

**REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE 2<sup>ND</sup> HISTORY AND  
RECONCILIATION WORKSHOP UNDER THE THEME: “HISTORICAL  
MEMORIES OF COOPERATION IN UGANDA.**

**By**

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**Draft**

**A WORKSHOP ORGANISED BY CENTRE FOR BASIC RESEARCH AND  
HELD ON 1<sup>ST</sup> – 3<sup>RD</sup> MARCH 2005 AT HOTEL AFRICANA, KAMPALA.**

**Day one: 1<sup>st</sup> March 2005**

**Introductory Remarks by the Project Coordinator, Mr. Mwambutsya Ndebeesa.**

Mr. Ndebeesa welcomed all the participants to the workshop and noted that it is an important one because it is about peace and reconciliation in Uganda. He observed Uganda has almost had no peace since independence and observed that as far back as 1963, there was a civil war and a state of emergency was declared in Bunyangabu. He further noted that a lot of effort geared towards peace but has not been enough.

He informed the participants that the project is international based in Austria. It uses a historical approach to conflict resolution. He also noted that what disturbs people is usually kept in the archives of the memory and is then picked on selectively.

Ndebeesa also noted that this is the second workshop being a follow up of the first one held July 2004 in Jinja. He noted that it aims at the following:

- Having researchers and academicians writing papers.
- Publication of papers
- Disseminating the written reports to the communities.
- Understand society with a view to resolve conflicts therein.
- Have a component of Focus Group Discussions done in Luwero and Gulu districts in order to find out the popular perceptions about the causes of war.
- Have group discussions where ideas will be shared so as to learn how to live peacefully in Uganda.

He further noted that people from different walks of life were invited to share experiences and find a way of making contributions to peace building. He observed that government efforts need to be complemented and challenged by Civil Society Organizations so as to harness efforts to peace building.

On that note, Mr. Ndebeesa invited the Executive Director of Centre, Dr. Simon Rutabajuka.

**Introductory Remarks by the Executive Director of Centre for Basic Research (CBR) – Dr Simon Rutabajuka.**

Dr. Rutabajuka welcomed all participants to the workshop and informed them that CBR has been in existence since 1987, it carries out research in areas of basic social significance. He noted that the areas of focus have been many but mainly relevant to the society economically, politically and socially with an emphasis on how issues shape societies' responses and particularly groups that have been historically disadvantaged.

He observed that in conflict, whatever the causes, there are those who get marginalized and find themselves at the cutting edge of violence. How do you handle all these in case of revenge, anger and how do you talk about reconciliation. He urged that one does not

need to look the raw nerves of those in active conflict but rather at other possibilities with purposes of calming them down to seek the building blocks of reconciliation.

Dr. Rutabajuka noted that this work would be put together to continue the work of development and hoped for meaningful discussions that will bring groups together for purposes of reconciliation.

He thanked the Guggenheim Foundation in New York for the financial support to the project, Prof. Elazar Barkan for all the contributions to the project. He then invited Prof. Elazar Barkan, Director – Institute for Historical Justice and Reconciliation to give a keynote address to the participants.

### **Prof. Elazar Barkan, Director – Institute for Historical Justice and Reconciliation**

Prof. Barkan noted that the Institute was established two years ago with an aim of working on reconciliation through History. He observed that rarely has history been used as a way of reconciliation, but with the popularity of the truth and reconciliation commissions, it became apparent that there is room for the use of history as a reconciliatory tool.

He noted that the whole idea is to bring people together to write history that emphasizes the role and highlight what can bring about reconciliation in a bid to acknowledge it rather than confront it.

He informed the participants that the Institute for Historical Justice and Reconciliation has been working on reconciliation in many countries including Israel and Palestine, Polish and Jewish History and now Uganda among others. He also thanked the Guggenheim Foundation for the support throughout the project period and noted that there is a lot of work to be done.

Prof. Barkan urged the members to write synthetic history, to emphasize the shared history and delineate the difference. On that note, he thanked the organizers for the good work done and wished all the participants fruitful deliberations.

### **Opening Remarks by the Guest of Honour – Hon. Dr. Ruhakana Rugunda, Minister of Internal Affairs.**

Hon. Rugunda noted that he was very happy to be invited to officiate at such a conference and observed that World History is full of conflicts as a result of differences of opinions, access to resources, differences in religious beliefs, culture and customs as well as simple misunderstandings, misconceptions and some unfortunate incidents in history.

He also noted that there is need to look back into history in order to understand how to manage the present and the future which stressed the importance of the workshop; and

that it is imperative that a closer look is taken at conflicts with a view to finding out the actual causes and then designing and implementing appropriate solutions. He observed that there are a lot of lessons to draw from conflicts and urged the participants to critically look at all with a view to identifying the causes and suggesting solutions to avoid re-occurrence as well as proposing appropriate avenues for conflict resolution.

The Minister also observed that the only way to stop conflicts and ensure sustainable peace is to build confidence among individuals, refrain from acts that lead to suspicion, hatred, mistrust and remove negative stereotypes and build an open, free and democratic society. He added that all efforts must be made to resolve conflicts and reconcile the people and communities involved. Unless those concerned are reconciled, the potential for further conflict will continue to exist, therefore the need for resolving conflict through dialogue and other peaceful means.

He informed the participants that government is aware of the devastating effects of conflicts and of the need to peacefully resolve them. Many peaceful settlements have been arrived at through this approach for example the settlement with the West Nile Bank Front, UNRF 11 of Ali Bamuze, UPDA, UNRF 1 etc.

Hon Rugunda noted that the peace process in Northern Uganda war is on course and that it is expected that in the near future, it shall be equally sorted out through dialogue. He noted with concern that this war has dragged on for too long, cost many lives, halted development and caused so much suffering to the people. He said that government efforts to resolve this conflict have included direct talks with the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) which has been done through local and international mediation, with the current efforts being spearheaded by Betty Bigombe.

He however noted that when the guns go silent in the North, another situation might arise and therefore urged all the people not to rule out the possibility of revenge. He said that Government is therefore looking at a situation after the current conflict comes to an end and have therefore set up a structure right from the central government level down to the Sub County through which reconciliation will be handled so that communities can live together in peace. He further noted that there is need to build on the traditional methods of conflict resolution and include views of the victims in order to get a homegrown solution that is acceptable to all parties.

He concluded that there is need to carry out an analysis of threats to peace and that there are many lessons to learn from history, therefore the need to do all we can to nip these conflicts in the bud and create an environment conducive for conflict resolution. He noted that he is looking forward to receiving a copy of the deliberations and recommendations made.

With the above address, Hon. Rugunda declared the workshop open.

### **A Vote of Thanks to Hon. Dr. Ruhakana Rugunda by Dr. Justus Mugaju.**

Dr. Mugaju noted that it was a pleasure to give a vote of thanks on behalf of the participants because the Hon. Minister is an old friend who has been involved in issues of conflict resolution for a long time. He noted that Hon. Rugunda is a man of reason amidst so much conflict, gets on well with opponents and people with different ideologies and therefore it not accidental that he was chosen as lead mediator in the Northern war peace process.

Dr. Mugaju further said that Hon. Rugunda has been involved in the politics of the country for a long time, making him the right person to talk about reconciliation and cooperation in the country. He also noted that his wisdom would inform the deliberations of the workshop and thanked him for emphasizing tolerance which is fundamental for democracy and also appreciated his decision to spare time to attend the workshop.

### **The Uganda Conflict in the Luwero Triangle, 1981 – 1985 by Prof. A. B. K. Kasozi**

Prof. Kasozi noted that the conflict that consumed over 300,000 people in Luwero Triangle in the period 1981 – 85 is often called the Luwero war and was part and parcel of the general Ugandan conflict and cannot be understood unless the major causes of political violence and conflict in Uganda have been comprehended. He located the source of conflict in the colonial period which he said sowed the seeds of conflict by defining the social structure along the racial, ethnic and religious lines. He also argued that unsophisticated leaders like Obote and Amin failed to distinguish between class, ethnicity and individual responsibility when they branded whole populations guilty due to ethnic social or political associations and inequities created by a social structure inherited from the colonial past.

He added that the absence of agreed and peaceful mechanisms of changing the countries leadership has equally exacerbated political violence and in turn other forms of violence and that the Ugandan conflict since independence has been about control of the state, to use the state to make money, and not to serve an ideology or the public. Kasozi further argued that ethnicity has not been the cause of conflict but rather t has been selfishly used to manipulate the populations to support politicians to access national resources. Eventually, the violent struggle to control the state has led many incumbents in positions of political power to eliminate individuals with ability to replace them and the impact of these eliminations has resulted in the reduction of individuals capable of offering alternative leadership to the country.

He cited the big number of people who were forced into exile during the Amin era, the expulsion of Kenyans in 1969, the expulsion of Indians in 1972, the absence of rule of law between 1971 – 1985 among others and noted that the Luwero war therefore was part and parcel of Uganda's post colonial history.

He also defined the Luwero Triangle as comprising of three districts: Luwero, Mubende and Mpigi noting that the area is not only near the city of Kampala but also in the fertile coffee and banana growing area therefore the impact of the chaos was more devastating to the national economy.

Kasozi further cited a number of events that led to the conflicts in the Luwero triangle as:

- a) The struggle for the control of the Buganda Sub-state which was already a consolidated state with clearly defined and viable political institutions centering on the monarchy, the Kabaka. It was also more homogeneous being held together by a common language, customs, territory, clan structure and the kabakaship. However, due to the divisions within Buganda society, the Baganda were unable to lead the country and their energies were focused on the struggle to control Buganda and their political participation became an extension of the internal sub – national struggle for the control of their kingdom. Also, the groups that controlled Buganda were divided and classified along religious lines, with most political and administrative offices being distributed on the basis of religious affiliation – Anglicans receiving the lion’s share of political positions. On the contrary, from 1950, the protestant oligarchy was threatened by the emergence of an ever-expanding educated Roman Catholic elite determined to share in Buganda’s resources equitably. This eventually led to the establishment of a party for “justice and fair play” in the distribution of resources. They formed the Democratic Party in 1956.
- b) The struggle for the control of Uganda People’s Congress (UPC): The Uganda People’s Congress that eventually took over the Uganda state was formed out of two major organizations; the first being the All Uganda People’s Union formed by notables outside Buganda and the Obote wing – the Uganda National Congress. Kasozi argued that the struggle for the control of Buganda of the UPC and the Uganda State were linked and intertwined. He detailed the struggles within the party as being linked and intertwined with the struggle for the control of Buganda and that it is important to understand the linkage of these struggles in order to comprehend the dehumanizing high levels of violence the people of Luwero, the West Nile and the Acholi/Lango regions and Uganda have suffered since 1962. He also detailed the struggles in parliament and Obote’s victory, the destruction of the Mengo “oligarchy” and Obote’s “pyrrhic” victory. Kasozi also mentioned that during the struggle for the control of the state, Obote decided to manipulate events in terms of ethnicity where all Baganda were depicted as enemies of the state. Eventually, there was the centralization of power based on an ethnically recruited army and the politicization and ethnisation of the army and the state from 1966-1985.

Kasozi added that the Amin coup of 1971 was a part of the process that began in 1966, the only difference being that in 1971, the soldiers reclaimed what they had obtained in 1966 – becoming the final and only arbiters of political conflict. In power, Amin saw politics in personal and ethnic terms and he systematically killed the Acholi and Langi

people who he thought had the ability to replace him. He further enumerated the events during Amin's regime and noted that when Yoweri Museveni and his National Resistance Army decided to oppose the taking of power by Obote's UPC in 1980 and waged a war in Luwero Triangle, the army saw it as a Baganda rebellion against the Acholi/Langi UPC government. The struggle was interpreted in ethnic terms.

Kasozi also noted that the violent struggle for the control of Uganda state shifted to Luwero Triangle in 1981 when Museveni's National Resistance Army guerrillas moved into the area which was ideal for the struggle because of the potential support of the Baganda who hated and saw Obote's government as illegitimate and the vegetation being thick for the guerrillas to hide in. He noted that there was a lot of human suffering with people being rounded up and put in camps and all civilians outside the camps were presumed to be guerrillas or their sympathizers and were treated as such. The camps were surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by soldiers under orders to shoot anyone breaking the dawn to dusk curfew. Because of their age, the inmates of the camps were very vulnerable to disease and thousands of them died. He also mentioned that there were massacres in the camps citing the incident of 1983 when UPC youth wingers killed hundreds of people in the three camps of Luwero, Kikyusa and Masulita and all their property looted. He observed that the government denied the existence of these camps until quite late for fearing to ruin its international image and because it claimed there were no anti-government guerrillas.

He maintained that Luwero was indeed "the killing fields" of Uganda which he said is evident from the skeletons, the roofless houses, bad roads, destroyed schools found in the area from 1986 after the NRA victory.

In addition to the violence against the people, Kasozi noted that the soldiers destroyed the structures that had formerly supported social life. Schools were destroyed, agriculture was severely affected, health units suffered enormously, spring wells, valley tanks and roads also damaged.

He concluded that using the Luwero case, it is clear that:

- the ethnic wars in which thousands of people are collectively punished are not caused by ethnicity or ethnic difference instead are caused by greed for the resources by politicians struggling to get or retain power using ethnic loyalties.
- Many residents of Luwero, the Baganda and other Bantu speakers who experienced or recorded the violence from 1980 – 1986 saw a lot of evidence that the UNLA Acholi/Lango groups hated and committed atrocities against the Baganda. However, the Acholi/Langi soldiers were also victims of indoctrination by the UPC leadership which built its political bases on isolating the Baganda and depicting them as enemies of the state. Therefore the soldiers committed violence without really understanding the reasons why they were doing so.
- The contribution of history to resolving the hatred and suspicion between Bantu and Luo speakers in Uganda caused by the events of 1964-66 and 1980 –86 would be to organize dialogues to discuss and explain the true and real causes of

violence (especially “ethnic wars”), collective punishments of whole social groups and misuse of ethnic, tribal or religious loyalties by politicians for selfish motives. Such dialogues will prevent the hatred of the subject social groups from becoming permanent and transmitted to future generations.

- Human beings always struggle for resources and in so doing generate conflict. To prevent the recurrence of uncontrolled and therefore dangerous struggles for resources, Ugandans must be vigilant in building political, social, economic and legal structures to make political actors do so according to set rules.

- The distribution of resources along racial, ethnic or religious lines is a recipe for conflict because it limits the upward mobility of social groups that are outside the privileged classes. Those let out normally plot to destroy the status quo by any means including violence.

## **Comments**

A participant observed that Prof. Kasozi mentioned in his paper that we have not respected the political structures to resolve conflict. He said that this is not entirely true because Museveni respected these structures by forming UPM first and added that structures should not equally be used for one's advantage.

On the issue of distribution of resources, he commented that there is need to look at the historical and ecological perspectives of the regions. Some are more endowed than others and can therefore harness their own resources.

Hon. Rugunda commented that he was in total agreement with the author about the causes of conflict and commended him for a good paper.

## **The Luwero War: Its Origins and Consequences by Mr. Dick Nyai**

Mr. Nyai began his presentation by noting that there was no Luwero war for the simple reason that the people of Luwero never took up arms to fight any other district or region of Uganda and that the tag “Luwero War” is a loose description for a civil war in Uganda where the National Resistance Army “rebels” used Luwero as a base to launch an attack on the government of Dr. Milton Obote. He added that what became known as the Luwero war was a continuation of an unfinished struggle for power between the people from the West of Uganda and from the North.

Concerning the genesis of the struggle he noted that since independence, Dr. Obote moved a motion to make the Kabaka of Buganda the President of Uganda and in the parliament adopting of that motion, they forgot to read the provision that mentioned that if the president was not able to sign a Bill into an Act, the Prime Minister would do it on his behalf.

He added that the Constitution also provides that there would be a referendum on the lost counties within two years of independence, but when the Bill was passed, the Kabaka then refused to assent to it, which was then signed by Obote. The result of the

referendum was such that Buganda lost two counties of Buyaga and Buganagizi to Bunyoro making relations between Obote and the Kabaka sour. Secondly, there was a struggle for power in the governing of the UPC between Obote and Grace Ibingira which led to division and the Ibingira group found a willing ally in the Kabaka's government. They also got the support of the then Army Commander – Shaban Opolot. He argued that the understanding was that the alliance of Opolot, Ibingira and Sir Edward Muteesa would be able to oust Obote. Instead, the tables turned against them and they were arrested. He also noted that if Muteesa was bright, he would have fled the country but could not because he thought that the large cache of guns in the Lubiri would enable him take on the Government. Thus the unfortunate decision to expel Uganda government from the soil of Buganda led to the battle of the Lubiri and the subsequent fleeing and death in exile of the Kabaka.

Nyai further argued that Yoweri Museveni took over from where Ibingira left off and decided that “he must rule Uganda at all costs”. He added that it is with this background that the liberation struggle for Uganda which succeeded in 1979 happened. He also added that Godfrey Binaisa was drafted into becoming president and was very acceptable because he had no political base, therefore “could be pushed anytime.” Nyani further noted that at the time, Museveni tried to form his own force which meant another political organization. He argued that when it was clear that the newly formed UPM of Museveni could not win elections, it was decided that Binaisa should be entrenched to rig the elections while Museveni bided his time to throw him out later using rigged elections as the reason for going to the bush to fight for power.

He also argued that the choice of Luwero as a base was because it was within striking distance of Kampala and had a population that was opposed to UPC as told by Lt. Gen. Tinyefuza. In short, he maintained that the cause of the Luwero War was Museveni's ambition to rule Uganda and remove Northerners from power.

In light of the foregoing, he enumerated the consequences as follows:

- Any Northerners and especially in Luwero and any member of UPC were “anyanya” and had to be exterminated.
- The issue of mistrust took root in Uganda because this conflict was ostensibly concluded by the Nairobi peace talks which the NRA used as a time to regroup.
- The leadership of the army has continued to remain in the hands of the people from Western Uganda because they trust one another.
- Having come from the bush, the fighters needed jobs so a large number of Northerners were dismissed to pave way for Westerners.
- Some Ugandans have been forced into exile and some might come back by the force of arms.
- He envisages the gun as the route to power, therefore more and more instability.
- Countless lives and property were destroyed hence the burden of Luwero war claimants on the economy.

- With the coming into power of the NRM, the old boys of Ntare School and Dar es salaam University (where Museveni studied) took over, maintained and dominated positions of power in the current government.
- The invention /introduction of the movement system in Uganda.
- The pursuit of unfinished in Acholi among others.

## **Comments**

Hon Rugunda maintained that much as Nyai says the 1980 elections were free and fair, he said he wanted to put the record straight and maintained that they were not so. He cited an example of himself being a candidate at he time in Kabale central where 17 people who were opposed to the UPC were blocked from presenting their papers for nomination and DP and UPM forcefully submitted their papers.

He added that Radio Uganda announced that there had been a re – run but two weeks later, a UPC candidate was announced as the winner. The DP candidate contested and went to court but up to now, the judgment has never been received. He said that in his opinion, there is no doubt that the elections were massively rigged. He added that most people lost hope of any democratic change and therefore supported the armed struggle.

He added that all these issues make the workshop more important because they help us to immunize ourselves against all the manouvres in future.

Another participant urged Nyai to put the record straight on how the war started.

Rwanyarare noted there is a difference in opinions about the causes of the war. The Luwero veterans saying it was the issue of the Kabaka while the NRA historicals say it was the rigged election and therefore asked which was the real cause. He also noted that the picture now is that the people in Acholi do not support the war and therefore are victims who refused to support while in Luwero, the war was imposed on them. He strongly recommended that the war in the North should be looked at as a Uganda war.

## **The Historical Memories of Armed Conflicts in Uganda by Onyango Odongo.**

Mr Odongo observed that conflicts have repeatedly devastated Uganda since independence in 1962 and that all of them have been caused by “a unique pursuit of absolute political power by some politicians”. He then proceeded to make an analysis of major events of the post independence period.

The political awakening in Uganda – He noted that the pursuit of political power emerged in Uganda with political awareness which swept Africa after the Second World War. He mentioned the peasant struggles against the chiefs who were exploiting them and the Bataka party which spearheaded the peasant struggle against the 1900 land settlement, the launching of the real modern political party named the Uganda National Congress (UNC) by Ignatius Musaaazi in 1952 to coordinate struggles for peasants in Uganda. This he said, scare the White Christian Missionaries who prodded some prominent native converts into launching Christian political parties to counter UNC propaganda. The

Protestants launched Progressive Party while the Catholics launched the Democratic Party. The British Authorities then sought to talk about introduction of gradual changes but the ruling clique of Mengo did not like British interaction with the leaders of the modern political parties.

Mr. Odongo added that the Pro British press went on to give Obote who was back from exile very good coverage seeing him as an amenable quality for a British agent than the militant Igatius Musaazi. This, he said, made Obote conceited and at the end of 1958, the rift between Obote and Musaazi reached breaking point.

He noted that eventually the first direct elections were held and the Democratic Party won.

*Beginning of the Unique pursuit of political power in Uganda:*

On the above issue, he argued that the DP victory did not please both the Anglican and the British Colonial Authority and preferred Obote as the Prime Minister because he was protestant and “could easily be molded into a British agent to head the neo – colonial government of independent Uganda” But the Kabaka of Buganda and his advisors were not prepared to be under the leadership of a politician and vowed that “no commoner shall ever be above our Kabaka on the soil of Buganda”. However, the British secretly persuaded the Kabaka to work with Obote in order to stop the DP leader, Benedicto Kiwanuka from becoming the first prime minister. He also highlighted the issues with in the UPC - Kabaka Yeka alliance which led to the drafting of the constitution for the expected independence o Uganda in Britain. Eventually, the Conference which sat to discuss the various proposals of governing post independent Uganda transferred the dictatorial provisions from the British colonial constitutional laws to the office of the elected prime minister. He however added that the complacency of Kabaka Mutesa was based on false ground because he did not get any secure political power in Uganda to rule Buganda as he thought he would since Obote had wrenched the mantle of power from him under the umbrella of ht e KY – UPC alliance, in readiness to destroy Buganda Kingdom as he later did.

*How Obote Entrenched himself in power during his first rule.*

Odongo observed that when Milton Obote was elected, he found himself with enormous political parties which were previously exercised by the out gone British Governor. For fear of lack of support from the Baganda for a second term, Obote decided to entrench himself in power through the use of military force in which he found only one highly British - trained officer – Karugaba. However, Karugaba was catholic and a westerner, therefore Obote could not hope to remould him into his blind supporter and decided to destroy his career. He also noted that Obote decided to promote Shaban Opolot and Idi Amin. Opolot was ordered to organize a good army unit for deployment in Congo but he mistakenly revealed it to the Kabaka which cost him his job. Odongo noted that Opolot was incapable to defend himself against Obote which could have been the second cause of a military coup against Obote, but he was left untouched.

### *Idi Amin's January 1971 Coup d'etat.*

Odongo also narrated the events noting the when Obote left for the Common Wealth Leaders conference in Singapore, he ordered his trusted army officer to arrest Amin. Unlike Major Karugaba and Brig. Opolot, Amin had built himself a lot of support within the army, so he turned around and kicked Obote out of power who then took refuge in Tanzania where Yoweri Museveni who was working as a Research Officer in the Office of the President followed him.

### *Obote's desperate attempt to regain presidency in Uganda*

Odongo added that when Obote went to Tanzania, he appealed to President Nyerere to help him prevent Amin's coup from being recognized. However, the Arab leaders refused to comply and Amin's regime was gradually recognized by African leaders. However, in December 1978, Amin invaded Tanzania which forced the Tanzanians to retaliate together with the support of the Ugandan exiles in order to drive him out of power. The leading nationalists decided to organize a conference at which they would unite all the groups into a single fighting force. Obote realized that this would reduce his chances of regaining power and therefore decided to disorganize the conference by sending in a large group who called themselves Fighters. These were denied entrance thereby foiling the attempt by Obote and Museveni to seize power. The foiled attempt presented an opportunity to form the National Consultative Council (NCC) as the supreme governing council.

### *Prof. Lule power hungry*

When Kampala fell to the Tanzanian forces, Prof. Lule formed the first post Amin UNLF government and discovered that the 1967 Constitution gave the president unlimited political power. He then discarded the Moshi accord which demanded that all major decisions must be taken democratically and began to pursue absolute political power in the manner Obote did. Consequently, the NCC replaced him with Godfrey Binaisa. He led well but Obote was not happy so he secretly arranged a secret Army in Apac to oust Binaisa. These were soon discovered and reported to Binaisa.

### *The Military Coup against Binaisa*

When Binaisa got the information, he made a cabinet reshuffle in which Yoweri Museveni was removed from Defence to the Ministry of Regional Cooperation and reorganized the Army Command by sending the Chief of Staff Oyite Ojok to Foreign Affairs and posted as Ambassador to Algeria. Ojok refused to move and instead secretly brought the secret army from Apac and ousted Binaisa in 1980, and Muwanga became head of state. Political parties were re-introduced and Milton Obote returned like a hero in May 1980. He chose to land in Bushenyi and received an overwhelming welcome which misled him into thinking that he had support in Uganda. His other rallies in Mbale and Kampala were poorly attended. In search of a solution, Obote told the soldiers that DP

had a secret plan of dismiss them and promised that if they supported him, he would keep them safe and commission all the non commissioned ones as well as promote them.

*How Imaginary Hatred between Northerners and Baganda was created.*

UPC stepped up propaganda that Baganda had plans to make the Acholi carry sand and stones from the North to Kampala to rebuild the Kabaka's palace which had been destroyed by Obote's Army. This changed the attitude of the Acholi towards Obote overnight hence when elections were held, UPC won in Acholi land. Paulo Muwanga then intrepidly nullified the DP victory and cynically installed Obote as President. The opposition condemned the installation and secretly held meetings to form a united front. These included the Democratic Faction headed by Francis Bwengye, the Uganda Patriotic Movement (UPM), the Uganda Freedom Movement (UFM), the Federalist Democratic Movement (FEDEMO), and the UNLA faction opposed to Obote's rule. A meeting chaired by Andrew Kayira sat but the UPM representatives refused to sign the documents since claiming that they were not allowed to sign on behalf of Yoweri Museveni. The group decided to call a second meeting which sent special invitation to Museveni which he honoured.

*How Yoweri Museveni first Exposed hi abhorrence of Democracy.*

During the initial stages of the meeting, Museveni complained that the meeting was not properly constituted because it included "non military combatants who knew nothing about armed political struggles" and suggested that soldiers should discuss the formation of the armed political movement for which the meeting was convened. Non soldiers were asked to leave and the soldiers remained behind closed doors. However, it was reported that Museveni rejected the proposal for democratic control of the army with scorn and claimed that he owned a "well trained and organized fighting force, ready to begin liberation war against Obote's UNLA" and that he was no longer prepared to "disturb the good work already done for the sake of forming a democratic movement". The Chair, Dr. Kayiira disagreed and criticized Museveni's argument. The disagreement ruled out any possibility too create a democratic united front in Uganda and each group went their way. In 1981, Museveni launched his first attack on Obote's army at Kabamba Military barracks hence the Luwero war began.

Kayiira's propaganda of making the Baganda desist from joining Museveni did not deter his continuous meetings with them and the decision by Lule to join Museveni made the young Baganda flock to join the Museveni group. They were indoctrinated with a strong hatred of the Northerners particularly the Acholi and were urged to fight to the last man because they were made to believe that the Luwero war was between the Baganda and the Northerners. From the Northern side, Obote continued to tell the Acholi hat Baganda were striving hard to take power and reduce the Acholi and Langi into a labour reservoir. For this and other reasons, the young Acholi and Langi in the UNLA were ganged up against the Baganda who were believed to be out to destroy their homelands.

### *The Real Cause of the Luwero Bush War*

It was reported that it was only Museveni who knew that he was fighting to wrench power from Obote while his other supporters were made to believe that he was fighting for democracy. Equally, the Baganda were made to believe that Obote had come to wipe them out and therefore had to fight to last man to save themselves from the “Banyanya”. On the other hand, Obote knew that he was fighting to remain in power for the rest of his life without any plan to democratize Uganda. He merely pretended to introduce democracy whereas he was striving to entrench himself in power. When leading politicians like Ben Kiwanuka criticized his rule, he responded with a dubious declaration that Uganda was adopting a “move to the left strategy”.

### *Obote's March towards his second downfall*

Odongo noted that when Bazilio Olara Okello - an Acholi pointed out that the ganging up of soldiers from the North against the imaginary enemies in Buganda was a dangerous political maneuver, Obote reacted by posting him outside Kampala to command the Northern Brigade in Gulu. Later, mismanagement of the army in Luwero got worse, the Chief of Staff, Oyite Ojok died in a mysterious helicopter accident and Opon Acak who was not popular among the soldiers succeeded him. Obote accused Bazilio Okello of promoting anti Opon Acak propaganda and dismissed him from the army. Bazilio Okello refused to leave, instead mobilized his own supporters within the army and in July 1985 ousted Obote from power. Gen. Tito Okello Lutwa became Head of State on July 27<sup>th</sup> 1985.

### *How Yoweri Museveni Blocked Democracy for the Second Time*

Odongo also observed that when Tito Okello Lutwa was sworn in as Head of State, he appealed to all dissident groups to come out and chart out a way forward rather than taking up arms and argued that he did not replace Obote to continue his dictatorial tendency. As a result, all the dissident groups except Museveni's responded positively. Lutwa then enlisted the support of President Nyerere whom he asked to persuade Museveni to come out of the Bush. Museveni refused to attend the meeting claiming that Nyerere was supporting Okello Lutwa who was not different from Obote. He further noted that due to persistent demand by Lutwa for a peaceful dialogue, the venue was shifted to Nairobi, which meeting Museveni attended but came up with several demands deliberately designed to frustrate Okello Lutwa. Odongo maintained that since Lutwa was determined to end Uganda's political problems, he yielded to almost all the conditions in which the reorganization of the military council made Museveni at par with Tito Okello Lutwa. He added that after the peace talks in Nairobi, Museveni deceived President Moi that the NRA High Command had rejected the Nairobi Peace agreement and moved upon Kampala city easily driving Tito Okello's poorly organized UNLA soldiers out on 26<sup>th</sup> January 1986. He was then sworn in as Head of State.

### *Museveni's Style of Dictatorial Rule*

On the above issue, Odong maintained that Museveni concentrated powers into his own hands by becoming the President of Uganda, Chairman of the Interim Parliament called NRC, Chairman of the Army High Command, Minister of Defence, Chairman, National Executive Committee, Chairman of the Army Council, Chancellor of Makerere University and Chairman of the National Security Council. He further noted that Museveni appointed Gen Elly Tumwine as a mere figure head of the Army who had no power over the Operations commander and the Chief of Military Intelligence. He added that to keep indigenous Ugandans from key position, Rwandese Tutsis such as Fred Rwigyema and Paul Kagame (who is president of Rwanda today) were appointed Deputy Army Commander in charge of Operations and Military Intelligence service respectively. Eventually, the invasion of Rwanda was made without the knowledge of indigenous Ugandans.

*Immediate cause of the rebel war in the North.*

Odongo intimated that information from the late Major Okello Kolo who worked with Museveni during the Luwero war said that the rebel war in Northern Uganda was sparked off by a gigantic preparation started by Tutsi refugees in Uganda to create an army for the invasion of Rwanda. He added that Museveni helped the then Deputy Army Commander, Fred Rwigyema to recruit soldiers from the ex – UNLA who were already discharged in bulk rather than civilians who would take long to train. He added that to facilitate this recruitment, an announcement was put on radio ordering all the ex – UNLA soldiers to report to the NRA general Headquarters without fail without giving a reason for the order. However, the ex – UNLA soldiers feared that they may face what Idi Amin did to the Acholi soldiers and did not report. He further argued that in pursuit of the unsuccessful radio order, heavily armed NRA troops were dispatched to various parts of Acholi land to hunt down ex- UNLA soldiers. He added that many were killed, women raped, houses burnt down and property taken which made life impossible for the ex – soldiers and the rural youths and made them flee to the bush one by one to prepare for rebel activity.

He lamented that since the beginning of the war, Museveni has privatized it, refused to declare the North a disaster area on the advice of parliament and yet the governments of the US and Britain continue to help the “tyrants” continue the war.

In light of the foregoing, Odongo recommended that

- there is need to overhaul the present Constitution to make it impervious to dictatorial tendencies in order to end the war.
- The Constitution cannot be framed by all the citizens through referenda and that even Members of Parliament cannot satisfactorily state as to what political system would be good for the governance of the country. Therefore, in the absence of well developed political parties in Uganda for such a long time, the masses have inevitably deteriorated into a society with severe political disability and cannot be expected to make sound and informed political decisions in any referendum.

- It is ridiculous to ask the politically ignorant masses to choose political systems through referenda.
- The procedure used by the Uganda Constitutional Commission headed by Benjamin Odoki was the best way of framing the Constitution, unfortunately, they were bullied to toe the dictatorial line.
- Uganda has already produced a number of great men and women lawyers who can be put to good use by drafting a Constitution that will put an end to all armed conflict in Uganda.

## **Comments**

One participant noted that the paper has a lot of stereotypes rather than facts e.g. the understanding between KY and UPC is seen in the eyes of denying Kiwanuka rule but not seen in the perspective of making Uganda one.

## **Field report Presentation on the Luwero and Northern Wars By Mukasa Luutu**

The field report was presented in form of a video coverage of the discussions that had been held with various respondents. In Northern Uganda, the camps of Pabo, Parabyong and Opit were covered. It shows that situation before the war which was characterized by singing and dancing. In a Focus group discussion to find out the causes of the war, the respondents noted that when the NRA entered, there were fears that people would be killed – a rumour that was spread by the UNLA soldiers and when asked to send their sons to return the guns that they had been using in the previous government through a radio announcement which had no explanation, it raised suspicion among the locals therefore they refused and went into hiding. They reported that NRA started hunting them down, those arrested were tortured forcing others to run into Sudan and went into the bush eventually starting a war in self defence.

They reported that the war had had tremendous effects on them as a community and particularly the women because they are looking after children singlehandedly, HIV/AIDS is spreading very fast in the communities, landmines hitting them while going to fetch water or firewood

On the strategies for conflict resolution,, the respondents lamented that they see no justice in the present conflict resolution strategies and referred to earlier times which they said were more democratic, people very faithful to clans and clan heads and would not tell lies. “Presently people tell lies in court together with their advocates unlike in the past” said one respondent.

The advised that in the face of conflict, the Acholi need to adhere to the norms of their ancestors because they were better at conflict resolution and that if peace was attained in the past, it still can be now.

In Luwero, the video was captured in Masullita sub county – a place which was the heartland of the war and Nakaseke subcounty. In Masullita, the respondents talk about the causes and why they got involved in the war while Nakaseke respondents come across as having got caught up in the war.

The causes of the war included:

- The 1980 elections which they said were rigged and sparked off the war. The older generation goes back far into history as having suffered as victims of a vindictive governance.
- They also reported that it was more of ethnic allegiance
- They also linked conflict and poverty noting that the way in which the politics of the time was set up, unless one belonged to a certain group then they would not benefit, so they decided to get involved in the war for benefiting purposes.

The respondents recounted how the youths were used in the war because they had no particular reason for joining the war. On the other hand, the adults reported that they were mistreated by Obote 1 as individuals and when he sent the Kabaka into exile and the elections rigged, they decided to fight in order to “help themselves”. The mistreatment is conceived to have been perpetrated by the Acholi soldiers and therefore the people of Luwero “never wanted to be ruled by such people again.”

Other issues that emerged during the discussion included:

- Aspects of manipulation arose from the youth but the older generation seemed to have a deep-seated antagonism and the war was the only way to sort out their grievances.
- A sense of intolerance became more and more engraved in the people hence leading them into participating fully in the war.
- There is personal trauma which eventually becomes a template for the next round of confrontation.
- There is the association of political parties with manipulation – as a route to power and wealth.
- The leadership is not committed to responsible politics
- There is a strong ethnic touch to the war.

### **Comments on the Video**

A participant noted that it appears Luwero was just a ground used to stage the war and that the reasons given by the people are diverse. He questioned whether the government has redressed their problems and if they have been compensated for the losses.

Another participant observed that when we talk of conflict, it is in most cases a harvest of what was earlier sown e.g. the bitter feelings of the people of Luwero that made them join the war. He asked whether they have an idea about what happened to the kabaka as having been a result of the KY –UPC alliance that was unprincipled and was a seed that had to grow. He noted that there is need to realize the hard realities of the social world therefore must reap what we sow. In terms of conflict resolution, he noted that there is

need to reconcile ourselves with when the seeds are planted and strongly recommended that the workshop needed to plant the right seeds.

A participant noted with concern that in the video presentation on Northern Uganda, what is only shown before the war is dancing alone. He said there is need to know more about what the economy was like and many other details about the lives of the people of the north apart from dancing. The pre war situation should be elaborated

It was also noted that there seems to be a deep – seated fear, mistrust, and hatred in these communities. The atrocities visited on the Luwero people are now being visited on the people in Northern Uganda. The participant urged that as historians, there is need to go back to our cultures and find out why people cut off lips, ears take pregnant women, yet traditionally pregnant women, elders and children were never taken. He asked whether this is part of our culture or has been imported from elsewhere.

Another participant was of the view that there are some cultural dimensions that come in terms of the real “muntu” (person) and asked if we can restore the cultural traditions after the war since the people might not be the same after the war.

It was also noted that the people in the Luwero video are only ones who had participated in the war. Participants advised that the researchers should have involved people who had purely been victimized in order to get more detailed information

A participant sought clarification from the Luwero ex combatant who believed that there is likely to be a war in 2006 if we go back into elections yet we had elections in 2001 but there was no war.

Participants were urged to give advice on how to end the Northern conflict rather than just calling upon the people in the North to end “their” war.

### **Response**

One of the participants from Luwero who had actually participated in the war noted that much as there were many reasons for joining the war, the major one was mistreatment but have benefited from this whole business in terms of peace, there is a good relationship between the civilians and the soldiers which was not the case in the past. He also said he was wary of the situation in 2006 noting that part of the causes of the war was vote rigging by political parties and warned that if Uganda returns to political party system, there is a likelihood that the party which does not win elections will go back to the bush.

On the Northern war, a participant from the North noted that it is difficult to predict the war and cannot say it is political, tribal etc. He said it is mixed up with spiritual issues and they are now appealing to the ancestors for deliverance. He asked all to join hands because it is not just a northern war but a Ugandan war.

The Luwero ex – combatant responded that in 2001 after the election, there was no war because we were voting under one umbrella while the case of 2006 may be different if we are voting under different political parties

A participant from the North noted that the LRA war cannot be easily understood because it seems to be a spiritual war. He noted that there is a direction that the only means to the end of the war is dialogue and insisted that initiatives to end the war should start at home before going international and also the need to use cultural leaders e.g. the Rwot to take a lead role in the peace process.

### **Stereotypes as Sources of Conflict in Uganda by Dr. Justus Mugaju**

Dr. Mugaju contended that the history of modern Uganda is a long story of stereotyping which started with the colonialists dividing the country into two parts, one part producing cash crops and the other supplying labour which led to inequalities thus forming attitudes of superiority and inferiority. He noted that stereotypes have been central to Uganda's history and provide simple, if not deceptive explanations of complex situations and historical realities yet history is too complex to be reduced to simplicities and certainties. Not only have stereotypes distorted history through oversimplification but are also extremely dangerous breeding grounds for bigotry and , fear, resentment, irrationality, animosity, hatred and ethnic conflict and cleansing.

He lighted the following stereotypes that have distorted the history of modern Uganda:

*Of Superior aliens and inferior natives:* He noted that there was division of citizens into superior aliens and inferior natives and explained that it is believed that the Great Lakes Centralized Kingdoms were established by the Bahima/Batutsi who came from outside the region with their long horned cattle and conquered and imposed what was tantamount to alien rule on the native agricultural communities. As a result of this alien intrusion, the cattle corridor of western Uganda has since been inhabited by two distinct and separate “ethnic entities” – the subordinate “native” Bairu and the dominant alien ruling Bahima. This alien/native stereotype is based on the assumption that “the Bairu were the original inhabitants of the country.” He however argued that this alien/native stereotype does not stand up to scrutiny because, for example, the Bahima in their traditions do not claim to have come from outside their present homeland. On the contrary, they assert that they together with their Bairu compatriots were created *in situ* by God. He further asserted that much of the literature suggests that the herders with their long horned cattle, have lived alongside the hunters, farmers, fishermen and craftsmen for more than a thousand years. He also argued that even if it were true that the Bahima came from outside the Great Lakes region, it would not make them less of citizens than the natives. He added that for the Hima/Tusti elite being called superior and alien had a “feel good effect” while the natives felt dejected and resentful because they carried the burden of taxation and forced labour as well as serving two masters i.e. the whites and the Hima/Tusti masters. He also noted that the Ankole escaped the tragedy of Rwanda and Burundi only because it is part of Uganda.

*Ethnic Identities Made Simple:* Mugaju noted that closely related to alien/native stereotyping has been the oversimplification of the peoples of Uganda into neat – looking, watertight ethnic identities. He argued that students of history have tended to mix up cultural and ethnic identities for example the Baganda have been described as homogenous yet Kiganda culture and ethnicity are in fact historical syntheses of diverse groups of farmers, herders, fishermen etc. And that part of the problem is that ethnic diversity has been seen as a weakness rather than a source of strength. Accordingly, we tend to attach more importance to ethnic purity and to suppress the expressions of ethnic pluralism.

He cited some examples of people who assumed double identities for convenience purposes and could quickly reassert their original identity when it became expedient to do so. He added that this reassertion of ethnic identity by newcomers in host communities can generate real or potential conflict. He gave an example of the growing concern about Baganda selling land to “foreigners” which is explained by the fact that new comers have settled in Buganda and have not bothered to pretend or assume atleast some aspects of Kiganda ethnic identity including language and cultural practices which may be breeding ground for future conflicts not only in Buganda but also elsewhere in Uganda. He argued that the writing of history of Uganda has failed to distinguish ethnicity from language and culture.

*Governance: Form and Substance:* Mugaju argued that since the second half of the nineteenth century, pre-colonial political arrangements in Uganda have been in an assortment of categories. These include centralized kingdoms and a mosaic of “stateless” polities in the rest of the country. He added that the purported superiority of centralized states over stateless polities which is often asserted without substantiation raises some questions such as how intrinsically different were centralized states from stateless polities and by what scientific criteria should the superiority of some forms of government over others be established, among others. He argued that it is imperative to establish to what extent the minimum basics of government were met by various polities regardless of scale or sophistication in order to decide whether centralized states were more developed, sophisticated, and civilized than stateless polities in pre – colonial Uganda.

Mugaju also argued that examples from elsewhere in the world, indicate that small polities can serve their people as well as or even better than large ones. Therefore the notion that centralization is superior to small, informal and egalitarian forms of governance is nothing more than a stereotype that often offends the sensibilities of those who used to live the so called stateless societies. He added that it is arguable that the relentless centralization drive in colonial and post colonial Uganda at the expense of traditional, time tested and people centred forms of governance is to blame for conflicts that have inflicted so much damage on the country since independence. He also noted that the preference and special treatment accorded to the centralized states by colonial authorities were bound to polarize the politics of Uganda, which eventually generated the conflicts of the last fifty years. He cited the development of Buganda as a “state within a state” which in 1950s culminated into the demand for “federo,” which he said should be understood in this context. He added that the underlying tensions between the advocates

of centralization and those of federalism precipitated the 1966 crisis, which culminated into the republican constitution of 1967.

*Of oppressors and the oppressed:* He noted that the division of the oppressed and oppressors without qualification or regard for historical accuracy is one of the ubiquitous stereotypes that began at the onset of colonialism and has continued unabated to the present. He cited the royal absolutism stereotype that continued to linger in the public imagination long after the eclipse of kingdoms in Uganda before the resurfacing of cultural institutions in the early 1990s. He also argued that for example the resistance to the restoration of kingship in Ankole is not based on the argument that the institution has become an anachronistic irrelevance in this modern, digital age but on the fear that its revival would lead to resurgence of royal despotism. Whatever its pros and cons, the unresolved Ankole kingship controversy remains a source of bitterness and mutual suspicion between the opponents and proponents of restoration and could lead, sooner or later, to conflict. He details how the example of the Ankole Kingship presents a more insidious and more explosive stereotype that has been perpetuated in the history and politics of Uganda mainly concerning the issue of the oppressive rulers versus oppressed subjects.

*The Southern / Northern Divide:* The author observed that stereotyping the southern / northern divide is common and fashionable in writing commentaries on contemporary Uganda with two strands, the first being that the British favoured the northern tribes especially the Acholi at the expense of the more educated and economically more developed southerners who were a potential threat to colonialism. The second strand is the colonial – induced unequal development. He however questioned whether the British deliberately excluded the Baganda and other southerners from the army as a matter of policy or whether it is correct to say that the British did not introduce “commercial agriculture” in Northern Uganda.

Mugaju concluded that in order to eliminate sources of violent conflict and pave the way for historical reconciliation, it is imperative to expunge stereotypes from the history of Uganda. Emphasis should shift from ethnic origins – from aliens and natives – to citizenship regardless of where people came from or how long they have lived in Uganda. He added that historians should attach more importance to what people did for a living – farming, herding, fishing, hunting, craftsmanship etc rather than over – emphasizing ethnic categories which are in any case misleading, if not meaningless. With regard to governance, he advised that emphasis should be placed on institutional relevance and effectiveness rather than the nature of political organization. He urged historians to distinguish form from substance and that is important to debunk stereotypes like those highlighted in the paper which are only travesties of the history of Uganda and have tended to inflame passions and ultimately generate conflict.

## **Comments**

A participant noted that the issue in the paper that Speke is a perpetration of stereotypes is much bigger than that. He questioned why we are caught up in an almost religious belief. He said there is need to expose the hamitic hypothesis.

A participant asked when do stereotypes lead to conflicts because they are not an end in themselves. It was also noted that the reason why we run into stereotypes is because we do not go far in our history and make the perspectives much broader.

It was also observed that the Hamitic theory has long been dismissed because it emphasizes physical features, and that the Northern / Southern divide issue should be tied to globalisation.

It was also observed that gender stereotypes had been ignored by the author and therefore need to be touched because they are unavoidable.

A participant asked whether stereotypes are only negative or whether they can have positive attributes attached to them. And also noted that the stereotype. thing seems to be an elite issue, what stereotypes emerge from the grassroots?

Another participant observed that the leaders who dwell on stereotypes are usually bankrupt and use them to hold on to power.

### **Response**

Mugaju agreed that the Hamitic hypothesis is much deeper but that it led to the superior – inferior stereotype. He added that there is need to teach African history along themes rather than Uganda per se.

He also noted that stereotype lead to conflict because they are breeding grounds for bigotry, animosity, resentment and in extreme cases hatred.

He also confirmed that stereotypes are always negative and that he would include gender stereotypes in the revised paper.

### **Day Two: 2<sup>nd</sup> March 2005**

#### **Buganda – Bunyoro Relations in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries by Prof. S. Lwanga – Lunyiigo**

Prof. Lwanga Lunyiigo noted that colonial history stressed what divided Africans and not what united them. True the Banyoro and Baganda had their fights but they also had a strong sense of brotherhood. He noted that Bunyoro traditions emphasized the relationship between Mpuga Rukidi the first Omukama of Bunyoro Kitara and Kimera, the third kabaka of modern Buganda that the two were actually twins.

He added that the much vaunted enmity between tribes or pre-colonial nations suited the purposes of colonial administration whose security depended on divide and rule as well as the post colonial politicians whose politics is centred around primordial pre-colonial communities and nations. He stressed that in recent times, what soured relations between Bunyoro and Buganda is the “Bunyoro Irridenta” in which Bunyoro was cheated out of its “legitimate territory” at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. He added that it was a colonial creation, which squarely embraces Bunyoro Irridenta.. With the decline of Bunyoro Kitara in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the emerging superpower of the interlucustrine region, Buganda began to expand in all directions from the shores of lake Victoria where she had been confined by the might of Bunyoro Kitara before.

He however questioned the issue of boundaries asking whether there was a developed sense of territorial boundaries in pre-colonial Uganda where most communities were largely pastoral and conceived their land in terms of the availability of pasture and water and were always on the move looking for them. He therefore argued that the issue of territorial boundaries which is imposed on the ancestors did not mean anything to the them. If they existed, they were fluid and pieces of earth changed hands frequently depending on the strength of the particular contenders for a particular piece of ground.

He also argued that what must be understood is that there was no population movement when Bunyoro territory was annexed to Buganda. The Banyoro remained where they were and continued to occupy the same land but were now subjected to rents and tithes by rapacious Baganda landowners just like the Baganda peasants were. He added that the Baganda were not free agents and were taken wherever the British wished to be assisted in administration. The elites understood this well but decided to shift the blame of their subjugation to imperialism to implements rather than the wielder of the implement.

He also mentioned the Nyangire rebellion in 1908 and argued that it was a renunciation of the Baganda chiefs by Banyoro chiefs led by Byabachwezi who wanted to drive them out of Bunyoro. It was not the Banyoro peasants who wanted to get rid of the Baganda chiefs; indeed they assisted the Baganda chiefs at their hour of great peril. He emphasized that Baganda and Banyoro peasants are definitely not enemies and whatever passions Baganda and Banyoro elites may whip up were not likely to amount to a serious conflagration.

Lunyiigo also argued that the Bunyoro Irridenta is silent about Tooro, parts of Ankole, Northern Busoga, Northwestern Tanzania, Eastern Kenya and Eastern DRC. He questioned why it was confined to Buganda when Bunyoro – Kitara was such an extensive empire.

He concluded that it is obvious that the Banyoro and Baganda were never traditional enemies. The enmity is the invention of colonialists and Ugandan politicians whose intentions was and is to divide people in order to control them. He emphasized that it is the duty of historians to emphasize the close relationship between the Baganda and the Banyoro who formed core nations on which Uganda was built. It would be a disservice to

the peace and tranquility of Uganda to misinterpret the history of those two very vibrant pre – colonial nations.

### **Comments**

It was noted that the ancestors knew their boundaries in terms of mountains, rivers, forests etc. and therefore not true to say that they were not known.

Concerning the relationship between Baganda and Banyoro being good through blood brotherhood, what then happened? How did it get sour? A participant appealed to Lunyiigo to re write the history of Buganda and fill in the missing gaps.

The issue of oral tradition was pointed out as being written by many but interpreted differently given that there are several theories. She said there is need to try and construct and rebuild former entities using oral tradition.

It was also noted that there is need to emphasize the work on myths and tradition.

Another participant noted that the problem with oral history is that it sometime lacks accuracy of record but should not be degraded. He pointed out that there is need to put together a statement of fact which appears to be the same.

It was also noted that even within Buganda, there are still different versions of the origins of Buagnda and until we go back into the different clan histories, we might not get the details. He added that one of the shortcomings is that very little has come from the people's own history. He added that the Baganda do not deny the link with Banyoro but only assert a different linkage.

### **Response**

**Prof. Lunyiigo noted that the problem with** Uganda History is that historians tend to write about their tribes. He noted that there is need for historians who will pick on a theme and write about it. He urged the paprticipants to study the history of Uganda and concentrate on clans because history can be misused if we stick to trides and are likely to write patriotic history.

He also observed that such workshops about peace and reconciliation are good but we must avoid presenting them in a confrontational manner and concentrate on those issues that unite us.

### **Bunyoro – Kitara / Buganda Relations in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries. By Henry Ford Mirima.**

Mirima observed that in order to understand the relations between Bunyoro Kitara and Buganda Kingdoms, one must first know that origins of the sour relations which he said

was the birth of Buganda after seceding from Bunyoro-Kitara. He also noted that when the Bachwezi Kings disappeared, they left behind a structure of local administration based on counties and Muwhawha county, today's Buganda was just one of Kitara's counties.

He argued that the Baganda purposively embarked on a culture of ridiculing Banyoro and by claiming that Kato Kimera was a child sired by a Muganda prince yet the Banyoro consider this allegation an insult to them thus aggravating the already sour relations. He added that as the 19<sup>th</sup> century closed, the Baganda embarked on a culture of downplaying the Banyoro by referring to them as uncivilized, uneducated, social misfits etc. He also observed that the expansion of Buganda at the expense of Bunyoro was equally a problem because the temptation of Baganda kings to invade the Banyoro and annex them to their kingdom was always great. This was worsened by the weak kings of Bunyoro – Kitara who could not militarily defend their borders. He maintained that even with the coming of the Europeans, the Baganda made sure to poison their minds against the Banyoro by exaggerating the dislike of Banyoro kings for the European colonizers.

Mirima also mentioned the plan of Kabalega on the Bunyoro kings and his desire to bring back the lost glory of the kingdom. He observed that he formed a strong army which defeated all the rebellious kings eventually posing a threat to the Baganda. Having re-united the kingdom in the process of acquiring wealth and further means to launch an attack on Buganda, Kabalega greatly enhanced his ability to defeat Buganda which had rebelled since the days of Kato - Kimera.

He cited the invasion of the British whom Kabalega refused to ally with and instead were welcomed by the Baganda. In this case, the Baganda took this position aiming to ally with a stronger nation in order to get military assistance from the British to fight their traditional enemies, the Banyoro. He noted that the result was that the British, with superior weapons fought an eight-year war with Kabalega who was eventually joined by Kabaka Mwanga which war became a total disaster to the population of Bunyoro – Kitara.

Mirima also argued that the relations between Buganda and Bunyoro – Kitara in the 20<sup>th</sup> century were founded on the terms of the Shakers of the Buganda Agreement of 1900 which was made partly to punish Bunyoro for their resistance of British rule. He added that the British went ahead to introduce Baganda administrators to other parts of Uganda which was politically wrong because it caused bad relations. Indeed in Bunyoro, it degenerated into the Nyangire Revolt. He also noted that the conquest of the rest of Uganda by the British employing Baganda was not only cause of hostility between Baganda and non Baganda but also the political and economic development was based on Buganda as a reward for their “treachery” in welcoming the British colonialists.

He argued that the British also embarked on a policy of keeping Bunyoro Kitara backward by building all government institutions in Buganda and surrounding areas and also introduced a policy of never introducing cash crops in Bunyoro Kitara, and were

generally left out on all development projects which is reflected even today in the backwardness of for example the education sector in Bunyoro.

Mirima also highlighted the issue of the lost counties as a source of sour relations. The Omukama dispatched scores of memoranda aimed at recovering the counties but all these were rejected. However, the Banyoro patriots were elected to the Buganda Lukiiko but they were later thrown out because they had allegedly “disrespected the Kabaka by introducing Runyoro. They sued and were re-instated in the Buganda Lukiiko.

He also commented on the issue of land compensation which was resolved by President Museveni was agreed that they should be compensated through the 1995 Constitution Land Fund. However, most Baganda landlords wanted huge amounts of money and therefore refused to hand over land title. Making Banyoro to remain squatters in their own homeland. This further made relations sour. He emphasized that the issue of lost counties has affected the relations in Uganda not only between Banyoro and Baganda but also between the rest of Uganda.

### **Comments**

It was noted that if we are trying to resolve conflict, certain things must be concrete. A participant asked what the contemporary demands of the Banyoro are, whether they are territorial, or simply the land that remained in Buganda. How do we define the demands of Bunyoro vis a vis the Buganda land?

A participant also asked whether it serves the purposes of Uganda to reverse the clock. Does it mean that if the lost counties are returned, the inhabitants will be expelled? He cautioned that this could lead to inflammation of passions. He urged that there is need to build bridges between historical claims.

### **Response**

Mirima observed that one of the reasons why countries went to war was prestige. Equally, Buganda wanted to get back their glory – “Ekitibwa kya Buganda”. In the process, Bunyoro was awakened and since the demand for federo included money and there was need for a large area from which to collect taxes, Bunyoro had to demand for their own therefore making their demands economic. Secondly, they were and still are being evicted and have been made squatters on their own land. So they simply want their land back.

He added that there is need to study further the relations between Bunyoro and Buganda and use historical memories to bring about reconciliation.

### **Politics, Land Policy and Ethnic Conflict in Central and Western Uganda by A.B. Kayonga.**

**Kayonga** observed that a system of land tenure where land belonged to no individual existed in Central and Western Uganda until the conquest by the British. He said that the colonial agreements which led to the distribution of land as private property to various chiefs some of which land was on the territory of Bunyoro-Kitara.. In all the three counties of Buyaga, Bugangaizi and Buruli which were formerly part of Bunyoro land was parceled out mostly to non resident Baganda chiefs eventually dispossessing the peasantry. It is the dispossession and exploitation of the people in the lost counties which was exacerbated by additional cultural oppression by the Baganda oligarchs which included suppression of the languages of the Banyoro and Baruli / Banyala as well as denying them political expression and employment opportunities in the administration.

He noted that the colonial government had created the land problem later recommended that the “lost counties” issue be nationally debated. The commission recommended that a referendum be held in the lost counties. However, most recommendations were rejected. He informed the participants that the matter was revived with added complications when the Mubende / Bunyoro committee was revived in 2001. After a Mukiga won elections in Kibaale District. Migration of the people from South Western Uganda itself a result of displacement of the Bakiga added to the complications of ownership by absentee landlords. Eventually a new ethnic conflict between Banyoro and Bakiga was generated. He noted with concern that much as there have been many probes into this issue, none of the recommendations have been implemented therefore making the land question and the potential for conflict to remain as alive as in 1900.

Kayonga also cited the case of the Basongora /Banyabindi in Kasese District. He noted that the Banyabindi fell victim of the Rwenzuru clashes between the Batoro and Bakonzo in the early 1960s in which a number of them were killed and others displaced. The Basongora a pastoral people are equally displaced and have been victims of dispossession by both the colonial and post independence governments.

He also mentioned the problems in the Ankole area noting that the problem of the Bahima pastoralists in the South - Western corridor was compounded by government policy which emphasized establishment of commercial ranches to replace traditional livestock husbandry. Under this policy, a total land area of about 248,400 hectares was fenced off and allocated to only 207 ranches “who eventually displaced the Bahima pastoralists whose ancestors had for years lived and managed these range resources.” This developed into a situation of open conflict between the pastoralists and the ranchers and took an ethnic form resulting into the expulsion of Rwandese pastoral refugees by the Obote 11 regime in the 1980s.

Concerning the problems in Tooro, Kayonga noted that as a result of the pressure on peasants by the new middle class in South Western Uganda and Rwanda, huge migrations of peasants from these areas into the Tooro area have taken place in the post independence era. This has been intensified during the NRM period creating tension between the Batooro and the Bakiga as pressure on land intensifies. He added that the problem is a result of migrations caused by displacement of poor peasants in South Western Uganda.

He concluded that the policy pursued by post independence governments has alienated peasants and resulted into dispossession by the “oligarchs” and “ethnic” middle classes associated with various governments and that neither the Constitution of 1995 and nor the Land Act of 1998 have helped much. He also noted that it has been difficult in South East Africa to reduce landlessness through land reform and if this remains as it is, then the country is most likely headed for numerous historical memory gatherings arising out of land based ethnic conflict years down the road.

## **Comments**

It was noted that in the past, land owners in Buganda were not interested in rent, rather in evicting potential rent payers. Has any work been done on people who are evicted from land?

The author was asked to give the experience of the insurgency by the ADF which might give advice on how to end the Northern war.

A participant observed that the Kibaale conflict has a lot to do with the weak legal framework with no clear guidelines on refugee settlements and encroachment on gazetted areas which have actually been encroached on by politicians. It was also observed that all successive governments have glossed over the issue and have not identified the real problem.

A participant observed that in the ranching area, Museveni decreed that those who wanted to leave were not allowed to sell and even those who went to Ankole, they were running away from tsetse flies in the area and therefore had no alternative.

A participant also asked whether the fertility question among the Banyoro and Bakiga have a bearing on the land issue.

## **Response**

Kayonga noted that the fertility rate is not a problem rather the issue is absentee landlords and yet the government has neglected it meaning that the policies of the colonial governments have been carried on. The point therefore is how to help the people tackle the issue of absentee landlords because those who are evicted flock to town and are unemployed.

On ADF, he said they are not big and were very disorganized therefore were easily defeated.

On the issue of the ranches, he noted that once the tsetseflies were eradicated, the land was given to progressive farmers leaving the people landless and generating the conflict in the ranches.

## **A Re – dissertation of the North – South Relations in Uganda in the Museveni Years by Prof. Ginyera Pincywa**

Prof. Pincywa noted that in order to understand the North – South relations, there is need to understand their origins and the emergence of these concepts. He noted that during the British days, the North went by the name of Northern Province while the South was unknown then. Political units corresponding to the North were Central, Western and Eastern Provinces. It was only after the demise of colonial rule that the two began to gather significance.

He added that the notion of the North as a political significance went into disuse until Amin came into power and divided up the country into several provinces hence the concept of the North re – emerged. The Northern Uganda strictly referred to Acholi and Lango. However, the concept of the North re – emerged to embrace a much wider entity during the alliance between Museveni and Lule bush war.

The concept of the South was very little known and occasionally one heard people saying they were going “ down country” yet referring to Buganda or Busoga but not the south. The idea that Kigezi and Ankole was politically significant was not there.

After independence, Uganda was dominated by Obote to begin with and then Northerners. Eventually, the war which was fought in the bush was inspired by anti Northern sentiments and has not ended up to now but has simply been relocated.

In general, Pincywa noted that we are dealing with a complex and intricate matter that takes place at macro, meso and micro levels. Politically, he noted when Museveni took power, there was a lot of ethnic cleansing and that there are very few Northerner high ranking officials in government though there are very few currently.

He added that the level of economic activity in the North in 1988 was too low to be happy about. He noted that though there is economic activity between the North and South, the conditions are not favourable and not equitable. The imbalance has been badly accentuated because of the LRA war. If peace were to return to the North, then there would be a lot of economic activity. To correct the imbalance, there is need to intervene seriously in the war in the North.

Socially, the Northerners were isolated after the assumption of power by the NRA. They were thrown out of homes, offices and social groups. Today, a healthier picture has since developed and the rate of use of stereotypes and exclusion has reduced. However, in the sphere of education, the North has been ignored. Eventually, there will be a gap that will translate itself into inability to relate / compete in all spheres and relations between the North and the South.

He appealed to the nationalists, patriots to ensure that Northerners begin to equip themselves for development. After the 18 years of LRA, their glory has been deflated and therefore there is need to think of either talking or exerting oneself more differently.

## **Comments**

A participant noted that there seems to be another pattern in the Northern entity as if to say that the new entity of the West is emerging. What can we learn from the entities associated with power. What lessons can we learn from the Northern entity when they had power?

It was also noted that it would be interesting to know the current definition of the North and the South. Where does Bunyoro fall in all these entities. How do you relate Bunyoro with the North and South

A participant also asked whether its true that the NRA had a deliberate policy to preach against Northerners. It was also observed that its true there has been deprivation of education but a participant wondered if there has been consideration of the fact that most of the people in the diaspora are Northerners and that these could help in the reconstruction of the North.

It was also noted that the paper points to the danger of oversimplified dichotomies. True the North has lagged behind but this problem is more of a rural urban challenge. There is also a tendency to obscure certain realities that affect our people

It was also noted that there is need to ask ourselves why the Northern war has taken so long and what has happened to the attitudes of the Ugandans. It was noted that a war is either run militarily or by peaceful means. Emphasized was the need to end the attitude of division because it has been highly engraved in the people.

Participants also noted that its an ideological construction of the elite surviving on the division of the people which maintains that the Northern war will not end if Museveni remains in power and also that the power structure of Uganda depends on violence.

## **Response**

Prof. Pincywa noted that at micro level, interaction was taking place but chose to focus hi presentation on the macro level..

He noted that there is need to socialize the children against the culture of revenge is we are to have total peace and that the war is likely not to end if there is continued use of the military approach.

He also noted that dichotomies are not always precise, the urban rural division is always there but the situation in the North is unique given that some of the children are in Internally Displaced Camps.

He added that the lessons learnt from Obote and Museveni are that people in power can lead to alienation of people in society and therefore there is need to curb the excesses to avoid a large multitude of enemies as a result of the excesses.

### **Historical Memories and Conflict in Pastoral Communities in Eastern Uganda by Abbas Wetaaka Wadala.**

Mr. Wetaaka highlighted the factors that have escalated conflict particularly in the Karamoja region. He cited hostile ecological factors as being responsible for cattle – rustling by the Karimajong. He also noted that other authors have cited that the colonial policies of establishing boundaries by cutting off Karimajong grazing lands and giving them to neighboring communities as the central cause of conflicts. He added that the non – cooperation with the colonial authorities has made it difficult for all subsequent governments of Uganda to establish law and order in Karamoja.

He also attributed conflict to the rise of new groups particularly because of the breakdown of the old traditional social structures. A group of young people emerged as the new power brokers and their importance was related to courage, possession of arms and ability to accumulate large herds of livestock based on raids. He also noted that the Karimajong war lords have formed a collaboration with the army where they exchanged cash for stolen cattle. Therefore the need to make quick money in conditions of poverty and lack of infrastructure by these groups fuel the pastoral conflicts.

He also referred to pastoral cultures as a source of conflicts. He noted that the Karimajong being a pastoral society, essentially carry out cattle raids that antagonize them with their neighbours and fellow Karimajong.

Wetaaka also argued that the role of the state in Karamoja has left bitter memories that have reinforced pastoral crisis and conflict. He said that the state has always looked at the Karimajong not as victims but as a source of problems. He argued that the state has failed to use community approaches to control and regulate the use of arms, an approach that has worked fairly well elsewhere.

He observed that some of the state’s highhandedness in dealing with the pastoral conflicts emanates from the fact that lawlessness of Karamoja is a fertile ground for fertileground for political opponents of the ruling governments. Uganda’s political opposition has tended to resort to arms to sort out political grievances through effecting violent regime changes.

He also hinted on the demographic ramifications of the pastoral conflict noting that population increases imply that many young women and men born in Karamoja and get married there, families tend to demand for many cows before their daughters are given away for marriage hence these social needs and pressures for status for status and marriage has led to the intensification of cattle raids and therefore conflict within the eastern region. Yet, as the young men amass guns to carry out raids and thefts, they create social disturbances within their communities and their neighbours.

Wetaka also noted that whereas pastoralism promotes moving from place to place in search for water and pastures, which eventually antagonizes them with their neighbours who are settled farmers. This conflict is said to emanate from rivalry and competition for land.

He concluded that memories that lead to pastoral conflict are many and complex and sorting them requires more field research and re – assembling of pastoral history and the history of their neighbours.

### **Comments**

A participant advised the author to dwell on the issue of militias more and also explore issues concerning what is likely to happen if there are economic interests being pursued or political differences and trying to settle scores with the presence of these militias e.g. the Amuka and Arrow boys.

It was also noted that there is an emerging conflict vis a vis the farmers and is not only in the East but also stretching down to Bunyoro. Is it only a push for pasture or there is another reason?

It was also observed that there is need to go beyond what is seen on the top, i.e. look at the sociology of the Karimajong – they are equally killing each other. There is need to understand the traditions that promote harmony and co – existence. Where do the hunters and gatherers come in? Participants emphasized that the author needs to look into the Karimajong as a people in more detail.

It was also observed that historical memories are one of the things that Karimajong need and may not be sufficiently aware of the changes that have taken place over time and therefore the need for sensitization and awareness creation. It was therefore suggested that historical consciousness needs to be raised among these people.

A participant also observed that there is laxity on the part of the government in relation to their attitude towards cattle rustling. Since the Karimajong are not threatening state power, they have been left to enter Acholi and Lang freely and other neighbouring communities. Therefore there is need for government to change their attitude towards the Karimajong and step up action against cattle rustling.

It was also observed that there is need to understand how other pastoralists in Kenya and Tanzania have been settled and learn from them.

A participant informed the author that his paper did not contain sufficient material on historical memories and conflict which needs to be properly captured. It was also noted that the author needed to delve more into the historical legacy of mistrust and hatred amongst the neighbours since all are hostile to the Karimajong. They also tell that they

lost land to Lango and Teso and some to Kenya yet they survive on flexibility and mobility hence affecting their livelihoods and engineering tension and conflict.

## **Response**

He noted that the Western pastoralists have settled in the East but have refused to settle in Karamoja even after being given land there.

He also agreed that the possibility of raising consciousness is there and important but asked at what level does one start? He noted that the problem has become both national and international and therefore very necessary that consciousness is raised.

On the issue of militias, he noted that the neighbouring communities escalate the problem because they are equally armed especially in Kenya.

## **Ubuntu Philosophy, Memories and Reconciliation by Pro. Dani Nabudere**

Prof. Nabudere noted that the African philosophy of Ubuntu (humanness) has recently come into focus more especially as a result of the political developments in South Africa and the call by President Thabo Mbeki for an “African Renaissance”. However, it does not follow that all African people propagate or are even consciously aware of the philosophy as such.

Nabudere argued that it is important because it provides Africans a sense of self – identity, self – respect and achievement and enables African to deal with their problems in a positive manner by drawing on the humanistic values which they have inherited and perpetuated through their history. He stressed that talking about African philosophy does not mean essentialising the African experience as being unique and valid outside actual lived experiences and histories.

He added that metaphysics is part of Ubuntu philosophy and is very much a center of reconciliation in conflict situations as African philosophy holds that the living dead can, when called upon by the living to intercede and advise them in certain circumstances. Such intercession is crucial in reconciliation in which ancestors, invisible beings, play a significant role. Thus, the insistence by African to uphold certain metaphysical relationships to religion enables them to “straddle” worldly situations, including the embracing of different religions and invisible forces, without losing meaning in life. At the same time by adopting these different religious traditions to their own belief systems, they are able to synthesize them into one belief system that is coherent in their own understanding of the world around them.

He also argued that the act of reconciliation is based of African understanding of politics and law as they unfold in real life. He argued that Umuntu is the maker of politics, religion and law and in the philosophical domain, Ubuntu is the basis of law and politics. Therefore African law based on Ubuntu is a living law based on their recognition of the continuous oneness and wholeness of the living, the living – dead and the unborn. These

laws are combinations of rules of behaviour, which are embodied in the flow of daily life. It is for this reason that African political philosophy responds easily and organically to demands for reconciliation as a means of restoring the equilibrium of the flow of life when disturbed.

He also noted that the African renaissance must lead to power being returned to the people if the renaissance is to be a reality. Without the empowering of the African people through their cultural heritages, which include the heritages of Ubuntu philosophy, political life in postcolonial African states can never bring about true reconciliation and lasting peace to the people of the continent. He urged that the process of historical memories should therefore contribute towards the re – empowerment of people so that they can face one another in dismantling ideologies of superiority and dominance that lead to conflict and wars.

He also noted that reconciliation as a philosophy and practice is not peculiar to the African peoples alone but is an essential element in most human relationships in all human societies. As pointed out earlier, he maintained that reconciliation is to be found in the daily practices of the African people of resolving conflicts at different levels that continue to afflict the continent.

He cited cases of the pastoralists Karimajong in whose traditional settings, the elders were expected to have some moderating influence over aggressive tendencies of the youth, in Mozambique where traditional leaders in response to their own crisis, developed rituals known as “soul cleansing”, and the Acholi where terms are laid down by elders who performed various rituals to bring about reconciliation. In summing up these cases, he noted that these practices derive their validity from an African ethos that has their deep roots in African way of life and philosophy of life. The experiences reveal a number of principles that characterize these practices and these include:

- Reconciliation requires the creation of a consensus about the existence of the conflict. Conflict is not taken for granted for it sometimes obscures underlying stakes, which are partially expressed and which may not be clear to some of the conflicting actors, but which nevertheless be resolved.
- Reconciliation goes beyond established normative rules, institutions and procedures, which may be inadequate to deal with the conflict.
- Reconciliation is about accepting responsibility for wrongs committed since guilt is not the main point of the process. What is important is the recognition of the problem, acceptance of the responsibility for what has happened and the willingness to be part of the search for a solution.
- Reconciliation is about the transformation of the conflict into a non – conflictual situation for the good of the larger community.
- Reconciliation requires the performance of ritual and the explicit public verbalizations of the termination of the conflict by all parties.

Nabudere concluded that reconciliation under the African philosophy of Ubuntu offers different approaches of overcoming and transforming conflicts of different kinds at

different levels into a peaceful situation. It also follows that reconciliation under the Ubuntu philosophy can be invoked to deal with conflicts in other countries, including international conflicts such as that raging for years between the Israelis and Palestinians.

### **Comment**

A participant noted that there is need to re – invent culture in terms of reconciliation rather than conflict and this is where the issue of traditional leaders comes in. It was noted that for example in the North, there is fear of the International Criminal Court and revenge from the community. However, the traditional leaders perform rituals and give assurance to those left behind in the bush about safety upon return. Government therefore needs to support the traditional leaders in the efforts of reconciliation.

However, a participant asked whether the author was referring to witchcraft as a process through which reconciliation must take place. Additionally, suppose all the wrong doers come out of the bush, what happens to the loot they have taken?

### **Response**

Nabudere noted that rituals are not necessarily witchcraft related. He observed that there is need for acceptance of responsibility for the crimes , then the issue of the loot taken goes to courts of law for those interested. He emphasized acceptance of responsibility as the best way to go about the reconciliation process.

### **Day Three: 3<sup>rd</sup> March 2005**

#### **Ethnicity and Power in Ankole by Mr. Mwambutsya Ndebesa**

Mr. Ndebesa noted that the abolition of Kingdoms in 1967 together with the support of the people from the very Kingdom to Obote was a sign of fatigue. Ankole in South Western Uganda is currently constituted by Mbarara, Bushenyi and Ntungamo districts. Historically, it was not one territorial unit but had many chiefdoms. The British later amalgamated the three into one. Social – culturally it is dominated by the Bairu agriculturalists and Bahima pastoralists, an ethnic make up more like in Rwanda and Burundi.

During the colonial period, they were groups in themselves and had their identities but the struggle for resources created group alignment. In respect to social power, there was social exclusion leading to poverty and marginalisation. The Bairu were the numerical majority but were a social minority which case was abused by those in power. The ruling families came from the Hima and the Bairu were considered of low status, they were subjects while the Hima were citizens.

Unfortunately, the British colonialists facilitated the remaining in power of the Bahima. On this note, Ndebesa pointed out that there is need to study cultural power and relations to understand society and conflicts in the great lakes region.

Ndebesa also noted that much as the Bahima continued to dominate politically, there was a change socially where for example the Bairu in Bushenyi got more education which gave them prominence and eventual economic prominence. When the social relations changed, the Bairu became conscious of themselves and formed the “Kumanyana” (literally translated as lets know each other) movement to overcome their marginalisation.

He added that the politics remained the same in the colonial period but socially and economically there was a change. Eventually, the abolition of Kingdoms was cause for celebration in Ankole.

He strongly recommended that the kingdom in Ankole should not be revived because it would revive memories of marginalisation and discrimination which may spill over the Ugandan boundaries to the region.

### **Comments**

A participant observed that at the time that Andrew Cohen deported the king of Buganda, the people were disgusted, Nsibirwa had been killed because of the land issue, in Tooro the Empango excesses were equally disgusting with Katuramu imprisoning people for disrespect. Equally in Ankole, the people had been through a lot of bad times with the monarchy.

### **Response**

Ndebesa noted that it is the monarchical Bahima who are about to be extinct but not the ordinary Bahima. He added that the Bahima represent Ankole while the Bairu have lost their identity. The picture created has been that of the ruling class and the remembered past has led to the rejection of the monarchy.

He also said that the beauty of synthetic writing provides more information to the people.

### **Ethnicity and Power in Ankole by Dr. Joshua Muvumba**

Dr. Muvumba noted that without doubt, the realm of Ankole in Western Uganda has provided an example of where artificial “ethnic” and sectarian rivalry can disturb what could have been an otherwise smooth socio – political transition from traditional underdevelopment to modernity. He added that the contemporary opportunistic partisans in search of power have succeeded in manipulating the history in order to mobilize political support and a following among a rapidly changing but uninformed population. He argued that postcolonial regimes have found it more expedient to forget the historical fact, and get on with the cheap popularity via sectarian bigotry and distortion.

He argued that the single institution that personified the traditional society of the Banyankore was kingship. Chiefly, it functioned as an integrative vessel which was central to the creation maintenance and implementation of norms governing interactions among all members of the political system. Culturally, the Nkore monarchy was the

standard in the creation, maintenance and transmission of societal values. Politically, the King derived his legitimacy from his membership in the Bahinda dynasty which was founded by Ruhinda the son of Wamara the last ruler of the Bachwezi empire of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Consequently, the Bahinda were the wealthiest single group and came to regard themselves as the very embodiments of aesthetical, moral and intellectual refinement.

Muvumba noted that the traditional administrative and military organization of Nkore which was under the direct control of king rested on the overlapping authority of clan heads, administrative – military chiefs and the client and specialist chiefs. He added that although the Bairu and the Bahima could and often did make this exalted rank, the Bakungu realm was overwhelmingly dominated by the Bahinda. He further listed the various categories of office holders as the Abashumba – who were managers and were direct clients of the king, the Bambari who were in charge of specialized production of goods and services for the king and the state. He noted that the greatest factor that governed the exercise of power in traditional Nkore society was the individual's freedom to withdraw his fealty from any leaders at any time and any level.

He further highlighted issues concerning the unique dual economy and traditional Nkore noting that all the great historians have been baffled by the unique dual economy of traditional Nkore and missed the cardinal fact that the state (king) owned more cattle than all the privately owned cattle combined. On the above, he noted that the cow being the most sought after commodity in traditional Africa, it was highly valued and in the absence of a market economy, it became the standard as well as the storage of value. And that cattle could be accumulated until the owner entered the surplus realm and the use of economies of scale.

He argued that the traditional Nkore society was most definitely stratified because:

- Social groups were ranked hierarchically.
- The groups and ranks were relatively permanent as viewed by most of the population.
- They were based upon social institutions e.g. economic and political power was differently allocated.
- Cultural distinction and social distance did distinguish members of different strata.
- The cultural criterion for placing individuals into the same stratum was based on their social statuses.

Muvumba noted that the last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century shook Nkore's stratification system, with rinderpest and small pox wiping out the cream of Nkore's leadership, particularly devastating the Bahima. Having dismantled the Nkore traditional stratification system and having created a new territorial unit, the British colonizers found themselves in the predicament of having to deal with the power vacuities left behind by the Bahinda, Bakungu and the true kingship institution itself. He added that the British also found it expedient to allow the growth of a cabal of Bahima young men, which became an oligarchy of chiefs that was to remain in control up to the time of the approach of Uganda's independence.

He also argued that while the Bahima pastoralists had rejected Christianity en masse, the members of the Bahima ruling elite had the pillars of the protestant church in Ankole. Consequently, the earliest challenges against the bahima protestant oligarchy was mounted by the Bairu Catholics of Ankole.

He maintained that contentious misinterpretations, some of them based on ignorance but others on deliberate envy and ill will have continued to plague the Banyankore kingship attempting to turn it into a permanent issue of conflict and societal discord. He noted that the new cultural kingship has nothing to do with political or administrative boundaries and therefore it has nothing to do with majorities. He argued that the Banyankore who are in search of self-expression through their ancient kingship are all over the world; therefore the self-supporting king will be a mobile one. He also noted that unlike religious or political parties, cultures are not interested in numbers, majorities or elections therefore there is no need to suppress a people's cultural expression to incarcerate or abuse the human rights of a peaceful law abiding cultural group no matter how small or politically powerless.

### **Experience and Reflections on the Peace and Reconciliation Processes in Northern Uganda During the Period of March 2004 – March 2005 by Emilio Ovuga (Northern Uganda Peace Initiative).**

Dr. Ovuga gave a background of Northern Uganda Peace Initiative (NUPI) noting that it is a technical assistance programme to the Government of Uganda funded by USAID. He added that NUPI serves as a secretariat and a clearing house on matters of peace and reconciliation and works in close collaboration with line government ministries, cultural leaders, traditional leaders, religious leaders, community leaders and civic leaders, UN agencies, NGOs, selected academic institutions.

He noted that during their tenure, a number of lessons have been learnt and these include:

- The origins of the war – The LRA war has become one of the worst humanitarian disasters in the world due to a lack of understanding of its psychosocial origins that require appropriate social, political, and cultural approaches in the resolution of the war.
- Ancestral and supernatural spiritism – on this issue he noted that belief in being in touch with ancestral spirits is normal in various cultures and these powers have been invoked by successive generations in dealing with contemporary political, social and agricultural problems. In times of major crisis it is equally normal for individuals to invoke the powers of the most high - God Himself in pseudo magic attempts to cope with man's situations.
- Local or national? - He expressed concern over the issue of identity noting that each community member holds allegiance to its own community first rather than the country as a nation. Under the circumstances, it has become very easy for other communities to stand back and say: "its their problem"

- Psychology of armed conflict – Armed conflict leaves behind years of resentment and hatred, discrimination, stereotyping and the need to seek revenge and the reciprocal need to repress with more violence.
- Basic concepts – understanding peace and reconciliation processes requires that these activities run against the background of what happened to people and the following are very relevant to northern Uganda: peace, conflict, reconciliation, dialogue, and breaking the cycle of violence.

He observed that the peace process in Northern Uganda has progressed in the following manner:

- The government is committed to reconciliation as a priority and everyone in Northern Uganda is awaiting the end of the conflict.
- Communities in Northern Uganda have been unfairly condemned for the LRA war and have been caught up between two fighting forces in the absence of governance and authority particularly in the rural areas.
  - Labeling the LRA as a terrorist group has at times made attempts at peace difficult.
  - Investigation of the LRA leadership by the International Criminal court only serves to strengthen suspicion among LRA and impede the peace and reconciliation process.
  - Mutual lack of trust of each party in the other's intention hurts the peace process.
    - Several groups have attempted to mediate but these attempts were not based on addressing deeper origins of the conflict.
    - Several humanitarian aid agencies work in northern Uganda with the potential to rob the communities of their powers to decide on their need.
    - Years of conflict need years of negotiations, peace efforts and reconstruction.
    - The peace and reconciliation process in northern Uganda are impinged on by the events in Southern Sudan
      - The peace and reconciliation process belong to the people of Uganda
      - The peace and reconciliation processes have not been systematic.

He concluded that there is hope for a negotiated end to the northern war and that despite the slow pace of progress, communication channels are open between the LRA and the government peace team. He urged Ugandan to develop a national policy and strategy on peace and reconciliation.

### **Comments**

A participant noted with concern about the ethics of Western aid and what kind of commitment the donors had at the beginning and why they have changed their minds along the way. She asked whether USAID has made any commitment and how much control it has over NUPI.

It was also noted that in the Northern war, the element of trust is slowly creeping in and yet the rebels do not trust government. How then does NUPI make it easy for the rebels to collaborate in negotiations yet they work with government?

It was also noted that there is a mystery around NUPI, what is its mandate, is it an NGO or Government? Since NUPI has turned into an advisor for the government, how does it reach out to the other side of the conflict? Has NUPI considered Lakwena as a possible third party after her come back in the conflict resolution initiative?

Participants also noted that NUPI does not seem to be independent in the peace and reconciliation process because it is more on the government side, therefore making it an untrusted party by the LRA.

A number of questions were raised including: Has NUPI explored the possibility of having a neutral mediator in a neutral venue? To what extent was NUPI involved in the failed peace talks? Are there efforts by NUPI to expand the role of the international community? Isn't the US government pressurizing NUPI to consider LRA a terrorist organization? Is LRA being politicized? What about the possibility of using a regional approach e.g. the example of how ECOWAS intervened in Togo. What is the East African Community doing in the light of the fact that we moving towards a political federation? There is need to provoke regional efforts and if need be have a neutral army from a sister country.

Ovuga was also asked to dispel the rumour that chemical weapons have been used in the war in the North.

## **Response**

Dr. Ovuga informed the participants that the contract for NUPI stipulated only two years because the US government had hoped that within two years, the conflict would be resolved. However, depending on what has been achieved, there is commitment on the part of US government and he said he is hopeful that the contract will be renewed. He added that NUPI has not received any pressure to consider LRA as a terrorist organization but USAID controls the activities of NUPI to an extent that the US government is not embarrassed, otherwise NUPI operates freely.

He observed that the activities of NUPI belong to government and what NUPI does is reflected in what the government peace team does. He also agreed that truly LRA is being politicized.

He noted that there is need for government to identify trusted people such as Betty Bigombe and also promised to recommend the possibility of having a neutral army to government.

## **Presentation on the International Documentation Network on the Great African Lakes Region by Gloria Muhambo.**

Ms. Muhambo introduced her organization by saying that the International Documentation Network is an inter – University initiative aiming at collecting “Grey Literature” with a coordination office based in Geneva. Documents processed by this

organization are on different events and issues such as development, the economy, politics, war and conflict, and peace process initiatives that are occurring in the great lakes region.

Objectives of the Network:

- Aims at making the highest amount of documents available to national leaders, academics, representatives of civil society organizations among others.
- The control and access of information is a decisive factor when the logic of war and negative influences of extremist groups continue to prevail.
- Users of the documents are political bodies, journalists, academics among others.

Activities of the Network at the Dar es Salam Office

- Processing of documents from the great lakes region and distributing them to different users.
- Networking with different local and international organizations which are dealing with issues in the region.
- Conducting of research on the region.
- Conducting of training on conflict resolution and peace processes.
- Production of CDs
- Availing information to interested parties.

Note: Documents received by the network are checked by a scientific committee that is knowledgeable on the issue before approval. For more information, the network can be contacted on the address: [fswai@udsm.ac.tz](mailto:fswai@udsm.ac.tz).

### **Report on the Luwero / Acholi Discussion: The Way Forward on Inter Community Dialogue**

The two groups from Luwero and Acholi met and discussed the war issues. They represent communities that were interviewed during the field research.

What are the major problems as a result of the war in the North?

- The group noted that it is important to establish Kony's true identity and his roots, what traditions are involved and who he networks with. On the issue of identity, to the Luwero people's recollection, Museveni had what they called a mother who was an important focal point whenever disputes arose though on the surface she looked insignificant. Maybe there is such a force in the social cultural set up and therefore such people may need to be brought to the fore.
- Find out why he is fighting.
- Establish whether there is a southern link to the war given that the leading 2001 presidential candidates tended to contend with insurgencies. What were the promises at the time?

They agreed to do the following"

- Both groups will visit other districts in order to enhance relations.
- Visit the three major districts of Kitgum (Palabek, Namkora, and Putika), Gulu (Anak and Amoro), and Pader (Patong and Pajule) and spend three weeks in all the districts i.e. one week per district piloting the peace process. Time frame: Will visit in the months of April, 2<sup>nd</sup> June, 3<sup>rd</sup> September 2005.
- Visit various homes and attend cultural functions
- Hold talk shows on Mega FM to reach the entire community.
- Distribute brochure showing the importance of peace.
- Document visits on video
- All activities will be done with the approval and awareness of Uganda government.
- Extend the networking and collaboration beyond Acholi land and beyond the borders of the great lakes region.

Participants noted that it was good the two groups were able to meet and share ideas. A participant noted that he fully agrees with the idea of understanding the identity of Kony but also said there is need to understand the NRA/UPDF as a basis for finding solutions. It was also noted that this opportunity of people who have gone through the conflict experience and are willing to reach out should be encouraged and the initiative supported but also find ways of interlinking it with religious and other modes of mediation.

### **The Way Forward as presented by Prof. Barkan**

**Prof. Barkan** thanked the participants and noted that he sensed a fervor of reconciliation which means that the time for reconciliation is ripe. He recommended the following”

- The notion and need for listening to one another and create space and structures to facilitate the listening. On this note, he proposed formulation of a forum in conjunction with the government but independent of the government.
- The need for a local research and communication exchange to be used to produce results.
- There is need to focus on specific topics, do synthetic research and writing and ensure that everything is captured in that area.
- There is need to focus, select some papers and create a mechanism by which we come to an agreement, interpret and integrate comments there in.
- Carry out community research that provides information which can be disseminated.

### **The Way Forward as Presented by the Participants**

- The independent forum suggested by Prof. Barkan should involve communities and local officials among others and should be connected to a community of scholars that are separate from their communities and listening should be based on informed research.
- There is need to enlist the support of government policy. Government must reflect commitment to the peace process and create an enabling environment for the various structures to operate and have the desired impact.

- The documented research and videos should be aired to the public to help change their attitudes because there is still denial in the public..
- There is need for a demonstration team that moves from place to place to enable learning for the communities e.g. revive the peace demonstration teams.
- There is need for resource mobilization to enable more work.
- There is need for the establishment of a peace and reconciliation commission which has constitutional backing.
- Since the project goes beyond Uganda, we stand to learn from cases conflicts have been closed and what were the important aspects that led to the closure.
- There is need to explore the material and economic basis for conflict resolution.
- Conflict is a manifestation of frustration and therefore we need to take a survey of the nature of frustrations and then look critically at potential time bombs in order to enable their diffusion.
- CBR should endeavor to further the efforts discussed in the workshop through other means to avoid being derailed by government.
- Examine a way forward for handling the perception about cattle in the East.
- Integrate the findings so far and graft them on the ongoing dissemination initiatives e.g. in the ministries.
- Make an inventory on the initiatives on conflict resolution to enable networking efforts.
- Popularize the on going initiatives
- Publish the proceedings of the workshop
- CBR should write a proposal with a work plan that will concretely chart out the way forward.
- Disseminate the results of this project
- Establish information from the external sources in this case the people across the border of Sudan through which Kony goes.

### **Closing Remarks by Hon. Omara Atubo, MP – Otuke County.**

Hon. Atubo thanked the organizers of the workshop saying it has been worth it. He commended CBR and IHJR for bringing forth this kind of discussion in the country. He also recognized the presence of the people who attended particularly those from Luwero and Acholi and welcomed them again to the function.

Hon Atubo noted tat the issues discussed covered the whole of Uganda and encouraged the authors to publish and disseminate them widely. He urged those in critical decision making positions to organize a workshop so that the results of both the first and the second workshop are disseminated to the Members of Parliament because the issue of reconciliation is at the heart of Ugandans.

He added that the challenge is to end the war in the North very quickly because the people have gone through untold suffering and the initiative must come from us. He therefore said he was glad that the workshop had looked at the causes and methods of ending the war. He also said that he is confident that if there is a sense of determination, the war will not take long.

Hon Atubo urged the government and all stakeholders to consider a quick end because it has been too long and also to provide enough resources and manpower. He also noted that after the war, there is need to talk about sustenance of peace and recovery, back it up with resources because the level of poverty and disease in the area is too high.

He also noted with concern that all the people living in camps represent the failure of government to protect their lives and property which is the highest abuse of human rights to send people into camps.

Hon. Atubo also lamented that there is an attitude especially by political leaders if undermining the process of reconciliation and delaying the process of healing through utterances which he said must be stopped.

He added that it is important for all leaders – cultural, political, and religious – to change their attitudes towards reconciliation. He hoped that something more concrete in terms of drawing programmes and constituting institutions will work towards the process of peace and reconciliation. With those remarks, he declared the meeting closed.

## LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

1. Rosette Arinaitwe	Foundation for Human Rights Initiative
2. Soita Esther	Centre for Conflict Resolution
3. Karen Colvard	Guggenheim Foundation
4. Margaret Atim	Peoples Voice for Peace
5. Mzee A. K. Akera	Gulu Municipality
6. Abara Wilson Oloya	Pabbo Trading Centre, Gulu District
7. Oryema Jonny Lacambel	Mega FM, Gulu
8. Ojera James Latigo	Afrika Study Centre
9. George Iga	Kibaale District
10. Henry Ford Mirima	
11. Kasimu Mwanga	Masulita Sub county – Luwero
12. Nabagala Ruth	Nakaseke – Luwero
13. Nalumansi Edisa	Masulita – Luwero
14. Lina Zedriga	Northern Uganda Peace Initiative
15. Margaret Odongwen	Lira Prisons
16. Rev. Moses Olum	Pan African Endogenous Knowledge Systems Network.
17. Onyango Odongo	Gulu Municipality
18. Charity Kyomugisha	Centre for Basic Research
19. B.M Luutu	African Studies Centre
20. Prof. Dani Nabudere	African Studies Centre
21. Sango Sali	Movement Secretariat
22. Kasirye Edward	Movement Secretariat
23. David Bahinda	Duetch Welle
24. Dr. Simon Rutabajuuka	Centre for Basic Research
25. Etiang Simon Patrick	Wavah Broadcasting Services
26. Mulindwa Mukasa	Super FM
27. Sebuliba Bob	Family Radio
28. Addah Zam	
29. George Okeny	Gulu
30. Hon. Manuel Pinto	Member of Parliament
31. Apollo Outa	Centre for Conflict Resolution
32. Blake Band Ipson	Centre for Conflict Resolution
33. Higenyi Kamba	
34. Paul Tentena	Mail News
35. Juuko Collin	CBS FM Radio
36. Alice Lubwama	Capital FM Radio
37. Sylvia Nankya	Radio One
38. Toya Edwin	Uganda Television
39. Rev. Grace Kaiso	Uganda Joint Christian Council
40. Lawyer Kafureeka	Centre for Basic Research
41. Sarah Kaddu	Centre for Basic Research
42. Elija Mushemeza	Makerere University

43. Dick Nyai	Researcher
44. Judith Muhairwe	Monitor Publications
45. Sebata Hassan	Radio one
46. Kibuuka Martin	Afrikan Study Centre
47. Charles Ndyabawe	Centre for Basic Research
48. Justus Mugaju	Consultant
49. Kabann Kabanankye	Makerere Institute of Social Research
50. Jane Nalunga	SEATINI
51. Prof. Lwanga Lunyiigo	President's Office
52. Hon. Omora Atubo	Member of Parliament
53. Prossy Kiza	Star FM
54. Dr. Rwanyarare	UPC
55. Prof. Oloka Onyango	Makerere University
56. Mwambutsya Ndebesa	Makerere University
57. Dixon Kamukama	Makerere University
58. Gloria Muhambo	Great Lakes Region Network – Dar es – Salam
59. Abbas Wetaka	Afrika Studies Centre
60. Prof. John Jean Barya	Centre for Basic Research
61. Anne Mugisa	The New Vision
62. Edward Rubanga	Centre for Basic Research
63. K. Twinomujuni	Indigenous Knowledge Resource Centre
64. Barebere Francis	Nakaseke – Luwero
65. Juliet Kiguli	Makerere University
66. Phoebe Kushaba	Radio West
67. Patrick Tabaro	Uganda High Court
68. Elazar Barkan	Institute of Historical Justice and Reconciliation
69. Prof. Ginyera Pincywa	Kampala International University
70. Hon. J. Bintu	Member of Parliament
71. F.D.R. Gureme	Freelance Writer
72. Hood Mawejje	The New Times
73. Eunice Namagembe	The Pan African Movement
74. Dr. Joshua Muvumba	Historian
75. Augustine Kayonga	LC 5 Chairman, Kabarole District
76. Sera Diana	USAID / MEMS Project
77. Kemigisha E.	USAID / MEMS project
78. Prof. Ovuga Emilio	Northern Uganda Peace Initiative

## SECOND HISTORY AND RECONCILIATION WORKSHOP

THEME: “*Historical Memories of Cooperation, Conflict and Reconciliation in Uganda*”

**Organised by Centre for Basic Research (CBR) Uganda, In Conjunction with  
Institute for Historical Justice and Reconciliation (IHJR), Austria.**

***Hotel Africana, Kampala, 1<sup>st</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> March 2005***

DAY ONE: 1 <sup>ST</sup> MARCH 2005		
<b>8.00 - 8.30 am</b>	<b>Arrival and Registration</b>	
8.30 – 9.00 am	Introductions	
<b>9.00 – 9.15 am</b>	<b>Introductory Remarks</b>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Project Coordinator</li> <li>• Executive Director, CBR</li> <li>• Director, IHJR</li> </ul>	<p>Mwambutsya Ndebesa</p> <p>Simon Peter Rutabajuuka</p> <p>Elazar Barkan</p>
9.15 – 9.45 am	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Guest of Honour</li> </ul>	<p>Hon. Minister of Internal Affairs, Dr. Ruhakana Rugunda</p>
Session One	Presentation	Resource Person
9.45 – 10:15 am	The Luwero War	Kasozi & Dick Nyai
10:15– 10.45 am	Field Report presentation on Luweero and Northern Wars	D.W. Nabudere
<b>10:45 -11:00 am</b>	<b>TEA BREAK</b>	
11:00 – 11:30am	Video presentation on Luweero and Northern Wars	
11:30 -1.00 pm	Plenary Discussion	
<b>1:00 – 2:00 pm</b>	<b>LUNCH BREAK</b>	
Session Two		
2:00 - 2:30 p.m.	The Northern question/The north-South relation in Uganda	G. Pinychwa & Onyango Odongo
2:30-3:00 p.m.	Stereotypes as sources of conflicts in Uganda	J. Mugaju & E. Kamuhangire

3:00-4:00 p.m.	Plenary Discussion	
4:00 – 4:20 p.m.	Tea Break	
4:20 – 5:20 p.m.	Group Discussion	
<b>DAY TWO: 2<sup>ND</sup> MARCH 2005</b>		
<b>Session One</b>	<b>Presentation</b>	<b>Resource Person</b>
8.30 – 9:15 am	Buganda Bunyoro Relations	Lwanga Lunyigo & Henry Ford Mirima
9.15 – 9:45 am	The Uganda Crisis of 1960s	P. Mutibwa & S. S. Kayonga
9:45 - 10:45 am	Plenary Discussion	
<b>10:45–11:15 am</b>	<b>TEA BREAK</b>	
11:15–12:00 Noon	Land conflicts in Buganda and Mid-Western Uganda	A. Kayonga & Frank Muhereza
12:00 – 12:45 pm	Pastoral Conflicts in Eastern Uganda	A. Wetaka & Peter Otim
12:45 – 1:30 pm	Plenary Discussion	
<b>1:30 – 2:30 pm</b>	<b>LUNCH BREAK</b>	
<b>Session Two</b>		
2:30 - 3:15 p.m.	The 'Obuntu' Philosophy as a Tool for Reconciliation	D. Nabudere & Wamba-Dia-Wamba
3:15 - 4:00p.m.	Ethnicity and Power in Ankole	N. Mwambutsya & K. Muvumba
4:00 – 5:00p.m.	Plenary Discussion	
<b>5:00 – 7:00p.m.</b>	<b>COCKTAIL</b>	
<b>DAY THREE: 3<sup>RD</sup> MARCH 2005</b>		
8:30 – 9:00 am	Presentation by Northern Uganda Peace Initiative (NUPI)	
9:30 – 10:30 am	Presentation by the Regional participants	
10.30–11.00 am	Response from the Audience	

<b>11:00 -11:30 am</b>	<b>TEA BREAK</b>
11:30 -1:00 p.m.	Wrap up and closing
<b>1:00-2:20 p.m.</b>	<b>LUNCH AND DEPARTURE</b>