding
- C) Drowning sensation
- D) Hydration punishment

10. Why did the officer unlock the protagonist's chains and handcuffs?

- A) To release him
- B) To move him to a different cell
- C) To provide temporary relief
- D) To allow him to escape

11. What did the officer apologize for on behalf of the others?

- A) Torturing the protagonist
- B) Wrongful arrest
- C) Lack of legal representation
- D) Denying food to the protagonist

12. How did the officer describe the protagonist's popularity?

- A) Due to his intellect
- B) Because of his physical appearance
- C) Linked to his book
- D) Both B and C

13. Who took the protagonist's statement during the interrogation?

- A) The plump officer
- B) The lady from CID, Kibuli
- C) The police officer from CMI, Mbuya
- D) All of them

14. What did the officer suggest regarding forgiveness?

- A) The protagonist should forgive them
- B) The officers should forgive themselves
- C) The protagonist should apologize
- D) Forgiveness is unnecessary

15. What did the protagonist kick when breakfast was delayed?

- A) The officer
- B) The door

- C) A chair
D) A table

16. What did the clock on the wall indicate during the final interrogation?

- A) Breakfast time
B) Lunchtime
C) End of the day
D) Time for release

BIGGER QUESTIONS

1. Question: Describe the conditions the protagonist faced in the detention cell, highlighting the physical and emotional challenges.

Answer: The protagonist in the detention cell endured a harrowing experience, tethered to a toilet seat like a goat. Sleeping on cold tiles with hands cuffed, he suffered severe discomfort. The bony structure of his body caused direct contact with the tiles, leading to excruciating pain. Sleep deprivation and inability to turn or stretch added to the agony, forcing him to wish for a fleshy body to serve as a makeshift mattress.

2. Question: Explore the significance of the protagonist's interaction with the lady serving porridge, emphasizing the underlying tension and societal commentary.

Answer: The interaction with the lady serving porridge reveals societal attitudes and power dynamics. Her threatening remarks about the protagonist's marital fate underscore the harsh reality of the detention environment. The protagonist's response, calmly warning about misfortune affecting anyone, reflects a deeper commentary on empathy and the unpredictable nature of life.

3. Question: Examine the reasons behind the protagonist's beating during the interrogation, focusing on the officers' expectations and the protagonist's dilemma.

Answer: The protagonist faced beatings during interrogation for his inability to provide details about the book cover designer. The officers sought specific information, and his lack of knowledge led to physical punishment. The dilemma lies in the protagonist's commitment to not falsely admit information, even under duress, illustrating his determination to protect the integrity of his work.

4. Question: Analyze the content of the poem on World Corruption Day, exploring its symbolism and the protagonist's stance on political issues.

Answer: The poem vividly describes corruption's personification, walking with its sons and grandchildren. Symbolizing the government's malpractices, the poem critiques Museveni's administration. The protagonist uses satire to convey the impact of corruption, shedding light on societal complacency and the urgent need for change.

5. Question: Investigate the legal arguments presented by the protagonist regarding the unconstitutionality of presidential directives during the coronavirus pandemic.

Answer: The protagonist cites the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda to argue that only Parliament has the power to make laws. He contends that the president can issue directives only after declaring a state of emergency, aligning with constitutional provisions. This legal analysis showcases the protagonist's knowledge and resilience in defending his position.

6. Question: Explore the protagonist's experience of waterboarding, emphasizing its psychological and physical impact on him.

Answer: Waterboarding, a method of torture, involved wrapping a thick cloth around the protagonist's head and pouring water on it, creating a drowning sensation. This form of torture induced physical distress and psychological trauma. The protagonist's detailed recollection reveals the brutality he endured, reflecting the extreme measures taken by authorities.

7. Question: Discuss the protagonist's interaction with the officer who showed unexpected mercy, exploring the significance of this moment and its impact on the protagonist's well-being.

Answer: The officer's mercy, allowing the protagonist a reprieve from hanging, is a turning point. Despite being commanded to torture again, the officer's humane gesture provides temporary relief. The interaction underscores the complexity of individuals within the system and offers a glimpse of compassion in an otherwise brutal environment.

8. Question: Examine the protagonist's response to forgiveness, considering the context of his ordeal and the officer's apology.

Answer: The protagonist's reluctance to forgive stems from the severity of his torture and the injustice he endured. While the officer apologizes, the protagonist questions the sincerity and meaning of forgiveness, emphasizing the enduring trauma and the gravity of the offenses committed against him.

9. Question: Reflect on the protagonist's experience in the basement with fellow inmates, exploring the diverse backgrounds and stories of the detainees.

Answer: The basement becomes a microcosm of societal injustices, housing detainees from various countries and backgrounds. The protagonist's encounter with an Iraqi or Saudi national highlights the arbitrary nature of detentions and the shared suffering of individuals with diverse stories, creating a powerful narrative of collective hardship.

10. Question: Analyze the interrogation in the boardroom, focusing on the officers' behavior and the protagonist's resilience.

Answer: The prolonged interrogation in the boardroom reveals the officers' relentless pursuit of information. The protagonist's resilience underlines his commitment to his principles, facing hours of questioning with determination. The officers' engagement with the protagonist's novel during the process adds a layer of irony, emphasizing the power dynamics at play.

11. Question: Evaluate the role of the CID officer and the police officer in the protagonist's narrative, exploring their motivations and the contrast with other officers.

Answer: The CID officer and the police officer stand out as more humane figures, expressing concern about the protagonist's torture and lack of legal representation. Their actions may either indicate genuine concern or an attempt to exculpate themselves. Their role introduces shades of gray in a narrative dominated by brutality.

12. Question: Reflect on the protagonist's journey from torture to potential release, considering the psychological impact of hope and uncertainty.

Answer: The protagonist's journey from torture to potential release showcases the psychological toll of hope amid uncertainty. The officer's unexpected mercy and the protagonist's temporary relief introduce an element of unpredictability, highlighting the emotional turmoil faced by individuals in such oppressive environments.

HARD WORDS

1. Equanimity

Definition: Mental or emotional stability, composure, and calmness.

Context: Despite the harsh conditions in the detention cell, the protagonist maintained equanimity, refusing to be emotionally swayed by the circumstances.

2. Recrimination

Definition: The act of accusing in return or counteraccusation.

Context: The protagonist faced recrimination during the interrogation, as officers accused him of withholding information about the book cover designer.

3. Demure

Definition: Reserved, modest, or shy in a playful or appealing way.

Context: The lady serving porridge appeared demure in her appearance, despite her threatening remarks to the protagonist.

4. Eavesdrop

Definition: To secretly listen to a conversation or private discussion.

Context: The protagonist eavesdropped on a conversation about waist beads, gaining insight into the lady's background and beliefs.

5. Exculpate

Definition: To clear from blame or prove innocence.

Context: The CID officer and the police officer seemed to exculpate themselves during their interaction with the protagonist, emphasizing their concern for his well-being.

6. Haranguing

Definition: To lecture, berate, or verbally harass persistently.

Context: The interrogators engaged in haranguing the protagonist, pressing him for information about the characters in his book.

7. Satirical

Definition: Using irony, sarcasm, or ridicule to criticize or mock.

Context: The protagonist utilized satirical elements in his poem on World Corruption Day to criticize the government's response to corruption.

8. Reprieve

Definition: A temporary relief or postponement, especially from something unpleasant.

Context: The officer's unexpected act of unlocking the protagonist's chains provided a reprieve from the physical torture.

9. Microcosm

Definition: A miniature or small-scale representation of a larger system or reality.

Context: The basement became a microcosm of societal injustices, housing detainees from various countries and backgrounds.

10. Lamentation

Definition: The act of expressing grief, sorrow, or mourning.

Context: The protagonist's poem on corruption included a lamentation about the state of the country and the impact of corruption on its people.

11. Arbitrary

Definition: Based on random choice or personal whim, rather than any reason or system.

Context: The detainment of individuals from diverse backgrounds in the basement seemed arbitrary, lacking a clear rationale for their confinement.

12. Pulchritudinous

Definition: Beautiful, physically attractive, or aesthetically pleasing.

Context: The lady who served porridge was described as pulchritudinous, highlighting her physical beauty despite her threatening demeanor.

LESSONS LEARNT

1. Resilience in Adversity:

The protagonist's ability to endure physical and psychological torture reflects the resilience of individuals facing extreme adversity.

2. Power Dynamics and Injustice:

The narrative highlights the abuse of power by authorities, showcasing the unjust treatment meted out to the protagonist based on his creative work.

3. Importance of Principles:

The protagonist's refusal to compromise on his principles, even under duress, underscores the significance of integrity and staying true to one's beliefs.

4. Societal Critique:

The article serves as a powerful critique of societal attitudes, corruption, and the impact of political regimes on individual lives, as depicted through the protagonist's experiences.

5. Human Complexity:

The interactions with various characters, from brutal interrogators to unexpected acts of mercy, reveal the complexity of human nature even within oppressive systems.

6. Role of Art and Satire:

The use of poetry and satire as a form of expression highlights the role of art in challenging authority and speaking truth to power, even when faced with severe consequences.

7. Injustice in Legal Systems:

The protagonist's experience underscores the flaws and potential abuse within legal systems, where individuals may be subjected to torture and intimidation without proper legal representation.

8. Empathy and Cruelty Coexisting:

The contrast between officers exhibiting cruelty and those expressing concern suggests a coexistence of empathy and brutality within the system, complicating the portrayal of authority figures.

9. Dangers of Political Dissent:

The article serves as a cautionary tale about the risks associated with political dissent and the expression of opinions that challenge the status quo.

10. Importance of Documentation:

The detailed account of the protagonist's experiences highlights the importance of documenting human rights abuses, providing a record that may serve as evidence and raise awareness.

11. Fragility of Hope:

The protagonist's temporary reprieve and subsequent return to torture underscore the fragility of hope in oppressive environments, where uncertainty prevails.

12. Collective Suffering:

The depiction of the basement housing detainees from diverse backgrounds emphasizes the shared suffering of individuals, transcending borders and nationalities.

These lessons collectively emphasize the need for vigilance against injustice, the importance of artistic expression in challenging oppressive systems, and the ongoing struggle for human rights and dignity.

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GROWING UP IN HORRENDOUS TIMES (1884 – 1900)

Adopted from the book “LAZAARO KAMUGUNGUNU”

(1884 - 1976)

Statesman and the last of Uganda's Great Chiefs

By Joshua K. Muvumba Ph.D.



Lazaaro Kamugungunu with hat

To the people of Africa who were about to lose their sovereignty, the end of the nineteenth century brought with it the most staggering tragedies. As if by a grand design, natural human pestilences such as small pox and meningitis were escorted by the animal epidemics such as rinderpest and together they descended across the African continent. Concomitantly, loss of livestock unleashed virulent warfare between the people leading to much bloodshed and ruin. It is this horrendous and tragic era, which constituted Kamugungunu's formative years.

Ancestry and Parentage

Kamugungunu belongs to the Bakurungu a sub-clan of the Bagahe whose totem is the Ngobe cow – a chestnut cow with thin black stripes. The Bakurungu appear to have been numerous throughout the Bacwezi Empire but after the empire came to an end, the Bakurungu presence seems to have concentrated in what now became Bunyoro-Kitara under the new rule of the Babiiito. This explains why the Bakurungu are not prominent in the history of Nkore king- dom. Available evidence and legend indicate that the Bakurungu

of Nkore, who have remained numerically small, most definitely came from Bunyoro well after the Bahinda had consolidated their rule in Nkore – perhaps as late as 1600.

Kamugungunu's earliest known paternal ancestor was a Mukurungu man known as Itanzi. We owe this knowledge to Nkore's kingship institution, which helped to preserve our oral history. Hence, we are able to know that Itanzi served under the Omugabe Rwebishengye (C 1783 – 1811). Rwebishengye, the oldest son of Kahaya I Nyamwanga (C 1755 – 1783), was twice denied the kingship. The disappointed prince then exiled himself in Buganda where he succeeded in securing the support and friendship of Kabaka Kamanya Kasengejje (C 1794 – 1824). It is said that Kamugungunu's ancestor Itanzi accompanied Rwebishengye to Buganda.

Itanzi appears to have been more of a cattleman than a warrior. He is reputed to have possessed large herds of cattle at Kaizhumba (**near the present town of Masaka**). Indeed, Itanzi did not participate in Rwebishengye's war expeditions against his young brother Nyakashaizha. However, when Rwebishengye finally came to the throne, his vassal Itanzi came to Nkore with his cattle herds, which of course were put at the King's disposal.

Itanzi's son was known as Karasi and is reported to have predeceased his aged father.

Karasi lived during the reign of **Omugabe Gasyonga I (C 1811 – 1841)** a reign which was beset by the intensified Baganda raids Karasi lost his life leaving behind his son Kasheegu who succeeded him. Kasheegu is the father of Kamugungunu.

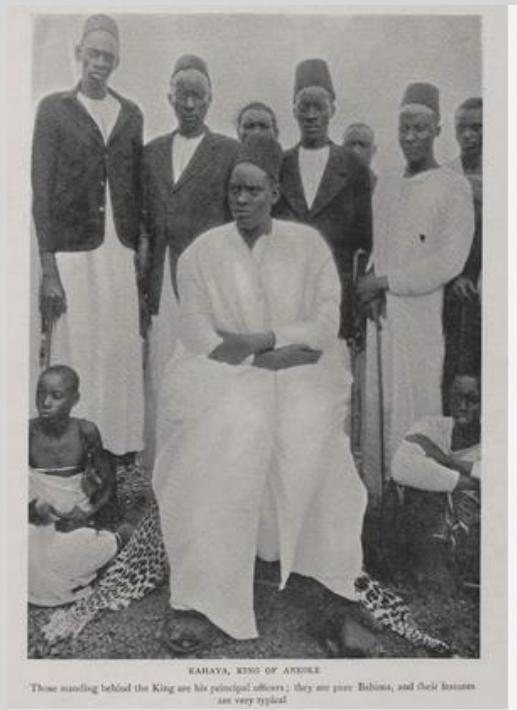
As his grandfather, Kasheegu did distinguish himself as a great cattle owner. He is said to have amassed his herds at **Ruyanzha and Nkongooro** (where his son was later to erect a ranch). The wells, which are known as Rwakasheegu near Rwabigyemano in Nyabushozi, were dug by Kasheegu.



Joshua Muvumba, son to Lazaaro

Kasheegu is said to have met the Omugabe Mutambuuka (C 1841 – 1870) while the latter was on his way to attack Kooki. Kasheegu presented to the Omugabe his entire herd, which

was known as Orukira rw'Engwe. Kasheegu's herd was so named because on its march in single file it resembled a leopard's tail, which is one of the longest tails. Thus in effect, Kasheegu now had become the Omugabe's client chief enjoying usufruct rights but serving the king's interests as they arose. It was indeed one of the more enviable positions to hold in those days because a direct client of the king was availed many privileges and immunities. A king's client chief had easy access to the king and to the king's representatives in the countryside. Locally, the client was a power to reckon with as he not only controlled valuable resources but also he had under him several men who looked after these resources. In fact, many client chiefs who controlled the king's special breeds of cattle known as Amachookwa such as Karuhitsi the head of Ntare's Endunga and Bigyemano the head of Endangira herd enjoyed nationwide prestige equal to that of the military chiefs. It should be remembered that the "King's cattle" or state cattle in traditional Nkore far exceeded in number all the privately owned herds in the kingdom. Therefore, those in charge of managing these valuable resources were quite important in the society. Anyway, Kasheegu's patron the Omugabe Mutambuuka died in 1870 at an advanced age. This warrior monarch had, during his dramatic reign, expanded Nkore's borders and increased the kingdom's national power to great heights. Mutambuuka had also fathered numerous sons who in turn had grown into warrior commanders of his numerous regiments. Thus when he died, there ensued a long and very destructive civil war of succession. Because the war took five years, it engulfed the whole society and nobody could remain neutral. Thus the middle aged and pacific Kasheegu found himself on the side of Prince Mukwenda the frontrunning contender for the kingship. Although he succeeded in killing two of his rivals namely **Rukongye and Makumbi**, Mukwenda finally lost to the forces of young **Ntare Rugingiiza** at the decisive battle of Mugoye.



Abolished in 1967 by a Republican Constitution.

The news of Mukwenda's death found Kasheegu in Isingiro where the royal herds had been concentrated for safety during the raging war. One of Kasheegu's sons is reported to have died at the battle of Mugoye in Mukwenda's cause. Kasheegu therefore did not relish the prospect of submitting to the new Omugabe Ntare V (C 1875 – 1895). Therefore, gathering

all the cattle under him Kasheegu promptly crossed into the neighbouring kingdom of Kooki. How he fared in Kooki, we really do not know but what we know is that Kasheegu eventually succeeded in extricating himself from there and together with his remaining cattle and household moved to Kiyonga (Mahogora).

According to P. Kikohire Ntare V is said to have sent Bwisho Obuyangwe, the commander of Ebizhugo regiment, which was based in Kabura, to Kiyonga to assure Kasheegu that there were no hard feelings at all. Bwisho was also Kasheegu's blood brother and that is probably why he was sent on this mission of reconciliation. That Kasheegu merited the Omugabe's attention at all, is a clear indication that the man was of some note in society during his time. Kasheegu however, did not return to his old home area of Nyabushozi, instead he bided his time in Kiyonga where he paid the state tribute through the Omugabe's representative.

By this time, Kasheegu was getting on in years. Over time, Kasheegu married successfully, different wives whose number is not known. He also fathered several children most of whom predeceased him. Also on a slave concubine Kasheegu fathered a boy who in turn fathered Karumu the father of Samwiri Bangirana Aroni Kaya and Gerosomu Banyoro of Kamushooko Kashari.

Kasheegu's last wife and the mother of his last child Kamugungunu was called **Keera** whom he married during his stint in Kiyonga. Keera belonged to the Bairuntu sub- clan of the Baishikatwa clan. She is said to have been a tall woman of great beauty who was also physically powerful. As if this was not enough, Keera possessed a fearless disposition and a very strong character. Her "shortcoming" which was critical in those days was that she mothered female children only. Thus when she produced the seventh girl, Kasheegu's kinfolk and friends urged him to divorce her and marry someone else. According to Reya Kamashaza (the late sister of the late Alfred Mutashwera) Kasheegu warned off his wife's tormentors thus: "leave my wife alone, she will one day deliver a hero for me".

Soon the potency of Kasheegu's prophecy manifested itself in a most unbelievable event which had nothing to do with childbearing. It was during a long period of drought that one night Keera found herself and her girls alone in their Kraal. Her husband was on some trip and all the men were grazing and guarding the cattle in the plains searching for the scarce moist grass. Sensing the existence of easy prey a lioness man-eater entered the kraal and openly advanced to grab one of Keera's daughters Baryamutuma (later Maryamu). In utter desperation Keera searched for a weapon but found none. She therefore grabbed the heavy wooden chamber pot, advanced upon the menacing beast and with all her strength crushed the pot on the lion's head and knocked it out cold! The commotion brought in the men who to their utter astonishment beheld the lion stretched out in oblivion.

Keera however, got no thanks for her heroic act because the male prejudices of the times could not accommodate the fact that a woman could kill a lion – especially even without a proper weapon! They ostracised her and nicknamed her "Mandwa" (spirit medium) because they deemed her to possess supernatural powers. Others urged Kasheegu to divorce her, but he told them to let her be. It was soon after this dramatic episode that Keera in quick succession delivered for her patient and loving husband two sons; Kaakiro and Kamugungunu.

The last born of Kasheegu's children Kamugungunu was born at the swamp of Mugungunu in Kiyonga (currently in Mubende). Thus he derives his name from that of the place of his

birth. Fortunately, we are able to estimate the year of his birth because the family traditions tell us Kamugungunu was born shortly after the raid known as that of “Abaganda ba Mondo” to the Banyankore. Although the society was not literate, it had an elaborate system of oral recording in which small events were linked to great events. In this way individuals were able to date their important milestones.

Thus Kamugungunu’s birth is linked to this particular raid which is very well remembered in Nkore because of its devastating ferocity. In particular, the raid plundered Ntare’s important and trusted chieftain the Musiita Biitsa. A popular song was composed about the plight of a beautiful woman Buringa in Biitsa’s establishment, who was left destitute by this raid. Part of the songs (which is played on the harp even today) says:

Abaine abaabo bakakoma bagyenda Otabaine nka Buringa, manya Yarigwamu eitongo...Aibambee!

**Omuganda Mondo Owatuzhugiriire! Akaruga amaizi kuzimu
Akamwe akaana nkako yaheeka Manya akandi nkako yatsindikiriza
...Aibambee!3**

It is however, Sir Apollo Kaggwa who provides us with the exact years in which the raid took place. Apparently, the raid was one of the last ones to be ordered by Kabaka Mutesa I (C 1856 – 1884) because he died soon after them at the end of 1884. Thus with certainty, we know the year of the raid and the year of Kamugungunu’s birth which is also the year of Africa’s partition.

Traumatic Harbingers

In attempting to understand Kamugungunu’s childhood, it is necessary to examine, in some detail, the nature of the nation and society into which he was born. Traditional Nkore kingdom reached its zenith of regional power during the tenure of Ntare V (1875 – 1895): “During this reign, the Omugabe’s power reached its furthest extent. Not only did the neighbouring kingdoms of Buhweju, Igara and Buzimba recognise Ntare as their overload, but further a field, the rulers of Kitagwenda and Bwera would send him presents to avert invasion whilst raiding parties for plunder were sent into Rujumbura and Rwanda. The boundary with Buganda is said to have lain as far to the east as the Kyogya River.”

At the same time, however, Ntare’s rule was a troubled one. He had come to the throne after a devastating succession struggle that had pointedly weakened the Bahinda ruling dynasty fundamentally. The late S. Karugire has accurately assessed the situation thus:

“When Ntare eventually got the throne, he ruled over a very embittered population. The few survivors of the royal family were split right through the middle and so were his subjects, by the bitter memories of the blood relations who had perished in the war....the kingdom or rather the political system rested on a foundation that was basically fragile because the cream of the ruling class and this included nearly all the sons of Mutambuuka, had perished in the carnage of war.”

In addition to this grave situation, the cattle and human epidemics, which set upon Nkore during the last decade of the nineteenth century, proved to be more destabilising than anything else. In particular the devastating cattle plague, better known by its German name “rinderpest” proved to be the blow which undermined the society’s capability to cope with the impending thrusts accompanying colonisation.

The destruction, which the rinderpest provoked, was of unprecedented proportions. F. Lugard who appeared on the scene at this period has given graphic description of the misery and suffering he encountered among the Masai and Bahima pastoralists of East Africa. He says that many of these people "were left starving and destitute as a result of the extinction of their large herds for the mortality was generally over ninety percent and in some areas not a beast survived." He adds that while the agriculturists could easily survive the rinderpest, to the pastoralists it meant death:

"The Wahuma (Bahima) I was told had perished in vast numbers with their animals. Everywhere the people I saw were gaunt, half starved and covered with skin disease. Not only had they no crops of any sort or kind to replace the milk and meat which formed their natural diet but many were unable to accommodate themselves to such a change and all were completely ignorant of agriculture."

The nightmare of the rinderpest epidemic was soon followed by the horror of the smallpox calamity, which wiped out thousands of people. Writing about this catastrophic ear, Sir Harry Johnston tells us in 1902 that:

"...the cattle plague which devastated as much of East and Central Africa swept through Ankole and carried off three fourths of the cattle. The Bahima who then depended almost exclusively on their cattle for food perished from starvation in great numbers and the following year still many of them died from a visitation of smallpox which proved very fatal to them in their weakened condition... The Hima population at the present day is not more than a third of what they were fourteen years ago."

For the young boy Kamugungunu these horrors were a double tragedy for no sooner had the rinderpest wiped out all his family's cattle than the smallpox carried off his remaining brother and both his parents. Orphaned and desolate, the young boy must have been quite miserable because by this ghastly epoch he was old enough to feel the agony, which these calamities brought about.

Fortunately, Kamugungunu's two elder sisters survived the holocaust. The older Baryamutuma had married the Mutoroogo clansman Rwabutondore who was an officer in Ntare's Ebirekyezi regiment in Nyabushozi. Curiously and strangely, Kamugungunu's second sister Kyobugarisya was also married to the same man! These two remarkable women were to play a vital role in the life of their orphaned brother. The exceptionalness of the two sisters is attested to by their unique marriage to one man. As is well known, polygamy was rare among the Bahima and where it was practised, it was usually in response to the first wife's barrenness. In any event, taking a second wife was always an exclusive initiative of the man. However, in this unique case, it was Rwabutondore's childbearing first wife who persuaded him to marry her young sister. In fact Kyobugarisya was already spoken for and arrangements were already in progress for her marriage when her big sister stepped in and put an end to them and carried her off for her own husband. The tall and graceful Kyobugarusya was later to mother none other than the late Chief Judge of Ankole, Alfred Mutashwera M.B.E.

The two women were as strong willed, as they were charming; intelligent as they were ambitious and spirited as they were relentless. Above all, they loved their little brother, dearly. The two women also possessed another unique dimension of character; they were both highly spiritual and transcendental. They were always under the grip of transmundane considerations and in particular, concerned about the success and life of their orphaned brother whom they now eagerly undertook to bring up "by hand" and for whom they entertained "great expectations."

Kamugungunu remembered these times dimly. He said that at one time he saw a crowd of people passing by and then someone shouted pointing in the crowd: “there he is, there he is Ntare the Omugabe!” But the poor boy could not distinguish nor recognise Ntare V from the distance he was standing at. Soon after, Kamugungunu heard the worst news: the popular king had died without leaving an heir for the throne. This was the first time in the long history of the kingdom that a long-reigning Omugabe left his kingdom without an heir and it could not have happened at a worse time too.

Thus, Kamugungunu was growing up at his brother-in-law's place when the nineteenth century came to the end and the twentieth century began. Simultaneously, the old century took away with it the old Nkore Kingdom under the new colonial rule of the British Empire. Thus ill equipped to either salvage any advantage from his past or harvest any fruits which the new opportunities were about to bring about, the orphaned youth found himself standing astride the crossroads of history.

Multiple Choice Questions:

1. What tragedies befell Africa at the end of the nineteenth century, as described in the article?

- A) Economic collapse
- B) Natural disasters and warfare
- C) Technological advancements
- D) Political stability

2. To which clan did Kamugungunu belong, and what was their totem?

- A) Babiito, Ngobe cow
- B) Bakurungu, Leopard
- C) Bahinda, Elephant
- D) Bagahe, Zebra

3. Who was Kamugungunu's earliest known paternal ancestor, and what role did he play in Nkore's history?

- A) Rwebishengye, a warrior
- B) Itanzi, a cattleman
- C) Karasi, a diplomat
- D) Kasheegu, a poet

4. What important event occurred during the reign of Omugabe Mutambuuka (C 1841 – 1870)?

- A) Civil war of succession
- B) Great famine
- C) Successful diplomatic negotiations
- D) Cultural renaissance

5. Why did Kasheegu cross into the neighboring kingdom of Kooki after the death of Omugabe Mutambuuka?

- A) To seek refuge from a plague
- B) To participate in a trade expedition
- C) To avoid submitting to the new Omugabe
- D) To expand his cattle herds

6. What unique event is associated with Kasheegu's last wife, Keera, and how did it influence Kamugungunu's birth?

- A) She defeated a lioness, leading to Kamugungunu's birth
- B) She performed a ritual, ensuring a hero's birth

C) She negotiated a peace treaty, allowing Kasheegu's return

D) She discovered a new grazing land for cattle

7. What was the significant impact of the rinderpest epidemic on the society of Nkore?

A) Economic prosperity

B) Cultural revival

C) Destabilization and starvation

D) Technological advancement

8. Who played a vital role in Kamugungunu's life after the death of his parents, and what were their characteristics?

A) Military commanders, ruthless and authoritative

B) Elder siblings, spiritual and ambitious

C) Tribal leaders, conservative and traditional

D) Colonial officials, progressive and modern

9. What unusual circumstance surrounded the marriages of Kamugungunu's two elder sisters to Rwabutondore?

A) Both sisters were married on the same day

B) The sisters were married against their will

C) Polygamy was rare among the Bahima

D) The elder sister persuaded Rwabutondore to marry her younger sister

10. Who was the unique child born to Kyobugarisya, and what significant position did he later hold?

A) Kamugungunu, a chief judge

B) Alfred Mutashwera, a spiritual leader

C) Kaakiro, a military commander

D) Rwabutondore, a royal advisor

11. What did Kamugungunu witness about Ntare V, and what impact did it have on him?

A) Ntare V's coronation, inspiring patriotism

B) Ntare V's death without an heir, marking a critical moment

C) Ntare V's diplomatic achievements, fostering unity

D) Ntare V's defeat in a battle, instilling fear

12. What characterized the situation in Nkore during the reign of Ntare V (1875 – 1895)?

A) Economic prosperity and political stability

B) Social harmony and cultural revival

C) Troubled rule and internal strife

D) Technological advancements and innovation

13. What marked the end of the nineteenth century for Kamugungunu, and what historical changes did it bring about?

A) Personal achievements and prosperity

B) Colonization under the British Empire

C) Cultural renaissance and artistic revival

D) Technological advancements and industrialization

14. How did Kamugungunu find himself after the end of the nineteenth century?

A) Holding a position of power in the new colonial administration

B) Equipped to salvage advantages from the past

C) Harvesting fruits from new opportunities

D) Standing astride the crossroads of history, ill-equipped

15. What did the destruction caused by the rinderpest epidemic lead to, according to F. Lugard's description?

A) Prosperity among agricultural communities

B) Starvation and destitution among pastoralists

C) Political stability and strengthened social bonds

D) Technological innovation in response to challenges

16. What were the consequences of the smallpox calamity that followed the rinderpest epidemic in Nkore?

- A) Improved healthcare and sanitation
- B) Economic boom and increased trade
- C) Death of many people, further weakening the society
- D) Technological advancements in medicine

BIGGER QUESTIONS

1. Question: Describe the socio-economic impact of natural disasters and warfare in Africa at the end of the nineteenth century, as outlined in the article.

Answer: The socio-economic impact of natural disasters and warfare in Africa at the end of the nineteenth century was devastating. Tragedies such as smallpox, meningitis, and animal epidemics like rinderpest swept across the continent, leading to significant loss of life and livestock. This confluence of calamities resulted in widespread warfare among communities, causing bloodshed and ruin. The article emphasizes the staggering tragedies that marked Kamugungunu's formative years and sets the stage for the traumatic experiences that shaped his childhood.

2. Question: Explore the significance of totems in African clans, using the Ngobe cow of the Bakurungu as an example.

Answer: Totems hold profound cultural and symbolic significance in African clans, representing a connection to ancestry, identity, and values. Taking the Ngobe cow as an example, the article highlights its role as the totem of the Bakurungu, a sub-clan of the Bagahe. Totems often reflect the relationship between a clan and a specific animal, reinforcing a sense of unity and shared heritage. In this context, the Ngobe cow serves as a cultural emblem, tying the Bakurungu to their past and providing a unique identity within the broader societal framework.

3. Question: Discuss the importance of oral history in preserving cultural heritage, using the example of Kamugungunu's ancestors.

Answer: Oral history plays a vital role in preserving cultural heritage, as illustrated by Kamugungunu's ancestors. The article mentions Itanzi, Kamugungunu's earliest known paternal ancestor, and highlights how Nkore's kingship institution helped preserve their oral history. Through oral traditions, important details about lineage, service to kings, and movements of ancestors are passed down, ensuring the continuity of cultural knowledge. The narrative of Itanzi serving under Omugabe Rwebishengye showcases how oral history acts as a living record, connecting generations and maintaining a sense of historical continuity.

4. Question: Explore the impact of civil wars of succession on societies, drawing from Kasheegu's experience during Omugabe Mutambuuka's reign.

Answer: Civil wars of succession can have profound and lasting impacts on societies, disrupting stability and causing internal strife. The article details Kasheegu's involvement in the civil war of succession during Omugabe Mutambuuka's reign, emphasizing the destructive nature of such conflicts. The struggle for power, the loss of prominent figures, and the societal divisions that arise during these wars leave a lasting imprint on communities. Kasheegu's decision to support Prince Mukwenda and the subsequent consequences highlight the complex dynamics and far-reaching consequences of internal conflicts.

5. Question: Examine the role of client chiefs in traditional African kingdoms, using Kasheegu's position under Omugabe Mutambuuka as an example.

Answer: Client chiefs played crucial roles in traditional African kingdoms, serving as intermediaries between the king and local communities. The article highlights Kasheegu's position as a client chief under Omugabe Mutambuuka, showcasing the privileges and responsibilities that came with such a role. Client chiefs, like Kasheegu, controlled valuable resources and managed the

king's special herds, enjoying nationwide prestige. This system exemplifies how traditional governance structures maintained order and decentralized power through trusted local leaders.

6. Question: Explore the societal perception of women challenging traditional gender roles, using Keera's act of defeating a lioness as an example.

Answer: Keera's act of defeating a lioness challenges traditional gender roles, offering a glimpse into societal perceptions of women in non-traditional roles. The article describes how, in a moment of desperation, Keera used a wooden chamber pot to knock out a lioness threatening her daughter. However, rather than receiving praise, she faced ostracism and was nicknamed "Mandwa" (spirit medium) due to societal prejudices against the idea of a woman defeating a wild animal. This narrative provides insight into the rigid gender norms and biases prevalent during that time.

7. Question: Discuss the socio-economic repercussions of the rinderpest epidemic on Nkore, drawing from F. Lugard's observations in East Africa.

Answer: The rinderpest epidemic had severe socio-economic repercussions on Nkore, as evidenced by F. Lugard's observations in East Africa. The article highlights how the Bahima pastoralists, dependent on cattle for food and resources, were devastated. Lugard's accounts describe the mortality rate among cattle as over ninety percent, leaving many people starving and destitute. The economic impact was particularly harsh on pastoralists, who struggled to adapt to a sudden loss of their primary means of sustenance. This episode underscores the vulnerability of societies heavily dependent on livestock when faced with devastating epidemics.

8. Question: Examine the resilience and role of Kamugungunu's elder sisters in the aftermath of the family's tragedies.

Answer: Kamugungunu's elder sisters demonstrate resilience and play a vital role in the family's survival after the tragedies. The article describes how Baryamutuma and Kyobugarisya, despite losing family members to the rinderpest and smallpox, survived the holocaust. Their strength of character, intelligence, and ambition shine through as they take on the responsibility of raising their orphaned brother, Kamugungunu. The sisters' unique marriage to the same man, Rwabutondore, adds an unconventional dimension to their characters, showcasing their determination to protect and care for their family.

9. Question: Analyze the societal impact of the smallpox calamity in Nkore, as described by Sir Harry Johnston.

Answer: The smallpox calamity described by Sir Harry Johnston had a profound societal impact on Nkore. The article quotes Johnston, stating that three-fourths of the cattle perished, leading to starvation and death among the Bahima. The weakened population faced further challenges from smallpox, causing additional fatalities. This dual catastrophe significantly reduced the Hima population, leaving a lasting mark on the society's demographic and socio-economic structure. Johnston's account underscores the interconnectedness of health, livestock, and societal well-being in traditional African communities.

10. Question: Explore the cultural significance of naming and birth events in African societies, using Kamugungunu's birth linked to the raid of "Abaganda ba Mondo" as an example.

Answer: Naming and birth events hold cultural significance in African societies, often linked to historical or memorable occurrences. Kamugungunu's birth, linked to the raid of "Abaganda ba Mondo," exemplifies this connection. Despite the society's lack of literacy, an elaborate system of oral recording linked small events to significant milestones. This cultural practice allowed individuals to date important events in their lives. Kamugungunu's birth, associated with a specific raid, becomes a marker in time, emphasizing how events, both large and small, contribute to the cultural tapestry of African societies.

11. Question: Discuss the impact of the death of Omugabe Ntare V without leaving an heir, marking a critical moment in Nkore's history.

Answer: The death of Omugabe Ntare V without leaving an heir marked a critical moment in Nkore's history. The article indicates that this event led to a power vacuum and internal strife. In traditional African kingdoms, the legitimacy of the ruler often hinged on a clear line of succession.

Ntare V's failure to produce an heir triggered a succession crisis, contributing to internal conflicts and challenges to the existing power structure. This critical moment in Nkore's history underscores the vulnerability of kingdoms when faced with uncertainties in the royal succession.

12. Question: Assess the impact of British colonization on Kamugungunu's life and Nkore's history, as the region transitions into the twentieth century.

Answer: British colonization had a profound impact on Kamugungunu's life and Nkore's history as the region entered the twentieth century. The article describes Kamugungunu as standing "astride the crossroads of history, ill-equipped." The intrusion of colonial powers disrupted traditional governance structures, altered socio-economic dynamics, and introduced new challenges.

Kamugungunu, who had navigated the complexities of pre-colonial Nkore, found himself grappling with the uncertainties and upheavals brought about by colonial rule. This period marked a significant turning point in Nkore's history, as it transitioned from traditional kingdoms to a new era under foreign domination.

HARD WORDS

1. Pestilences:

Definition: Widespread and often fatal diseases.

Context: In the late nineteenth century, Africa faced the onslaught of natural human pestilences like smallpox and meningitis.

2. Concomitantly:

Definition: Occurring at the same time or in connection with another.

Context: The article describes how, concomitantly with natural disasters, warfare erupted across the African continent.

3. Formative:

Definition: Pertaining to the development or early stages of something.

Context: Kamugungunu's formative years were marked by the horrendous tragedies of the late nineteenth century.

4. Totem:

Definition: An emblem or symbol representing a family or clan.

Context: The Ngobe cow served as the totem for the Bakurungu, a sub-clan of the Bagahe in Africa.

5. Usufruct:

Definition: The right to use and enjoy the profits and advantages of property that belongs to another.

Context: Kasheegu enjoyed usufruct rights as a client chief, providing his herds to the Omugabe while maintaining control over them.

6. Vassal:

Definition: A subordinate or dependent; a person in a subordinate position.

Context: Itanzi, as a vassal of Omugabe Rwebishengye, served under the king's rule and provided his cattle herds.

7. Regiment:

Definition: A large military unit consisting of soldiers organized to perform specific tasks.

Context: The article mentions the regiments of Ntare V, highlighting the militaristic aspects of the society during his reign.

8. Pacific:

Definition: Inclined or disposed to peace; not warlike.

Context: Kasheegu, described as middle-aged and pacific, found himself unexpectedly involved in the civil war of succession.

9. Ostracise:

Definition: To exclude, by general consent, from society, friendship, conversation, privileges, etc.

Context: Keera, after defeating a lioness, was ostracized by the community due to societal biases against a woman's unconventional act.

10. Holocaust:

Definition: A great or complete devastation or destruction.

Context: The smallpox calamity and rinderpest epidemic resulted in a holocaust, wiping out a significant portion of the Bahima population.

11. Demographic:

Definition: Relating to the structure and characteristics of a population.

Context: The smallpox calamity described by Sir Harry Johnston had a lasting impact on the demographic composition of Nkore.

12. Heir:

Definition: A person legally entitled to the property or rank of another on that person's death.

Context: The death of Omugabe Ntare V without leaving an heir created a succession crisis and internal strife.

13. Intrusion:

Definition: The act of forcefully entering or interfering with something.

Context: British colonization was an intrusion that disrupted traditional governance structures in Nkore.

14. Upheavals:

Definition: Sudden and violent changes or disruptions.

Context: Kamugungunu found himself grappling with the upheavals brought about by colonial rule in the transition to the twentieth century.

15. Carnage:

Definition: The killing of a large number of people, especially in war.

Context: The civil war of succession during Mutambuuka's reign resulted in carnage, causing significant loss of life.

16. Transcendental:

Definition: Going beyond ordinary limits; surpassing; exceeding.

Context: Kamugungunu's elder sisters were described as highly spiritual and transcendental, emphasizing their connection to realms beyond the mundane.

LESSONS LEARNT

1. Resilience in the Face of Tragedy:

Kamugungunu's early years were marked by natural disasters, warfare, and the loss of family members. The narrative underscores the resilience individuals can display in the face of overwhelming tragedy.

2. Impact of Historical Context on Personal Development:

Kamugungunu's formative years unfolded during a period of significant upheaval in Africa. The article highlights how historical events, such as the spread of diseases and colonial intrusion, can profoundly shape an individual's life.

3. Cultural Significance of Totems and Clans:

The concept of totems and clans plays a crucial role in understanding Kamugungunu's ancestry. The article teaches us about the cultural significance of these elements in preserving oral history and identity.

4. Complexity of Tribal Relationships:

The narrative delves into the intricate relationships between tribes and clans, showcasing the complexity of tribal dynamics, migrations, and territorial shifts.

5. Importance of Oral History:

The article emphasizes the significance of oral history in preserving cultural heritage. The Nkore kingdom's kingship institution played a vital role in passing down knowledge about Kamugungunu's ancestors and their roles in society.

6. Societal Biases and Gender Roles:

The account of Keera defeating a lioness highlights societal biases and gender roles of the time. Keera's ostracization after the act reflects the challenges women faced in breaking traditional norms.

7. Adaptability and Survival:

The devastating effects of cattle plagues and epidemics reveal the harsh realities of survival in Nkore. Kamugungunu's adaptability and ability to navigate these challenges showcase the human capacity to endure and find ways to thrive.

8. Impact of Colonialism on Indigenous Societies:

The intrusion of British colonial rule and its consequences underscore the far-reaching effects of external forces on indigenous societies. This lesson extends to understanding the complexities of colonialism and its disruptive impact on traditional governance structures.

9. Sibling Bonds and Support Networks:

Kamugungunu's reliance on his elder sisters, who played a pivotal role in his upbringing, illustrates the importance of sibling bonds and support networks during times of crisis.

10. Power Dynamics and Civil Strife:

The civil war of succession in Nkore highlights the complexities of power dynamics and internal strife within kingdoms. It serves as a lesson on the fragility of political systems during times of transition.

11. Legacy and Historical Memory:

The article touches on the importance of legacy and historical memory. Kamugungunu's birth is linked to significant historical events, emphasizing how individuals connect their life milestones to broader historical contexts.

12. Adaptation to Changing Circumstances:

Kamugungunu's life at the crossroads of history reflects the necessity of adapting to changing circumstances. His journey encapsulates the challenges and opportunities presented by the transition from the 19th to the 20th century.

In summary, the article offers a rich tapestry of historical, cultural, and personal lessons, showcasing the resilience of individuals in the face of adversity and the complex interplay of factors that shape their lives.

SAPIENS

- The above is a NEWS company domiciled in Canada and a Startup.
- It analyzes legends, historical news and facts and current news and facts.
- Sapiens does not originate any news or facts.
- It scrapes all its information from public domain like libraries and cloud archives.
- Currently, Sapiens does not sell its analytics.
- LEGTEK GROUP is a partner in Uganda.
- Currently, Sapiens operates in 32 Countries across the Globe.

Thank you.

Here is the Andrew Mwenda Resignation letter revealed once again:

**The Managing Director
Monitor Publications Ltd
Dear Mr. Tom Mushindi**

16th August 2007

RE: RESIGNATION

This is to formally inform you that I have decided to resign from being a Political Editor of Daily Monitor newspaper and from being a radio talk-show host on KFM. I have considered your request to return to Monitor and decided against it.

I have also considered your request that I at least resume writing my Sunday column and again decided that I should take more time before I accept to do so. Since I have been on unpaid leave from Monitor for a long while now, I would like my resignation to take immediate effect.



I have worked at Monitor since January 1994; first as a student intern during my first year as a student of journalism at Makerere University and since September 1996 as a full time

employee. In fact, I am currently the longest serving journalist at the newspaper. During this period, I served Monitor with dedication and integrity.

Almost every year of my work at Monitor, I won a certificate of excellence. I broke the biggest stories in the country, hosted the greatest names on radio, and in many cases even attracted the largest advertisements. Monitor readers and KFM listeners responded generously to my articles and radio shows because I upheld our core values of independence, truth, accuracy, courage, and balance.

Monitor was for me more than a workplace. It was more importantly an institution that embodied the values that I cherish dearly – freedom, liberty, independence, and professional journalism. The founders of Monitor did not begin the newspaper for money. They did so to create a platform through which Ugandans could freely and openly debate public issues. This attracted me to Monitor. Over the years, Monitor faced many threats from the state as a business. However, at no one time did the founders sacrifice its core values and heritage to safeguard it as a business.

In fact, many of us suffered state harassment, went to jail, and spent years in court on criminal trials for defending free expression in Uganda. Right now I am personally facing 15 criminal charges for expressing myself freely.

It is our firm stand in defence of liberty that inspired many people and brought us readers and listeners. These gave us revenue and attracted advertisers which made the company successful as a business. By placing our core values above commercial concerns, we created a public space that many Ugandans, many of them in high government offices, came to value dearly.

However, during my fellowship year at Stanford University, I was saddened to learn that the major shareholder, Mr. Karim Al-Hussaini (commonly known as The Aga Khan) unilaterally suspended my articles from being published in Daily and Sunday Monitor. Although the board of directors revoked the decision, I am not convinced that Monitor can regain its independence. I have consulted widely and thought deeply about Mr. Al-Hussaini's arbitrary directive and reached a conclusion that the editorial environment at Monitor is no longer conducive to free and unfettered debate of public issues in the country especially the presidency.

The interference of the major shareholder in the editorial details of the newspaper is a tragic development. This is especially so because of his other business interests in the country. He has increasingly undermined the paper's editorial independence and its contribution to democracy and accountability in our country.

I have been informed by journalists and editors that they are not allowed to write stories critical of the president and his family. The air in the editorial rooms is suffocating. I hold the values of independence from the state so dearly that I cannot work in such an environment.

In sending his directive, **Mr. Al-Hussaini was abusing his powers as a major shareholder.** Media shareholders are not supposed to deliberately undermine the professional independence of media organisations.

Mr. Al-Hussaini can only do this in Africa because somehow, anyone who is anything on our continent tends to act with impunity. A president steals from and kills his own citizens. An investor makes decisions about the company and disregards shareholders, employees and the values and the heritage of the organisation.

That has been the persistent message of disillusionment on our continent! I have done some consultations and learnt that Mr. Hussaini did not consult other shareholders in both Nation Media Group and in Monitor Publications Limited – who actually hold the majority shares in both companies – before sending his directive. He did not even consult the board of directors of NMG in Nairobi, nor of MPL in Kampala.

This arbitrary use of power is symptomatic of the way Mr. Museveni has been ruling Uganda and what I have been critical of. Does Mr. Al Hussaini think that only his interests matter and those of other shareholders don't? Does he think that MPL employees are not stakeholders in the company – even if they are not shareholders?

Doesn't he consider the aspirations of the Ugandan people? Africa has seen many investors" who traded blood diamonds, gold, Colton, oil etc as the countries in which they made huge profits collapsed under the weight of ethnic strife, civil war and abject poverty. I hope that Mr. Al-Hussaini has taken lessons from that experience.



Mr. Al Hussaini

I have also learnt that the instructions from Paris are that Monitor should desist from writing about the first family. I have been reliably informed that Mr. Museveni had a meeting with Mr. Al-Hussaini and another with the executives of Nation from Nairobi. In both meetings, Mr. Museveni showed them an article I had written before leaving for Stanford titled "Isn't the first family fleecing us?"

The article laid bare incontrovertible evidence on how the state in Uganda has been turned into a private estate of Mr. Museveni. I am reliably informed that Mr. Museveni requested both Mr. Al-Hussaini and the Nation executives not only to stop my articles from being published in Daily Monitor, but for me to be fired from the company.

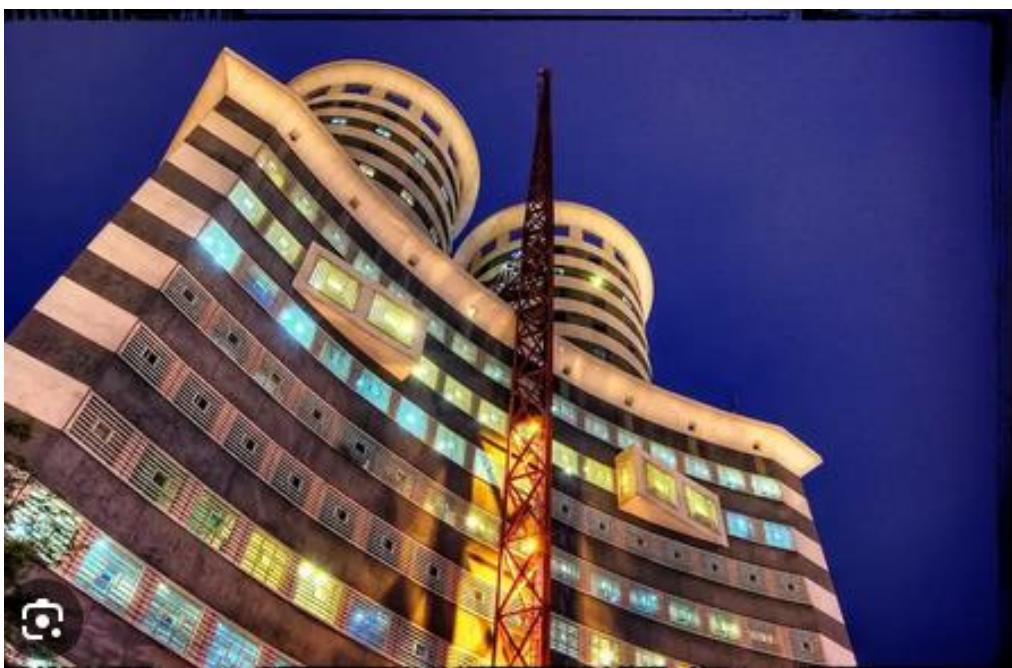
Sometime in 2006, Mr. Museveni addressed a meeting of the Central Executive Committee of his ruling party. He told them that he had defeated the opposition in Uganda and that both the FDC and Dr. Kizza Besigye were in disarray. Mr. Museveni then said the only remaining opposition is Andrew Mwenda. "He is the only one who uses facts and figures to challenge our policies and programs in the newspapers and on his radio show. How can this

one boy hold us at ransom?" Museveni challenged his party colleagues. He then promised that if the NRM cannot challenge me intellectually, he will seek to silence me from the Ugandan public debate.

These developments are important. They should have been sufficient evidence that in the absence of a strong opposition political party, Monitor provides the most effective public forum through which alternative ideas, policies, and programs can be debated in our country. But it also shows that Monitor needs to be bolder; to pry more into the activities of Mr. Museveni in his efforts to personalise the state. Instead, Monitor is being forced by one shareholder to cover-up the decay taking place in our country.

In return, the major shareholder is given more investment deals in Uganda. I am a citizen of Uganda, not a mercenary. I therefore cannot betray the future of my country in order to retain the privilege of working or writing for Monitor. The future of Uganda is more than anything that money can buy.

Mr. Museveni has always employed blackmail to get his way. He has severely threatened to close Monitor in order to force the paper to lose its editorial independence. He closed Nation TV for two months in order to force Mr. Al Hussaini to clamp down on Monitor's independence.



NMG Nairobi office towers

While I respect the interest of Mr. Al-Hussaini's to increase his investment in Uganda, I despise his attempts to do so at the expense of freedom, liberty and democracy in our country. Indeed, only a democratic dispensation can guarantee the security of his property rights in Uganda. Succumbing to blackmail only makes him more vulnerable to more blackmail not only in Uganda, but the East African region.

For example, what will happen if Daily Nation in Kenya publishes an article unfavourable about Mr. Museveni? Won't Mr. Museveni threaten to close Monitor or KFM or Nation TV in Uganda in order to force Mr. Al-Hussaini to clamp down on Nation in Kenya?

Totalitarian control does not come in a gallop, but in a creep.

Before long, Mr. Museveni may be encouraged to employ his blackmail to influence the media coverage of presidential and parliamentary elections in Tanzania and Kenya. Mr. Al-

Hussaini is setting a dangerous precedent in our region. Indeed, his business interests and monopoly of the media in this region may threaten our emerging democracies. When I visited Monitor, the air in the newsroom and other editorial rooms smelt terrible. Reporters are afraid to write stories because they are unsure of the consequences. A previously proud, ambitious and highly intelligent crop of independent journalists have been intimidated into acquiescing to the machinations of an illegitimate regime. A thriving and independent media house has been turned into a supplicant of a corrupt, tribal, and nepotistic dictatorship.

Because Monitor has succumbed to bribes and intimidation from the state, it is no longer the institution I was once proud to serve. It has lost its soul. It has betrayed its readers and listeners. It has betrayed Uganda. It has betrayed Africa. It has betrayed the cause of liberty and freedom. It has betrayed humankind. I cannot be an accomplice to this death of a dream whether because of state intimidation or of sweet heart business deals between the chief of state and the major shareholder. To do so would be identical to the action of Judas Iscariot who betrayed Jesus for 30 pieces of silver.



As you take on this challenging job, I would advise you to seriously consider your own position at Monitor. You are a highly respected journalist with international credibility. It will be tragic if you go down in history as the man who presided over the adulteration of an independent newspaper in Uganda that was setting an example for the rest of Africa. It will also be tragic when you fall like many other Africans, especially the politicians, who have sacrificed the future of this continent at the Alter of a job.

I feel very proud of the contribution Monitor has made to Uganda's faltering democracy. I also feel proud of my contribution to Uganda through Monitor. Monitor made me who I am, and it will remain a cherished institution in my heart. I thus leave Monitor not with any bitterness, but with a lot of pride in what we stood for.

But I also leave with a lot of disappointment. It is tragic that the business interests of one person – the major shareholder – have so gravely trampled the interests of all other shareholders and the aspirations of the people of Uganda for freedom and accountability.

I wish Monitor good luck and hope that it will find the wherewithal to rehabilitate its damaged reputation in the hearts of the people of Uganda. I hope that you will be able to convene a joint meeting of the board of NMG and MPL to discuss the increasing interference of the major shareholder in the editorial work of monitor.

As for me, I can never betray the cause of liberty. Liberty is an ideal for which I am willing to live for, work for to see strengthened and if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.

Sincerely,

Andrew M. Mwenda

cc. Linus Gitahi NMG CEO
cc. Wangethi Mwangi, NMG ED
cc. Martha Elimu, HR Manager
cc. HR Director, NMG
cc. Peter Kimathi, FC
cc. Joachim Buwembo, ME
cc. Peter Kaba, Radio Manager
cc. MPL Board
cc. NMG Board

MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

1. Why is Andrew Mwenda resigning?

- A. He is pursuing further studies
- B. He is unhappy with his salary
- C. He disagrees with the editorial direction
- D. He is relocating to another country

2. What does Andrew Mwenda consider the major shareholder's interference detrimental to?

- A. Financial success of the company
- B. Independence and accountability in journalism
- C. Employee benefits and wages
- D. Government relations and partnerships

3. According to the letter, why did Andrew Mwenda choose to work at Monitor initially?

- A. Attraction to the salary
- B. To challenge the president
- C. To openly debate public issues
- D. To pursue a career in journalism

4. What does Mr. Museveni accuse Andrew Mwenda of in a party meeting in 2006?

- A. Inciting rebellion
- B. Being the only effective opposition
- C. Misusing facts and figures
- D. Holding the party at ransom

5. According to Andrew Mwenda, what event at Stanford University led to his disillusionment with Monitor?

- A. Suspension of his articles
- B. Forced resignation of the editorial board
- C. Interference by the major shareholder
- D. Loss of advertising revenue

6. What is Andrew Mwenda's opinion about Mr. Al-Hussaini's business interests in Uganda?

- A. He commends his commitment to media independence
- B. He praises his contributions to democracy
- C. He despises attempts at the expense of freedom
- D. He believes they are essential for economic growth

7. What does Andrew Mwenda compare Mr. Al-Hussaini's actions to in the letter?

- A. An illegitimate regime
- B. Totalitarian control
- C. A corrupt dictatorship
- D. A democratic dispensation

8. What message does Andrew Mwenda convey about Monitor in the letter?

- A. It has betrayed the cause of liberty
- B. It remains a cherished institution
- C. It is thriving and independent
- D. It has been loyal to the state

9. How does Andrew Mwenda describe the editorial environment at Monitor towards the end of his tenure?

- A. Vibrant and dynamic
- B. Suffocating and intimidating
- C. Open and transparent
- D. Supportive and encouraging

10. What advice does Andrew Mwenda give to the recipient, Mr. Tom Mushindi, in the letter?

- A. Consider relocating to a different country
- B. Seriously consider his own position at Monitor
- C. Ignore the interference and focus on business growth
- D. Support Mr. Museveni's directives for the sake of stability

BIGGER QUESTIONS

1. Question: Discuss the key reasons behind Andrew Mwenda's resignation from Monitor Publications Ltd.

Answer: Andrew Mwenda resigned from Monitor Publications Ltd due to his dissatisfaction with the editorial interference by the major shareholder, Mr. Karim Al-Hussaini. This interference compromised the newspaper's independence, specifically regarding coverage critical of the president and his family. Mwenda, a long-serving journalist, expressed concerns about the stifling editorial environment and the erosion of core journalistic values.

2. Question: Evaluate the role of Monitor Publications Ltd in promoting freedom, liberty, and professional journalism in Uganda, as per Andrew Mwenda's perspective.

Answer: According to Mwenda, Monitor Publications Ltd played a crucial role in promoting freedom, liberty, and professional journalism in Uganda. The newspaper was founded not for monetary gain but as a platform for open debates on public issues. Mwenda highlights its dedication to core values like independence, truth, accuracy, courage, and

balance, which contributed to its success as a business while maintaining its commitment to journalistic principles.

3. Question: Analyze the impact of Mr. Karim Al-Hussaini's directive to suspend Andrew Mwenda's articles on Daily and Sunday Monitor.

Answer: Mr. Al-Hussaini's directive to suspend Mwenda's articles reflects a significant infringement on editorial independence. While the board of directors eventually overturned the decision, Mwenda, during his fellowship at Stanford University, became disillusioned, believing that Monitor could not fully regain its independence. This event marked a turning point, signaling increased interference by the major shareholder, negatively impacting the newspaper's ability to engage in unfettered public debate.

4. Question: Discuss the ethical concerns raised by Andrew Mwenda regarding Mr. Al-Hussaini's influence on media coverage and editorial decisions.

Answer: Mwenda raises ethical concerns about Mr. Al-Hussaini's interference in editorial decisions, particularly regarding stories critical of the president and his family. He argues that such interference compromises the newspaper's commitment to independence and accountability, transforming it into a mouthpiece for the major shareholder's business interests. Mwenda highlights the ethical responsibility of media shareholders to uphold professional independence, a responsibility he believes Mr. Al-Hussaini is neglecting.

5. Question: Examine the potential consequences of Mr. Museveni's request to stop Andrew Mwenda's articles and to terminate his employment at Monitor Publications Ltd.

Answer: Mr. Museveni's request to halt Mwenda's articles and terminate his employment raises concerns about press freedom and freedom of expression. It suggests a deliberate attempt to suppress dissenting voices and alternative viewpoints in the media. This kind of intervention can create a chilling effect on journalists, leading to self-censorship and diminishing the role of the media as a watchdog. It also highlights the challenges faced by journalists who challenge political authorities in environments where free expression is threatened.

6. Question: Explain Andrew Mwenda's views on the potential repercussions of Mr. Al-Hussaini's actions for media not just in Uganda but in the East African region.

Answer: Mwenda expresses concern that Mr. Al-Hussaini's actions in Uganda may set a dangerous precedent for media across the East African region. He argues that the major shareholder's business interests and media monopoly could threaten emerging democracies in neighboring countries. The fear is that similar interference and compromise of media independence might occur, impacting the ability of the press to serve as a check on power and promote democratic values in the region.

7. Question: Assess the impact of Andrew Mwenda's resignation on the state of journalism and media freedom in Uganda.

Answer: Mwenda's resignation signifies a blow to media freedom in Uganda. His departure reflects the challenges faced by journalists who strive to maintain editorial independence in the face of external pressures. The resignation highlights the struggle between journalistic principles and business interests within media organizations, raising concerns about the ability of the press to act as a watchdog and promote accountability in the country.

8. Question: Explore the role of Andrew Mwenda in challenging the government and promoting alternative ideas, policies, and programs in Uganda.

Answer: Mwenda played a significant role in challenging the government by using facts and figures to critique policies and programs in both his articles and radio shows. He stood out as one of the few effective voices of opposition, prompting Mr. Museveni to view him

as a threat. Mwenda's contributions underscore the importance of a vibrant and independent media as a platform for alternative ideas and a check on government actions.

9. Question: Discuss the concept of editorial independence and its significance in maintaining the integrity of media organizations.

Answer: Editorial independence is the ability of media organizations to make decisions free from external influences, ensuring the integrity of journalistic practices. In the case of Monitor Publications Ltd, Mwenda highlights how interference from the major shareholder compromised this independence. Editorial independence is crucial for media to fulfill their role as watchdogs, promote accountability, and provide diverse perspectives, free from undue pressure or censorship.

10. Question: Evaluate the ethical implications of Mr. Museveni's request to halt Andrew Mwenda's articles and terminate his employment at Monitor Publications Ltd.

Answer: Mr. Museveni's request raises ethical concerns as it interferes with the principle of freedom of expression and the media's role as a watchdog. Attempting to silence a journalist for challenging government policies undermines democratic values. The ethical responsibility of the media is to act independently, facilitating open discourse and holding those in power accountable. Mr. Museveni's request, if implemented, could set a troubling precedent for press freedom in Uganda.

11. Question: Examine the impact of external pressures, such as state harassment and interference from major shareholders, on the ability of journalists to maintain their dedication to core journalistic values.

Answer: External pressures, including state harassment and interference from major shareholders, can pose significant challenges to journalists' ability to uphold core journalistic values. In the case of Andrew Mwenda, the interference compromised the editorial environment and stifled the ability to engage in free and open debate. Such pressures may lead to self-censorship, compromising the integrity of journalism and diminishing its role in promoting accountability and democracy.

12. Question: Discuss Andrew Mwenda's advice to Mr. Tom Mushindi, the Managing Director of Monitor Publications Ltd, and its implications for the future of the newspaper.

Answer: Mwenda advises Mr. Tom Mushindi to seriously consider his own position at Monitor, given his respected journalistic credentials. This advice underscores the ethical dilemmas faced by those in leadership positions when external pressures compromise journalistic principles. It also implies that the future of the newspaper hinges on the decisions and actions of its leadership in addressing challenges to editorial independence and restoring the institution's commitment to its core values.

HARD WORDS

1. Disillusionment

Definition: A feeling of disappointment resulting from the discovery that something is not as good as one believed it to be.

Context: Andrew Mwenda experienced disillusionment when he learned about the major shareholder's interference, which compromised the newspaper's editorial independence.

2. Impunity

Definition: Exemption from punishment or freedom from the injurious consequences of an action.

Context: The statement suggests that those in power, including Mr. Museveni, tend to act with impunity, making decisions without fear of consequences.

3. Nepotistic

Definition: Showing favoritism to relatives, especially in granting positions or benefits.

Context: Mwenda describes the regime as "a supplicant of a corrupt, tribal, and nepotistic dictatorship," implying that there are concerns about favoritism based on familial or tribal connections.

4. Adulteration

Definition: The action of making something impure by adding foreign or inferior substances.

Context: Mwenda uses the term to express his disappointment, claiming that the major shareholder's business interests have gravely trampled the interests of other shareholders and the aspirations of the people of Uganda, resulting in the adulteration of the newspaper's values.

5. Succumbing

Definition: Giving in to pressure or temptation.

Context: Mwenda refuses to succumb to state intimidation or business deals that compromise the principles of freedom, liberty, and democracy.

6. Abject

Definition: Extremely bad, unpleasant, or degrading.

Context: The collapse of countries under the weight of ethnic strife, civil war, and abject poverty serves as a reference to the dire conditions resulting from certain investors' actions.

7. Chilling Effect

Definition: The discouragement or suppression of the exercise of one's rights, especially freedom of speech and expression, due to fear of consequences.

Context: Mr. Museveni's request to halt Andrew Mwenda's articles could create a chilling effect on journalists, leading to self-censorship.

8. Machinations

Definition: Crafty schemes or plots, especially with an intent to deceive or manipulate.

Context: Mwenda accuses the major shareholder of influencing Monitor's editorial decisions to cover up the decay taking place in Uganda, suggesting a hidden agenda or machinations.

9. Clamp Down

Definition: To suppress or restrict something, often through force or authority.

Context: Mr. Museveni closed Nation TV for two months to force the major shareholder to clamp down on Monitor's independence.

10. Supplicant

Definition: A person who asks for something in a humble or earnest manner.

Context: Mwenda refers to Monitor as having been turned into a supplicant of a corrupt regime, suggesting that it has lost its independent and assertive stance.

11. Incontrovertible

Definition: Not open to question or dispute; unquestionable.

Context: Mwenda describes the evidence in his article titled "Isn't the first family fleecing us?" as incontrovertible, implying that it is beyond doubt or dispute.

12. Monopoly

Definition: The exclusive possession or control of the supply or trade in a commodity or service.

Context: Mwenda expresses concerns that the major shareholder's business interests and monopoly of the media in the region may threaten emerging democracies.

13. Gallop

Definition: To move forward rapidly and with little control.

Context: Mwenda suggests that totalitarian control does not come in a gallop but in a creep, emphasizing the gradual and subtle nature of such control.

14. Aspirations

Definition: Strong desires or ambitions, especially toward achieving something.

Context: Mwenda questions whether Mr. Al-Hussaini considers the aspirations of the Ugandan people, highlighting the importance of aligning actions with the desires and ambitions of the citizens.

15. Ad Hoc

Definition: Created or done for a particular purpose as necessary.

Context: Mwenda mentions Mr. Al-Hussaini's arbitrary directive, suggesting that the major shareholder made decisions on an ad hoc basis without proper consultation.

16. Compromise

Definition: Settling for less than what is desired or giving up something valuable for the sake of reaching an agreement.

Context: Mwenda refuses to compromise the future of his country for the privilege of working or writing for Monitor, emphasizing the importance of principles over personal benefits.

LESSONS LEARNT

1. The Value of Editorial Independence:

The letter underscores the critical importance of editorial independence in maintaining the integrity and credibility of media organizations. Mwenda's disillusionment arises from perceived interference that compromises this independence.

2. Commitment to Core Values:

The letter highlights the significance of staying true to core values, such as independence, truth, accuracy, courage, and balance, even in the face of external pressures. Mwenda's dedication to these values defined his career at Monitor.

3. The Threat to Press Freedom:

Mwenda's experience illustrates the challenges journalists face in environments where press freedom is under threat. External pressures, including state interference and influence from major shareholders, can impede journalists' ability to fulfill their watchdog role.

4. Ethical Dilemmas in Media Management:

The letter raises ethical concerns related to media management, especially when business interests clash with journalistic principles. Leaders in media organizations may grapple with difficult decisions that impact the organization's editorial independence and overall mission.

5. The Role of Media in Democracy:

Mwenda emphasizes the crucial role that media plays in fostering democracy. An independent media serves as a platform for open debate, challenges those in power, and contributes to the checks and balances necessary for a democratic society.

6. The Impact of Business Interests on Journalism:

The letter sheds light on the potential consequences of media organizations being influenced by major shareholders with business interests. Mwenda's resignation serves as a cautionary tale about the delicate balance between media as a business and its responsibility to the public.

7. The Persistence of Authoritarian Tactics:

Mwenda's account reveals the persistence of authoritarian tactics, such as censorship, intimidation, and attempts to silence dissenting voices. It highlights the challenges faced by journalists who challenge powerful figures.

8. The Need for Media Vigilance:

The letter underscores the importance of media organizations being vigilant in protecting their independence. Mwenda's experience serves as a reminder that a thriving and independent media is crucial for a healthy democracy.

9. Consequences of Succumbing to Pressure:

Mwenda's refusal to succumb to state intimidation or compromise his principles demonstrates the potential consequences of giving in to external pressures. Succumbing may lead to a loss of credibility and a compromised role as a societal watchdog.

10. The Regional Impact of Media Ownership:

Mwenda discusses the potential regional impact of a major shareholder's influence. It raises awareness about how decisions made by media owners can have broader implications for journalism and democracy across borders.

11. Courage in the Face of Challenges:

Mwenda's decision to resign reflects courage and a commitment to the principles he values. It serves as an inspiration for journalists to stand firm in the face of challenges to uphold journalistic integrity.

12. The Fragility of Media Freedom:

The letter reminds us that media freedom is not guaranteed and can be fragile. It requires constant vigilance, advocacy, and ethical decision-making to protect the ideals of a free press in the face of external pressures.

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Thank you.

At the Nelson Mandela Memorial Lecture.

Theme: Nelson Mandela the Legend – Lessons to the Youth

Address

By, H.E. Yoweri Kaguta Museveni

President of the Republic of Uganda

31st August, 2017 - Makerere University



We are gathered here to remember the work and contribution of the late Mzee Nelson Mandela, Madiba (Amaziba, eiziba-singular-in Runyankore). We cannot, however, talk about Madiba without talking about Africa. We shall understand Madiba better, if we talk about Africa first.

Africa is a huge continent with a land area of 11.7million sq. miles, which makes it twelve times bigger than India, 4 times bigger than the USA and China each and more than two times the size of Russia.

Africa is the origin of Man. About 4 million years ago, man first evolved from the lower primates, right here in East Africa, to become Homo Sapien Sapien. Indeed, according to Dr. Diamond, human beings did not leave this continent until about 100,000 years ago. It is

Africa that pioneered civilization. The Egyptian civilization came into existence around 3000-3500BC. All the major modern religions were succored by Africa at one point or the other. The Jews, through Joseph, whose brothers had sold into slavery, were saved from starvation by Egypt. This was around 1500BC. Baby Jesus was hidden in Egypt when Herod was looking for him to kill him. This is found in the gospel of Mathew, Chapter 2, verse 13. Mohammed, when his Arabs were seeking to kill him, took refuge in Ethiopia in the year 613/615AD.

Africa, however, has suffered repeated calamities in the last 500 years and is now at the bottom of the World, her great potential notwithstanding. The afflictions on Africa have included slave trade, genocide, colonialism, neo-colonialism, marginalization and self-alienation (loss of confidence in oneself).

How did this come about? How could the first be the last and for so long? In my view, the answers lie in two words: Latitude and terrain. Africa lies between Latitude 37 degrees North and Latitude 35 degrees South. Much of Africa is around the Equator. The climate around the Equator is warm. The warm climate is good for man but also good for many of man's enemies: the tse-tse flies, the mosquitoes, the microbes, the worms etc., that cause numerous diseases. With a low-level of technology, these enemies of man kept the population of the Africans low so much that by 1400AD, the population of the whole of Africa was 42 million people while the out of Africa population was 308 million people. Remember that man only stayed in Africa until about 100,000 years ago. Nevertheless, the out of Africa population grew much faster than the in-Africa population for the reasons I have mentioned above. Therefore, the question of latitude should be borne in mind.

To the issue of latitude, add the issue of terrain. Much of the terrain of Africa is comprised of huge impenetrable forests, huge deserts (the Sahara and the Kalahari), un-navigable rivers, thick vegetation and swamps and high mountains. I will, for instance, quote for you the statement of an Imperialist army officer that was engaged in the colonial wars right here in Uganda. Lt. Vandeleur of the Scots Guards Regiment of the colonial British Army wrote as follows: "Passing through one of those swamps is a most tiring experience. Now clutching hold of the papyrus at the side, now stepping from one bit of floating vegetation to another, one tries in vain to save oneself from sinking deeper than necessary, until at last a treacherous root gives away and down one goes into a quagmire of evil-smelling mud and water, only to recommence the whole process again." This is on page 61 of the Book entitled: "The King's African Rifles" by Lt. Colonel Moyse Bartlett.

This consternation with the vegetation of Africa had also been expressed by H.M Stanley when he journeyed through the huge Congo forest between the years 1874 and 1889. On page 241 in his Book entitled: "Darkest Africa", he writes as follows: "The great forest in which we had been so long buried and whose limits were in view, appeared to continue intact and unbroken to the North East, but to the East of it was an altogether different region of grassy meads and plains and hills, freely sprinkled with groves, dusters and then lines of trees up to certain ranges of hills that bounded vision and whose base I knew must be the goal whither we had for months desired to reach. This, then, was the long promised view and the long expected exit out of gloom! Therefore, I called the tall peak terminating the forested ridge, of which the spur whereon we stood was part and that rose 2 miles East of us to a height of 4600 feet above the sea, Pisgah — Mount Pisgah, — because after 156 days of twilight in the primeval forest, we had first viewed the pasture lands of Equatoria". Stanley continues: "The men crowded up the slope eagerly with enquiring open-eyed looks, which,

before they worded their thoughts, we knew meant ‘Is it true? Is it not hoax?’ Can it be possible that we are near the end of this forest hell?”

This difficult terrain made communication among these ancient peoples difficult and did not easily allow for the emergence of large political units (kingdoms, etc). Many communities remained isolated from one another. On page 77, for instance, Stanley captures the conversation he had with some captives of Engwedde. The conversation went as follows: “I asked them if they were in the habit of fighting strangers always. Said they: “What do strangers want from us? We have nothing. We have only plantains, palms and fish”. However, Stanley continued as follows: “But supposing strangers wished to buy plantains, palm oil and fish from you, would you sell them?” The people answered: “We have not seen any strangers before. Each tribe keeps to its own place until it comes to fight with us for some reason”. Then Stanley asked them: “Do you always fight your neighbours?” They answered: “No, some of our young men go into the woods to hunt game, and they are surprised by our neighbours, then we go to them, and they come to fight us until one party is tired, or one is beaten”. Then Stanley said: “Well, will you be friends with me if I send you back to your village?” He continues: “They looked incredulous, and when they were actually escorted out of the camp with cowries in their hands, they simply stood still and refused to go fearing some trap. It seemed incredible to them that they should not be sacrificed”.

Relatively strong kingdoms and even empires did emerge mainly in the grasslands e.g. Bunyoro, Buganda, Ankole, Rwanda, Karagwe and other groups in West Africa. Even there, however, movement was not easy. The quote above by Lt. Vandaleur of the Scots Guards of the British Army was in one of those grasslands. Even those grasslands, if devoid of human activity of agriculture, are not easy to move in. If you read my essays on this issue during the Resistance wars or in the anti-terrorist operations, you will find that, from a totally different corner, I confirm what the foreigners noticed one century before. Even the modest kingdoms that emerged, did not sustain themselves. There was the issue of mentality of the actors. This mentality was influenced by the phenomenon of a small population living in the midst of a huge continent with a lot of natural resources — water, forest products, etc. — that permitted subsistence in a self-contained way at the local level.



Nyamutukura Kyebambe iii,

You did not get the strong compulsion to build large empires in search of natural resources. This was so much that, for instance, when the fairly large kingdom of Bunyoro faced a rebellion by one of the sons of the King, Kaboyo, in 1830, separating Tooro from Bunyoro, the King, Nyamutukura Kyebambe iii, did not permit the army to go and attack him in order to restore order. Hence, Tooro was able to secede from Bunyoro until the more vigorous Kabalega came on the scene in the year 1869 when it was re-conquered by Bunyoro. Shaka, in the grasslands of the South, rather belatedly, united some of the Ngoni clans into the Zulu nation which covered a land area of 11,500sq.miles. This was, of course, no comparison with the Chinese Empire of 3 million sq. miles or the Russian Empire of 8.3 million square miles.

Therefore, Africa, by the Renaissance time in Europe, the 1400 AD, when Europe re-emerged from the Dark Ages following the collapse of the Roman Empire in 450AD, was a continent of either small kingdoms or scattered communities, the high sounding titles of the vain-glorious local kings notwithstanding. In Ankole, we had a little king but with a high sounding title of “Rubambaansi” — “the controller of the whole world”!!

Nevertheless, the societies themselves were very advanced. Indeed, the European travellers through Africa were amazed by the great civilization of the grasslands of Africa: Karagwe, Buganda, Bunyoro, Ankole, Bunya area of Congo, etc. Indeed, our great friend, Stanley who was a pedantic keeper of diaries, did not let us down in capturing what he saw in the 1880s when he went through these areas. He writes: “A march of an hour and a half in the afternoon, apparently not very far from the river, brought us to the populous district of the Babusesse. The banana plantations were very extensive, reminding me of Uganda and their deep shades covered a multitude of huts. Fields of millet and sesame, plots of sweet potatoes, occupied the outskirts of these plantations and there was ample round about the land was thickly peopled and industriously cultivated”.

Apart from agriculture, the African societies had advanced technology for iron (ekyooma), copper (ekikomo), brass (emiriinga), ceramics (eibuumba), medicine (emibazi), etc.

The problem, therefore, were the small units of governance (small kingdoms and chiefdoms). Yet, this problem of a politically fragmented Africa is curable precisely because these Africans are either similar or linked, although the people themselves think they are different from one another and some of their traditional and political leaders try to tell them that they are very different from one another. Paradoxically, this complete stranger, Stanley, was able to see that these Africans were very much similar or linked. Indeed, he writes on page 76 as follows: “All the tribes from the Atlantic Ocean to East Longitude 30 degrees in the equatorial region have a distant resemblance of features and customs, but I should place East Longitude 18 degrees as the divisional line of longitude between two families of one original parent race”.

Furthermore, on page 366, Stanley writes as follows: “By a gradual rise from Amranda southward, we escape after a few miles out of the unlovely plains to older land producing a better quality of timber. Before we were 100 feet above the lake a visible improvement has taken place, the acacia had disappeared, and the myombo, a tree whose bark is useful for native cloth and for boxes, and which might be adapted for canoes, flourished everywhere. At Bwanga, the next village, the language of the Wahuma, which we have heard continually since leaving Albert Nyanza, ceases, and the Unyamwezi interpreters had now to be

employed, which fact the skeptical Zanzibaris hailed as being evidence that we were approaching Pwani (coast)."

What Stanley calls Albert Nyanza is the Ituri region of Congo and what he calls the "Wahuma language" are the inter-lacustrine Bantu dialects of these areas — Runyoro, Luganda, Runyankore, Runyambo, Ruhaya, Rujinja, Rukerewe, Lusoga, Lugwere etc., etc. That "Wahuma language" Stanley was able to notice, is spoken from longitude 30 degrees, west of Bunya, to longitude 33 degrees near Mwanza. Bunya in Congo is latitude 1°:65 North and 30° East longitude. Mwanza is 2°.31' South and 33° longitude East. In the territory between these geographical points, Stanley found all the people were speaking the "Wahuma language" — the inter-lacustrine Bantu dialects. Of course, even the Runyamwezi-Rusukuma are linked to the inter-lacustrine Bantu dialects. It, however, needs a knowledgeable person to see the linkages. Stanley was only seeing the very obvious.

This weakness of Africa was soon exposed by a confluence of events in Europe. The Europeans, ever since Marco Polo found an overland route for them in the year 1292, had become dependent on Asia for spices and silk. Spices were important for them in preserving meat in winter, while silk was important for wear. Then in 1453, Ottoman Turks captured Constantinople and blocked the overland route. The Europeans had now to find a Sea route to the East. The problem was the huge African continent, stretching from Latitude 37 degrees North to Latitude 35 degrees South. In air-miles, it is a distance of 4,500miles/7,240 kilometers and on the ground, from Ras ben Sakka in Tunisia, to the most southerly, Cape Agulhas in South Africa, it is 5,000 miles/8,000 kilometers.

Furthermore, the European ships of those days were not suitable for Sea journeys. They were flat-bottomed and had broad fronts. They could not easily cut through the heavy water of the oceans. Europeans, including Henry, the Navigator, of Portugal, quickly developed ships of a new type — V-shaped in front and at the bottom. This shape helped the ships to cut through the waters. They also improved the sails because wind was the only means of powering the ships other than rowing.

By the year 1462, a Portuguese man by the names of Pedro da Cintra, reached the coastline of Sierra Leone. Indeed, Sierra Leone is a Portuguese name meaning "the Mountain that looks like a lion". By 1482, a Portuguese man known as Diego Cama, got to Angola. By 1487, another Portuguese man called Bartholomew Diaz, got to Cape Town, saw the Table Mountain and noticed that the Coast was turning East. He named that point: "Cape of Good Hope" — the hope of, at last, rounding the massive continent of Africa in a boat. After 11 years, another Portuguese known as Vasco Da Gama, went beyond Cape Town, was blown far off course by the wind, but turned North when the wind stopped and, on Christmas day, 1498, landed on the Indian Ocean side of South Africa and named the spot: "Natal" — which means "birth" in Latin, referring to the Christmas day. Vasco Da Gama landed in Mombasa and continued to India.

The more organized Europeans had arrived on the continent of Africa, a continent of small kingdoms and scattered communities. Paradoxically, the African population is either similar or linked. It is divided in only four linguistic groups: the Niger - Congo; the Nilo-Saharan; the Afro-Asiatic; and the Khoisan.

The Niger-Congo is comprised of the Bantu and Kwa groups of languages and the Nilo-Saharan is comprised of the Cushitic, the Nilotc and the Nilo-Hamitic groups. Besides, these linguistic groups have linkages among one another.

However, all these were fragmented into numerous political units governed by ego-centric rulers that could not see the danger coming and were only bent on fighting among themselves. Although the Europeans arrived at both the East and West African coasts within 50 years of the Turks controlling Constantinople (1453), they were too weak technologically to penetrate the continent with its natural defences of terrain and disease. However, the incompetent kings could not use the interim period to protect our destiny. By the time the first European, Hannington Speke, arrived in Uganda in 1862, a whole 364 years from 1498 when Vasco Da Gama had passed at Mombasa, these incompetent traditional leaders had learnt nothing and forgotten nothing of their old bad ways of pitting brother against brother. On the other hand, the Europeans had used almost 400 years of wasted time at the African Coast to develop anti-malaria drugs (Quinine), to improve their weapons (breech-loaders vs muzzle-loaders) and they had even invented the steam-engine to power the ships and pull the train wagons (away from the sails and the horse).

The only defences of Africa — the mosquitoes, the deserts, the forests etc.,— could no longer stop an adversary who was ever improving while Africa, under the incompetent kings, was stagnant. Under the leadership of Bismarck, at the head of a recently united Germany (1871), the Congress of Berlin now partitioned the defenceless Africa. By 1900, the whole of Africa, except for Ethiopia and Liberia, had been colonized.

The total colonization of Africa by the Europeans by 1900, except for Ethiopia, was a vote of “No confidence” in the incompetent ego-centric traditional leaders of Africa. The traditional chiefs, comically putting on ostrich feathers, tried to fight. They were defeated everywhere — in many cases using Africans to fight one another. The total conquest of Africa was a big risk for the survival of our people.

That is how we now come to Nelson Mandela and his colleagues. Having reached India in 1498, the Europeans started scrambling for Asia — the Dutch, the Portuguese, the English, the French etc. In Asia, it is only China and Japan that defeated the attempts by the Europeans to colonize them. All the others were either colonies or semi-colonies (Thailand, Afghanistan, Iran etc). Since European technology was not yet developed in spite of the progress, even the improved ships needed stop-overs to replenish supplies.

I think that is how the Europeans took interest in South African points, such as Cape Town. The first group of European settlers were the Dutch who landed in the year 1652. By this time, new continents had been discovered by the Europeans — the Americas and Australia. These were continents populated by primitive indigenous peoples — the American Indians and the Aborigines of Australia. These peoples were exterminated by the Europeans and their lands were taken over by other peoples. In Africa, we do not easily get extinct. What saved us? Our cattle, our goats, our chicken that stay with us in our huts.

They had long inoculated us against the diseases the Europeans brought. Our advanced agriculture played a role in defending us against extermination. The traditional leaders having failed to defend us, the mosquitoes of Africa having failed to defend us, the geography of Africa having failed to defend us, the Africans now came up with a new form of fighter — the African freedom fighter — not traditional, not tribal but modern, Inter-tribal and Pan-African in outlook.

That is how the ANC was born in 1912 — modern, supra-tribal and Pan-African. The ANC was founded by Saul Msane, Josiah Gumede, John Dube, Pixley ka Isaka Seme, Sol Plaatje, Chiefs, People’s representatives and Church organizations. The Nelson Mandelas

came up in the 1940s as the Youth Wing of the ANC. Initially, it had been using peaceful means of struggle. However, over the years, it metamorphosed into a Liberation Movement using modern arms. That is how the Umukhonto we Sizwe was born in 1961. Avoiding the strategic incompetence of the traditional chiefs, who tried to fight conventional wars against better armed enemies, the ANC opted for a guerilla struggle, including urban warfare. The incompetent management of the traditional warriors was, for instance, shown at Isandhlwana, in 1879. Having scored a brilliant tactical victory, relying on secrecy, speed and surprise, they squandered the victory by proceeding to attack the fortified position of the Whites at the Ncome River where their victory was turned into defeat. ANC provided inspiration, subsequently, to other anti-colonial Movements in Africa. Some were, indeed, even called ANC, such as the one of Zambia.

The anti-Colonial Movement of Uganda was called UNC (Uganda National Congress) led by I.K. Musaazi, starting in 1953. All over the continent, similar groups came up: TANU in Tanganyika, KANU in Kenya, ZANU-ZAPU in Zimbabwe, FRELIMO in Mozambique, MNC in Congo, MPLA in Angola, CPP in Ghana, SWAPO in Namibia etc., etc. Those were, mainly, non-traditional, inter-tribal and Pan-Africanist. Others, however, sought, again, to exploit identity (religion or tribes) such as the DP and the KY in Uganda, Kasavubu's Party in Congo, Tshombe's Party in Congo, KADU in Kenya, UNITA in Angola, Inkatha in South Africa etc., etc. They had learnt nothing and forgotten nothing.

These nationalist political parties now spearheaded the resistance of the people against colonialism. Some even took up arms against colonialism. This was one factor that, eventually, brought about our freedom.

There were, however, other two factors. The onset of the Socialist Revolution in the Soviet Union in 1917 and the victory of the Communist Revolution in China in 1949 was the second strategic factor that assisted us to be free. These big socialist countries, right from the beginning, opposed colonialism by word and by action. They, in particular, armed the Liberation Movements and trained them. The defeat of France in Vietnam, at Dien Bien Phu in 1954, the defeat of Portugal in Mozambique and Angola in 1974 etc., were, partly, on account of this support by socialist countries on top of the efforts of resistance movements.

The third factor was the mutual weakening of one another by the imperialist countries on account of two huge wars propelled by greed — the so called First World War and 2nd World War (1914-1918 and 1939-1945). These wars were about us: Africans, Arabs and Asians. Germany, which, as already pointed out above, had been unified, against the wishes of France, in 1871, was a late-comer in the business of sharing us — the colonized peoples. At the Congress of Berlin, in order to appease them, the other colonizers had offered Tanganyika, Rwanda, Burundi, Namibia and Togo to her. However, Germany was not satisfied. She felt that this was "unfair". How could their cousins, the British, the French, the Dutch and the Portuguese etc., have all the huge prizes in colonization of much of Africa, India, Indonesia, Indo-China (Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos), the Americas, the Caribbean Islands and Australia and you only allocate Tanganyika and a few others to Germany? The colonies must be re-divided more "fairly". There were, of course, other contradictions in Europe about the Balkans and also in the Middle East involving Turkey, Austria-Hungary and Czarist Russia. Nevertheless, we, the colonial possessions, were part of the arguments between a recently unified Germany and the other European colonizers —

the “fairer” division of colonial possessions — us, the Africans, the Arabs and some of the Asians, plus the Americas and Australia. Fortunately, the colonizers bled themselves so much that, by the end of the two wars, they were so weak that they could not re-assert their control. Indonesia declared Independence after the Japanese surrender in 1945. India got Independence in 1947. The French were defeated with the support of the Socialist Camp, in 1954, in Indo-China. There was the Mau Mau uprising in Kenya. There was the Algerian war of Liberation in 1954, etc., etc.

To recapitulate, the four reasons for our, eventual, liberation were:

- The continued resistance of our People, this time led by the more modern nationalists like Mzee Mandela;
- The support of the Socialist Camp, especially the Soviet Union and China;
- The fortunate mutual weakening of one another by the Imperialist countries in their wars of greed;
- And the fourth and bigger reason is that, by the strength of our genes and our advanced civilization, we had not perished like the American Indians and the Australian Aborigines and had withstood all the horrors of the slave trade, colonialism, land confiscations, neo-colonialism, genocide, etc.

With this background, we can now look at the personal role of Mzee Mandela. He was born in 1918 among the Xhosa of South Africa. He was born in the traditional Royal clan of the Aba Thembu. Even today, one of his grandsons, Mandla Mandela, is the traditional leader in that area. He was, however, far-sighted enough, not to be lured into the mistakes of tribal chauvinism which was the original sin in terms of the causes for our enslavement. After his studies in Law, in the year 1943, he joined the Youth League of the ANC. The young Youth League members like Oliver Thambo, Walter Sisulu, etc., contributed to the ANC by adding African Nationalism. By this time, the leader of the ANC was Anthony Lembede. The ANC took two historically correct positions apart from its formation in 1912.

In the year 1960, they took the decision to wage the armed struggle in addition to the peaceful methods they were using since 1912. Secondly, in the Freedom Charter of 1955, they clearly laid it out that the struggle in South Africa was not a racial one, but it was a struggle for democracy regardless of race. In that way, the ANC was able to avoid the land mine of isolating the majority Black people from the Coloureds, the Indians and the progressive Whites. Mzee Mandela was part of all these decisions.

I personally, started following the activities of Mzee Mandela in 1964 during his trial. He was being tried for taking up arms and fighting the apartheid regime. In that trial, he accepted that he had, indeed, done military training in Algeria, in 1962. The exact words he used here were: “In Africa, I was promised support by such men ... Ben Bella, now President of Algeria ... It was Ben Bella who invited me to visit Oujda, the Headquarters of the Algerian Army of National Liberation, the visit which is described in my diary, one of the Exhibits”.

Unfortunately, he was arrested on the 5th of August 1962. All in all, he spent 27 years in prison. It seems he was communicating with the ANC structures outside the prison. Inspite of the arrests of the activists and killing of some, including Mzee Albert Luthuli who, at 70 years of age, was allegedly knocked down by a train in his area of confinement, the ANC leaders outside and inside South Africa continued to prosecute the struggle. I linked up with some of them in 1967 in Dar-es-Salaam, with Pilliso, who was heading their office.

The Apartheid regime, like all oppressors, was good at divide and rule. One of the ruses they used was the policy of Bantustans-Kwazulu, Transkei, etc. Some of the African elite were lured by that trick. In effect, the oppressor was trying to revive the technique of tribal fragmentation that was responsible for Africa's enslavement in the first place. Mzee Mandela, in prison, resisted completely these tricks. That is why he was kept for so long. Some people would break down in prison and be turned into collaborators; not Nelson Mandela. He was adamant. That was one of his contributions.

When we are talking about these struggles, we should not forget the international and Pan-African dimensions. In 1974, the traitors in Vietnam led by one Nguyen Van Thieu, were defeated by the Nationalists. In 1974, on the 25th of April, our brothers and sisters in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau, caused the collapse of the fascist, imperialist Government of Marcello Caetano in Portugal. I remember this day very well because Muhoanzi (my son) was born on the 24th of April, 1974. The following day, the 25th of April, 1974, I rang my comrade, Samora Machel, to give him my personal good news. He told me, on the phone, that I excuse him because he could not talk to me at that time because he was on the Radio listening to events in Portugal where a military Revolution was over-throwing the fascist government that was responsible for the colonial wars in Africa by claiming that the African countries of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau were "Overseas Provinces of Portugal" and that the African peoples there, were supposed to become "assimilados" — Africans that would become Portuguese in culture. By 1975, all the three of them were independent. It seems these events had a big impact inside South Africa because in 1976, a volcano erupted.

The young people rose up in rebellion, the immediate spark being provided by the Whites insisting on imposing an additional burden of learning Afrikaans, the language of the Dutch settlers, in addition to the English. The ANC, I am sure can inform all of you that recruits into the Umkhonto we Sizwe simply flooded in after the 1976 uprising. Meanwhile, on the Christmas day of 1972, while I was here in the underground against Idi Amin in Kampala, I heard on the news that Zanu fighters, working with Frelimo from the parts of the Tete – Zambezia Provinces of Mozambique, had attacked armed White farmers in Zimbabwe. By 1980, Zimbabwe was Independent.

The Independence of Angola in 1975, paved the way for the Independence of Namibia in 1990 although that freedom was preceded by some drama that I do not have time to go into here. Finally, South Africa gained majority rule in 1994. The century of shame for Africa — 1900-1994 — when the subjugation of Africa was almost total — had come to an end, with partial success.

In order to determine whether the success was partial or not, we need to ask ourselves one question: "What were the strategic aims of the African Resistance and what were the Africans resisting"? Let us start with the second half of the question. The Africans were resisting what we have enumerated above: subjugation (loss of Independence), extermination, slave trade, a wretched life and disunity that had rendered us vulnerable in the first place. Therefore, in the anti-colonial struggle, our strategic goals were 5: regaining our independence; this time, achieving democracy because we had no democracy under the Kings or under the colonialists; ensuring prosperity of our people for the first time in 4½ million years since our people had missed the industrial Revolution that had emancipated other peoples from under-development; ensuring the strategic security of the African peoples that would guarantee that the afflictions that befell us in the last 4½ million years

will never occur again — i.e. working to achieve the strategic insurance of our long suffering people; and ensuring that we protect our identity and heritage.

No doubt, by 1994, all the African countries had got “Independence”, at least on paper. Secondly, democracy took long to attain for all the countries, especially in the 1960s and 1970s; but today, most of the African countries are democratic — they have regular elections, etc. It is the other three strategic goals that are still eluding us: prosperity, strategic security and guarding our identity and heritage.

On the issue of prosperity, we have made some progress in many African countries. There are more educated Africans, more telephones, some electricity, some industries, etc. However, the measurement of prosperity that is normally used, that of GDP per capita, shows that Africa is still far behind other continents. Here below are some examples:

(i) USA	US\$ 57,466.79
(ii) UK	US\$ 39,899.39
(iii) Germany	US\$ 41,936.06
(iv) South Korea	US\$ 27,538.81
(v) China	US\$ 8,123.18
(vi) India	US\$ 1,709.39
(vii) South Africa	US\$ 5,273.59
(viii) Kenya	US\$ 1,455.36
(ix) Tanzania	US\$ 879.19
(x) Rwanda	US\$ 702.84
(xi) Burundi	US\$ 285.73
(xii) Nigeria	US\$ 2,177.99
(xiii) Uganda	US\$ 775.31
(xiv) Chad	US\$ 664.30

This is not surprising; in fact, what is surprising is that so much has been achieved so many bottlenecks notwithstanding. One of the stimuli for prosperity is a big market that would encourage the producers of goods and services to produce more and more. By producing more and more, the entrepreneurs earn more and more money, create more jobs and expand the tax-base of the country, which helps in service delivery. After groping in the dark for more than 23 years since Ghana’s Independence in 1957, the African leaders woke up to this serious gap of a fragmented African market. That is how they started looking at the Lagos Action Plan — i.e. integrating the African Markets. That is how the ideas of **COMESA, ECOWAS**, the Mahgreb Union, the Central African Market, etc., came up. Some of the Regions did not bother even after this. They had more “important” things to attend to!! However, without a big market, prosperity is not possible. If you need examples, you have China and India. Each of those countries has a population of 1.3 billion people. They, indeed, tried to develop depending only on their huge respective internal markets. They found that they were not developing at the required speed. China opened up in 1978; and India in 1991. They are now both super-powers. The internal market was not enough. However, they need a huge internal market to bargain with the others in terms of reciprocation. Ija turye kumwe biri aine ekyakurebireho (the one who invites you for dinner, expects some things in return). Big markets attract investments and reciprocal trade arrangements.

The greatest failure, however, is on the issue of strategic security, ensuring that Africa is not threatened by anybody ever, both internally and externally. Since the onset of these

“independences” by Ghana in 1957 (not to forget Sudan in 1956 and Egypt in 1922), we have witnessed numerous security break downs — coup de tats, civil wars, terrorist campaigns, mercenary invasions, invasions by foreign armies, etc., etc. Africa has no strategic centre of gravity. Africa has no insurer of her stability, sovereignty and survival as an independent continent. None of the 53 countries can guarantee, at the strategic (global) level, our freedom. They are too small even when they are developed.

How did this come about? It came about with the ideological mistake of arrivism. The ruling elites, once they took over the 53 colonies that the imperialists had organized for ease of exploitation, they judged that they had arrived. The idea of Pan-Africanism was thrown through the window. The idea of political integration so as to create more viable units is not mentioned at all. Many actors in Africa are busy with all sorts of issues, including following the performance of European football clubs, but very little time for the political integration of Africa. This is suicide. Economic development per se, which Uganda will certainly achieve, cannot provide strategic security. In the 2nd World War, the first victims of aggression were the highly developed but small countries of Belgium, Holland, Denmark, etc. Even France was occupied. It is the mighty Soviet Union, still in its infancy as far as development was concerned, that decisively defeated Hitler long before the USA entered the European theatre of war in the summer of 1944, eleven months before the end of the war in Europe. South Korea is a highly developed country. It is the 12th richest country in the World. However, in the Asian theater of giants, South Korea survives in the shadow of the USA. Whose shadow shall we rely on to provide relief for Africa? In the anti-colonial struggle, we benefitted from the support of the USSR and China. Today, however, those countries have their own interests to look after. They cannot always be there for us.

There is no logic in worshipping the existing 53 African States. They are inter-tribal and that is good. If Uganda is better than the “Republic” of Ankole, why shouldn’t East Africa be even better? The British, which act I salute, united the four colonies of the British and the Dutch into one South Africa in the year 1909. These were Natal, the Cape, Transvaal and the Orange Free State. We are saluting the British for this. Why can’t the Africans do better than the British?

Unlike Mwalimu, I did not get time to discuss in detail the issue of political integration with Madiba. I, however, gave him the write-up. It was kept by his White Secretary. Madiba, however, did not get enough time outside Prison. He did his part — to fight when he could and to be stubborn in prison when he needed to do so. Madiba and his colleagues sacrificed so much to achieve independence, democracy, international recognition and solidarity and even a level of market integration. They did not get time to deal with the issue of strategic security and the issue of guarding the future of our identity and heritage. It is us and you, the youth, to deal with this. I will say more on this on the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation function in Dar-es-Salaam in the coming months.

Uganda, when it came under the management of the Pan- Africanists, in 1986, played its own modest role in the struggle for the freedom of the people of South Africa. When the ANC fighters were to be relocated from Angola in order to facilitate the Independence of Namibia, we were approached by Thabo Mbeki and the ANC Treasurer whose name I do not remember, but his face is in front of me.

There was no hesitation on our part. Some external forces tried to arm-twist us, but we were resolute. The only time we did not go with our Southern African brothers was when they turned SADC into a common market. We refused to join SADC because we did not see the value addition involved. There is economic integration which we were already

striving for under COMESA. SADC did not aim at Political integration. What, then, was the value addition? We are part of EAC because it also aims at the Political Federation of East Africa.

In conclusion, I propose that we forgive the traditional authorities of Africa (kings, chiefs, magicians, fore-tellers) prior to 1498 because they were not aware of the danger of sustaining African political fragmentation.

Secondly, after giving a probation period of maybe 50 years, we must condemn all the traditional authorities in Africa for persisting in maintaining political fragmentation in the face of the new dangers from outside, of aiding and abetting the slave trade, enabling genocide to take place in a number of places as well as causing the whole of our continent to be colonized by 1900 except for Ethiopia.

Thirdly, we should salute the commendable work of the African nationalist freedom fighters for founding supra-tribal political organizations, such as the ANC, founded in 1912, that were able, taking full advantage of favourable global events (e.g the emergence of the socialist Bloc and the wars among the imperialists), to launch coordinated struggles for our emancipation from colonialism and gaining our democratic rights.

Fourthly, we must congratulate the African peoples for, on account of their strong genes and advanced civilization, being able to survive the horrors of the slave trade and colonialism unlike the indigenous peoples of the Americas and Australia who perished.

Fifth, we should note that out of the five (5) strategic goals of: emancipation from foreign rule; gaining our democratic rights; creating an architecture for durable and self-sustaining prosperity through market integration; ensuring Africa's strategic security through political integration by ending or reducing the phenomenon of the original sin of the political fragmentation of Africa; and preserving the heritage and identity of our people; we have achieved only two — independence and democratization. We are somewhat working on economic integration through the Regional Economic Communities; although we should be more religious on this issue and focused.

On the issue of political integration, a vital requirement for the survival of the African people as a free people if survival at all, the post independence African leaders and the elite are in danger of being like the tribal chiefs who betrayed Africa between 1500 and 1900 by failing to unite our people for their own salvation. The political leaders should not be condemned alone. We must include the whole elite. The elite to be condemned include: professors, journalists, religious leaders, cultural leaders, magicians, teachers, etc. All these “have left undone what they ought to have done and are doing what they ought not to have done and there is not truth in them”, as the Church of Uganda Prayer Book says.

The only two people who escape this condemnation are Mwalimu Nyerere and Sheikh Amani Abeid Karume who united Tanganyika and Zanzibar to create Tanzania. Madiba must be exonerated from this disapproval because he gave the entirety of his life to achieve the first two strategic goals: Independence and Democratization. He did not have enough time to do more. I spoke to him about this once and I gave him a document on the matter which the tall, big white girl, that was his secretary, may not have drawn his attention to because he never brought it out again in our discussions. In any case, he had a lot of tactical issues within South Africa and the Region to deal with.

Madiba was born on the 18th of July, 1918. He was educated by his uncle because his father died early, when he was only 12 years old. He was expelled from Fort Hare University because of being involved in the political struggle. He later studied Law at another University that is always difficult for me to pronounce because they write “W”s

which they pronounce as “V”s. In 1944, they formed the ANC Youth League. The Youth League drafted the 1947 Action Plan which culminated in the “Defiance Campaign” that came to be referred to as the “roaring 1950s!!”

On account of these activities, Mandela dropped out of his studies; but later completed his Law course from Prison from the University of South Africa. He, then, started a Law firm with his friend, Oliver Thambo, which specialized in defending political activists. This was the first Black Law Firm.

Most importantly, in 1955, at a Conference in Kliptown, Soweto, the ANC authored the very accurate diagnosis and prescription regarding South Africa’s problems in the form of the “Freedom Charter” which stated that: “South Africa belongs to all who live in it, Black and White, and no government can unjustly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people”. This was a strategically correct position because, as already said earlier, it avoided the landmine of isolating the Blacks by donating the Whites, the Coloureds and the Indians to the enemy. The Blacks were the majority, all right; but all the others were welcome in South Africa.

By 1959, it was clear that the ANC had to metamorphose again. In the 1940s, it had metamorphosed from petitioning to activism. It had to now metamorphose from activism to armed struggle. Hence, in 1959, the Deputy President, Oliver Thambo, left South Africa to establish the ANC Mission abroad. In 1962, Mandela left South Africa secretly to go for military training abroad. Albert Luthuli was the President - General. With Oliver Thambo, they attended the founding of the OAU in Addis Ababa in 1963.

In 1961, following the massacres at Sharpeville and Langa, where 69 unarmed people were massacred, the ANC started the liberation army, the Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) — the Spear of the Nation. The MK was launched on the 16th of December, 1961. Nelson Mandela was the first Commander-in-Chief of MK. After training abroad, he came back and, working as a driver to his White comrades, executed operations against the system. Their secret headquarters was, at this time, at the Lillies Farm, in Rivonia, Johannesburg. Unfortunately, he was arrested at a roadblock and sentenced to five years for leaving the country illegally. It seems, initially, the regime did not know about the sabotage programme until they raided the secret headquarters at Rivonia. That is when Mandela made his famous speech where, among others things, he said: “I have fought against White domination and I have fought against Black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons will live together in harmony with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and see realized. But, my Lord, if need be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die”. This was in 1964, by which time I was following these events closely.

On the 12th of June, 1964, Mandela and seven others were sentenced to life imprisonment. That is how he spent 27 years in jail. Indeed, it was life-imprisonment because by the time he came from jail in 1990, he was 72 years old. His Mother and son died while he was in prison. He was not allowed to bury them.

Therefore, Mzee Mandela gave his all for Africa. He has no debt with Africa. He contributed to the achievement of emancipation, democracy and some steps toward economic integration in the form of SADC. I am sure he would have done more if he had had more time. It is you and me to do what Mwalimu Nyerere, Mandela, Nkrumah, Sekou Toure, Modibo Keita, Walter Sisulu, Oliver Thambo, Patrice Lumumba, IK Musaazi, etc., did not do to insure Africa from the threats similar to the ones we have just gone through or worse.

I always say that when you do God's work, He does yours. In spite of the turbulent life he led, God gave him children and some of his off-springs are here with us today. The opportunists who, therefore, put self before Africa are not necessarily good planners. God rewards the selfless, either directly or indirectly.

Long Live the Memory of Nelson Mandela.

Thank you.

31st August, 2017

- **Makerere University**

MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

1..What is the main focus of the Nelson Mandela Memorial Lecture addressed by H.E. Yoweri Kaguta Museveni?

- A) The history of colonization in Africa
- B) Lessons from the life of Nelson Mandela
- C) The geography of the African continent
- D) The impact of European technology on Africa

2.According to the lecture, what geographical challenges did Africa face that contributed to its historical difficulties?

- A) Excessive rainfall causing floods
- B) High mountain ranges obstructing communication
- C) Vast deserts and impenetrable forests
- D) Lack of navigable rivers

3.What was the major factor contributing to Africa's low population compared to other continents by 1400 AD, according to the lecture?

- A) Harsh climate conditions
- B) Endemic diseases carried by insects
- C) Limited agricultural resources
- D) Lack of technological advancements

4.In the lecture, what did Lt. Vandeleur of the Scots Guards Regiment describe as a challenging experience during colonial wars in Uganda?

- A) Crossing vast deserts
- B) Navigating un-navigable rivers
- C) Moving through dense forests and swamps
- D) Climbing high mountains

5.According to H.E. Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, what was one of the challenges of the African societies during pre-colonial times?

- A) Lack of advanced technology
- B) Limited natural resources
- C) Fragmentation into small political units
- D) Absence of agricultural practices

6.What event marked the beginning of Europe's interest in finding a sea route to the East, as mentioned in the lecture?

- A) Discovery of America by Columbus
- B) Capture of Constantinople by Ottoman Turks
- C) Marco Polo's overland route to Asia
- D) Invention of the steam engine

7. How did the African traditional leaders respond to the European colonization of Africa, according to the lecture?

- A) They formed a united resistance against the Europeans
- B) They adopted modern technology to counter colonization
- C) They engaged in infighting and were defeated
- D) They sought diplomatic solutions with the European powers

8. When was the ANC (African National Congress) founded, and what was its initial nature, according to the lecture?

- A) 1879, as a tribal organization
- B) 1912, as a modern, supra-tribal, and Pan-African movement
- C) 1961, as a guerilla warfare organization
- D) 1940s, as a traditional tribal council

9. What was the anti-Colonial Movement of Uganda called, and who led it in 1953?

- A. ANC, led by Nelson Mandela
- B. UNC, led by I.K. Musaazi
- C. TANU, led by Julius Nyerere
- D. KANU, led by Jomo Kenyatta

10. What strategic factor assisted African countries in gaining freedom, as mentioned in the lecture?

- A. Economic sanctions
- B. Onset of the Socialist Revolution in the Soviet Union
- C. Imperialist support
- D. Cultural revolutions

11. What were the three factors mentioned as contributors to the eventual liberation of African nations?

- A. Economic development, socialism, and religious unity
- B. Armed resistance, socialist support, and imperialist wars
- C. Tribal alliances, economic sanctions, and political reforms
- D. Cultural revival, democratic movements, and technological advancements

12. According to the lecture, why did some African nationalist parties resist identity-based politics like religion or tribes?

- A. They sought to exploit identity for political gains.
- B. They believed in tribal chauvinism.
- C. They wanted to unite people for a common cause.
- D. They were influenced by colonial powers.

13. In what year did Nelson Mandela join the Youth League of the ANC?

- A. 1912
- B. 1943
- C. 1960
- D. 1994

14. Where did Nelson Mandela do his military training, as mentioned in the lecture?

- A. Algeria
- B. Angola
- C. Mozambique
- D. Congo

15. What international events were mentioned as contributing to the weakening of imperialist countries and supporting the liberation movements in Africa?

- A. World War I and World War II
- B. The Cold War and the Vietnam War
- C. The Korean War and the Cuban Missile Crisis
- D. The Gulf War and the Falklands War

16. Which African leader is specifically mentioned as having united Tanganyika and Zanzibar to create Tanzania?

- A. Nelson Mandela
- B. Julius Nyerere
- C. Jomo Kenyatta
- D. Patrice Lumumba

BIGGER QUESTIONS

1. Question: Discuss the geographical challenges faced by Africa as highlighted in H.E. Yoweri Kaguta Museveni's lecture. How did latitude and terrain contribute to the historical circumstances of the continent?

Answer: Africa faced significant geographical challenges, with its location between Latitude 37 degrees North and Latitude 35 degrees South. The warm climate around the Equator, although suitable for human habitation, was also favorable for disease-carrying organisms like tse-tse flies and mosquitoes. The lecture suggests that these factors kept the African population relatively low compared to other continents. Additionally, the terrain, including vast deserts, impenetrable forests, un-navigable rivers, and high mountains, hindered communication and the emergence of large political units. This combination of latitude and terrain played a crucial role in shaping Africa's historical circumstances.

2. Question: According to the lecture, how did the small units of governance in Africa contribute to the continent's vulnerability during the European colonization period?

Answer: The lecture points out that Africa was characterized by small political units such as kingdoms and chiefdoms. The small size and fragmentation of these governance structures meant that there was a lack of strong, centralized entities capable of resisting external threats. This vulnerability became evident during the European colonization period when more organized European powers exploited the political disunity of Africa. The lecture suggests that the absence of large empires and the mentality of local rulers, influenced by a self-contained subsistence approach, left Africa susceptible to external conquest.

3. Question: Elaborate on the impact of European technological advancements, especially in ship design, on the exploration and colonization of Africa. How did the Europeans overcome the challenges posed by the continent's vast size and natural barriers?

Answer: The lecture highlights how European ships evolved to overcome challenges in exploring Africa. Initially, flat-bottomed ships were not suitable for ocean voyages, prompting Europeans to develop V-shaped ships capable of navigating through heavy waters. These technological advancements, along with improvements in sails and weapons, enabled Europeans to overcome the vast distances and natural barriers presented by Africa. The lecture notes that by 1462, Portuguese explorer Pedro da Cintra reached the coastline of Sierra Leone, marking the beginning of European exploration of the continent.

4. Question: Explain the historical context and significance of the formation of Umukhonto we Sizwe in 1961, as mentioned in the lecture. How did the ANC's approach differ from the strategic incompetence of traditional leaders in resisting colonial forces?

Answer: Umukhonto we Sizwe, founded in 1961, was the armed wing of the African National Congress (ANC). The lecture emphasizes that the ANC, inspired by leaders like Nelson Mandela, adopted a modern, guerilla warfare approach to resist colonial forces. Unlike the traditional leaders who engaged in conventional wars with better-armed enemies, the ANC recognized the need for a different strategy. Umukhonto we Sizwe focused on guerilla warfare and urban operations, avoiding the strategic mistakes of traditional leaders. This marked a shift toward a more effective and adaptive resistance against colonial forces.

5. Question: Explore the role of geographical features such as deserts, forests, and rivers in shaping the societies of pre-colonial Africa. How did these features contribute to the difficulty of communication and the emergence of large political units?

Answer: Geographical features like deserts, forests, and rivers played a significant role in shaping pre-colonial African societies. The lecture describes how these features made communication challenging among ancient African peoples and hindered the emergence of large political units. For instance, Lt. Vandeleur's description of swamps in Uganda and H.M Stanley's accounts of the Congo forest illustrate the difficulties in traversing these terrains. The lecture suggests that such challenges led to the isolation of many communities, making the formation of large political units, such as kingdoms, a rarity.

6. Question: Discuss the impact of the Congress of Berlin in 1871 on Africa's colonization. How did the partitioning of Africa reflect the attitudes of European powers towards the continent's traditional leadership and political organization?

Answer: The Congress of Berlin in 1871 marked a significant turning point in Africa's colonization. Led by Bismarck, European powers partitioned Africa, except for Ethiopia and Liberia, by 1900. The lecture suggests that this partitioning reflected a lack of confidence in Africa's traditional leadership and political organization. The traditional chiefs, engaged in infighting, were deemed incompetent in resisting external threats. The lecture implies that the Europeans exploited the political disunity and weakness of African leadership, leading to the complete colonization of the continent.

7. Question: How did the emergence of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1912 signify a departure from traditional tribal organizations? Discuss the key characteristics that made the ANC a modern, supra-tribal, and Pan-African movement.

Answer: The formation of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1912 marked a departure from traditional tribal organizations. The ANC was characterized as modern, supra-tribal, and Pan-African. The lecture notes that the ANC, founded by leaders like Saul Msane, Josiah Gumede, and Pixley ka Isaka Seme, sought to unite various tribes and people's representatives. This departure from tribalism was a key characteristic of the ANC, emphasizing a modern and Pan-African outlook. The ANC aimed to transcend tribal boundaries and work towards a common goal of liberation, reflecting a shift from traditional, ethnically-focused organizations.

8. Question: Analyze the impact of European technological advancements and strategic developments on the eventual colonization of Africa. How did Africa's lack

of technological progress contribute to its vulnerability, and how did European powers exploit this situation?

Answer: European technological advancements played a crucial role in the colonization of Africa. The lecture highlights advancements in ship design, weaponry, and the development of anti-malaria drugs. Africa's lack of technological progress and stagnation, as described in the lecture, made it vulnerable to European powers. The lecture implies that while Africa had natural defenses like deserts, forests, and diseases, the continuous technological progress of Europeans eventually overcame these obstacles. The Europeans used their improved ships, weapons, and medical knowledge to exploit Africa's vulnerabilities, leading to widespread colonization by 1900.

9. Discuss the role of nationalist political parties in the anti-colonial movement of African nations, focusing on the motivations, strategies, and challenges faced by these parties.

Answer: Nationalist political parties played a crucial role in the anti-colonial movement across Africa. Motivated by a desire for independence, these parties, such as the UNC in Uganda and ANC in South Africa, spearheaded resistance against colonial powers. Their strategies ranged from non-traditional, inter-tribal, and Pan-Africanist approaches to armed resistance. However, some parties, like DP and KY in Uganda, embraced identity-based politics. The challenges included dealing with internal divisions and the oppressive tactics of colonial rulers.

10. Evaluate the impact of socialist revolutions in the Soviet Union and China on the liberation movements in Africa during the mid-20th century. How did these revolutions contribute to the eventual freedom of African nations?

Answer: The socialist revolutions in the Soviet Union (1917) and China (1949) significantly influenced the liberation movements in Africa. These socialist countries opposed colonialism and provided support, including arming and training, to African liberation movements. The lecture highlights events like the defeat of France in Vietnam and Portugal in Mozambique and Angola, which were partly attributed to socialist support. The socialist revolutions created a global environment that favored anti-colonial struggles and weakened imperialist powers.

11. Analyze the reasons behind the mutual weakening of imperialist countries after World War I and World War II and its impact on the liberation of African nations.

Answer: The mutual weakening of imperialist countries after World War I and World War II played a pivotal role in the liberation of African nations. The wars, driven by greed, led to significant economic and military exhaustion among colonial powers. This weakness facilitated the resistance movements in Africa, as imperialist countries were unable to reassert control. Examples like the defeat of Portugal in Mozambique and Angola showcase the consequences of the weakened imperialist powers, contributing to the eventual freedom of African nations.

12. Explore Nelson Mandela's personal role in the anti-apartheid struggle, focusing on his early life, involvement in the ANC, decision to wage armed struggle, and his enduring commitment during imprisonment.

Answer: Nelson Mandela, born in 1918, played a vital role in the anti-apartheid struggle. After joining the ANC Youth League in 1943, Mandela contributed to the infusion of African nationalism within the ANC. His involvement in the armed struggle began in 1960, and he became the first Commander-in-Chief of Umkhonto we Sizwe. Mandela's commitment to the cause persisted during his 27-year imprisonment, where he resisted pressure and maintained his anti-apartheid stance. His role in the ANC's strategic decisions

and his resilience in prison became essential elements in the eventual liberation of South Africa.

13. Assess the international and Pan-African dimensions of the anti-colonial struggles, referencing events in Vietnam, Mozambique, Angola, and the impact on South Africa.

Answer: The international and Pan-African dimensions significantly influenced anti-colonial struggles. Events like the defeat of Thieu in Vietnam and the collapse of Caetano's government in Portugal (1974) had ripple effects in Africa. The lecture mentions the impact of these events on South Africa, leading to the 1976 uprising. The global context of anti-colonial movements created a sense of solidarity among African nations and intensified resistance against oppressive regimes, ultimately contributing to the liberation of various African countries.

14. Discuss the achievements and remaining challenges for African nations post-independence, focusing on the lecture's emphasis on strategic goals such as prosperity, strategic security, and preservation of identity and heritage.

Answer: Post-independence, African nations achieved independence and democratization, but challenges persist. Economic progress has been made, but GDP per capita still lags. The lecture emphasizes the need for a large market to boost prosperity, drawing parallels with China and India. Strategic security remains a significant challenge, with internal conflicts, coups, and external threats. The preservation of identity and heritage is also highlighted as crucial. While progress has been made, the lecture urges a more focused approach to overcome these challenges for a comprehensive realization of strategic goals.

15. Examine the concept of political integration in Africa and its significance for ensuring strategic security. Discuss the factors contributing to the lack of political integration and the potential consequences for the continent.

Answer: Political integration is crucial for ensuring Africa's strategic security, as mentioned in the lecture. However, post-independence, the continent has witnessed a lack of progress in this regard. Factors contributing to this include the ideological mistake of arrivism among ruling elites and a focus on economic development over political integration. The essay explores the potential consequences of this lack of political integration, highlighting instances of coups, civil wars, and external invasions, ultimately underscoring the urgent need for a united political front.

16. Reflect on the lecture's call to condemn traditional authorities for political fragmentation and to salute African nationalist freedom fighters. Discuss the significance of these actions in the context of Africa's historical struggles and the challenges faced by the continent today.

Answer: The lecture advocates for condemning traditional authorities for political fragmentation before 1498 and saluting African nationalist freedom fighters. This call reflects the historical acknowledgment of mistakes and achievements. It urges a nuanced understanding of Africa's complex past, emphasizing the role of supra-tribal political organizations. The significance of this call lies in its potential to shape a more unified future, learning from historical lessons. The essay delves into the implications of such condemnation and salutation in the context of contemporary challenges, encouraging a critical examination of Africa's path forward.

HARD WORDS

1. Madiba (Amaziba, eiziba-singular-in Runyankore)

Definition: A term of endearment and respect for Nelson Mandela.

Context: "We are gathered here to remember the work and contribution of the late Mzee Nelson Mandela, Madiba (Amaziba, eiziba-singular-in Runyankore)."

2. Neo-colonialism

Definition: The continued economic, political, and cultural influence exerted by former colonial powers or other powerful nations over formerly colonized or less developed countries.

Context: "The afflictions on Africa have included slave trade, genocide, colonialism, neo-colonialism, marginalization, and self-alienation."

3. Marginilization

Definition: The process of pushing a group or individual to the edges or periphery, often leading to their exclusion or reduced influence.

Context: "The afflictions on Africa have included slave trade, genocide, colonialism, neo-colonialism, marginalization, and self-alienation."

4. Self-alienation

Definition: The psychological state of feeling estranged or disconnected from one's own identity, culture, or heritage.

Context: "The afflictions on Africa have included slave trade, genocide, colonialism, neo-colonialism, marginalization, and self-alienation."

5. Latitude

Definition: The measure of how far north or south a location is from the equator, expressed in degrees.

Context: "How did this come about? How could the first be the last and for so long? In my view, the answers lie in two words: Latitude and terrain."

6. Terrain

Definition: The physical features of a tract of land, including its surface conditions, topography, and vegetation.

Context: "To the issue of latitude, add the issue of terrain. Much of the terrain of Africa is comprised of huge impenetrable forests, huge deserts, un-navigable rivers, thick vegetation, and swamps and high mountains."

7. Imperialist

Definition: A supporter or advocate of imperialism, the policy of extending a country's power and influence through colonization, use of military force, or economic dominance.

Context: "This consternation with the vegetation of Africa had also been expressed by H.M Stanley when he journeyed through the huge Congo forest between the years 1874 and 1889."

8. Colonization

Definition: The act of establishing control or authority over a foreign territory, often involving the settling of people from the colonizing country.

Context: "By 1900, the whole of Africa, except for Ethiopia and Liberia, had been colonized."

9. Pan-African

Definition: Pertaining to the advocacy of the political union of all the indigenous inhabitants of Africa, aiming to strengthen African solidarity and promote unity.

Context: "The African freedom fighter — not traditional, not tribal but modern, Inter-tribal and Pan-African in outlook."

10. *Guerilla Warfare*

Definition: A form of irregular warfare characterized by small, mobile units engaging in surprise attacks and sabotage against a larger and less mobile traditional army.

Context: "Umkhonto we Sizwe focused on guerilla warfare and urban operations, avoiding the strategic mistakes of traditional leaders."

11. **Arrivism:**

Definition: The pursuit of personal advancement, especially in social, political, or economic status, often at the expense of ethical considerations or the well-being of others.

Context: The lecture criticizes the phenomenon of arrivism among ruling elites, pointing out that this selfish pursuit can hinder political integration and stability in African nations.

12. **Pan-Africanism:**

Definition: A socio-political movement that advocates the unity of African people, both on the continent and in the diaspora, to achieve common goals and overcome shared challenges.

Context: Pan-Africanism played a significant role in the anti-colonial movements, fostering a sense of solidarity among African nations and promoting the idea of a united front against colonial powers.

13. **Neo-colonialism:**

Definition: The use of economic, political, and cultural means to exert influence and maintain control over a country, usually by a former colonial power, without direct military occupation.

Context: The lecture highlights the dangers of neo-colonialism, emphasizing that while formal colonialism might have ended, the influence of former colonial powers persisted through economic and political mechanisms.

14. **Apartheid:**

Definition: A policy or system of segregation or discrimination on grounds of race, often associated with the institutionalized racial segregation in South Africa from 1948 to the early 1990s.

Context: Nelson Mandela's role in the anti-apartheid struggle is discussed in the lecture, shedding light on the oppressive policies and racial discrimination imposed by the South African government during apartheid.

15. **Decolonization:**

Definition: The process by which colonies gain independence from their colonial rulers, involving political, social, and economic changes that lead to self-governance.

Context: The lecture explores various aspects of decolonization in Africa, discussing the struggles, strategies, and challenges faced by nations seeking independence from colonial powers.

16. **Umkhonto we Sizwe:**

Definition: Translated as "Spear of the Nation," it was the armed wing of the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa, founded in 1961 to fight against the apartheid regime.

Context: The lecture details Nelson Mandela's involvement as the first Commander-in-Chief of Umkhonto we Sizwe and its role in the armed struggle against the oppressive apartheid government.

17. **Nationalist:**

Definition: A person who advocates or supports the political independence and sovereignty of their nation, often participating in movements or political parties with the goal of achieving national autonomy.

Context: Nationalist political parties were instrumental in the anti-colonial movements, working towards the liberation of African nations from colonial rule.

18. Strategic Security:

Definition: The protection of a nation's interests through a combination of military, political, economic, and diplomatic measures, aimed at maintaining stability and safeguarding against external and internal threats.

Context: The essay discusses the significance of political integration in Africa for ensuring strategic security, emphasizing the need for a united front to address common challenges and threats.

LESSONS LEARNT

1. Geographical Challenges and Historical Impact:

Lesson: Geography can significantly shape the course of history. The lecture emphasizes how Africa's geographical features, such as latitude, terrain, and natural obstacles, influenced its historical development and vulnerability to external forces.

2. Impact of Traditional Governance and Political Fragmentation:

Lesson: The lecture suggests that traditional forms of governance and political fragmentation in pre-colonial Africa contributed to the continent's vulnerability during the European colonization period. Lack of unity and strong centralized leadership made it easier for external powers to exploit divisions.

3. Technological Advancements and Colonization:

Lesson: The advancements in European technology, particularly in ship design and weaponry, played a pivotal role in Africa's colonization. The lecture highlights the importance of technological progress in overcoming geographical challenges and how it contributed to the eventual colonization of the continent.

4. Role of African Leadership and Unity:

Lesson: The lecture underscores the importance of effective leadership and unity in facing external threats. While traditional leaders were often engaged in infighting, the emergence of modern and Pan-African movements, such as the African National Congress (ANC), marked a departure from tribal divisions and a move towards a united front against colonial forces.

5. Adaptability and Resistance Strategies:

Lesson: The lecture suggests that the ability to adapt and employ effective resistance strategies is crucial in the face of external aggression. The ANC's shift to guerilla warfare and urban operations reflects a strategic departure from the traditional, ineffective methods employed by some African leaders.

6. Consequences of Neo-Colonialism:

Lesson: The concept of neo-colonialism, the continued influence of former colonial powers over formerly colonized nations, is highlighted as a challenge. The lecture implies that the afflictions faced by Africa extend beyond the colonial period and include issues such as marginalization and self-alienation.

7. Importance of Learning from History:

Lesson: Understanding historical events and their implications is crucial. The lecture encourages reflection on Africa's past, emphasizing the need to learn from historical mistakes and successes to navigate present and future challenges.

8. Promotion of Pan-Africanism:

Lesson: The emergence of Pan-African movements, as discussed in the lecture, signals the importance of transcending tribal boundaries and fostering a united, continent-wide approach to address common challenges. Pan-Africanism becomes a powerful force for liberation and resilience.

Overall, Part 1 of the memorial lecture imparts lessons about the complex interplay of geography, leadership, unity, technology, and historical context in shaping the trajectory of Africa's past and influencing its present circumstances.

9. Unity in Diversity:

Lesson: The diverse anti-colonial movements in Africa, from ANC to TANU, demonstrated the strength of unity across tribal and national lines.

Implication: Embracing diversity within a united front can empower nations to resist oppressive forces effectively.

10. Global Solidarity Matters:

Lesson: Support from socialist countries like the Soviet Union and China played a crucial role in the liberation movements against colonialism.

Implication: Building alliances and seeking global support can strengthen the resilience of nations striving for freedom.

11. Consequences of Arrivism:

Lesson: The lecture criticizes the post-independence focus on individual nation-states, neglecting political integration for personal gain.

Implication: Prioritizing personal interests over continental unity can lead to security issues and hinder Africa's overall development.

12. Strategic Goals for Africa:

Lesson: The lecture identifies five strategic goals for Africa, including independence, democracy, prosperity, strategic security, and heritage preservation.

Implication: Recognizing and working towards these goals is essential for holistic development and safeguarding the continent's future.

13. Impact of Global Wars:

Lesson: The weakening of imperialist powers due to world wars contributed to the eventual liberation of African nations.

Implication: Global events can have profound effects on regional dynamics, and nations should leverage such opportunities for their benefit.

14. Role of Leadership:

Lesson: Leaders like Nelson Mandela played pivotal roles in the struggle for freedom, resisting divisive tactics and maintaining resilience.

Implication: Leadership with a vision for unity and a commitment to the people's well-being is crucial for overcoming challenges.

15. Economic Integration for Prosperity:

Lesson: Economic integration, exemplified by regional economic communities, is crucial for Africa's prosperity.

Implication: Creating a common market can stimulate economic growth, attract investments, and contribute to the overall development of the continent.

16. Strategic Security Challenges:

Lesson: Africa faces challenges in achieving strategic security due to internal conflicts, coups, and external threats.

Implication: Political integration is necessary to address security concerns collectively, as individual nations may struggle to guarantee stability.

17. Legacy of Nelson Mandela:

Lesson: Mandela's life exemplifies sacrifice, resilience, and dedication to the cause of emancipation and democracy.

Implication: Leaders should be willing to make personal sacrifices for the greater good, and the youth should carry forward the unfinished agenda for Africa.

18. Critical Role of Education:

Lesson: Mandela's journey from a law student to a political leader highlights the transformative power of education.

Implication: Investing in education can empower individuals to lead social and political change, contributing to the overall development of the continent.

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Thank you.

"NRM's Internal Struggles: The Violent Purge of Amama Mbabazi and FDC's Defiant Response."

Maverick Blutaski(Robert Shaka)

November 26, 2017 -

ARTICLE 1.

Poor NRM violently sacked Amama Mbabazi as Prime Minister for expressing his desire to be President and Chairman of NRM. The man simply wanted to test the democratic credentials of the same party he had belonged to not knowing it had always been a briefcase organization. In barely two years they want to own the words **TOLERANCE & CIVILITY** in the Oxford dictionary like they are NRM's exclusive new invention.



Robert Shaka aka Maverick Blutaski

The purge of Amama Mbabazi and his supporters was violent and the Police and intelligence services were called in as the "KaleLeaks" revealed with nation wide arrests of NRM youth leaders like we came to know of the Ruzindanas, Omodo Omodo and group who were locked up in detention centers for exercising their democratic rights. Remember the NRM Poor Youths? Is it FDC that harassed these NRM supporters?

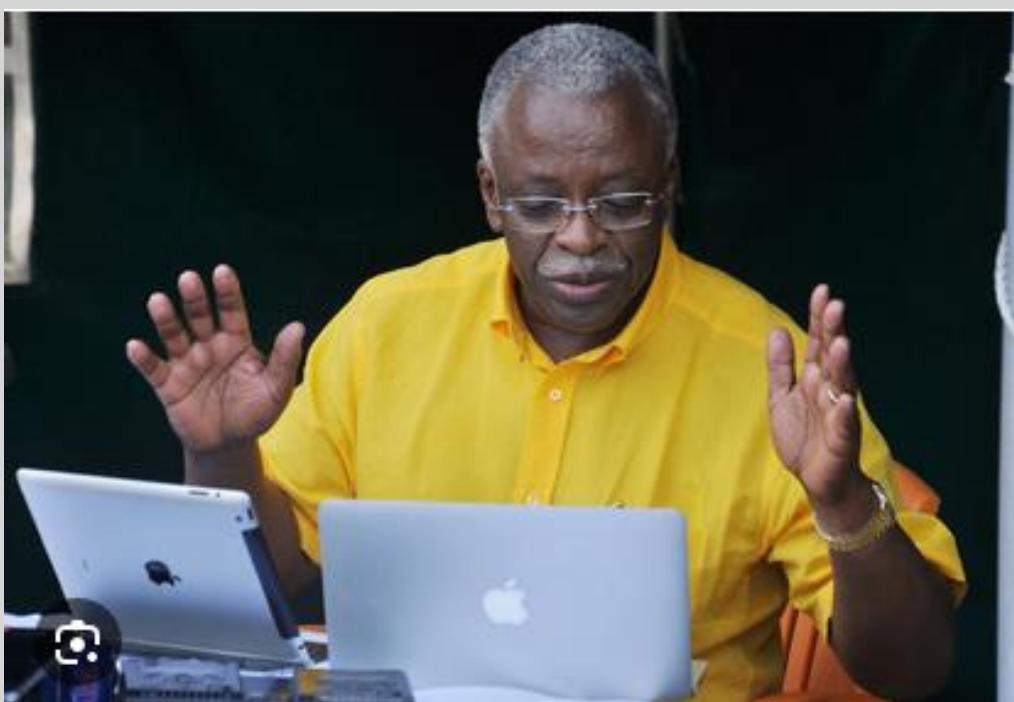
FDC radicals my butt! Have FDC supporters killed any NRM supporters over elections? NRM has declared the Inspector General of Police, a one Kale Kaihura, a cadre of NRM and by extension turned the Uganda Police into an extension of the party rather than a State Institution. All recruitment, training, promotion and placement in the Uganda Police clearly demonstrates an ethnic radicalism of the State readying for more violence.

What more radicalism do you need other than the NRM Police? How many FDC supporters have killed NRM police men or supporters? NRM police men die in gruesome road accidents chasing FDC supporters exercising their constitutional rights.

The AINE group of Go Forward that beat up NRM supporters was an NRM internal problem. GoForward was NRM and the violence in Ntungamo was between NRM supporters. Even the armed confrontation in Fort Portal between Gen.Tumukunde and Maj.Bright Rwamirama's sons during the MP youth Elections that got a General shot by the NRM police was an NRM inside job.

After the Ntungamo intra NRM violence among its supporters, the NRM **SOLE CANDIDATE** vowed revenge thus the crowning of the NRM "LEOPARD". Where was FDC supporters you call radicals in all this mele? If the Sole Candidate could be agitated by a fight between his supporters to avow revenge, then you know what he has been doing to FDC supporters around the country.

So NRM party supporters today who call FDC intolerant went ahead violently removed Amama Mbabazi from his position as Secretary General at their ramshackled Office on Kyadondo Road.



Sorry, pocked the Leopard's wrong body part!

Instead of elections, NRM supporters decided that only the party chairman should have powers to hire and fire party officials, who he can pay using public funds and hand vehicles at his choosing.

The same idle supporters of NRM who have no role in their party any more having handed all work to the Party Chairman to make all decisions are questioning the decisions of FDC party delegates who voted for their leaders as intolerant. Poor NRM supporters don't vote for their leaders, they don't pay membership to the party, even the cheap yellow T-Shirts are free. Why? They have no role in the brief-case organization.

If you can't have internal party elections because of the "sole candidate" you have created in your party, you give all powers to the "sole candidate" to be the only voter on all

positions of the party, you automatically render yourselves redundant and this emotional offloading of your frustration about FDC Elections is a sign of jealousy and bruised egos.

Poor souls.

“SOLE CANDIDATE” & SOLE VOTER was an NRM creation in your party after sacking your Secretary General for expressing his interest in leadership. What then is the problem? You don’t want to vote your leaders in NRM but want to dictate who holds which position in FDC? You claim FDC is finished every morning, evening and in your dreams during sleep. If you are worried about DEFIANCE when we have not even picked up arms to counter your penchant for violence, what then will happen? That is the price of promoting peasantry and corruption as a method of public management. You put peasants on buses from up-country to Nambole, pay them an allowance to endorse positions manipulated in Kampala by money launderers and then turn around and bleat on social media.



KAP Leader in action.

Listen and listen good good, FDC is the party of Uganda for the people of Uganda. From Maj.Kakooza Mutale's Kalangala Action Plan(2001), KIBOOKO SQUADS(2005-2011), KIFESI POLICE(2016), and the current NRM Police under Kale Kaihura, FDC supporters are ANGELS whose peaceful defiance against State inspired violence should be an inspiration to many hopeless NRM supporters. We are just thick skinned citizens motivated by a great future for country. And if you think otherwise, you need to check into a mental hospital.

Museveni has vowed to destroy the opposition, which is enshrined in the very Constitution he mid-wifed by the way. How much more in the Constitution of Uganda does he want to destroy by supplying air such as pads for schools girls or millions of labor intensive handheld hoes?

He is just exhausted the opposition increasingly continues to reject his nomadic economic policies amidst a time crisis that glares in his face. The population is increasingly resisting his every fake policy agenda unlike his blind supporters motivated by cheap money. So, FDC supporters who have refused to bow down amidst this violence are not radicals, we are

just FANTASTICALLY DEFIANT against this Musevenism and we shall win this war we solemnly vow.

"The Aging Struggle: Political Vehicles and Museveni's Life Support Machine."

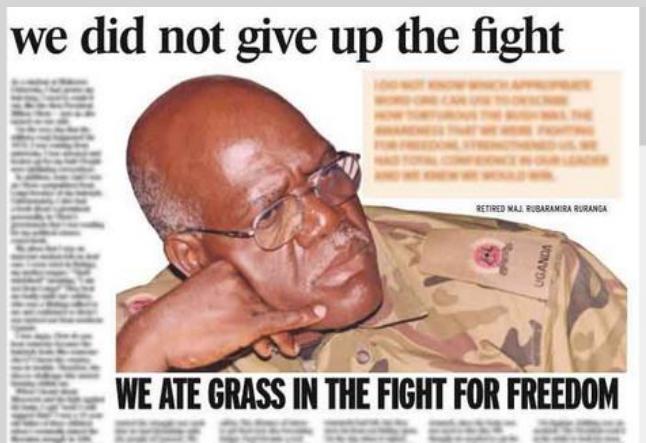
Maverick Blutaski(Robert Shaka)

November 29, 2017 ·

ARTICLE 2.

Starting a new Federal Democratic Alliance(FDA) like Betty Olive Namisango Kamya(**BONK**), Nelson Ocheger's ACTION PARTY or ANDREW MWENDA's small PR magazine in Kamwokya is one clever way finally into NRM to be placed on Mr.Museveni's financial life support machine(retirement policy). Remember, this is public money from poor citizens who toil to pay taxes which Museveni dispenses as his personal fortune.

Of course Mr.Museveni's financial life support machine which Nelson Ocheger, Betty Kamya, and many others scheme and plot to join is a fantastic motivation for most political actors devoid of ideology. And our environment breeds many of these political homosapiens.



Truth is people wear down and the struggle is not a picnic. The young people who expect Betty Kamya(60+) or Janet Museveni(65+) or Rubaramira(81) and Museveni(77) to go into the trenches to save their tattered country are not only delusional but lack ambition. The reason I am retired is because at 42, I have fought my battles, wars and have won some and I have also lost others. The best a few old folks can do to help the young is plan if they show motivation. You must be motivated and demonstrate clarity of your ambition.

The young people who however think their future lies in the old guards to build vehicles for them to “free ride” to Canan are just kidding themselves. Read my lips; like your poor grand parents and parents, you will age away and fade away in poverty for lack of ambition to challenge the status quo and negotiate for your rightful place. This poverty is structural and scientifically deliberate. It is not hereditary.

Maj.Rubaramira is a classic example. He like myself was in the Luwero jungles(1981-1986) with the old folks roaming the streets of Kampala today like they were born in Mutundwe. When you look in his eyes while his lips explain away why he quit FDC not to go join DP or UPC but NRM, the eyes are more truthful than the movement of his well endowed lips.

He is an old man in the evening of his time like myself. The same applies to Betty Kamya and I would not be surprised if others in the struggle surrender. This is an economic war, people. It always has been. Uganda is in dire straits. Everybody is broken including those deluded with power. A desperate Mr.Museveni is going to borrow massively from the Chinese dragon in the next few years to pull off some grand elephant projects after 33 years in power but the debt burden will be on the frail backs of all the hapless citizens who looked on aimlessly. Bad debt is a painful burden.

When Gen.Henry Tumukunde then a Brigadier was locked up in the Officer’s Mess in Kololo for a year over charges of promoting harmful propaganda, we all felt he was unfairly treated. Gen.David Sejusa was equally pushed off the Kameme of the bus after blowing the lid of the “Muhozi Project”. What do the two have in common? They spent their youth working for a better life. Their thing was hijacked by Museveni and were reduced to support functional roles. Their ambition had to be tamed and for 10 years Gen.Henry Tumukunde went broke. As a contingency he tried help his son into Parliament and he was contained by a UPDF bullet on his leg. What do you expect of a man in his early 60s to do when given an office desktop and chair in a small corner after 10 years in the cold? To join the opposition? Stupid!

What about Col.Tom Butiime(65+) who refused the Karamoja State portfolio? He went broke with in months of losing a Parliamentary seat in 2011 and a seat at Museveni’s dining table. He had to beg Museveni to become man again. Old men can’t fight wars meant for young people because in their time they fought their wars.

When you hear Haj.Abdul Nadduli heckling and walking with a slight limp and you pay attention, you are wasting your precious energy. He, like many are motivated by their retirement policy off Mr.Museveni’s life support machine.

Now you must acknowledge Mr.Museveni’s ability to dupe all these into building his patronage system that makes him master, the rest his palace workers and all the younger people alcoholics or police constables thanks to an open alcohol consumption policy across the country.

So, the grand standing about people starting political vehicles all over Rubaga or Nakasero is about the inherent reality that some people are aging in a struggle which is taking long to deliver results yet they have families.

You have to have a heart of a lion to stand up to this “Musevenism” and resist the temptation to hand oneself over through all schemes of treachery we have seen before. Fundamentally, this is a struggle for young people to set the agenda and struggle for. It is not a struggle of the old guards. Between 1981-1986 I was trapped in Luwero and had to

drop out of school for 5 years. I saw all these old fellows you people worship eat weeds and dry cow hides like rabbits. I saw them bony and frail sometimes afraid they may never make it out of the jungles of Luwero. Their clothes were full of white lice sucking blood out of their skinny frames for lack of soap. When we got out of the bush and came to Kampala; I also watched them develop egos along the way and the old ideology of building a nation sublime as material greed struck at the core of the soul of the former bush poor men and women.



The old guards will not give you space on a silver platter. They will not put a silver spoon in your mouth. They are building a dynasty through their children to continue the economic domination in which you will serve as grave diggers, night dancers and palace cooks. In fact like they have said before “the state will kill you and your children”.

Technically, you are in an economic struggle and unfortunately most of you are unconscious about it. The struggle is economic, political, scientific and its all about survival. Your troops are not prepared because you are always in bars consuming the deadly war poison “ALCOHOL”. A drunk soldier is unconscious. A soldier who lacks an ideology is an unconscious armed animal.

You can jump on every bandwagon all you like, but as long as you remain unconscious of your agency role as a citizen of your community, church, political organization you are fuel to the dominating power of the adversary.

Mzee Kabulasoke is a political ideologue.

Multiple Choice Questions:

1. Why was Amama Mbabazi sacked as Prime Minister according to Article 1?

- A) Corruption allegations
- B) Violent struggle within NRM
- C) Desire to be President and Chairman of NRM
- D) Poor performance as Prime Minister

2. What term is used to refer to the leaked information about the violent purge, as mentioned in Article 1?

- A) NRM Leaks
- B) KaleLeaks
- C) Purge Documents
- D) Mbabazi Files

3. According to Article 1, what role did the police and intelligence services play during the purge?

- A) Supporting Amama Mbabazi
- B) Arresting FDC supporters
- C) Nationwide arrests of NRM youth leaders
- D) Protecting NRM supporters

4. What is the author's view on FDC supporters being labeled as radicals, according to Article 1?

- A) They are peaceful angels
- B) They are equally violent
- C) They lack political ambition
- D) They are supporters of NRM

5. What internal problem within NRM does the author highlight in Article 1 regarding the AINE group of Go Forward?

- A) Leadership conflicts
- B) Violence against NRM supporters
- C) Poor election strategies
- D) None of the above

6. In Article 1, what does the author criticize NRM supporters for regarding internal party elections?

- A) Voting for leaders
- B) Not paying membership fees
- C) Handing all work to the Party Chairman
- D) Opposition to FDC decisions

7. What emotional state does the author attribute to NRM supporters expressing frustration about FDC elections in Article 1?

- A) Happiness
- B) Jealousy and bruised egos
- C) Calmness
- D) Indifference

8. According to Article 1, what was the consequence of having a "SOLE CANDIDATE" in NRM, as mentioned after the Ntungamo intra-NRM violence?

- A) Peaceful coexistence
- B) Crowning of the NRM "LEOPARD"
- C) Increased party unity
- D) FDC's victory

9. What key power did NRM supporters decide to give to the party chairman instead of holding internal elections, as per Article 1?

- A) Sole voting rights
- B) Authority to hire and fire officials
- C) Control over party finances
- D) Leadership in the police force

10. According to Article 1, what role does the author suggest FDC supporters play in the struggle against Musevenism?

- A) Grave diggers
- B) Night dancers
- C) Angels of peaceful defiance
- D) All of the above

11. What does Article 2 suggest is the motivation for starting a new political alliance like FDA?

- A) Youth empowerment
- B) Financial gain and retirement policy
- C) Idealistic ideology
- D) Opposition to Mr. Museveni

12. According to Article 2, why does the author claim young people expecting older individuals to lead the struggle are delusional?

- A) Lack of ambition
- B) Old guards' incompetence
- C) Youthful ignorance
- D) The struggle is not a picnic

13. What metaphor does the author use to describe young people relying on old guards to build political vehicles for them in Article 2?

- A) Free riders
- B) Lions in the jungle
- C) Silver spoon recipients
- D) Deluded individuals

14. In Article 2, what does the author suggest is the fate of young people relying on old guards for their future?

- A) Wealth and success
- B) Poverty and fading away
- C) Political empowerment
- D) Defeating Musevenism

15. What does the author describe as a painful burden in Article 2?

- A) Aging
- B) Poverty
- C) Lack of ambition
- D) Bad debt

16. According to Article 2, what is the primary struggle that young people are unconscious about?

- A) Political power
- B) Economic survival
- C) Scientific progress
- D) Resistance to Musevenism

BIGGER QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the circumstances surrounding Amama Mbabazi's removal as Prime Minister, as highlighted in Article 1. What were his motivations, and how did the NRM react to his desire for leadership roles within the party?

Answer: Amama Mbabazi was violently sacked as Prime Minister by the NRM due to his expressed desire to become President and Chairman of the party. His intention was to test

the democratic credentials of the party, unaware that it operated more like a briefcase organization. The NRM, rather than conducting internal elections, responded with force, involving the police and intelligence services in a nationwide purge of Mbabazi and his supporters. This showcased a lack of tolerance within the party for internal dissent and a preference for a hierarchical structure.

2. Examine the role of the police and intelligence services during the violent purge of Amama Mbabazi and his supporters, known as "KaleLeaks," according to Article 1. How did this event shape the perception of the NRM and its approach to internal dissent?

Answer: The police and intelligence services played a significant role in the violent purge of Amama Mbabazi and his supporters, as revealed in "KaleLeaks." The nationwide arrests of NRM youth leaders demonstrated the extent to which the state apparatus was involved in suppressing internal dissent. This not only highlighted the NRM's intolerance towards opposing views but also raised questions about the party's commitment to democratic principles. The use of force and state machinery against its own members indicated a willingness to prioritize control over fostering an inclusive and democratic internal political environment.

3. In Article 1, the author questions the radicalism of FDC supporters compared to NRM's actions. Analyze the arguments presented regarding the NRM police and the accusation that FDC radicals were responsible for violence. How does the author challenge the narrative of NRM supporters regarding FDC's supposed intolerance?

Answer: The author challenges the narrative of NRM supporters by pointing to the actions of the NRM police and internal conflicts within the NRM itself. The author questions whether FDC radicals were responsible for violence, highlighting incidents where NRM supporters engaged in violent confrontations, including armed confrontations within the party. This challenges the portrayal of FDC as the sole source of violence and questions the credibility of NRM's claims about FDC's supposed intolerance, presenting a different perspective on the dynamics of political violence.

4. Discuss the author's criticism of NRM supporters' involvement in internal party affairs, particularly their decision to give all powers to the party chairman. How does this decision impact the democratic processes within the party, and what implications does it have for the role of party supporters in shaping party decisions?

Answer: The author criticizes NRM supporters for surrendering decision-making powers to the party chairman, arguing that it renders them redundant within the party. This decision undermines democratic processes as it consolidates power in the hands of a single individual, limiting the influence of party members in shaping decisions. It raises questions about the party's commitment to internal democracy and creates an environment where decision-making becomes centralized, potentially leading to decisions that may not reflect the will of the broader party membership.

5. Explore the author's perspective on the "SOLE CANDIDATE" phenomenon within the NRM, as mentioned in Article 1. How does the author connect this to the party's actions and the subsequent crowning of the "NRM LEOPARD"? What implications does this have for the internal dynamics of the party?

Answer: The author links the "SOLE CANDIDATE" phenomenon to the violent removal of Amama Mbabazi and the crowning of the "NRM LEOPARD." This phenomenon, arising from the sacking of the Secretary General for expressing leadership aspirations, indicates a lack of internal democracy within the NRM. It suggests that the party prioritizes a single candidate, limiting the choices available to its members. The crowning of the "NRM

LEOPARD" implies a hierarchical structure and potential consolidation of power, impacting internal dynamics and questioning the party's commitment to fair and inclusive processes.

6. Analyze the author's critique of NRM supporters' complaints about FDC's internal party elections in Article 1. How does the author argue that NRM supporters' frustrations are rooted in jealousy and bruised egos? What role does the author ascribe to NRM's internal party dynamics in shaping this narrative?

Answer: The author suggests that NRM supporters' frustrations about FDC's internal party elections stem from jealousy and bruised egos. The argument is based on the idea that NRM, due to its lack of internal democracy, has created a situation where decisions are made by a single individual, and supporters have surrendered their roles within the party. The author contends that their frustration is a result of their own party dynamics rather than genuine concerns about FDC, emphasizing the need for self-reflection within the NRM regarding its internal structure and decision-making processes.

7. Evaluate the author's portrayal of FDC supporters as "ANGELS" in Article 1. How does the author justify this characterization, and what implications does it have for the broader political narrative surrounding FDC's resistance against state-inspired violence?

Answer: The author characterizes FDC supporters as "ANGELS" based on their perceived commitment to peaceful defiance against state-inspired violence. The justification lies in the author's narrative that FDC supporters have consistently faced challenges from the state, yet have maintained a commitment to peaceful resistance. This portrayal aims to present FDC as a party driven by a positive and peaceful agenda, countering the negative narratives propagated by opponents. The implication is that FDC's resistance is rooted in principled defiance rather than a willingness to engage in violent or radical activities.

8. Examine the author's critique of President Museveni's approach to the opposition, as outlined in Article 1. How does the author argue that Museveni's actions contradict the very constitution he midwifed? What examples does the author provide to support this claim?

Answer: The author criticizes President Museveni's approach to the opposition, arguing that it contradicts the constitution he played a role in creating. The claim is supported by examples such as Museveni's vow to destroy the opposition and his actions, including supplying items like pads for schoolgirls and handheld hoes, which the author perceives as symbolic gestures that do not address fundamental issues. The author contends that Museveni's actions undermine the democratic principles enshrined in the constitution, creating a contradiction between his rhetoric and actual governance.

9. Explore the author's characterization of FDC as the party of Uganda for the people of Uganda, as stated in Article 1. How does the author connect historical events and movements within FDC to support this characterization? What message does the author aim to convey about FDC's role in Ugandan politics?

Answer: The author characterizes FDC as the party of Uganda by connecting it to historical events and movements, such as Maj.Kakooza Mutale's Kalangala Action Plan, KIBOOKO SQUADS, and KIFESI POLICE. The author aims to convey that FDC has been involved in various movements that address issues of national importance and advocate for the well-being of the people. This characterization positions FDC as a

HARD WORDS

1. Purge

Definition: The act of removing or getting rid of something unwanted or undesirable.

Context: In Article 1, the author discusses the violent purge of Amama Mbabazi and his supporters from the NRM, highlighting the forceful expulsion and elimination of dissenting voices.

2. Briefcase Organization

Definition: A term used to describe an organization that exists only nominally or on paper, lacking substantial activities or genuine functionality.

Context: The author accuses the NRM of being a briefcase organization in Article 1, suggesting that it lacked true democratic processes and was merely a facade.

3. Tolerance

Definition: The ability to accept and respect opinions, practices, or beliefs that differ from one's own.

Context: The author questions NRM's claim to own the words "TOLERANCE & CIVILITY" in the Oxford dictionary while highlighting the violent actions against dissenting voices within the party.

4. Civility

Definition: Politeness, courtesy, and respectful behavior in social interactions.

Context: The author questions NRM's assertion of civility, suggesting that the violent actions against Amama Mbabazi and supporters contradict claims of being a civil political party.

5. Radicalism

Definition: The advocacy for extreme political or social reforms, often involving drastic changes to established norms.

Context: The author challenges the narrative of NRM supporters labeling FDC as radicals, pointing to NRM's own radical actions, such as the violent removal of Amama Mbabazi.

6. Internal Purge

Definition: An internal cleansing or removal of individuals within an organization, often through force or coercion.

Context: Article 1 discusses the internal purge within the NRM, highlighting the violent removal of Amama Mbabazi and his supporters from key positions.

7. Patronage System

Definition: A system in which individuals in power provide favors, rewards, or benefits to those who support or serve their interests.

Context: The author accuses Mr. Museveni of duping political actors into building a patronage system that serves his interests, making him the master and others his palace workers.

8. Retirement Policy

Definition: A plan or strategy regarding the withdrawal from active work or public life, often associated with financial support or benefits.

Context: In Article 2, the author refers to political actors scheming to join Mr. Museveni's financial life support machine as a form of retirement policy, highlighting the financial motivations of certain political figures.

9. Homosapiens

Definition: The scientific name for modern humans, emphasizing their classification as a species within the Homo genus.

Context: The author refers to political homosapiens in Article 2, suggesting that many political actors lack genuine ideology and are driven by personal motivations rather than a commitment to principles.

10. Dynasty

Definition: A succession of rulers from the same family or line, typically characterized by hereditary rule.

Context: The author argues that the old guards within the political struggle are building a dynasty through their children, intending to continue economic domination.

11. Ideologue

Definition: An individual who passionately adheres to a particular ideology, often with a strong commitment to its principles.

Context: Mzee Kabulasoke is described as a political ideologue in Article 2, emphasizing his strong commitment to certain political principles.

12. Contingency

Definition: A provision for an unforeseen event or circumstance; a backup plan.

Context: The author mentions Gen. Henry Tumukunde's contingency plan in Article 2, describing how he attempted to help his son into Parliament when facing financial challenges.

13. Grandstanding

Definition: Behavior or speech intended to impress others or attract attention, often without substance.

Context: The author refers to the grandstanding about starting political vehicles in Article 2, suggesting that some individuals are making showy gestures without genuine commitment.

14. Structural Poverty

Definition: Poverty resulting from systemic or structural factors within a society rather than individual circumstances.

Context: The author discusses structural and scientifically deliberate poverty in Article 2, highlighting the idea that poverty is ingrained in the economic and political structure of Uganda.

15. Bad Debt

Definition: A debt that is unlikely to be recovered, typically due to the debtor's inability to repay.

Context: The author mentions bad debt in Article 2, referring to the potential consequences of Mr. Museveni's massive borrowing for grand projects, indicating that the burden will fall on citizens.

16. Nomic Economic Policies

Definition: Economic policies lacking consistency or a stable framework, often characterized by unpredictability.

Context: The author criticizes President Museveni's economic policies as nomadic in Article 2, suggesting that they lack coherence and stability, contributing to the resistance from the population.

LESSONS LEARNT

1. Political Turmoil Within NRM:

Lesson: Internal struggles and power dynamics within political parties can lead to violence and suppression of dissent.

Context: The violent removal of Amama Mbabazi as Prime Minister within the NRM highlights the challenges associated with power transitions and democratic processes within political organizations.

2. Violence and Intolerance:

Lesson: Political violence and intolerance can undermine the democratic values that parties claim to uphold.

Context: The author criticizes the NRM for using violent means against its own members, questioning the party's commitment to tolerance and civility.

3. Manipulation of Democratic Processes:

Lesson: Parties that manipulate internal democratic processes risk internal strife and external criticism.

Context: The articles point out instances where democratic processes were allegedly manipulated within NRM, leading to violent consequences and challenges to the party's legitimacy.

4. Role of Youth in Politics:

Lesson: The involvement and treatment of youth in political movements can significantly impact the overall political landscape.

Context: The articles discuss the role of youth in NRM, FDC, and other political movements, highlighting how their actions and treatment shape the political narrative.

5. Financial Motivations in Politics:

Lesson: Political actors may be motivated by financial incentives, and this can influence their decisions and alliances.

Context: The concept of joining Mr. Museveni's financial life support machine as a retirement policy in Article 2 underscores the influence of financial considerations in political maneuvering.

6. Generational Dynamics:

Lesson: Interactions between older and younger generations in politics can shape the trajectory of political movements.

Context: The articles discuss the struggles of old guards and their attempts to navigate contemporary political landscapes, highlighting the challenges and differences between generations.

7. Structural Poverty and Economic Struggles:

Lesson: Economic struggles and structural poverty can be significant factors in political dynamics.

Context: The articles argue that economic factors, such as poverty and financial struggles, influence political decisions and the motivations of political actors.

8. Importance of Ideological Clarity:

Lesson: Political actors should have clear ideologies to guide their actions and decisions.

Context: The articles emphasize the importance of motivation and ideological clarity among political actors, suggesting that those lacking a clear vision may engage in opportunistic behavior.

9. Consequences of Nomadic Economic Policies:

Lesson: Economic policies lacking stability and coherence can have negative consequences for a nation.

Context: Article 2 critiques President Museveni's economic policies as nomadic, suggesting that inconsistency and unpredictability contribute to resistance and economic challenges.

10. Challenges of Building a Political Dynasty:

Lesson: Attempts to build political dynasties may face challenges, and their implications can be significant for a country's political landscape.

Context: The articles discuss the idea of old guards attempting to establish dynasties through their children, raising questions about the impact on political power dynamics. These lessons highlight the complex interplay of political, economic, and generational factors in shaping the political landscape in Uganda, as presented by Robert Shaka in his articles.