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
go to be hard to remember them all
anthropology English history Africana
Studies Foreign Languages and
literature's my home department
certainly shouldn't forget them we are
supporting it of course but then we've
also gotten help from two other groups
that have helped us quite a lot one who
has given us by far and away the most
financial assistance is the New Mexico
communities Council which is an
organization in the state that supports
a wide variety of humanities oriented
events and if you go to the website ever
you'll see you know you'll see what
I'm talking about
there's talks there's lecture series of
course there's also just individual
talks there's film festivals there's
projects that students put on and you
know sometimes as part of their
schooling sometimes
they sponsored the album cover
presentation that was early this past
summer the other group that has helped
us a lot is the world of Harris
delegation which is a student group on
campus sometimes called Model UN as well
this is a group that of mostly of
students who have interests in
international matters especially in
international politics and I mentioned
that last because that's a good
transition because the person who is
going to introduce our speaker is Silla
optional who is a recent just may 2019
graduate of the International Studies
program and she's not doing her and they
work here at New Mexico and political
science department and so not not she
didn't just do the major if she did you
know a study abroad experience of course
as all our national students are study
students are required to do she went to
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
book on refugees called refugee law and policy being awarded a Fulbright scholarship professor Moore spent time in Tanzania teaching international law at a university as well as facilitating human rights workshops for Burundian refugees in camps professor Moore authored the humanitarian law in action within Africa where she explores various ways in which humanitarian human rights laws serve as tools of conflict resolution and transitional justice in countries emerging the boss her field research in Uganda Burundi and Sierra Leone that was published by the Oxford University Press in 2012 she’s currently working on a second manuscript called women’s work building peace and justice in post-conflict communities in northern Uganda and Sierra Leone focusing on women engagement and peace building
activities no more than a decade since
peace agreements were negotiated I mean
so awards thank you Fela and thanks to
prosti Bishop and Ian Stewart for
inviting me we've done some great
collaboration over the years and and
speaking in each other's classes and I
really appreciate the cross
fertilization of ideas so I have no
audio-visual AIDS so it's very good that
we have what I called when I gave a
presentation and in dr. Stuart's class
my Luddite powerpoint which is these
four panels and I'll sort of just use
that I don't have photos of of the
women's groups that I engaged with to
show you all but I do have a photo book
and just it's very old-school but I'll
just send it around because one of the
things that I'll just start with is you
know I'm trained as a as a lawyer I
focus on international law
I look at treaties and how treaties can
be powerful tools of human rights
protection and my earlier work has been
sort of more typical legal work
analyzing the accountability of states
under international law and all that
stuff and this book is very different
that I'm working on now called women's
work building peace and justice in these
countries Sierra Leone and and Uganda in
fact the northern part of Uganda and to
write this book I what I wanted to do
was to really translate global concepts
of peace and justice legal concepts
Western concept
in have those concepts be transformed by
women non elite women uneducated
formerly women but very very vibrant
politically aware savvy economically
active women how who lived through the
wars in their country to sort of ask
them how they look at notions of peace
and justice and so the work involves a lot of interviewing qualitative research interviewing with women’s groups in their very communities so I’m gonna focus on northern Uganda but just to give you that perspective that the purpose of the book is really to see if there are certain common threads between the two countries in terms of the way that women who survived the war and now are trying to survive the piece can teach each other but also can teach women and men in other parts in other parts of the world and so I guess just sort of starting with the punchline in case I don’t get you know to the to the end by the by the end of the the 30 or 35 minutes the I would just say that women in northern Uganda who lived through the the rebel war the Lord’s Resistance Army war you know which lasted for 22 years from 1996 until 2008 are much more concerned with dealing
with physical violence in their lives
today domestic violence violence in the
community and structural violence in the
form of poverty and the fact that they
have trouble feeding their kids and
educating their children and providing
for their families then they are fixated
on looking back to the violence that
occurred during the LRA war and
insisting on individual penal
accountability for individual war
criminals and so so where I start I
think is just to acknowledge us talk a
little bit about the LRA war itself how
many people here know a little bit about
the the civil war in northern Uganda so
some doing some don’t
in not to go into really in-depth
to the history but Uganda was a
protectorate of Britain from 1894 until
independence in 1962 and the British
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
being two countries the north as being a
least developed country and Uganda as a
whole as being a developing countries
that’s sort of more in the middle tier
and so that regional inequality in many
ways fed the LRA war you know just to
sort of simplify a little bit
so the LRA is the Lord’s Resistance Army
which was a rebel movement that grew up
that rose up in the northern part of the
country right after your wearing was 70
came to power militarily and overthrew a
boat ace regime and the LRA was fighting
most 7yz army steadily from 1986 all the
way to the peace accords in 2006 to 2008
and the the LRA is is a was a
military movement that took up the
banner of Acholi nationalism and and
recognizing the historical repression of
the Acholi was designed as a kind of a
liberation movement to seek greater
equality and economic opportunities for
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
conscripted 30,000 kids that attacked communities and massacred civilians and thousands of civilians were killed by the LRA but the counter narrative that is told by war affected communities and women who are very active in those communities is that the National Army of Uganda the Ugandan people’s Defence Forces engaged in its own atrocities also conscripted people forcibly and attacked civilians the main type of nation that was carried out however by the Ugandan army the Ugandan people’s Defense Forces was in forcibly relocating at Olli people into internment camps supposedly for their protection but in some ways to control them and to keep them from from being a threat to to the Ugandan military and so the four choli civilians living in northern uganda during those 22 years.
they experienced a double victimization
by the rebel army and by the Ugandan
national army and although the worst
physical violence and conscriptions may
have occurred at the hands of the LRA
the experience of living in internment
camps for the better part of two decades
was extremely traumatizing to the to the
culture and to the end to the local
communities they were sometimes not able
to have their basic needs met in these
camps in terms of food and medicine but
even when their material needs were
basically met they were unable to carry
on their livelihoods in agriculture and
in commerce that they were accustomed to
and so it was a kind of forced
dependence treating them as a childlike
population but also the feeling that
they were being treated as the enemy as
the community that had incubated a very
vicious rebel movement and who was in
some ways semi combatants semi insurgent
itself so when we look at peace and justice coming out of that war which was the the the military incursions and the actual shooting war ended you know ten plus years ago but the aftermath of the war is what war affected people are still dealing with and so if you think about you know physical violence that occurred during the war like war crimes and attacks on community and conscription of children that is over but other forms of physical violence are experienced by women in war affected communities namely domestic violence rape in community violence as well what’s more the structural violence the poverty that in some ways fed the armed conflict in the first place is ongoing and so today the northern part of Uganda has almost twice the poverty rate as of the country as a whole and so there is a
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 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 five communities in Acholi land over the past three summers in fact was that they were more interested in government accountability and not just of the penal kind but of the reparative kind so the government of Uganda has never acknowledged its own role in wartime atrocities neither its the direct involvement of its soldiers or its failure to protect its civilians from the LRA to begin with because that’s what governments do they they create an ik lyman where individuals are not abused by non-state agents as well as state agents the government has never come clean in any kind of reconciliation bollocks statement or Truth and Reconciliation Commission acknowledging failures to protect Acholi civilians from the violence of the war and that is is the type of accountability that is desired for the physical violence and
for the war atrocities an acknowledgment by the government that it played a role in the suffering of the Acholi people and the people of northern ganda in terms of accountability in terms of the demands of most of the Acholi villagers that I interviewed it's not just that they want a statement of accountability there's also a need for reparation and within a truly traditional culture reconciliation rituals that are used to deal with inter-clan killings and so forth involve rites of forgiveness between two clans however it's very important that the offender or the offender's family acknowledges the harm that was done and also pays some type of material compensation to the surviving kin of the person who was killed or harmed and so the notion of compensation and
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
including northern Uganda and so that's the ask of women peace builders in rural communities and none of these things have really happened there hasn't been that public acknowledgement and there have been token reparations but no major realignment of Social Services in terms of need and the north and so the the punchline of my book is really that the peace and justice that rural women peacebuilders see in their lives is the peace and justice that they make much more modest and yet powerful interventions that they take part in with their fellow community members but importantly led by women so in the context of crime and physical violence women peacebuilders in communities in northern Uganda are very focused on basic education around
the fact that domestic violence is a
crime and that rape and marriage is a
crime and these offences are
criminalized in the code of in the
criminalized in the code of in the
parliaments laws but in terms of how
they are realized in practice and and
and what impact they have on behavior
there's a big lag between the the formal
law and the actual effective enjoyment
of of protection against that kind of
violence so a big part of what women
peacebuilders do is basic education
around the notion that women have
physical integrity and it it is
inherently respected by law and it needs
to be respected in practice and in in
some cases that type of intervention has
a preventive effect but there are also
referrals by the women's collectives to
the police in the in the in the district
headquarters of their of their
particular region of of Acholi land so
that's that's modest progress but
extremely important in terms of the area of attitudes towards women's equality more generally another area of important work that women peacebuilders are involved in is education on women's inheritance rights because under the Constitution of Uganda women and men have equal right to inherit when the father dies but in practice the land is often inherited by the oldest son or the sons and if there's any remaining resources that goes to the sisters similarly under Ugandan law when a woman who's married to a man when her husband dies she should inherit the property but in practice women are often dispossessed when they're widowed and the property goes to the siblings of the departed husband and so another area of intervention and activism by women peacebuilders is just educating
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
basis go and help a fellow member of their collective to harvest or particular our crop and so you know I'm not sure exactly where I am in terms of time but I think I'm gonna wrap up my arms my formal remarks and just say that that it is very important that we think big in terms of transitional justice and justice after armed conflict and think about structural changes and think about criminal accountability for those who are you know proven to have committed crimes but those macro changes may be long and coming and so peacebuilding and justice making after conflict also occurs in communities in very very modest and yet very very powerful ways so I'll just leave it there so does anyone have any questions about the war about the peace process about that’s part of the plan of this lecture series
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
27:59
you're talking about the police horses
28:00
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
intervene and the the percentage of 
cases of domestic violence that are 
prosecuted is very very small so it's 
really just the the beginnings of a 
process of a referral and to some extent 
you know when there is actual violence 
that is what they would call you know 
aggravated where where it's not just one 
incidence of violence but it’s it’s a 
cycle of violence that’s core in the 
relationship that is normally going to 
have to be referred to to the police to 
remove that person but a lot of what the 
women's collectives do is actually to 
mediate disputes within families that 
haven’t risen to the level of physical 
vandalism because that type of mediation 
can have a very strong preventive impact 
and some of the education around women’s 
integrity thinking about women as being 
partners in marriage and not being in a 
childlike relationship with their
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 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
long a process do you think it's how
many generations after the why before
that can sort of reconcile itself that
is a really big one I mean I not to get
too much into like sort of a comparative
analysis but in Sierra Leone every
single part of the country was impacted
by the war the civil war that happened
at roughly the same period of time and
so all ethnic groups were involved and
invested in the peace process and so
there was an opportunity for a kind of
an inclusive participation in the peace
process and what’s so difficult about
northern Uganda is that there is still
this sense that certain politics line up
with certain tribes and so most seventy
he's not Buganda he's Bunyan Kohli but
he's of a tribe that is also affiliated
and sort of historically and ethnically
connected to the large powerful kingdom
of Buganda
and the Acholi still have this feeling
of a separate country I when I was in
- when I was interviewing people for my
first book and I in Kampala and I talked
to them about the war
they said we would the warden impact us
it happened in another country you know
and Uganda is not a huge country it’s
you know 30 million people but there was
that sense that there was so much
stratification and I don’t mean to be
you know not hopeful but that that
historical legacy of an unequal
development and of divide and rule in
direct rule and favoring one tribe
favouring one Kingdom one powerful
cluster of tribes that reality is is
very very hard to to change without
major structural changes and so that
would have would take real
devotion of funds and trade-offs and
money because this is a developing
country money that would have gone for
one thing going to massive socio-economic development in the north and so I I think it might take some type of political change well 70 has been in power since 1986 and he what he came to power militarily he led the National resistance movement so he was a he was a fighter himself he's a military man he he was in power in a military government for a full decade and then in 96 was his first term and he's now in his fifth term there are no term limits and there are no age limits and so you know we look at Zimbabwe you know we have a new era since since Mugabe died so when was 70 passes will that be an opportunity for change and some type of inclusive government we would hope so but the historical debts can be very very powerful and so I I think I mean I I had some really difficult experiences when I was interviewing I have wonderful
experiences you know sort of just
amazed by the resilience of people and
their willingness to put their
government’s feet to the fire and when
it didn’t have any impact just go on
with their lives but I had a translator
who grew up in a choli land
she went to my care array and got a
degree in philosophy which is if you
knew it would be like a first generation
plus you know just with the know no one
in her family having even finished
primary school and she had friends and
and uncles who put together money for
her school fees and she did fabulous in
her exams out of high school and went to
my carrier and studied philosophy and
she graduated from my carrier and she
while she was actually still in school
she would go home and visit her parents
in the late 90s and she would be in a
displaced persons camp that was her
holiday you know going home to an
internment camp and going and getting
firewood and water with her sisters at
night and being you know shot at because
they might have been rebels or whatever
and she lived through all that and when
when the war was over she got hired by a
non-profit Ugandan nonprofit called
human rights focus and she was going out
into communities and and helping give
moral support and training to women that
were organizing to do microcredit and
collective agriculture and domestic
violence prevention and all the rest and
she didn’t have enough income from doing
that work and so she had an opportunity
to get it-get she was recruited for a
job with the Ugandan Human Rights
Commission a government affiliated body
and she had so much experience she had
worked for five years in communities she
you know had studied the Universal
Declaration of Human Rights and she told
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
people are living on the margins and that's kind of what I saw I saw people struggling and thriving you know not just surviving but actually thriving with a great sense of agency you know I had sort of a stream of consciousness but you know I I would talk sometimes about being a feminist you know with English-speaking translators of mine who are all our children very very close to and I would say well are you a feminist and they said oh no no I'm not I'm not a feminist I new feminism that's something you know from the West and women are different than men and we're strong and we're mothers and all this but if you talked about women's inheritance rights or you talked about women's property rights or you talked about women's physical integrity rights they would talk about dismantling patriarchy essentially you know the
importance of fighting misogyny and the
devaluing of women and girls and and
dismantling patriarchy people would even
use that term women would but they
wouldn’t call themselves feminists so
you know maybe maybe feminism is not the
whole you know using one term is not the
most not the most important thing so
there’s joy of agency and
struggle and transformation and and sort
of modest change but in terms of long
hurm addressing of the root causes of
conflict in Uganda and other part you
know many many parts of the of the world
that I think takes micro change but it
also takes structural change and it
takes political will and it takes
political activism to push the
government to make those changes and
that I think that can happen and I think
it’s gonna it will take time but
I think it can happen yes you know the
government was trying to be somewhat
accommodating can you hear me all right
no worries so just with the ICC and you
know how there's not really that much
respect yes which makes sense but I mean
I would assume is that with Bashir I
mean how they would want to give him
political asylum yes yes yes
so the the the question of the
International Criminal Court was the
question and and Uganda is interesting
attitude towards the court in light of
its of its permissive attitude towards
President but former President Bashar of
Sudan's genocide in Darfur etc and you
know the the irony is that you know in
before South Sudan broke off from Sudan
the civil war in Sudan mo7 II had a very
very interesting except and - that -
that civil war and supported John Garang
the the rebel leader and so there's a
lot of inconsistency and complexity in
terms of the politics of international

criminal
prosecutions but what's interesting is
that Uganda sort of speaks out of both
sides of its mouth about the ICC because
Uganda referred its own case to the ICC
so the there is a case against five
indicted members of the Lord's
Resistance Army that was brought to the
ICC on the referral of President
Museveni so what's really fascinating
about the ICC prosecutions is that
Museveni wanted to cook the books in a
sense he wanted there to be
investigations of LRA war criminals but
not any investigations or any possible
indictments of the of Ugandan people's
defense forces offenders and so the ICC
case has moved along and the the
prosecutor of the ICC made it clear in a
wait a minute this is an equal open
investigation we can prosecute anybody
but in fact has only indicted five LRA
members so that's Joseph Kony the head
of the LRA and then four of his deputies
so of those five Kony is on the lam
somewhere in Central Africa maybe in
South Sudan and three of the other
indict teas have died and Dominic ongwen
is the only one who’s in custody and
being currently tried and that is an
example of limited but still you know
very powerful retributive justice and
what’s fascinating about the climate in
northern uganda is that if you ask
people even people who survived
atrocities that Dominic ongwen carried
out in their region they say he cannot
take all the accountability the
government has to be accountable as well
and what they what they raised about
Dominic Angwin himself is that he was 10
years old when he was forcibly
considered
by the LRA so so the ICC prosecutions in
the region are complicated but even in
Uganda alone are very complicated because a lot of resources and it's another reason why maybe we shouldn't put everything into retributive justice because a lot of millions of dollars have gone into the prosecution of what's turned into one person and the underlying causes of the conflict haven't been addressed and there's this troubling idea about victimizers who are also victims so it's not that every single person in northern uganda will say we should have no criminal prosecutions of any LRA members but there is a very strong feeling that because of the child conscription and the number of of commanders who started their career in the LRA at you know preteen age who were who were forced to commit atrocities and then basically were adopted by the LRA as their family because they couldn’t return to their families that’s
problematic in terms of the the
legitimacy of the ICC trials so but you
raised some very complicated question
but the relationship between the two
countries and I’ve kind of finessed that
but in terms of yes in terms of the ICC
prosecutions in Uganda you know the Dom
de Angwin case could fall apart but I
think that their chances are good that
it will be a conviction and that will be
important because you know on when you
know he had opportunities to leave the
LRA he was conscripted as a child but he
he didn’t flee he stayed he rose in the
ranks he became very privileged as a
commanding officer so people will get
some measure of of a sense of indication
if there’s that conviction but they do
not hang their hats on that on
retributive justice as the guarantor of
of peace building and reconciliation
after the LRA war so anybody else
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
and so in the sense of rebel movements sort of ready in waiting I don't think so but in in terms of long term chance for rekindling of conflict if there if there is no progress on the socio-economic front I would say there is a danger but I like your answer but I just want to point out something that Professor Moore said early on in our talk which he she talked about how the women we're trying to survive the peace and that's an important thing to keep in mind it's not just when the bullets stop flying then it automatically becomes you know peaceful and the houses of war and the houses violence it is a more complicated and not so cut and dried didn't she said to is that like we’re in that for the women at least I said during the natural conflict even the things that the peace is just where there's just so many
problems some users I actually think
that for women now it's better than
during the conflict because you know
what's fascinating is that during the
war when especially for folks that were
in displaced persons camps life was
extremely extremely difficult so women
would be not able to do the things they
would customarily do for their families
they couldn't get access to fuel they
couldn't get access to water they were
in danger of being shot at in addition
to having material deprivation
yes absolutely and they were not there
by choice they were not in their new
families by choice so they made the most
of it but then coming home to return to
their communities so in terms of sort of
you know this idea of like surviving the
peace I think that it it's better now
for sure in terms of the worst kind of
physical violence of armed conflict
there's no doubt but for for women the
level of domestic violence some argue is higher than it was before the war and during the war and part of that it might be because men returned to their communities after being quite privileged in terms of carrying a weapon and having some identity in the military struggle and then come home to trying to make life under very arduous socio-economic conditions women picking up the pieces I mean this is a terrible essentialist exaggeration but women picking up the pieces do the microcredit stuff farming getting food on the table and there's a certain sense that roles have reversed and and domestic violence can sometimes go up in those situations because of the changing gender roles so changing gender roles can be a good thing depending on your on your perspective
and and the idea of partnership in
marriage and all of that is is one thing
but if there is a sense of dis dis
empowerment for men without jobs without
socioeconomic experience opportunities
that can actually lead to an increase in
the level of domestic violence so so
that’s you know kind of why I started
where I did is that women are less
conscious with looking backwards at the
physical violence that the experience
during the war and more concerned with
all the different types of violence you
know sort of misogyny and and and and
and sexism and poverty and then just
plain old domestic violence and
community violence that’s not war
related yes
the camps in the north yes since is what
the conflict has the people been
permitted to return to their homes and
claim their land basically yes it took a
while for people to come back but as of
five years ago like 80 percent of the people have had come back and then when I started my that's what you read you know when I started my research it seemed that everyone had returned now in terms of the carrying capacity of the land and climate change and you know desert ofin were not that far from the you know border with Sudan and northern Uganda so there's issues about the the productivity of the land and you do hear some land struggles again because of big corporate interests taking you know engaging in shenanigans in terms of getting title to land but in the communities I went into that was not an issue the issue was whether they simply you know had enough basic social services education health care and their yield of their lands was fairly good and so the some areas had drought but not
not an 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
redistributed because as you said it's specifically caused by colonialism so like this conflict is because of the British influence and like are they also liable like are there thinks on their part that they're doing or is it just their own government issues and are now addressing this problem that isn't that's a fantastic question because in the same way that you know the the south of there the the government of Uganda blamed the LRA war on the Acholi like you you know you’re you’re killing each other and made it their problem rather than than a problem that of government accountability you you could also say that the world community looks at why what’s wrong with Africa why are there all these countries that can’t get it together and people are fighting each other when the legacy of colonialism and extraction and exploitation and
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 redistributed 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
opposed to what is violence this our a
war so just really like what does that
encompass definition wise as in to like
what it is so two or more organized
military fighting forces with weapons
and things that explode engaging each
other killing each other soldiers
blowing up each other's bases and
weapons stores
it could be armies from different
countries an international armed
civil conflict
it could be a civil war with an
insurgent army and a state army the way
we have in northern Uganda and or it
could be something in between where you
have what seems to be a civil war but
with important support from other
entities including other governments
cross border so I think for me I mean I
mean we use the metaphor war for the war
on poverty and the war on terror and the
war on many things but not using it in that metaphoric sense which can sometimes I think be dangerous to use it that way I'm using it in the sense of armed struggle between two organized entities with some disciplinary chain-of-command doesn't have to resemble a full-blown army so does that design answer your questions yes so since that's your definition of your do you think that this war in between these people is actually done because they had the peace talks or is it still somewhat a continuing so in the military sense I think it's not continuing in the Vaught in the sense of structural violence and inequality and unresolved tensions and suffering it is ongoing but the but but as a as a as a full-blown shooting war I think it's not going on now away right away so I would invite you to stick
around and ask for more questions but I also want to well first let's thank her [Applause]