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Peace in the Home, Peace in the Nation: Conceptions of Justice for Rural Women of Northern Uganda

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Peace in the Home, Peace in the Nation: Conceptions of Justice for Rural Women of Northern Uganda

Jennifer Moore

<https://youtu.be/QmVYaLc4Lm4?t=305>

Unedited Transcript

00:00
my name is Steve Bishop I'm the director
00:01
of the International Studies Institute I
00:04
work mostly with Ian Stewart who I know
00:07
a lot of you know he's the associate
00:10
director of ISI and then oil which has
00:14
gained as well but Loyola gets off at
00:18
about 4:00 normally and she lives in
00:21
these mountains so I told her she can go
00:24
home so she's not here this evening but
00:27
she talks a big deal as well I also
00:29
wanted to mention some other people who
00:30
have helped them a great deal in a
00:32
different way which is that they've
00:33
supported this lecture series so we've
00:36
gotten financial support from the Office
00:40
of Student Affairs here at UNM we've
00:43
gotten assistance from a number of
00:45

different departments around campus it's
00:48
going to be hard to remember them all
00:50
anthropology English history Africana
00:55
Studies Foreign Languages and
00:59
literature's my home department
01:00
certainly shouldn't forget them we are
01:03
supporting it of course but then we've
01:06
also gotten help from two other groups
01:08
that have helped us quite a lot one who
01:11
has given us by far and away the most
01:13
financial assistance is the New Mexico
01:15
communities Council which is an
01:18
organization in the state that supports
01:19
a wide variety of humanities oriented
01:23
events and if you go to the website ever
01:26
you you'll see you know you'll see what
01:27
I'm talking about
01:28
there's talks there's lecture series of
01:31
course there's also just individual
01:33
talks there's film festivals there's
01:36
projects that students put on and you
01:39
know sometimes as part of their
01:40
schooling sometimes

01:42
they sponsored the album cover
01:45
presentation that was early this past
01:48
summer the other group that has helped
01:50
us a lot is the world of Harris
01:52
delegation which is a student group on
01:54
campus sometimes called Model UN as well
01:59
this is a group that of mostly of
02:02
students who have interests in
02:05
international matters especially in
02:07
international politics and I mentioned
02:10
that last because that's a good
02:11
transition because the person who is
02:14
going to introduce our speaker is Silla
02:17
optional who is a recent just may 2019
02:23
graduate of the International Studies
02:24
program and she's not doing her and they
02:27
work here at New Mexico and political
02:30
science department and so not not she
02:33
didn't just do the major if she did you
02:35
know a study abroad experience of course
02:36
as all our national students are study
02:39
students are required to do she went to
02:41

Germany France Belgium and I'm going to
02:45
these are her to introduce our speaker
02:58
officer in West Africa and then has a
03:02
legal officer in Washington there she
03:05
conducted trainings on refugee law for
03:08
government officials immigrant advocates
03:10
and other audiences her interests in
03:14
refugees began when she was a student
03:15
and at Amherst College just like us and
03:19
when she graduated she worked as a
03:21
research assistant for the refugee
03:23
policy groups during law school at
03:26
Harvard she connected a field research
03:28
on protection of Salvadorian refugees in
03:31
point of us and provided assistance to
03:34
refugee camps administered by the UNHCR
03:37
professor Moore continues to work on
03:39
projects by the UNHCR her cooperative
03:42
work in Croatia helping the war-torn
03:43
societies project help determine if the
03:46
climate was right for the projects and
03:48
help in post-conflict reconstruction she
03:53
co-authored the first law school case

03:56
book on refugees called refugee law and
04:00
policy being awarded a Fulbright
04:03
scholarship professor Moore spent time
04:06
in Tanzania teaching international law
04:09
at a university as well as facilitating
04:12
human rights workshops for Burundian
04:14
refugees in camps professor Moore
04:18
authored the humanitarian law in action
04:21
within Africa where she explores various
04:24
ways in which humanitarian human rights
04:26
laws serve as tools of conflict
04:28
resolution and transitional justice in
04:31
countries emerging
04:33
the boss her field research in
04:36
Uganda Burundi and Sierra Leone that was
04:39
published by the Oxford University Press
04:41
in 2012 she's currently working on a
04:43
second manuscript called women's work
04:45
building peace and justice in
04:47
post-conflict communities in northern
04:49
Uganda and Sierra Leone focusing on
04:52
women engagement and peace building
04:54

activities no more than a decade since
04:56
peace agreements were negotiated I mean
04:59
so awards thank you Fela and thanks to
05:09
prosti Bishop and Ian Stewart for
05:11
inviting me we've done some great
05:14
collaboration over the years and and
05:16
speaking in each other's classes and I
05:18
really appreciate the cross
05:21
fertilization of ideas so I have no
05:25
audio-visual AIDS so it's very good that
05:29
we have what I called when I gave a
05:32
presentation and in dr. Stuart's class
05:34
my Luddite powerpoint which is these
05:38
four panels and I'll sort of just use
05:41
that I don't have photos of of the
05:44
women's groups that I engaged with to
05:46
show you all but I do have a photo book
05:48
and just it's very old-school but I'll
05:51
just send it around because one of the
05:54
things that I'll just start with is you
05:57
know I'm trained as a as a lawyer I
05:59
focus on international law
06:01
I look at treaties and how treaties can

06:05
be powerful tools of human rights
06:08
protection and my earlier work has been
06:12
sort of more typical legal work
06:14
analyzing the accountability of states
06:18
under international law and all that
06:20
stuff and this book is very different
06:22
that I'm working on now called women's
06:24
work building peace and justice in these
06:27
war affected communities in two
06:29
countries Sierra Leone and and Uganda in
06:32
fact the northern part of Uganda and to
06:35
write this book I what I wanted to do
06:37
was to really translate global concepts
06:41
of peace and justice legal concepts
06:44
Western concept
06:45
in have those concepts be transformed by
06:49
women non elite women uneducated
06:52
formerly women but very very vibrant
06:56
politically aware savvy economically
06:59
active women how who lived through the
07:02
wars in their country to sort of ask
07:04
them how they look at notions of peace
07:06

and justice and so the work involves a
07:10
lot of interviewing qualitative research
07:13
interviewing with women's groups in
07:15
their very communities so I'm gonna
07:17
focus on northern Uganda but just to
07:19
give you that perspective that the
07:22
purpose of the book is really to see if
07:24
there are certain common threads between
07:27
the two countries in terms of the way
07:30
that women who survived the war and now
07:32
are trying to survive the piece can
07:35
teach each other but also can teach
07:37
women and men in other parts in other
07:39
parts of the world and so I guess just
07:42
sort of starting with the punchline in
07:44
case I don't get you know to the to the
07:47
end by the by the end of the the 30 or
07:50
35 minutes the I would just say that
07:53
women in northern Uganda who lived
07:56
through the the rebel war the Lord's
07:58
Resistance Army war you know which
08:00
lasted for 22 years from 1996 until 2008
08:04
are much more concerned with dealing

08:08
with physical violence in their lives
08:10
today domestic violence violence in the
08:12
community and structural violence in the
08:15
form of poverty and the fact that they
08:17
have trouble feeding their kids and
08:19
educating their children and providing
08:22
for their families then they are fixated
08:25
on looking back to the violence that
08:27
occurred during the LRA war and
08:30
insisting on individual penal
08:33
accountability for individual war
08:35
criminals and so so where I start I
08:40
think is just to acknowledge us talk a
08:43
little bit about the LRA war itself how
08:45
many people here know a little bit about
08:47
the the civil war in northern Uganda so
08:52
some doing some don't
08:54
in not to go into really in-depth
08:57
to the history but Uganda was a
09:00
protectorate of Britain from 1894 until
09:05
independence in 1962 and the British
09:09
favored the southern tribes over the
09:12

northern tribes they they they favored
09:15
the Buganda people over the Acholi and
09:17
other northern tribes of northern Uganda
09:19
and that historical inequality that
09:23
regional caste system whereby Buganda
09:26
folks were used as administrators and
09:29
were able to go to school and get higher
09:31
education etc and Acholi and other
09:34
tribes of the north were largely
09:36
relegated if they wanted social mobility
09:39
to jobs in the military and so that that
09:43
inequality between regions of the
09:46
country played out throughout the
09:47
colonial period and then after
09:49
independence and so if you look at
09:52
Uganda today the infrastructure in the
09:56
north where the war happened is way more
09:59
limited than in the central and southern
10:01
and western regions the whether it's
10:04
roads or bridges or healthcare systems
10:07
or education it's it's much far behind
10:12
the the central part of the country and
10:15
some people even think of Uganda as

10:17
being two countries the north as being a
10:19
least developed country and Uganda as a
10:22
whole as being a developing countries
10:25
that's sort of more in the middle tier
10:26
and so that regional inequality in many
10:30
ways fed the LRA war you know just to
10:33
sort of simplify a little bit
10:35
so the LRA is the Lord's Resistance Army
10:38
which was a rebel movement that grew up
10:42
that rose up in the northern part of the
10:44
country right after your wearing was 70
10:47
came to power militarily and overthrew a
10:51
boat ace regime and the LRA was fighting
10:58
most 7yz army steadily from 1986 all the
11:02
way to the peace accords in 2006 to 2008
11:07
and the the the LRA is is a was a
11:13
military movement that took up the
11:16
banner of Acholi nationalism and and
11:19
recognizing the historical repression of
11:21
the Acholi was designed as a kind of a
11:24
liberation movement to seek greater
11:27
equality and economic opportunities for
11:30

for the Acholi period Chile people what
11:34
happened is that on in an unexpected
11:38
manner the LRA thought that the people
11:42
of northern Uganda would join the cause
11:44
and would volunteer to serve in the
11:47
rebel army but instead the LRA didn't
11:52
get that kind of military support and
11:54
resorted to conscripting children and
11:57
especially children because they were so
12:00
vulnerable and conscripted boys and
12:04
girls for for serving as soldiers but
12:08
also porters and cooks and and and
12:12
conjugal slaves forced wives for LRA
12:15
commanders and so the the dominant
12:21
narrative of the LRA war is that when
12:24
was 70 fought a counterinsurgency war to
12:27
put down the Lord's Resistance Army that
12:30
it was largely acting to stop the
12:33
depredations of the LRA
12:34
against the its own people to stop the
12:38
child conscriptions and the massacres
12:40
and all the rest that's the dominant
12:42
narrative and it is true that the LRA

12:44
conscripted 30,000 kids that attacked
12:48
communities and massacred civilians and
12:52
thousands of civilians were killed by
12:54
the LRA but the counter narrative that
12:57
is told by war affected communities and
13:00
women who are very active in those
13:03
communities is that the National Army of
13:06
Uganda the Ugandan people's Defence
13:08
Forces engaged in its own atrocities
13:11
also conscripted people forcibly and
13:15
attacked civilians the main type of
13:19
depth
13:20
nation that was carried out however by
13:23
the Ugandan army the Ugandan people's
13:26
Defense Forces was in forcibly
13:28
relocating at Olli people into
13:30
internment camps supposedly for their
13:33
protection but in some ways to control
13:36
them and to keep them from from being a
13:41
threat to to the Ugandan military and so
13:45
the four choli civilians living in
13:49
northern uganda during those 22 years
13:52

they experienced a double victimization
13:56
by the rebel army and by the Ugandan
13:59
national army and although the worst
14:04
physical violence and conscriptions may
14:06
have occurred at the hands of the LRA
14:08
the experience of living in internment
14:12
camps for the better part of two decades
14:15
was extremely traumatizing to the to the
14:18
culture and to the end to the local
14:21
communities they were sometimes not able
14:24
to have their basic needs met in these
14:26
camps in terms of food and medicine but
14:29
even when their material needs were
14:31
basically met they were unable to carry
14:35
on their livelihoods in agriculture and
14:38
in commerce that they were accustomed to
14:41
and so it was a kind of forced
14:43
dependence treating them as a childlike
14:46
population but also the feeling that
14:49
they were being treated as the enemy as
14:51
the community that had incubated a very
14:54
vicious rebel movement and who was in
14:57
some ways semi combatants semi insurgent

15:00
itself so when we look at peace and
15:03
justice coming out of that war which was
15:06
the the the military incursions and the
15:12
actual shooting war ended you know ten
15:15
plus years ago but the aftermath of the
15:20
war is what war affected people are
15:22
still dealing with and so if you think
15:25
about you know physical violence that
15:27
occurred during the war like war crimes
15:31
and attacks on community
15:33
and conscription of children that is
15:37
over but other forms of physical
15:39
violence are experienced by women in war
15:43
affected communities namely domestic
15:47
violence rape in community violence as
15:51
well
15:52
what's more the structural violence the
15:56
poverty that in some ways fed the armed
15:59
conflict in the first place is ongoing
16:02
and so today the northern part of Uganda
16:06
has almost twice the poverty rate as of
16:09
the country as a whole and so there is a
16:13

dangerous situation in the post-conflict
16:16
northern Uganda that such that violence
16:19
may be rekindled by the the failure to
16:22
address the structural inequalities and
16:25
the socio-economic human rights
16:28
violations that continue to occur in the
16:31
north and so when when we think about
16:35
justice from the perspective of a
16:39
trained lawyer like myself who tends to
16:41
focus on treaties and what what
16:44
mechanisms treaties create to enforce
16:47
human rights and also to enforce
16:52
accountability against violators of
16:54
human rights the the dominant view of
16:58
justice by international lawyers often
17:01
focuses on criminal accountability
17:04
retributive justice for war criminals
17:08
and so the way that we look back at the
17:10
past is that we focus on assigning blame
17:16
punishing individuals and removing them
17:19
from their communities and what I
17:22
learned in having discussions with women
17:25
in community and women's collectives in

17:28
communities and in various regions of
17:32
Acholi land which is in the north of
17:34
Uganda was that they were much less
17:37
concerned with retributive justice than
17:41
they were with a broader even-handed
17:43
kind of justice that would look
17:47
get rebel accountability LRA
17:49
accountability as well as accountability
17:51
on the part of government soldiers and
17:54
what has happened in terms of
17:57
retributive justice for northern Uganda
17:59
is that the only criminal trials brought
18:03
in the International Criminal Court or
18:06
domestically in Uganda have been against
18:09
LRA commanders there have been no trials
18:12
against government commanders or
18:15
soldiers so there's a real sense that
18:17
even if retributive justice has its
18:19
place if it's not even handed it
18:22
actually does more harm than good in
18:24
terms of reconciling the community and
18:27
so what women in particular that I
18:31

interviewed in in five communities in
18:34
Acholi land over over the past three
18:37
summers in fact was that they were more
18:40
interested in government accountability
18:44
and not just of the penal kind but of
18:47
the repper the reparative kind so the
18:51
government of Uganda has never
18:53
acknowledged its own role in wartime
18:56
atrocities neither it's the direct
19:01
involvement of its soldiers or its
19:04
failure to protect its civilians from
19:07
the LRA to begin with because that's
19:09
what governments do they they create an
19:11
ik lyman where individuals are not
19:14
abused by non-state agents as well as
19:18
state agents the government has never
19:20
come clean in any kind of reconciliation
19:24
bollocks statement or Truth and
19:27
Reconciliation Commission acknowledging
19:31
failures to protect Acholi civilians
19:34
from the violence of the war and that is
19:38
is is the type of accountability that is
19:43
desired for the physical violence and

19:46
for the war atrocities an acknowledgment
19:49
by the government that that it played a
19:53
role in the in the in the suffering of
19:56
the Acholi people and the people of
19:58
northern
19:58
ganda in terms of of accountability in
20:06
terms of the demands of most of the
20:09
Acholi villagers that I interviewed it's
20:12
not just that they want a statement of
20:15
accountability there's also a need for
20:17
reparation and within a truly
20:20
traditional culture reconciliation
20:23
rituals that are used to deal with
20:27
inter-clan killings and so forth
20:30
involve rites of forgiveness between two
20:34
clans however it's very important that
20:38
the offender or the offender's family
20:42
acknowledges the harm that was done and
20:44
also pays some type of material
20:47
compensation to the surviving kin of the
20:50
person who was killed or harmed and so
20:53
the notion of compensation and
20:56

reparations is a very very powerful part
21:01
of accountability that's linked to
21:04
acknowledgement and there has been no no
21:09
major reparations either one-off
21:13
payments to individual war survivors or
21:16
structure what might be called
21:18
structural reparations programs of
21:20
health care programs of education
21:22
targeted at the communities of the north
21:25
that were so harmed in the war and so
21:29
the what what what women in these
21:34
community development organizations that
21:37
I interviewed with want is they have a
21:40
very very ambitious ask for their
21:42
government acknowledgement of its role
21:44
in the war really re-entering into a new
21:48
relationship with the people that it is
21:50
their protector and not preying on them
21:54
discriminating against them but also
21:56
some kind of commitment to redistribute
21:58
if justice to some type of realignment
22:02
of the way that resources are spent at
22:04
the national level in all regions

22:06
including northern Uganda and so that's
22:10
the ask of women peace
22:12
builders in rural communities and none
22:15
of these things have really happened
22:17
there hasn't been that public
22:19
acknowledgement and there have been
22:20
token reparations but no major
22:24
realignment of Social Services in terms
22:27
of need and the north and so the the
22:32
punchline of my book is really that the
22:36
peace and justice that rural women
22:39
peacebuilders see in their lives is the
22:42
peace and justice that they make
22:44
themselves in their communities through
22:47
much more modest and yet powerful
22:51
powerful interventions that they take
22:53
part in with their fellow community
22:56
members but importantly led by women so
23:00
in the in the context of crime and
23:03
physical violence women peacebuilders in
23:08
in communities in northern uganda are
23:11
very focused on basic education around
23:14

the fact that domestic violence is a
23:16
crime and that rape and marriage is a
23:19
crime and these offences are
23:22
criminalized in the code of in the
23:26
parliaments laws but in terms of how
23:28
they are realized in practice and and
23:32
and what impact they have on behavior
23:34
there's a big lag between the the formal
23:37
law and the actual effective enjoyment
23:40
of of protection against that kind of
23:43
violence so a big part of what women
23:45
peacebuilders do is basic education
23:48
around the notion that women have
23:50
physical integrity and it it is
23:53
inherently respected by law and it needs
23:56
to be respected in practice and in in
24:00
some cases that type of intervention has
24:04
a preventive effect but there are also
24:08
referrals by the women's collectives to
24:11
the police in the in the in the district
24:14
headquarters of their of their
24:16
particular region of of Acholi land so
24:18
that's that's modest progress but

24:21
extremely important in terms of the area
24:25
of
24:26
attitudes towards women's equality more
24:28
generally another area of important work
24:32
that women peacebuilders are involved in
24:35
is is education on women's inheritance
24:39
rights because under the Constitution of
24:41
Uganda women and men have equal right to
24:44
inherit when when the when the father
24:46
dies but in practice the land is often
24:50
inherited by the oldest son or the sons
24:52
and if there's any remaining resources
24:55
that goes to the sisters similarly under
24:58
Ugandan law when when when a marry a
25:02
woman who's married to a man when her
25:05
husband dies she should inherit the
25:07
property but in practice women are often
25:10
dispossessed when they're widowed and
25:13
the property goes to the siblings of the
25:15
of the departed husband and so another
25:18
area of intervention and activism by
25:22
women peacebuilders is just educating
25:24

the community about women's inheritance
25:27
rights and changing the practice on the
25:30
ground and then in terms of this gap
25:33
with regard to redistribute if justice
25:37
and reparations from the top basically
25:41
women in rural communities in a choli
25:44
land are there making economy they are
25:49
they are engines of economic vitality
25:51
and so this happened in some pretty
25:54
modest ways through revolving credit
25:57
micro funds micro lending and you could
26:00
say micro micro you know like 50 cent
26:03
deposit from every woman who is a member
26:05
of the collective every two weeks that's
26:08
come that's you know bundled and then
26:11
given to women who are members of the
26:13
collective on a rotating basis so that
26:16
they can have money to pay school fees
26:18
for a child or medicine
26:21
we're invest in a small business so
26:23
microcredit and then collaborative
26:26
agriculture where women have their own
26:29
separate fields but then on a rotational

26:32
basis go and help a fellow member of
26:36
their collective to harvest or
26:38
particular
26:39
our crop and so you know I I'm not sure
26:42
exactly where I am in terms of time but
26:44
I think I'm gonna wrap up my arms my
26:47
formal remarks and just say that that it
26:50
is very important that we think big in
26:53
terms of transitional justice and
26:55
justice after armed conflict and think
26:58
about structural changes and think about
27:01
criminal accountability for those who
27:03
are you know proven to have committed
27:07
crimes but those macro changes may be
27:13
long and coming and so peacebuilding and
27:17
justice making after conflict also
27:20
occurs in communities in very very
27:23
modest and yet very very powerful ways
27:26
so I'll just leave it there so does
27:35
anyone have any questions about the war
27:37
about the peace process about that's
27:46
part of the plan of this lecture series
27:48

is to offer you time not Nestle water so
27:54
address some of your more
27:56
individual I was wondering how like that
28:00
you're talking about the police horses
28:01
on how the groups of women would report
28:03
instability into them and how if you
28:06
know that so you know what's really
28:10
interesting is someone and they're in
28:12
dr. Stuart's class before there were
28:14
some great questions about that like is
28:17
the fact that someone asked a great
28:20
question afterwards saying is the fact
28:21
that people in these communities focus
28:25
on dispute resolution and mediation and
28:28
solving their own problems partly
28:30
because they don't have faith in state
28:32
authorities and it's true I mean the
28:34
police are great work is being done to
28:38
create special units and police forces
28:41
for domestic violence and for you know
28:43
they even use terminology of gender
28:45
rights and things like that
28:46
but in terms of resources and ability to

28:49
intervene and the the percentage of
28:53
cases of domestic violence that are
28:55
prosecuted is very very small so it's
28:57
really just the the beginnings of a
29:01
process of a referral and to some extent
29:04
you know when there is actual violence
29:07
that is what they would call you know
29:09
aggravated where where it's not just one
29:13
incidence of violence but it's it's a
29:15
cycle of violence that's core in the
29:18
relationship that is normally going to
29:21
have to be referred to to the police to
29:24
remove that person but a lot of what the
29:28
women's collectives do is actually to
29:30
mediate disputes within families that
29:33
haven't risen to the level of physical
29:35
violence because that type of mediation
29:38
can have a very strong preventive impact
29:41
and some of the education around women's
29:45
integrity thinking about women as being
29:48
partners in marriage and not being in a
29:50
childlike relationship with their
29:52

husband and even with their older sons
29:54
that those kinds of changes in attitude
29:58
and in even just language and dialogue
30:02
can have and can lower the level of
30:05
violence but it's
30:07
it the formal structures are there for
30:10
referring cases to the authorities but
30:13
the the resources within those
30:17
structures is quite limited and people's
30:20
confidence in them can sometimes be
30:23
limited and so that's the negative but
30:24
the positive of it is it does encourage
30:28
preventive action and education and
30:32
conflict resolution that can actually
30:34
lower the level of violence so yeah yes
30:43
correct
30:44
it seems like the conflict we're talking
30:46
about has as much to do with the
30:47
colonial era of the British in direct
30:50
rule use of the Buganda against the
30:51
Acholi I'm wondering Neil the
30:53
peacemaking process seems to have as
30:55
much to do with that as the LRA war how

30:58
long a process do you think it's how
31:00
many generations after the why before
31:02
that can sort of reconcile itself that
31:05
is a really big one I mean I not to get
31:08
too much into like sort of a comparative
31:10
analysis but in Sierra Leone every
31:14
single part of the country was impacted
31:17
by the war the civil war that happened
31:19
at roughly the same period of time and
31:22
so all ethnic groups were involved and
31:26
invested in the peace process and so
31:28
there was an opportunity for a kind of
31:31
an inclusive participation in the peace
31:34
process and what's so difficult about
31:37
northern Uganda is that there is still
31:42
this sense that certain politics line up
31:45
with certain tribes and so most seventy
31:48
he's not Buganda he's Bunyan Kohli but
31:55
he's of a tribe that is also affiliated
31:58
and sort of historically and ethnically
32:01
connected to the large powerful kingdom
32:04
of Buganda
32:05

and the Acholi still have this feeling
32:10
of of a separate country I when I was in
32:13
- when I was interviewing people for my
32:15
first book and I in Kampala and I talked
32:18
to them about the war
32:19
they said we would the warden impact us
32:23
it happened in another country you know
32:25
and Uganda is not a huge country it's
32:28
you know 30 million people but there was
32:31
that sense that there was so much
32:33
stratification and I don't mean to be
32:37
you know not not hopeful but that that
32:41
historical legacy of an unequal
32:46
development and of divide and rule in
32:48
direct rule and favoring one tribe
32:52
favouring one Kingdom one powerful
32:54
cluster of tribes that reality is is
32:59
very very hard to to change without
33:02
major structural changes and so that
33:05
would have would would take real
33:08
devotion of funds and trade-offs and
33:13
money because this is a developing
33:15
country money that would have gone for

33:16
one thing going to massive
33:21
socio-economic development in the north
33:23
and so I I think it might take some type
33:27
of political change well 70 has been in
33:29
power since 1986 and he what he came to
33:35
power militarily he led the National
33:39
resistance movement so he was a he was a
33:42
fighter himself he's a military man he
33:45
he was in power in a military government
33:49
for a full decade and then in 96 was his
33:52
first term and he's now in his fifth
33:54
term there are no term limits and there
33:59
are no age limits and so you know we
34:03
look at Zimbabwe you know we have a new
34:05
era since since Mugabe died so when was
34:09
70 passes will that be an opportunity
34:12
for change and some type of inclusive
34:15
government we would hope so but the
34:18
historical debts can be very very
34:21
powerful and so I I think I mean I I had
34:26
some really difficult experiences when I
34:28
was interviewing I have wonderful
34:30

experiences you know sort of just
34:32
amazed by the resilience of people and
34:34
their willingness to put their
34:36
government's feet to the fire and when
34:38
it didn't have any impact just go on
34:40
with their lives but I had a translator
34:43
who grew up in a choli land
34:46
she went to my care array and got a
34:49
degree in philosophy which is if you
34:51
knew it would be like a first generation
34:53
plus you know just with the know no one
34:56
in her family having even finished
34:58
primary school and she had friends and
35:01
and uncles who put together money for
35:04
her school fees and she did fabulous in
35:06
her exams out of high school and went to
35:08
my carrier and studied philosophy and
35:11
she graduated from my carrier and she
35:15
while she was actually still in school
35:17
she would go home and visit her parents
35:18
in the late 90s and she would be in a
35:23
displaced persons camp that was her
35:25
holiday you know going home to an

35:27
internment camp and going and getting
35:30
firewood and water with her sisters at
35:32
night and being you know shot at because
35:35
they might have been rebels or whatever
35:37
and she lived through all that and when
35:40
when the war was over she got hired by a
35:43
non-profit Ugandan nonprofit called
35:46
human rights focus and she was going out
35:48
into communities and and helping give
35:51
moral support and training to women that
35:53
were organizing to do microcredit and
35:55
collective agriculture and domestic
35:57
violence prevention and all the rest and
35:59
she didn't have enough income from doing
36:05
that work and so she had an opportunity
36:07
to get it-get she was recruited for a
36:11
job with the Ugandan Human Rights
36:13
Commission a government affiliated body
36:15
and she had so much experience she had
36:18
worked for five years in communities she
36:21
you know had studied the Universal
36:24
Declaration of Human Rights and she told
36:26

me about the interview process and they
36:29
she said they had a few token Acholi and
36:32
they were hiring Human Rights monitors
36:34
to work in a Chile land and no atole
36:37
people were selected for that for for
36:41
the position so you know there's that
36:43
that that
36:46
and that tribalism and that sense of you
36:52
know being sort of in an underclass
36:54
that's still there and so not to say
36:58
that that is is going to lead to
36:59
conflagration but it does make it
37:02
challenging to think about how to
37:04
transcend that type of inequality and I
37:07
you know not not to make everything
37:11
about economics but I think
37:12
redistributed justice is a really very
37:15
very important part of of peace and
37:17
justice and human rights and people are
37:22
very good at surviving they're very good
37:24
at being resilient and and surviving
37:28
through collective means and life can be
37:33
rich and sweet and valuable even when

37:37
people are living on the margins and
37:40
that's kind of what I saw I saw people
37:42
struggling and thriving you know not
37:44
just surviving but actually thriving
37:46
with a great sense of agency you know I
37:49
had sort of a stream of consciousness
37:51
but you know I I would talk sometimes
37:54
about being a feminist you know with
37:56
with english-speaking translators of
37:58
mine who are all our children very very
38:01
close to and I would say well are you a
38:03
feminist and they said oh no no I'm not
38:05
I'm not a feminist I new feminism that's
38:08
something you know from the West and
38:10
women are different than men and we're
38:11
strong and we're mothers and all this
38:13
but if you talked about women's
38:16
inheritance rights or you talked about
38:19
women's property rights or you talked
38:21
about women's physical integrity rights
38:23
they would talk about dismantling
38:26
patriarchy essentially you know the
38:28

importance of fighting misogyny and the
38:32
devaluing of women and girls and and
38:35
dismantling patriarchy people would even
38:37
use that term women would but they
38:39
wouldn't call themselves feminists so
38:41
you know maybe maybe feminism is not the
38:44
whole you know using one term is not the
38:46
most not the most important thing so
38:48
there's there's joy of agency and
38:51
struggle and transformation and and sort
38:53
of modest change but in terms of long
38:58
harm addressing of the root causes of
39:01
conflict in Uganda and other part you
39:03
know many many parts of the of the world
39:06
that I think takes micro change but it
39:11
also takes structural change and it
39:13
takes political will and it takes
39:15
political activism to push the
39:17
government to make those changes and
39:19
that I think that can happen and I think
39:21
it's that's gonna it will take time but
39:23
I think it can happen yes you know the
39:36
government was trying to be somewhat

39:39
accommodating can you hear me all right
40:00
no worries so just with the ICC and you
40:05
know how there's not really that much
40:07
respect yes which makes sense but I mean
40:12
I would assume is that with Bashir I
40:14
mean how they would want to give him
40:16
political asylum yes yes yes
40:21
so the the the question of the
40:24
International Criminal Court was the
40:25
question and and Uganda is interesting
40:28
attitude towards the court in light of
40:30
its of its permissive attitude towards
40:34
President but former President Bashar of
40:36
Sudan's genocide in Darfur etc and you
40:41
know the the irony is that you know in
40:44
before South Sudan broke off from Sudan
40:47
the civil war in Sudan mo7 II had a very
40:51
very interesting except and - that -
40:57
that civil war and supported John Garang
41:00
the the rebel leader and so there's a
41:05
lot of inconsistency and complexity in
41:09
terms of the politics of international
41:11

criminal
41:11
prosecutions but what's interesting is
41:14
that Uganda sort of speaks out of both
41:16
sides of its mouth about the ICC because
41:19
Uganda referred its own case to the ICC
41:23
so the the there is a case against five
41:28
indicted members of the Lord's
41:30
Resistance Army that was brought to the
41:33
ICC on the referral of President
41:36
Museveni so what's really fascinating
41:38
about the ICC prosecutions is that
41:42
Museveni wanted to cook the books in a
41:45
sense he wanted there to be
41:48
investigations of LRA war criminals but
41:52
not any investigations or any possible
41:55
indictments of the of Ugandan people's
41:57
defense forces offenders and so the ICC
42:02
case has moved along and the the
42:06
prosecutor of the ICC made it clear in a
42:10
wait a minute this is an equal open
42:12
investigation we can prosecute anybody
42:15
but in fact has only indicted five LRA
42:19
members so that's Joseph Kony the head

42:23
of the LRA and then four of his deputies
42:26
so of those five Kony is on the lam
42:31
somewhere in Central Africa maybe in
42:34
South Sudan and three of the other
42:39
indict teas have died and Dominic ongwen
42:43
is the only one who's in custody and
42:46
being currently tried and that is an
42:49
example of limited but still you know
42:53
very powerful retributive justice and
42:55
what's fascinating about the climate in
43:01
northern uganda is that if you ask
43:02
people even people who survived
43:05
atrocities that Dominic ongwen carried
43:08
out in their region they say he cannot
43:13
take all the accountability the
43:15
government has to be accountable as well
43:17
and what they what they raised about
43:20
Dominic Angwin himself is that he was 10
43:23
years old when he was forcibly
43:25
considered
43:25
by the LRA so so the ICC prosecutions in
43:32
the region are complicated but even in
43:34

Uganda alone are very complicated
43:37
because a lot of resources and it's
43:39
another reason why maybe we shouldn't
43:41
put everything into retributive justice
43:42
because a lot of millions of dollars
43:45
have gone into the prosecution of what's
43:48
turned into one person and the
43:51
underlying causes of the conflict
43:53
haven't haven't been addressed and
43:56
there's this troubling idea about
43:59
victimizers who are also victims so it's
44:02
not that every single person in northern
44:04
uganda will say we should have no
44:07
criminal prosecutions of any LRA members
44:09
but there is a very strong feeling that
44:13
because of the child conscription z--
44:15
and the number of of commanders who
44:19
started their career in the LRA at you
44:23
know preteen age who were who were
44:26
forced to commit atrocities and then
44:28
basically were adopted by the LRA as
44:31
their family because they couldn't
44:32
return to their families that's

44:33
problematic in terms of the the
44:38
legitimacy of the ICC trials so but you
44:41
raised some very complicated question
44:43
but the relationship between the two
44:44
countries and I've kind of finessed that
44:45
but in terms of yes in terms of the ICC
44:48
prosecutions in Uganda you know the Dom
44:51
de Angwin case could fall apart but I
44:53
think that their chances are good that
44:55
it will be a conviction and that will be
44:56
important because you know on when you
45:00
know he had opportunities to leave the
45:02
LRA he was conscripted as a child but he
45:05
he didn't flee he stayed he rose in the
45:08
ranks he became very privileged as a
45:10
commanding officer so people will get
45:13
some measure of of a sense of indication
45:18
if there's that conviction but they do
45:20
not hang their hats on that on
45:22
retributive justice as the guarantor of
45:24
of peace building and reconciliation
45:27
after the LRA war so anybody else
45:33

innocence the you said a lot of the
45:35
hostage so there you know I I'm an
45:45
optimist you know and I don't want to
45:46
predict that kind of thing I I think
45:49
that when I first started doing my
45:53
research for this book three years ago I
45:55
talked to a Ugandan who worked in in an
46:00
NGO that was sort of a conflict
46:02
monitoring body that was sort of almost
46:06
taking the temperature of the chance of
46:09
conflict and he said that he was very
46:11
concerned about issues of access to land
46:14
and the military and other interests
46:18
taking over large tracts of land for
46:23
minerals or for timber etc in Acholi
46:27
land specifically as being very
46:29
problematic for increased conflict in
46:33
the future but when I talk to people in
46:38
the past two years there's not sort of
46:40
this you don't get a sense of a clear
46:41
and present danger that there's a real
46:43
war fatigue 22 years of of displacement
46:49
of death of conscription of of trauma

46:52
and so in the sense of rebel movements
46:57
sort of ready in waiting I don't think
47:00
so but in in in terms of long term
47:03
chance for rekindling of conflict if
47:06
there if there is no progress on the
47:09
socio-economic front I would say there
47:11
is a danger but I like your answer but I
47:19
just want to point out something that
47:20
Professor Moore said early on in our
47:22
talk which he she talked about how the
47:24
women we're trying to survive the peace
47:27
and that's an important thing to keep in
47:29
mind it's not just when the bullets stop
47:31
flying then it automatically becomes you
47:35
know peaceful and the houses of war and
47:37
the houses
47:37
violence it is a more complicated and
47:40
not so cut and dried didn't she said to
47:45
is that like we're in that for the women
47:50
at least I said during the natural
47:52
conflict even the things that the peace
47:54
is just where there's just so many
47:56

problems some users I actually think
47:59
that for women now it's better than
48:01
during the conflict because you know
48:04
what's fascinating is that during the
48:06
war when especially for folks that were
48:09
in displaced persons camps life was
48:12
extremely extremely difficult so women
48:16
would be not able to do the things they
48:19
would customarily do for their families
48:21
they couldn't get access to fuel they
48:23
couldn't get access to water they were
48:26
in danger of being shot at in addition
48:28
to having material deprivation
48:41
yes absolutely and they were not there
48:49
by choice they were not in their new
48:50
families by choice so they made the most
48:53
of it but then coming home to return to
48:56
their communities so in terms of sort of
48:59
you know this idea of like surviving the
49:01
peace I think that it it's better now
49:04
for sure in terms of the worst kind of
49:07
physical violence of armed conflict
49:09
there's no doubt but for for women the

49:13
level of domestic violence some argue is
49:17
higher than it was before the war and
49:20
during the war and part of that it might
49:23
be because men returned to their
49:25
communities after being quite privileged
49:28
in terms of carrying a weapon and having
49:31
some identity in the in the military
49:35
struggle and then come home to trying to
49:38
make life under very arduous
49:40
socio-economic conditions women picking
49:44
up the pieces I mean this is a terrible
49:46
essentialist
49:47
exaggeration but women picking up the
49:50
pieces do
49:50
the microcredit stuff farming getting
49:53
food on the table and there's a certain
49:56
sense that roles have reversed and and
49:59
domestic violence can sometimes go up in
50:01
those situations because of the changing
50:03
gender roles so changing gender roles
50:05
can be a good thing
50:08
depending on your on your perspective
50:10

and and the idea of partnership in
50:12
marriage and all of that is is one thing
50:15
but if there is a sense of dis dis
50:18
empowerment for men without jobs without
50:21
socioeconomic experience opportunities
50:23
that can actually lead to an increase in
50:26
the level of domestic violence so so
50:29
that's you know kind of why I started
50:31
where I did is that women are less
50:32
concerned with looking backwards at the
50:35
physical violence that the experience
50:37
during the war and more concerned with
50:40
all the different types of violence you
50:42
know sort of misogyny and and and and
50:45
and sexism and poverty and then just
50:50
plain old domestic violence and
50:52
community violence that's not war
50:53
related yes
50:59
the camps in the north yes since is what
51:03
the conflict has the people been
51:06
permitted to return to their homes and
51:08
claim their land basically yes it took a
51:11
while for people to come back but as of

51:14
five years ago like 80 percent of the
51:16
people have had come back and then when
51:18
I started my that's what you read you
51:20
know when I started my research it
51:23
seemed that everyone had returned now in
51:26
terms of the carrying capacity of the
51:28
land and climate change and you know
51:31
desert of in were not that far from the
51:33
you know border with Sudan and northern
51:35
Uganda so there's issues about the the
51:39
productivity of the land and you do hear
51:43
some land struggles again because of big
51:47
corporate interests taking you know
51:51
engaging in shenanigans in terms of
51:54
getting title to land but in the
51:56
communities I went into that was not an
51:59
issue the issue was whether they simply
52:01
you know had enough basic social
52:04
services education health care and their
52:08
their their yield their agricultural
52:12
yield of their lands was fairly good and
52:15
so the some areas had drought but not
52:17

not an not extreme so so that's more of
52:23

a long-term problem if there's if
52:25

there's more progression in this
52:28

tendency of the military and corporate
52:30

interests to identify land for mineral
52:35

extraction that you know could be a
52:37

bigger problem but in terms of folks
52:39

returning how they're faring is one
52:43

thing but they but but you know in the
52:45

night high 90 percent of folks have
52:47

returned to the communities that they
52:50

came from which is that's a very good
52:52

thing that's a that is a really hopeful
52:59

you still have you know my professional
53:03

gesture already my question was because
53:05

you said that the British had favourite
53:08

the northern tribes will for favourite
53:10

the central and southern tribes
53:12

favoritism tribes that in like this
53:15

concept of dresses and like transitional
53:17

justice are they also like is a shared
53:20

responsibility on their part as well to
53:23

act as like a restorative and like

53:25
redistributed because as you said it's
53:28
specifically caused by colonialism
53:30
so like this conflict is because of
53:34
the British influence and like are they
53:41
also liable like are there thinks on
53:43
their part that they're doing or is it
53:45
just their own government issues and are
53:48
now addressing this problem that isn't
53:50
that's a fantastic question because in
53:53
the same way that you know the the south
53:56
of there the the government of Uganda
53:58
blamed the LRA war on the Acholi like
54:01
you you know you're you're killing each
54:03
other and made it their problem rather
54:06
than than a problem that of government
54:08
accountability you you could also say
54:10
that the world community looks at why
54:12
what's wrong with Africa why are there
54:15
all these countries that can't get it
54:17
together and people are fighting each
54:18
other when the legacy of colonialism and
54:22
extraction and exploitation and
54:25

enslavement has is still being felt so I
54:28
just think I just honor your question
54:31
and that talk about redistributed
54:33
justice talk about an ambitious project
54:35
of redistribute of justice that's a
54:37
global redistribute of justice vision
54:41
that you're setting out and I think I
54:44
think there's a moral argument as well
54:46
as a historical argument for wealthy
54:49
countries paying a form of reparation
54:52
for for for colonialism and imperialism
54:56
and capitalist traction how do we make
55:02
that work I'd be interested in what you
55:03
know what you think of that but that I
55:06
think you are right on redistribute if
55:08
justice is not in a region it is
55:10
in a country it is not in a continent it
55:12
is global and it involves very very very
55:16
difficult trade-offs that recognize you
55:19
know the privilege that we have because
55:21
of history that is a I think that's a
55:26
good I'll just in your definition of he
55:38
made what is war Wow what is war as

55:43
opposed to what is violence this our a
55:49
war so just really like what does that
55:53
encompass definition wise as in to like
55:56
what it is so two or more organized
56:02
military fighting forces with weapons
56:07
and things that explode engaging each
56:11
other killing each other soldiers
56:17
blowing up each other's bases and
56:21
weapons stores
56:23
it could be armies from different
56:27
countries an international armed
56:29
conflict
56:30
it could be a civil war with an
56:35
insurgent army and a state army the way
56:39
we have in northern Uganda and or it
56:42
could be something in between where you
56:44
have what seems to be a civil war but
56:47
with important support from other
56:50
entities including other governments
56:53
cross border so I think for me I mean I
56:57
mean we use the metaphor war for the war
56:59
on poverty and the war on terror and the
57:02

war on many things but not using it in
57:06
that metaphoric sense which can
57:08
sometimes I think be dangerous to use it
57:09
that way I'm using it in the sense of
57:13
armed struggle between two organized
57:20
entities with some disciplinary
57:24
chain-of-command doesn't have to
57:27
resemble a full-blown army
57:30
so does that design answer your
57:33
questions
57:34
yes so since that's your definition of
57:37
your do you think that this war in
57:41
between these people is actually done
57:43
because they had the peace talks or is
57:46
it still somewhat a continuing so in the
57:50
military sense I think it's not
57:52
continuing in the Vaught in the sense of
57:55
structural violence and inequality and
58:00
unresolved tensions and suffering it is
58:05
ongoing but the but but but as a as a as
58:09
a full-blown shooting war I think I
58:12
think it's not going on now away right
58:23
away so I would invite you to stick

58:26

around and ask for more questions but I

58:30

also want to well first let's thank her

58:33

[Applause]