

On the 16<sup>th</sup> Of June, 2023, a small group of about 10 or less people, attacked Nyabugaando Secondary School, a private school near Lubiriha River. The names of the places are Kikoonjo version of the bigger Runyakitara language (Runyankore, Rukiga, Lunyaambo, Runyoro, Lutooro, Rujiinja, Ruhaya, Luluuri, etc). Nyabugaando refers to the thorny, nitrogen fixing plants known as obugaando (acacia hohii). That is why you hear, throughout the Great Lakes area, place names like Rugaando in Rwampaara; Kigaando, in Butambala, Mpigi; Kigaando in Karagwe, Tanzania; etc. Lubiriha, would be Rubira, with the voice going down over the “i”, meaning bubbling or boiling from the verb Kubira (to reach boiling point for water).

At this Nyabugaando School, the small group of terrorists, using machetes, club and fire, killed 37 children. This was most tragic and, as usual, despicable and condemnable. Why? It is because you cannot be called a fighter for any good cause, when you attack unarmed people.

Moreover, in this case children; you are a criminal, a terrorist and never to be called a fighter. If you want to be a fighter, you attack a barracks, a Police Post or you ambush troops or security personnel on the move. In that case, you are still illegal, you are committing treason, but you are not a war criminal.

ADF, attacking Nyabugaando School children, does not show ADF getting stronger. It, actually, shows that the ADF was defeated long ago. By the time they committed the atrocities of Kiburara Seminary and Kichwaamba Technical School (on 16th August, 1997 and 8<sup>th</sup> June, 1998 respectively), they were already defeated. It meant, then and it means now, that they could not attack anybody armed with a gun. The only one they can attack, is the un-armed one. That is weakness, not strength.

When the ADF launched their first attack on Mpondwe on the 13<sup>th</sup> of November, 1996, fully supported and armed with guns by Mobutu and Bashir, 1200 of them, their aim was to capture Mpondwe, which they did for a few days; proceed

and capture Kasese Air-strip, so that Bashir lands weapons for them and, then, in Co-ordination with Kony in the North, would proceed to Kampala and overthrow the NRM Government. The attack on Mpondwe, was to tackle us from the rear and give us a final blow. What happened? The ADF was blocked by the small forces near Mpondwe and contained there. After a few days, a massive counter-attack was launched by the UPDF. 400 ADFs were killed and the whole group was dispersed. They now shifted to, mainly, rural terrorism, targeting unarmed Civilians, again. I can only remember a few cases where they attacked detachments of UPDF. We had to, therefore, build the anti-terrorism capacity. This meant 4 targets: stop them from capturing power; stop them from controlling any part of Uganda; stop them from interfering with human settlements in the rural areas and the economic activities of the people (in other words, enable the IDPs to go back to their homes); and stop them from committing atrocities in Uganda like the one of Nyabugaando.

By 2007, all these four had been achieved. The last desperate effort was in 2007, when 100 of them entered Uganda from Congo and 87 of them were killed by the Commandoes in Semuliki National Park. They had come to sabotage the Common wealth meeting of that year by committing terrorist atrocities that would scare delegates from coming. Since that time, they could no longer send groups into Uganda. They now tried to concentrate on individuals that would plant bombs. They planted a total of 34 bombs. We, however, eliminated all those bombing efforts by arresting or killing all those involved within Uganda.

The ADF now remained in Congo. This is where the anti-NRM foreign agents based in the Monitor paper, become a comic group. When the incident like the one of Nyabugaando, unfortunately, occurs, they come up: “security in Uganda has collapsed”, etc. Is their plan to shift Uganda out of the Great Lakes region and put it where in the World?

We could not shift Uganda and we fortified here by having a strong Army and intelligence service. The question is: “How do you ensure total security in the continent of Africa where colonialism ensured excessive political balkanization?” If you have the right ideological orientation, you do what the NRM has done in Uganda by ensuring the following:

- (i). A strong Army that can fight any type of war;
- (ii). A strong intelligence service that uses both human and technical means to detect and locate the enemies within the borders of Uganda and, in some cases, outside Uganda;
- (iii). Maximum political cohesion within the Country based on broad-based legitimate interests of the people; and
- (iv). Pan-African efforts to work with sister African Countries on matters of common interest such as trade, etc., including security.

This is how the NRM has turned Uganda into an Island of peace in the region where Uganda is not generating refugees and is, instead, receiving the highest number of refugees in Africa and No.3 in the whole World. There are now 1.53million refugees in Uganda.

By relying on a strong Army, a reasonably strong intelligence service and maximum political cohesion possible, the NRM has been able to keep the ADF away from Uganda ever since their defeat in Semuliki Valley in 2007. However, the ADF were there in Congo. Although their growth is not dramatic, but the Congo Government of H.E Kabila, supported by some regional and international actors, gave them free tenancy in North Kivu and Ituri. They were mining gold, selling timber, harvesting people's Cocoa, collecting taxes, extorting money from people, etc. They were modestly growing and with money. They also developed linkages with other terrorists like al-Quida.

However, all this does not mean much for NRM-UPDF. We will always defeat any anti-Uganda terrorist group given the right conditions. In spite of the modest growth and the free territory the Kabila Government gave them, they could not enter Uganda in force-section, platoon, company, etc. - at all and could infiltrate individuals with a lot of difficulty.

Should we and can we close the border with Congo like the Israelis built a wall between Israel and Palestine? Who would lose most, apart from the issue of cost for the wall? Uganda earns USD 606.32million per year by exporting to Congo. All this would be lost. Besides, we would harm and annoy our people and the Congolese people that live on the borders. These are the same people: Bakoonjo - Banaande; Banyoro-Batooro-Batuku-Bahema-Banyambooga; Alurs; Lugbara; Lendu; Kakwa; the Kinyarwaanda speakers; etc.

Recently, at Kyankwanzi, I met a delegation of congolese MPs. To solve the problem of translation since I did not have a French speaker on my side, I spoke in Runyoro - Rutooro and the Hon. Tibasiima Ateenyi, MP for one of the constituencies in Ituri, translated to the others. There was also an MP from Mahagi who is an Alur speaker with whom I exchanged: Nedi, afwoyo, afwoyo bino, etc. With Dr. Omona, they continued blasting off in Luo. These are the people that we would close off if we tried to physically seal the border. Cut off the toe because it has been invaded by Jigga. No; the NRM patiently removes the jigga and preserves the toe.

Therefore, closing the borders, building walls is out. The only ways are: to crush the ADF (kuhuura like you thresh millet), kutokoora (like you remove something that has fallen in your tea), kuraaza (to know where the animal you are hunting is) and kutooza (to follow the track of an animal).

Fortunately, with the coming of H.E Felix Tshisekedi to power, he was more co-operative. He allowed us, since the 31<sup>st</sup> of November, 2021, to kuhuura (thresh) ADF. It had good results because the ADF had foolishly gathered in big camps, confident that they were invulnerable and no force could reach them.

**See the pictures below before our kuhuura and after.**



## ADF CAMP BEFORE ATTACK BY UPDF AIRFORCE AND LONG- RANGE ARTILLERY



Image 1

**Description:** The black big object is a house. White objects are human beings. It also shows the big flame of fire.

The colour of the images of the objects - people, trees, house, black or white - depends on the way the camera-man sets the camera.



**Image 2.**

**Description:** The black objects are human beings. This is because the camera sensor identifies hot objects as black and cold objects as white.



Image 3.

**Description:** In this image; the white objects are human beings walking around the house. It is more clearly seen in a video. The image was captured when its cold that's why its black.



Image 4.

**Description:** In this image, the camera is black hot so white is cold. Therefore, the black objects are human beings and some flames of fire around the houses.



Image 5.

**Description:** In this image black objects reflect hot bodies or objects and white objects reflect cold objects like the forest. So the black spots seen are few flames of fire beneath the thick forest.



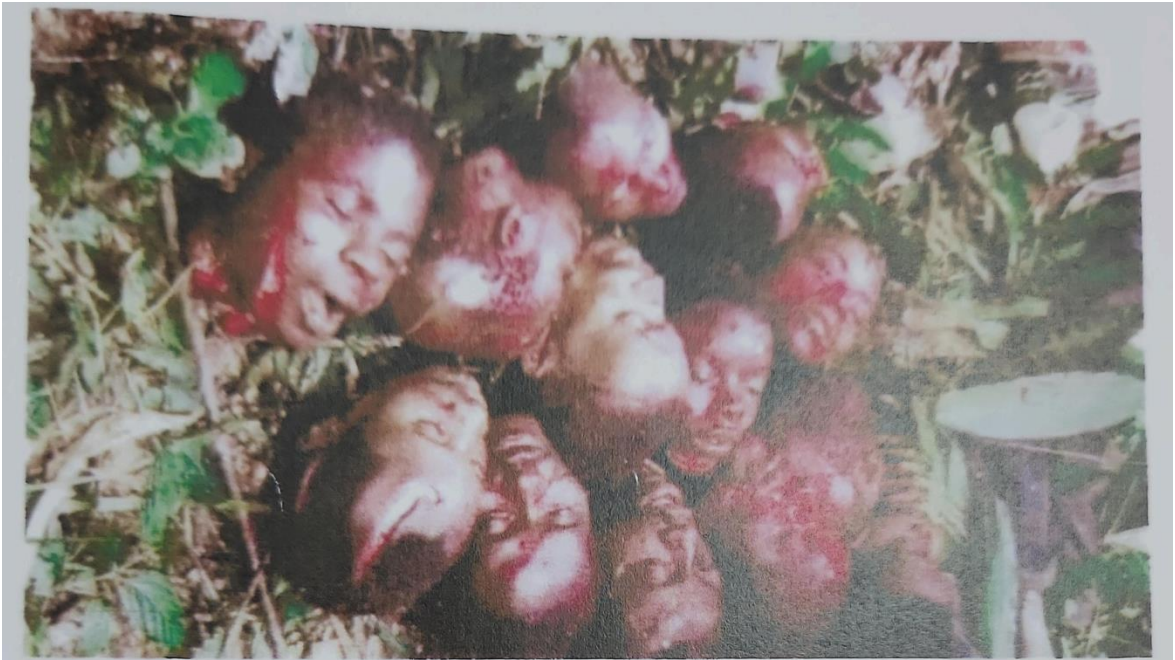
Image 6.

**Description:** The white objects are human beings and some flames of fires that appear white due to heat radiated.



**Attacks against civilians in areas of Mbooga, Tchabi and Kainama in Ituri Province**





**Congolese massacred at Madina camp in 2021**



## ADF attacks





## Atrocities committed by the ADF on children









## Vehicle burnt by ADF





**25<sup>th</sup> of June 2023 at Eringeti in Beni territory ADF  
killed over 19 people**







**ON 20<sup>th</sup> of June, 2023, 07 trailers were burnt along Komanda Mombasa road in Irumu territory**





## **ADF military equipments captured by UPDF**









**UPDF in ADF Lusulube Camp**



## **Guns captured by UPDF**





**A rebel killed by UPDF. He was a Tanzanian by the names of Dr. HAMIDU**



**Congolese civilians in peace in one of the villages**





**Congolese Civilians with peace now in their villages**



**Chabi Camp Abandoned after Civilians returning to their homes.**





**Chabi abandoned school after civilians returned to their homes.**



After repeated kuhuura, the ADF has done two things: shifted to beyond the Beni-Eringeti-Komanda-Bunya Road and broken into small groups which they hope are not easy to see and some individuals hiding in the Trading Centres. They also entertain shallow ideas like: “Let us send small groups inside Uganda to kill people so that these ‘Bakafiiri’ relax their pressure on us in Congo”. Unfortunately for the ADF, the Bakafiiri, the indigenous People of Uganda regardless of their religions, have enough troops to hunt ADF up to Mbandaka if the Congo Government allows us and also guard the rear in Uganda.

The problem of ADF has been military only for the period between 1996 and 2007 when they were totally defeated. After that, for a long time, in spite of being given free control of big portions of Eastern Congo, the ADF problem remained degraded to an intelligence and diplomatic problem. Intelligence problem, because those who are able to defeat them like UPDF, need to know where they are in Congo and what they are planning.

In other words, the eyes and the ears. Both the eyes and ears can be human (informers) or can be technical, machines. You can also add the nose, to smell the evil people (i.e the canines – dogs – in tracking), in some situations. Since they were given free control of Eastern Congo ever since battalion no. 53 handed back the control of Bunya town to the Uruguay contingent of the UN in April, 2003, they built some numbers and built big camps as you have seen above. By the time “Operation Shujaa” started, ADF had about 2000 fighters. This was on the 30<sup>th</sup> of November, 2021. They had started to, again, pose a military problem to the Congo Army by attacking some detachments and even attacking the detachments of the UN, like when they attacked a Tanzanian detachment on 7<sup>th</sup> December, 2017.

All this was on account of the diplomatic problem of the Congo Government not allowing us to assist them with the ADF, when neither they nor the UN have the capacity. This is what H.E Tshisekedi did in 2021, when he allowed us to attack the ADF.

Since they had made the mistake of establishing big camps, we quickly degraded their strength and they have now either fled to beyond our limit of exploitation

line (where we are allowed to operate by the Congo Government) – i.e Beni – Eringeti -Komanda- Bunya Road or they have broken into small groups like the one in Mwalika valley – south of the Mpondwe – Kasiindi – Beni Road – from which a small group that killed our grandchildren at Nyabugaando Secondary School, came from. In other words, within Uganda and the area West of the Rwenzori Mountains for a distance of about 70 Kilometers to the West, as well as in the Biruunga National Park, ADF, is no longer and can no longer, be a military problem as long as the diplomatic problem of the Congo Government allowing us to help them is maintained. We can also follow them beyond the present line of limit of exploitation, when the Congo Government allows us.

Therefore, the residual problem of ADF is an intelligence problem to locate where the remnants are and what they are planning.

We already have good capacity in this area, that we have used to degrade the ADF from a military force to a mere band of terrorists only looking for soft targets (unarmed people) to kill. Why not a detachment of the Army? Why not attack a police station? Why not ambush troops on the move if you are a fighter? They no longer have capacity to do that. Why? We degraded them. We need to, therefore, feel some gaps in

intelligence collection and that will be the end of ADF both in Congo and Uganda. Attacks like the one of Nyabugaando, are on account of the relaxation in the area by the security forces because the area had been peaceful for a long time. Actually, as I wrote in my earlier piece, they had tried to do something similar, North of the Rwenzori Mountain, in Ntoroko, on the 13<sup>th</sup> of December, 2022. 51 of them entered Uganda in the area of Rwebisengo to do exactly what they did at Nyabugaando. However, the Wanaichi saw them, quickly informed the Army, the Army responded quickly and 26 were killed, 25 were captured, 37 guns plus 7 IEDs were captured.

In my Executive Order No.3 of 2023 and in an earlier directive of 19<sup>th</sup> May, 2023, I had ordered the putting in place of police units of 18 persons per Sub – county, with some motor-cycles to help them respond to calls of distress anywhere in the Sub-County. I thought of the No. of 18, because I wanted 12 to be regular armed police and, then, the other 6 would provide the CID etc. The 12, could be organized into squads of 4 each. One of these squads to be on standby, ready to move immediately to the area of need. They should be fully dressed, guns in hand,

motorcycles fueled, ready to move any moment. This solves two problems.

No.1, they guard the police station so that you do not have situations where a police station is attacked by surprise because everybody was stand down (not ready). Secondly, they are ready to move out to respond without loss of time. Another squad should, immediately, come out to guard the station while the 3<sup>rd</sup> squad is resting (sleeping). They change every 8 hours. I saw somebody called Kabugho saying that the police had taken long to respond. It is possible and likely, because they were stand down (not alert): not dressed up, may be, many of them off duty.

I direct Elizabeth Kutesa, my Police advisor, to investigate and report in 3 weeks. However, with the implementation of the Executive Order, even in peace time, there will be a group ready to move to answer a call of distress. If there is a terrorist threat in the area, we up-grade the situation by recruiting LDUs per parish. Those terrorists of Nyabugaando, would never have gone back. It was just a gap that is closable. Nevertheless, the Nyabugaando terrorists have been followed and now, 3 of them have been killed, 4 guns have been captured.

When there is a threat of terrorism or even ordinary crime, all the residents in the sub-county, should have a toll-free sub-county Police telephone number, which people under attack, should ring. When, the Kiddawalime group attacked people in the area of Masaka in 2018, this was the initial problem. The criminals, using the noise of the disco that was in the trading centre of Kisaaka, tried to attack the home of Mr Katerega which was nearby, who was a headmaster of a school in Mubende. Fortunately, the house-windows had steel bars and the wife refused to open.

The people in the house were making alarm, but the disco noise from the trading centre, was drowning it. The wife, of course, had a phone and she rang her husband in Mubende, who, then, rang the RPC in Masaka, etc.; such a long chain of alarm making. Fortunately, the criminals failed to enter the house because of the mitayimbwa and somebody heard the alarm and responded. The thugs fled and killed a retired Police Officer by the names of SSP Denis Ssebugwawo and 04 others on the way. However, one of the thugs lost his way and was arrested by the Wanainchi and lynched, leaving some information behind. The Police was now aware of the identity of the criminals but not where they were hiding.

However, the villagers were now alert. On the 10<sup>th</sup> of the April, 2018, the gang attacked a house, in Mukoko Village, Bukulula Sub-county, occupied by a nurse, Nakyambadde. As they were struggling to enter, Nakyambadde rang the officer, by the names of Steven Twine Owomugisha at the nearby Police post and she threw away the phone as the thugs were entering her room. As the criminal, Kiddawalime, was now ordering Nakyambadde to undress, etc., the police arrived and shot at the thug that was outside the house.

Kiddawalime, was forced to abandon his project of raping the victim, tried to run but was gunned down. The whole gang was, eventually, wiped out. The criminals and the terrorists Uganda continues to face, given the strong foundation of the NRA-UPDF, are easy to solve, given the defeat we inflicted on the militarized versions of the counter-revolution in the forms of Kony and ADF - original and their external backers. It is just a case of alertness, intelligence gathering and co-ordination between the security forces and the public.

Therefore, in conclusion, the attack on the children at Nyabugaando by ADF, does not mean strength, but



great weakness. They cannot attack an Army detachment, they cannot attack a police station and they cannot attack soldiers on the move. The only people they can attack are unarmed people. How can that be strength? Nevertheless, what they do is reprehensible, inhuman and so unfair to the victims and should not happen. Who are the people to stop these brutalities? Uganda working with the Countries of the region, using military, intelligence and diplomatic means.

ADF is being wiped out. On the side of the Uganda population, all of us need to be involved in wealth creation through PDM, the Emyooga, the commercialization of Agriculture, the industrialization, so that our children and grandchildren, do not remain available for those manipulators to misuse by being recruited into ADF and other shallow groups.

Yoweri K. Museveni Gen (rtd)  
**P R E S I D E N T /CIC-UPDF**