

Army. Astles's private airline company was handling the smuggling.

Ugandan Army officers also charged that Amin was working—against government orders—with the Sudan rebels inside Sudan. They alleged he went on a number of unauthorized flights with a foreign pilot—possibly Astles—to meet Sudanese rebels and arranged to supply them with matériel intended for the Ugandan Armed Forces.

A German mercenary named Rolf Steiner was an accomplice in the operation. In his autobiography, *The Last Adventurer*, Steiner relates that he had arranged a meeting in Kampala “under the supervision of General Idi Amin with the purpose of reaching an agreement on the leadership of the [Sudanese] liberation front.” Out of this meeting, Steiner was given money to buy goods wholesale and ship them across Uganda to the tribal chiefs in southern Sudan. Steiner notes that “although not all-powerful, he [Amin] was strong enough to order his army to turn a blind eye to my harmless smuggling service.”

Meanwhile, Obote refused to grant Israel landing rights for their supplies to the Anyanya. The crisis over Sudan policy hit in November 1970. Steiner was arrested by Ugandan police upon reentering Uganda from Sudan. Obote stated, in a later interview, “The government of Uganda as such was not involved in aiding the Anyanya but was involved in finding political solutions in the Sudanese conflict. The arrest of Steiner brought out the fact that Israel was using Uganda to supply Anyanya.”

Obote was couped while he was in Nairobi, on his way back from the Singapore Commonwealth conference. As he relates, “It is doubtful that Amin, without the urging of the Israelis, would have staged a successful coup in 1971. . . . Israel wanted a client regime in Uganda which they could manipulate in order to prevent Sudan from sending her troops to Egypt. . . . The coup succeeded beyond their wildest expectations. . . . The Israelis set up in Uganda a regime which pivoted in every respect to Amin, who in turn was under the strictest control of the Israelis in Kampala. . . . The Israelis and Anyanya were hilarious; the regime was under their control.”

When the Sudanese civil war was halted in 1972, Israel quickly lost interest in Amin. Enter Libya. In February 1972, Amin visited Libya, striking a pact with its President Muammar Qaddafi. In March 1972, all Israeli personnel were told to leave Uganda. In August 1972, all Asians were expelled, whereupon Britain withdrew its support for Amin. In September 1972, Libya proffered full military assistance to Uganda and sent 500 technicians to Kampala. By 1974, the intelligence services in Uganda were being run by Libya, and Libya was giving Amin Soviet MiG fighters. Libya even supplied troops to defend Amin when the Tanzanian Armed Forces invaded Uganda to drive Amin out. Overseeing the entire venture, from beginning to end in 1979, was London's Astles.

Baroness Chalker's Ugandan mercenary

by Linda de Hoyos

Uganda remains today the on-the-ground headquarters for operations against Sudan. It is the major source of supply for John Garang's Sudanese People's Liberation Army. The SPLA is supplied from Kidepo Valley Park in northern Uganda, and Kidepo is the site for SPLA training and the SPLA headquarters. According to Ugandan sources, food, gasoline, and supplies are stored for Garang at the Mbuya military barracks, and the supplies are delivered by the National Resistance Army's 4th Division.

In the days when the SPLA was more militarily viable, Ugandan dictator Yoweri Museveni attempted to procure sophisticated weapons for Garang. In August 1992, Museveni's private secretary, Innocent Bisangwa-Mbuguje, and Ugandan Ambassador to the United States Stephen Kapimpina Katenda-Apuuli were arrested in Orlando, Florida, for illegally attempting to buy 400 TOW anti-tank missiles and 34 TOW launchers for \$18 million. The weapons were bound for the SPLA, through the border towns of Nimule or Kaya in northern Uganda.

Museveni and Garang are old school buddies, both having matriculated at the Dar Es Salaam University—the Julius Nyerere “kindergarten” where the curriculum centered on Franz Fanon, Lenin, and Marx.

Museveni came to power in Uganda in 1986, after five years of bush war. His most immediate sponsor was Tanzanian President Nyerere, who had ordered the coup against Ugandan President Godfrey Binaisa in 1981. During his years in the bush, Museveni received funding and arms from Libya, with which he retains close relations and a continuing arms supply. He also received cash injections from Nigerian businessman Mooshod Abiola, who in the early 1980s served as the bagman for ITT; and from Tiny Rowland, then director of Lonrho, who became an “honorary” member of the SPLA.

However, Museveni's most significant sponsor is Baroness Lynda Chalker, British Minister of Overseas Development. Chalker was the first foreigner to meet Museveni when he finally took Kampala in 1986. Her ministry has posted British civil servants as the “seconds” throughout Museveni's government. The relationship is personal. As one British source put it: “Chalker spends a lot of time, a disproportionate amount of time, in the Horn of Africa and Uganda.” Soon after the Rwandan Patriotic Front took Kigali in July

1994, Chalker flew to Kampala to visit Museveni for four days in a victory celebration. "He is," said one British source, "the blue-eyed darling of the British in Africa."

Map key: London's wars in East Africa

1. Egypt: Baroness Caroline Cox, deputy speaker of the British House of Lords and leading spokesman for Christian Solidarity International, arrived in Cairo on May 8 to address a conference of the Sudanese political opposition to the Al-Bashir government of Sudan. Cox's provocative visit was aimed at increasing Cairo's role as a subversive base against Sudan, right at the point that Cairo and Khartoum are working on a diplomatic solution to border disagreements.

2. Eritrea: Eritrean President Assiyas Afwerki spent nearly a month in the United States in January-February 1995, where he sought to win donor support for his new country, in return for his willingness to permit Eritrea to be used as a base of operations against Sudan. In December 1994, Eritrea suddenly severed relations with Sudan, likely at the behest of Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni, with whom Afwerki is known to have close ties, through former Lonrho Chairman Tiny Rowland.

3. Khartoum, Sudan; Kampala, Uganda: Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and relief agencies centered in both cities are known to be operating against Sudan, often supplying arms to John Garang's Sudanese People's Liberation Army (see article, p. 52).

4. Nubian Mountains of Sudan: NGOs virtually control this area, by virtue of its remoteness and an erratic insurgency there.

5. Nimule, southern Sudan: This is the last military stronghold of John Garang's SPLA. Garang's forces train and camp in northern Uganda. According to multiple sources, the SPLA-held town of Nimule is being defended by Ugandan forces and has been heavily mined. The British newsletter *Africa Confidential* reported in April that there are U.S. military advisers on the ground in Uganda, aiding in this effort. The SPLA is supplied through northern Uganda, with the aid of the U.N. Development Program's Hans Farelus, a Swede.

6. Kenya: In January-February, the so-called February 18th Movement (FEM) ran military operations into Kenya from eastern Uganda. Kenya charged on Feb. 3 that FEM leader John Odongo is believed to be in Uganda and operating with full backing from the Ugandan National Resistance Army. The Kenyan Armed Forces have been moved up to the Ugandan border. Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi, under extreme pressure from the International Monetary Fund and from British and allied press outlets, met with

Sudanese President Omar Hassan Al-Bashir on May 24, to discuss water projects for the entire region. According to the Ugandan representative to an April conference of the National Endowment for Democracy in Washington, "We hope to break relations with Kenya soon."

7. Rwanda: The Rwandan Patriotic Front, currently ruling in Kigali, invaded Rwanda in October 1990 from Uganda and then again in fall of 1993. The RPF is a section of Museveni's National Resistance Army (NRA); most prominently, RPF chief and now Rwandan Defense Minister Paul Kagame was the head of intelligence for the NRA. Baroness Chalker is the only public figure in the West or in Africa to defend the RPF in its slaughter of thousands of men, women, and children in the Kibeho refugee camp in southwestern Rwanda in April 1995, and Britain has announced that it will soon open a full embassy in Kigali. The RPF is armed from Uganda and is operating in Burundi against Hutu refugees there, and also against Rwandan refugees in Zaire.

8. Burundi: The Burundi military is 99% composed of members of the Tutsi minority of Burundi. It is armed from Uganda via Tanzania, and sources report that Ugandan troops are also operating in northern Burundi against Hutus there.

In September 1993, the Burundi military attempted a coup against the newly elected Hutu President Melchior Ndadaye, who was murdered along with other Hutu elites. The attempted coup and subsequent bloodletting, which resulted in over 100,000 deaths, was little publicized in the West, but was crucial in creating the environment for the mass slaughters that took place in Rwanda in summer 1994. Before Museveni, Ugandan dictator Idi Amin was a sponsor of the Burundi Tutsi military in the 1970s, when Burundi military tyrant Jean-Baptiste Bagaza was in power.

9. Libya: Libya was an early supporter of Museveni's war in the bush against the second government of Milton Obote (1981-86). It has continued to supply Uganda with arms and to support Museveni, despite the fall of the Iron Curtain and despite Museveni's full embrace of the International Monetary Fund's free-market dogma. Burundi dictator Bagaza went into exile in Libya after he was overthrown in 1987.

10. Somalia: Since the overthrow of President Siad Barre in 1990, Somalia has been in perpetual war and has broken down to the point of total political, social, and economic chaos. It is expected that Museveni will attempt to utilize various Somali clans to run military operations against Kenya. Unless London's wars in East Africa are brought to a halt, the annihilation of the nation of Somalia is the future for all countries in the region.

London's wars in East Africa

