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# “They forget what they came for”: Uganda’s army in Sudan

Mareike Schomerus

Uganda’s army, the Uganda People’s Defence Force (UPDF), has been operating on Sudanese territory since the late 1990s. From 2002 to 2006, a bilateral agreement between the governments in Khartoum and Kampala gave the Ugandan soldiers permission to conduct military operations in Southern Sudan to eliminate the Ugandan rebel Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA). Instead of conducting a successful operation against Uganda’s most persistent rebels – who had withdrawn into Sudanese territory and acted as a proxy force in Sudan’s civil war – the UPDF conducted a campaign of abuse against Sudanese civilians. Drawing on extensive fieldwork conducted over several years, this article documents local experiences of a foreign army’s involvement in the brutal Sudanese civil war. It outlines why continued operations of the UPDF outside their borders recreate the same problem they purport to be fighting: abuses of civilians. Since 2008, US military support for the UPDF mission against the LRA has called into question the viability of continued militarisation through an army that has committed widely documented human rights abuses. The foreign military has not brought peace to the region. Instead, it has made a peaceful environment less likely for residents of South Sudan.

Keywords: UPDF; LRA; Uganda; Sudan; civilian–military relations; army; intervention; Juba Peace Talks; Kony2012

## Introduction

On October 14, 2011, US President Barack Obama announced that he had in the interest of US national security and foreign policy authorised approximately 100 military personnel including “a small number of combat equipped U.S. forces to deploy to central Africa to provide assistance to regional forces that are working toward the removal of Joseph Kony from the battlefield”.<sup>1</sup> In March 2012, an unprecedented internet campaign by the US organisation Invisible Children used a videoclip entitled “Kony2012” to drum up support for continued US military engagement in the region and assistance to the Uganda army.<sup>2</sup> Two months after President Obama’s announcement the Ugandan Daily Monitor quoted US Maj. Gen. Margaret Woodward as saying that she was

personally impressed with what the UPDF has done to counter the LRA and their tenacity to go after Kony. I think that earns all of our respect because it has been great. We just wish we can support that fight even more ... Another reason why we need to partner with the UPDF is because they are a very professional force.<sup>3</sup>

Neither President Obama, the Invisible Children, nor Major General Woodward detailed what the deployment of US military advisers and the continued presence of the Uganda People’s Defence Force (UPDF) in foreign countries would mean for civilians. Civilian experiences have largely been ignored, although particularly South Sudanese have for years hosted the Ugandan army in its pursuit of the rebel Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA), and its leader Joseph Kony. Civilians have been in the midst of military attempts to end the conflict between the Ugandan government and the

LRA, started in the mid-1980s when the LRA was a primarily Acholi rebel group.

This article gives an overview of LRA presence and UPDF engagement in Sudan, illustrating how civilians experienced the UPDF. The article argues that with a loose and largely unmonitored mandate to pursue the LRA, the UPDF in Sudan has contributed to militarisation, atrocities and illegal resource exploitation. Systematic human rights abuses have devalued the army's limited military successes in pursuit of the LRA. The UPDF presence in Sudan also contributed to the failure of peace talks between the LRA and the Government of Uganda and more generally hindered Southern Sudan's transition to peace after the signing of the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement between the Sudanese government and the Sudan Peoples Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A). As similar patterns of UPDF engagement are being repeated with international support in an attempt to end LRA violence, the article concludes that disregard for the realities of UPDF intervention points to a larger problem. Evidence is limited that military engagement by an unmonitored army will end LRA violence or create a peaceful environment. Yet military action through the UPDF continues to be touted as the most credible way to end this conflict, although abuses of civilians are an integral part of such a military intervention, rather than an aberration. Civilians are paying the price.

## Method

This article is based on more than 600 author interviews with civilians, LRA members, UPDF soldiers, aid workers and South Sudanese government officials conducted between 2005 and 2011 in Uganda and Sudan, with a particular focus on areas with UPDF presence from 2006 to 2009. Only a fraction of these interviews is quoted directly. During the Juba Peace talks between the LRA and the Government of Uganda, the author conducted a total of about 10 months fieldwork. Additionally in June 2008, a research team of four people spent a month conducting 169 guided interviews with civilians and 39 in-depth interviews with local leaders, government officials or members of Peace Committees in LRA affected areas in Eastern and Central Equatoria.<sup>4</sup> Interviewees' names are withheld when requested. The geographical territory described here was considered Sudan, Southern Sudan and South Sudan during the time frame this article covers. At times respondents use the terms interchangeably.

## Ugandan armed groups in Sudan

### The LRA

In November 1993, a 13-year-old boy from Magwi in South Sudan was walking in the bush near the Ugandan border when he encountered a group of armed men relaxing under a tree. How is life in Sudan, they asked him, their guns casually slung over their shoulders during the friendly chat. Like the boy, they spoke Acholi, introducing themselves in their shared language. We are "the Lord's Resistance Army", the men said; we are here to overthrow the Ugandan government. The boy, who since he could remember had known only war in Sudan, had never heard of the LRA. "It sounded funny to me," he recalled, 13 years later. "I didn't know who they were and what they were doing in Sudan. Before they joined the Arabs, they were friendly."<sup>5</sup>

Eastern Equatorians first became aware in 1991 that the SPLA was fighting a foreign armed group.<sup>6</sup> Residents were unsure who this group was, but in the beginning it seemed benign. One man in Palotaka recounted that the LRA was viewed with respect in early 1994 because it “helped the people suffering with paralysis and heal them traditionally”.<sup>7</sup> The LRA initially had crossed the border into Sudan to find refuge from fighting in Uganda, but soon tapped into anti-SPLA sentiment among Equatorians in the regions.<sup>8</sup> It connected with the Equatoria Defense Force (EDF), a politically strong anti-SPLA force, with Acholi, Madi, Lokoya, Lolubo, and Iyire and Lotuko members sponsored by the Sudanese government. After an SPLA attack, the LRA helped the EDF to safety in the government-held southern capital Juba, as the EDF’s former Secretary General recounted.<sup>9</sup> Sudan’s army, the Sudan Armed Forces (SAF), made the LRA its proxy force around 1993.<sup>10</sup> An SAF soldier who fought side-by-side with the LRA in the Yei area in the early 2000s recalled that it had made sense to him to be teamed up with the LRA after LRA soldiers had explained to him that the Ugandan government was supporting the SPLA and so it was only fair that the LRA get support from the SAF.<sup>11</sup> Khartoum’s support changed the LRA’s behaviour, said residents.

In 1994, the LRA began to turn against Sudanese civilians, looting property and later abducting and killing Sudanese.<sup>12</sup> Khartoum’s food, weapons and ammunition deliveries made the LRA a lethal force in Sudan, and aided its continued fight in Uganda. The LRA presence became devastating for Sudanese civilians. According to one international security expert, the LRA effectively “emptied Eastern Equatoria”, an area that prior to 1983 had been heavily populated.<sup>13</sup> The LRA’s Sudan base at Aru-Kubi, home to 3–4000 fighters, was nicknamed “New Gulu” (after the main town in the LRA’s home base northern Uganda) or “Kony Village”, and was the LRA’s headquarters from 1994 to 1997.

Fighting was fierce in Eastern Equatoria. Bullets replaced money as the most common currency in Palotaka market. The SAF and their militias controlled Magwi, Pajok, Torit and Owiny-Kibul. The SPLA held Nimule; Torit was fought over. After the SPLA overran Aru-Kubi, the LRA established semi-permanent bases around Jebel Lin, Pager, Rubangateka, Magwi, Gambera, Illyria and the Imatong Mountains. Tibika, Alire, Pajok and Lerwa were LRA-held territory; ammunition was reportedly hidden in the nearby mountains.<sup>14</sup> From 1996, the LRA conducted behind-the-lines operations against the SPLA, using tactics that mirrored those used by the SAF, suggesting the LRA had been trained by Khartoum in 1960s British-style anti-ambush drills and jungle fighting.<sup>15</sup> However, despite being a proxy force for Khartoum, the LRA was known to “attack all sides”, even Sudanese government affiliates, recounted a community leader. Mainly, however, the arrangement was that “Arabs were sitting in the headquarter and they were the outpost, [LRA] were just attacking SPLA with Arab together.”<sup>16</sup>

While the LRA troops remained semi-mobile, the LRA leadership became settled in SAF-held Juba from 1997 until the early 2000s. The LRA had a school; Kony’s house was known to Juba residents, who also remember regular sightings of the LRA in government trucks and selling charcoal in the market. In 2003, one of Kony’s wives delivered a baby by Caesarean section in Juba Hospital. Staying in Juba invigorated the LRA’s fighting capacity, causing a second wave of displacement in Eastern Equatoria

because the LRA “came back from Juba with new weapons and bullets, many rounds, that’s why people run away from here”, according to the chief of Owiny-Kibul.<sup>17</sup>

The impact of LRA violence in Eastern Equatoria was severe. An Acholi community leader said, “people had it very rough from LRA”.<sup>18</sup> The immediate border area between Uganda and Sudan was most heavily affected, but the LRA’s impact stretched from the Imatong Mountains in the east, where the LRA stayed until 2005, to Juba and Yei in Central Equatoria. In 2000 the LRA established a greater presence in the area around Yei in Central Equatoria. An SAF soldier said that as late as 2002, he was paired with an LRA force of about 10,000 soldiers near Kaya River outside Yei.<sup>19</sup> Since 2005, the LRA has attacked in vast areas of Western Equatoria and the western part of Central Equatoria. In 2002 the Sudanese town of Katire in the Imatong Mountains was attacked in what remains possibly the worst LRA massacre on Sudanese soil.

Some local authorities kept records of LRA violence. Authorities in Ikotos and religious leaders who returned to Katire after the 2002 massacre said that 520 people were killed. The records of the South Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Commission in Ikotos County show that over the course of about three years in Ikotos County, the LRA burnt down 33 villages and killed a total of 840 people, including those massacred in Katire. Fifty-four people were still missing from Ikotos County in 2008. Magwi County records stated in 2008 that the LRA killed 1536 residents, with 72 missing. When 169 people in 13 villages were asked in June 2008 how many family members were still missing, the total number was 102 (see Table 1).<sup>20</sup> Forces that had been identified as SPLA or SAF had reportedly taken 22 of the 102 people missing. Nineteen people had returned after being abducted.<sup>21</sup> LRA violence also affected Sudanese who had sought refuge in Uganda. The massacre at Achol-Pii refugee camp in 1996 is the most gruesome of many attacks on Sudanese refugees in Uganda.<sup>22</sup>

Table 1. Family members missing from families in Eastern Equatorian villages in 2008.

Village (number of interviewees)	Family members missing	Missing, but later returned
Aru-Kubi IDPs (19)	7	2
Aru Kubi (24)	10	1
Panyikwara (15)	1	5
Magwi Town (17)	4 (1 abducted by SPLA)	1
Obbo (12)		1
Pajok (Parajok) (21)	4	4
Ikotos (4)	13	
Imatong Centre (5)	14	
Lohayiro village (4)	30 (11 abducted by LRA, 19 by SPLA)	1
Tseretenya Town (17)	8	1
Lyria (11)	4 (1 missing in war, not abducted)	2
Lokiliri boma (15)	6 (1 taken by SAF in 1987)	
Sodoni (5)	1 (missing since 1987)	1
Total interviewed: 169	102	

In 1999 the Carter Center brokered the Nairobi Agreement between Sudan and Uganda. The agreement officially stopped Khartoum's support for the LRA and Kampala's support for the SPLA.<sup>23</sup> From the beginning, it was doubtful that the agreement would bring lasting peace.<sup>24</sup> Indeed the debate whether Khartoum still supports the LRA continues until today. LRA fighters tended to be dismissive of the Nairobi Agreement, since it did not involve the LRA leadership and ended peace efforts under way in Uganda.<sup>25</sup> When the news of the Nairobi agreement reached the battlefield, LRA soldiers reportedly told their SAF colleagues about this agreement between Uganda and Khartoum, "that you hand over my rebels and I hand over your rebels, so when the LRA heard that, they disappeared from there", recounted an SAF soldier who had been paired with the LRA. A few days later, LRA soldiers returned to the SAF camp they had just left to attack their former allies and loot food.<sup>26</sup>

## The UPDF

Uganda's army, the UPDF, was unofficially deployed in Sudan throughout the 1990s, said civilians, SPLA soldiers and UPDF officers. Eastern Equatorians sighted troops more regularly from 1996 onwards. A former SPLA soldier remembered how the UPDF helped the SPLA with intelligence in 1995 against SAF forces in Eastern Equatoria.<sup>27</sup> From 1995 to 1996, the UPDF fought the LRA at Achwa River near Nimule, but was defeated. When the UPDF withdrew, recalled a former SPLA fighter, the Ugandan leadership called on the SPLA which had tanks stationed in nearby Pageri. Reports circulated among soldiers stated that, at this point, President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda and Dr John Garang, the leader of the SPLA, arrived together in a helicopter. Garang reportedly ordered the SPLA to clear the road for the UPDF.

In the lead-up to the 1997 battle of Yei, the UPDF helped the SPLA to capture the town of Kaya a few days before the march on Yei. Ugandan soldiers positioned their machine guns on site at Koboko Mountain to support the SPLA's successful incursion into Yei – a military offensive in the end facilitated primarily by an Ethiopian tank unit. For the UPDF, capturing Kaya and taking up position on Koboko Mountain was an important strategic win: the SAF had been launching missiles from the mountain into Uganda in retaliation because Uganda let the SPLA use Ugandan roads.<sup>28</sup>

In 2002, on the back of the Nairobi agreement, the Khartoum government allowed the UPDF to conduct a major military operation against the LRA on Sudanese soil. For Khartoum, keen to be removed from the US list of state sponsors of terrorism, this permission was a step to establish post-9/11 relations with the US, who in December 2001 included the LRA on the list of terrorist organisations at the request of the Government of Uganda. The 2002 military offensive Operation Iron Fist was touted by the UPDF as a push to eradicate the LRA, but did not succeed. Instead the situation deteriorated dramatically, as Rodriguez described: "Operation Iron Fist has been a catastrophe for the people of northern Uganda. Kony evaded capture and most of the LRA

poured into northern Uganda. Ever since, people in the north have suffered more atrocities than in previous years.<sup>29</sup> As a result of Operation Iron Fist, the numbers of displaced people rose from around 400,000 to 1.6 million, with displaced people estimated to be more than 2 million at the height of displacement in Uganda.<sup>30</sup>

For Sudan's Equatorians, the experience was not much better. During Operation Iron Fist, the UPDF remained primarily stationed near the border, in Magwi and in Palotaka, but later its presence spread. After a 2003 LRA attack on the SPLA barracks in Pajok, with nine SPLA dead, the UPDF established a Palotaka base.<sup>31</sup>

Residents assumed that the UPDF was dispatched into areas where the SPLA was struggling to contain violence.<sup>32</sup> Nimule became home to a major UPDF outpost, with incursions towards Pager and Moli.<sup>33</sup> In 2005, the UPDF held positions in Western Equatoria.<sup>34</sup> When the LRA moved into the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) the same year, Uganda's President Museveni considered sending troops into DRC to destroy the LRA.<sup>35</sup>

Although the initial Sudanese mandate that allowed UPDF military operations against the LRA expired in early 2006, the UPDF maintained a controversial presence during the following years. That the UPDF stayed on – despite the fact that local politicians and residents called their stay “illegal” – was based on an informal agreement between the semi-autonomous Southern Sudan and Kampala. Not everyone in the southern government was comfortable with this. Vice-President Machar gave as one of his reasons to pursue peace talks with the LRA to end UPDF presence in Sudan – “I don't feel very comfortable under a foreign invasion,” he explained.<sup>36</sup>

The foreign army made it more difficult to pursue his position as a peace mediator. Between 2006 and 2008 representatives of the LRA and its civil wing, the LRM and the Government of Uganda conducted peace talks under the auspices of the Government of Southern Sudan, specifically with Machar as a mediator, in Juba. During the Juba Peace Talks,<sup>37</sup> the UPDF maintained positions near the LRA, at times increasing its numbers, despite the signing in late August 2006 of an agreement on Cessation of Hostilities which stipulated no UPDF redeployment in Sudan.<sup>38</sup> In reality the UPDF spread its area of operation to the north, nearer to Juba, and to the west, as the LRA moved across to the DRC.

In the Juba Peace Talks, the army movement became a major sticking point for the LRA, when troops appeared around the agreed LRA assembly area. “There is now a lot of UPDF around Owiny-Kibul. I want to ask the mediator why,” said the then LRA second-in-command Vincent Oti in September 2006, explaining why the LRA's assembly in the area had become problematic.<sup>39</sup> A few months later, UN security reported that aerial surveys had shown that “the UPDF had effectively kettled the LRA assembly area”.<sup>40</sup> In December 2006, Kony spoke to a group of visitors a few kilometres from Western Equatoria's Ri-Kwangba, the second designated assembly area for the LRA. He stated that “while talking there is troop movement from Eastern Equatoria to here, seven miles from here”.<sup>41</sup>

By mid-2008 the UPDF had been seen around Yei, Maridi, and close to the LRA assembly area in Nabanga.<sup>42</sup> Further east, UPDF activities in Eastern Equatoria had calmed down in 2008, yet what an SPLA commander called “a full force” remained in position at Aru Junction on the Juba–Nimule road.<sup>43</sup> Direct encounters between

the LRA and UPDF remained scarce. Before the Juba Talks could produce a final peace agreement, the UPDF in December 2008 launched Operation Lightning Thunder, a military offensive supported by the US. While the operation was a failure, it marked the start of free UPDF movement into the far north of Western Equatoria

- as well as the DRC and the Central African Republic (CAR) - to chase the LRA.<sup>44</sup>

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Civilian experiences

Operation Iron Fist, launched on the back of an internationally brokered agreement, and Operation Lightning Thunder, supported by the US, underscored how international misconceptions about the war between the LRA and the UPDF had devastating consequences for civilians. It has been argued that the UPDF’s lack of military professionalism prolonged the war in the north, allowing for UPDF abuses of civilians.<sup>45</sup> Despite abundant evidence, the international community had largely underplayed the UPDF’s role in Uganda, particularly in the displacement of local populations and in committing atrocities against civilians.<sup>46</sup> The UPDF’s incursion into Sudan received no oversight to ensure civilians’ safety, leaving Ugandan soldiers free to pursue its “counterinsurgency” in Sudan, including atrocities against the population. It left the civilian population exposed to an army implicated in gross violations against Ugandan civilians.

Eastern Equatorians generally explained the lack of protection afforded them by the SPLA with the hostile history between Equatorians and the SPLA. Furthermore, they cited a blanket accusation against Sudanese Acholi, made by both the SPLA and the UPDF, that Eastern Equatorians were harbouring the LRA, and that collaboration between civilians and the LRA was the main reason why the LRA had survived for so long. This was an old accusation. In 1995 Daniel Awet Akot, Minister of Internal Affairs in the early days of the Juba Talks, had accused the Sudanese Acholi of collaborating with the LRA to hurt the SPLA.<sup>47</sup> In 2007, during a renewed surge of attacks by LRA and other armed groups, an SPLA commander reiterated the accusation in a newspaper article, although up-to-date evidence for the claim was not forthcoming:

Some Equatorian tribes who are along the borders with Uganda are collaborating and hiding LRA in their houses without disclosing them to the authority. In this regard, how do you expect SPLA to fight LRA if some of you continue to hiding and protecting LRA?<sup>48</sup>

Eastern Equatorians, for years exposed to armed attacks without protection, have in the past developed flexible protection arrangements with armed groups. This often meant seeking immunity from LRA attacks by providing the LRA with food, shelter or information. It was a necessary survival technique, and

an experience that continues to divide communities. An ideological choice it was not, as one man in the market in Obbo pointed out: "It is hard to report if somebody comes at gunpoint."<sup>49</sup>

An international staff member for UN security who had worked in Eastern

Equatoria summed it up: "The community could not afford to be hostile to LRA."<sup>50</sup>

The idea that the local community was guilty of supporting the LRA came to the fore in the early days of the Cessation of Hostilities Monitoring Team. The team had been formed from LRA/M, SPLA and UPDF officers as part of the Juba Talks, after the LRA and the Ugandan government signed an Agreement on Cessation of Hostilities on 26 August 2006. The agreement stipulated that remaining LRA fighters would assemble in Owiny-Kibul by the end of September 2006. The departure of fighters remaining in Uganda to assemble in Sudan was met with much press coverage, but the assembly itself was less successful. Soon after the LRA fighters arrived in Owiny-Kibul, they disappeared again, apparently after Kony had issued such orders.<sup>51</sup> Rumours circulated that the LRA had been under UPDF threat or was deliberately violating the agreement.

Investigating whether the LRA had assembled or the UPDF deployed, the Cessation of Hostilities Monitoring Team travelled to Owiny-Kibul on Monday, 2 October 2006 to inspect a site where the SPLA had dropped food for the LRA. Residents reported that the LRA had taken food, but had then disappeared. Grains from the food delivery had started to germinate, causing a controversy about when exactly the LRA had taken food. The only person able to verify when the LRA had appeared was the chief of Owiny-Kibul, who had personally reached out to the LRA to make them feel safe in his area, to facilitate their assembly and to further the peace talks. The chief said that he had last seen the LRA the previous Wednesday,

27 September. If the LRA had been at the assembly area on 27 September, they would have fulfilled the conditions of the Cessation of Hostilities Agreement. The UPDF officers, however, were not convinced that the chief's information was accurate. "The chief is a very good liar," one officer said. "I don't believe LRA left last Wednesday. The germination is too high." When asked why the chief would lie about this, he explained: "We do not believe that he is really the chief because also these are the same people, the same culture as LRA."<sup>52</sup>

### Murky perpetrators

The Sudanese war environment, with attacks by numerous armed groups and complicated linkages, was confusing prior to the LRA's arrival; the LRA presence added an extra component for civilians. "Tonk Tonk" (literally "chop chop") became the name used to describe the LRA, but it was soon extended to any other armed group of unclear background. The leader of a women's group who had stayed in Juba during the war said that "LRA has become the name for everybody who has done wrong. Bad people here, they say they are LRA."<sup>53</sup> A UN security official explained, "Other groups are taking advantage. The credibility of the LRA is based on the likelihood of the LRA attacking."<sup>54</sup> Palotaka's parish

priest said the “first finger has always gone to LRA. People pointed immediately and said it’s LRA.”<sup>55</sup>

The arrival of the UPDF added yet another military actor. The point has been made repeatedly that the increased army presence in northern Uganda worsened the war experience for civilians, boosted the military budget and prolonged the war.<sup>56</sup> For Sudanese, volatility also grew with UPDF presence. During three years of research in areas with heavy UPDF presence, only a handful of respondents said that they felt safer because of the UPDF: “I thank Museveni for having sent his soldiers to Sudan, they have assisted a lot in controlling the LRA”, said one man in Ikotos County, for example.<sup>57</sup> The majority of respondents had a different view, along the lines of that expressed by a Madi youth leader in 2009: “The UPDF is a sleeping dog in Sudan. In Mugale, the UPDF does not do anything. UPDF itself is a problem.”<sup>58</sup> Civilians experienced increased militarisation as an exacerbation of the war environment. To the parish priest of Palotaka, it was secondary who was sending soldiers, as they always brought trouble: “We consider UPDF soldiers. With soldiers, you cannot trust them. They will always misbehave.”<sup>59</sup> An Owiny-Kibul youth group complained that UPDF gunships also killed Sudanese civilians.<sup>60</sup>

Some of Eastern Equatoria’s security problems are home-grown from continued tension between the SPLA and Eastern Equatorians. Residents have a less than friendly relationship since the SPLA in the mid-1980s and early 1990s forcefully recruited in the area, causing mass flight to Ugandan and Kenyan refugee camps. The Undersecretary for Parliamentary Affairs of the Southern Sudanese Government felt that armed groups in the area were cross-pollinating violence. Witnessing LRA methods, she said they had become increasingly brutal as Sudan’s war deteriorated, she explained:

This type of trying to make community frightened. Kill people and hang them up so when local people come, they don’t touch anything. I think LRA learned these things from Southern Sudan. All people were partners to frighten local communities who are caught in a war and don’t know how to react.<sup>61</sup>

During the Juba Talks, the LRA/M took offence at the blanket accusation regarding all atrocities in Eastern Equatoria; yet in the past the same accusation had also strengthened their fierce reputation. A Sudanese journalist explained,

there has always been a media spin on casualties caused by the LRA ... For a long time, such coverage was welcomed by the LRA as it made them seem very strong. It was also welcomed by the government of Uganda as it made the LRA seem vicious. And as of recent [times], it was also welcomed by the government of Southern Sudan as it covered up the inadequacies of their own security apparatus.<sup>62</sup>

When 169 residents in 13 LRA-affected villages were asked to identify by whom they had been attacked or by whom they had witnessed an attack, everyone remembered at least one attack by the LRA, although some of these happened in Uganda. Each community had, however, been attacked by several different groups (see Table 2 ). Six communities had suffered attacks from the

## UPDF

The various armed groups made the war uncontrollable; civilian populations were caught in the escalating brutality. A Magwi woman explained that many women had been raped several times by soldiers of various armies and armed groups. To this day, she said, “Some women cannot even bear to look at men’s faces.”<sup>63</sup> For the then MP of Magwi County, continued LRA attacks happened for other reasons beyond the county’s proximity to Uganda. Despite raising concerns as soon as the Southern Sudanese government was formed, she felt that Magwi, perhaps because of its history, had been

left out of wider participation in both governments. Magwi is a new county. I feel that we have been marginalized within the marginalized . . . . LRA has brought instability, insecurity and mines . . . . Many of those attacking wear LRA shoes. But the SPLA also commits atrocities and that makes insecurity very complex. Many people have learned how to put on LRA shoes . . . . EDF, LRA, UPDF, SPLA all wear the same uniform, they wear camouflage. Some atrocities that happened in daylight we know were LRA . . . . The [UPDF] used to commit atrocities in the name of the LRA . . . . The SPLA thinks that Acholi and Madi are supporting the LRA, but the Madi and Acholi are traumatized by all war parties: SPLA, LRA, [the government of Sudan], UPDF. The SPLA is not thanking the communities for being their war ground.<sup>64</sup>

Just how difficult it was for the population to understand who was attacking them became clear in a simple request during the Juba Talks: the community asked whether the UPDF, SPLA and LRA could wear different uniforms so that they would be distinguishable.<sup>65</sup> The issue of armies and armed groups moving about in identical gear came up again during Operation Lightning Thunder. Congolese refugees who had fled to Sudan had had similar experiences, explained a man in a camp near Yambio:

Table 2. Perpetrators of attacks in Eastern Equatoria.

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Aru-Kubi IDPs group	LRA, SAF, SPLA, Dinka, Lokoya, unidentified armed
Aru Kubi	LRA, UPDF, Lokoya, SPLA, unidentified bandits
Panyikwara	LRA, Dinka, unidentified armed group
Magwi Town	LRA, SPLA, Dinka, unidentified armed group
Obbo	LRA, UPDF, Iyire
Pajok (Parajok)	LRA, UPDF, Bokec (Ugandan
bandits) Ikotos	LRA, UPDF
Imatong Centre	LRA, Latuko
Lohayiro village	LRA, UPDF, SPLA
Tsereteny	LRA, UPDF, SPLA, Dinka/Nuer war, Didinga, Logir, Karamojong,
a	unidentified OAG
Tow	
n	

Lyria                      LRA, Murle, SPLA, armed  
group Lokiliri boma              LRA, SPLA, SAF,  
Lokoro, Sodoni Sodoni village              LRA, SPLA,  
SAF

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Something that is causing problems concerning this Ugandan army because if they come out of the bush, there is no way to differentiate between UPDF and LRA. When we ran to Ganguran, we saw these soldiers in their clothes and we ran because we did not know who they were. When the people are running from the soldiers, the soldiers try to see if the people have guns. If you don't have guns they will not shoot.<sup>66</sup>

A February 2011 assessment by the Joint Intelligence Operations Centre of the UN mission in DRC reported that while attacks with abductions were identifiable as LRA, attacks had been carried out in a variety of fashion:

The threat picture had become unclear leading to speculation. Haut Uele's security situation was never binary: FARDC, UPDF, SPLA, poachers, criminals groups, Mbororos and simple bandits have all been scrutinized alongside LRA - the challenge continues to be detecting which.<sup>67</sup>

The same report discussed suspicions the UPDF was "responsible for a number of attacks", but concedes that while it "would be naïve to believe that former UPDF or elements of serving UPDF have not been involved in attacks at some point" this was unlikely to be routine and that the Congolose forces wanted the UPDF out of DRC and thus had a reason to discredit the Ugandan forces. However, it was acknowledged that the UPDF failed to disclose exact troop locations and was keeping patrols secret. In early 2012, CAR and DRC civil society leaders expressed concerns about unmonitored UPDF operations. "UPDF is working in rural areas", explained a man from the CAR, "the army of CAR is working in urban areas. There are some suspicions about what is going on with the UPDF." It was hard to address, he added, because the UPDF could not speak to civilians because of the language barrier.<sup>68</sup> The UN mission in DRC stated in their report that they hoped that pressure could be applied on the UPDF "to be more transparent and honest", but that the UPDF countered such pressure with emphasising their efforts in Somalia to fight Al-Shabaab.<sup>69</sup>

#### LRA/UPDF encounters

In UN security circles, a common joke in 2006 was, "Why is the UPDF in Sudan? To make sure the LRA does not get destroyed."<sup>70</sup> Kaldor conceptualises war as a "mutual enterprise" between warring parties.<sup>71</sup> Branch illustrates how in the war in northern Uganda, this mutual enterprise included all "the parties with political or economic power - Museveni, the UPDF, the United States, the other donor governments and institutions" because neither saw a benefit in ending the war.<sup>72</sup>

Sudanese civilians' memories of UPDF/LRA encounters in Sudan illustrate how

this mutual enterprise played out. In the early days of official UPDF presence, residents did not realise that the UPDF had come to fight the LRA. One respondent in Imatong explained that there was

a lot of fighting between SPLA and LRA, but not LRA and UPDF. UPDF did not engage in battle that much. It was very funny; the UPDF even supported the LRA. When the SPLA attacked the LRA, the UPDF said “why do you do that? Why do you kill people?” When the SPLA entered after LRA attacks, the UPDF said, “no, no, no, let us go back”. Maybe they were just making indirect interaction.<sup>73</sup>

A member of the Eastern Equatoria Assembly explained that

since the UPDF came to Sudan, they never had a face-to-face confrontation with the LRA. It's like the LRA has been given safe passage. People wonder, why is the UPDF here? If that presence in Sudan can still aggravate tension with the LRA, why can they not move behind fire lines? The UPDF should be asked politely to leave. Their presence is not very wise to reach a tangible peace with the LRA.<sup>74</sup>

UPDF information about battles with the LRA was limited to announcements of spectacular victories. With little other information, it seemed for a while as if the

2002 Operation Iron Fist was going rather well. Individual UPDF soldiers, however,

said that they were often puzzled by the LRA they encountered in Sudan:

[LRA] had all small arms that you can think of, but also other support weapons, given by Arabs. In fact they had the anti-aircraft weapons, the twin barrel, which they could easily carry, they had the B2, which they used to hit at our armoured vehicles and tanks. They were well equipped and in fact before UPDF acquired a grenade launcher, they were the first people to acquire them. I remember one time they attacked a very good group of UPDF fighters using grenade launchers and we were wondering what sort of gun they were using. When one of our people picked the cartridge and we examined it, that's when we got to know that these fellows were far advanced than us.

The UPDF, this man further explained, then asked other countries for help to equip them with similar weaponry: “If it wasn't for our good relationship with some of our friends who had that gun and we borrowed a few pieces, I think we were in shit.”<sup>75</sup>

The LRA's military superiority meant that Sudanese civilians did not benefit from the presence of the Ugandan soldiers. The chairman of the Sudanese Acholi community in Juba explained, “The resentment of people is that [UPDF] were never defending them. They did not go on a very effective encounter with the LRA although their mission was to fight them.”<sup>76</sup> Sudanese traders particularly complained about the lack of protection from the UPDF. A 2007 report states that in Agoro the UPDF positioned its barracks in the middle of the village, using civilians living on the outskirts as human shields, and only responding to LRA attacks long after the LRA had already left.<sup>77</sup>

Seven respondents used the image of twins to describe the “mutual enterprise” of the UPDF and the LRA. One man explained, “When [the] community reported that LRA has crossed, UPDF said we are twins, like Opio Ocen. Ocen is the brother in the bush, how can I stab my brother? Do you want our mother to cry?”<sup>78</sup> In the eyes of the chairman of the Acholi community in Juba, this tight connection between two opponents was a natural outcome of transplanting two foreign forces to a battleground to which neither had particular attachment:

I know some of these UPDF. Some of them are actually from northern Uganda and to kill their own people they did not want to strictly get involved. They resorted to destruction of the area and cutting trees in our forest. People really resent them.<sup>79</sup>

The UPDF’s pursuit of the LRA on foreign territory seemed weak at best, despite the public narrative in Uganda that “the efforts of the gallant UPDF which has greatly degraded the LRA, and, among others, rescued 17,000 children from LRA abduction where they were serving as child soldiers and sex slaves”, in the words of Ugandan ambassador Kabonero, were a great anti-insurgency success story.<sup>80</sup>

#### UPDF atrocities against civilians

Numerous respondents gave concrete examples of UPDF abuses, although it remains difficult to ascertain exactly which armed group killed how many people. Uganda’s Sunday Monitor wrote that between 1993 and January 2007, 5200 people in Greater Equatoria had been killed by either the LRA or the UPDF, but the source of the information is unclear.<sup>81</sup> Speaking in June 2008, the executive chief of Pajok gave examples of UPDF atrocities.

This force was sent to look for LRA in Southern Sudan and should protect and provide security to the civil society in Southern Sudan. But to our surprise, UPDF behave also like LRA. They have killed six people and wounded three in Pajok. They lay ambush on the road and take motorbike, bicycles or property, money, or kill you if you don’t run. These happened between Komormo and Pogee, Pajok. When they get you in the bush or any isolated locations, they kill you immediately without asking whether you are LRA or not. They killed three boys fishing again; they shot a boy in the compound. All these have proven with evidences.

UPDF create information, which is not true in order to kill and lay ambush on the road in the name of LRA. Recently UPDF killed [a man named] Sokondo. They also robbed some boys riding bicycles and carrying some items between Pajok and Owiny-Kibul, some two days ago.

UPDF do not attack LRA, even if you report to them. They said: “Let the LRA ... what do you want? I can harm yourself with a knife.” This makes reconciliation very difficult unless they sign [a peace deal], then we can talk. [The Ugandan government] should do something in areas affected by LRA and UPDF because the two forces are all Ugandan. So [the Ugandan government] should be accountable for destructions.<sup>82</sup>

During the Juba Talks, Eastern Equatorians published a communiqué to be read out at the negotiation table. It outlined a list of UPDF atrocities:

For example, instead of following and attacking the LRA, they turned their guns to the civil population, shooting, looting, raping and burning their huts in pretext of chasing the LRA. For example, 10 people in Lulobo were killed, also in Madi area two people killed and others wounded in the process. At Kitire [sic] in 2004, the UPDF killed the three escorts assigned to lead them to the hideout of the LRA.<sup>83</sup>

The communiqué argued that abuses of civilians by UPDF soldiers “were and still are intentional” and that “the UPDF did not fulfil their mission to Southern Sudan”.<sup>84</sup>

In 2006, said the chief of Owiny-Kibul, the UPDF killed four residents of his area, and “UPDF also attacked and pretended to be LRA”.<sup>85</sup> An Ikotos religious leader explained “UPDF looted and raped here, mainly in Katire. People in the mountains were very hostile to UPDF.”<sup>86</sup> The UPDF engaged locals to help them find the LRA, said a Juba woman. Once the Sudanese had led the Ugandan soldiers to the LRA bases, the “guides” were threatened and told that they would be killed. The reasoning was that only LRA collaborators would know the hideouts.<sup>87</sup>

Residents say that the UPDF committed atrocities pretending to be the LRA. A woman in Magwi explained, “Sometimes when the UPDF did not have anything to eat, they turn and pretend to be the LRA and ambush you.”<sup>88</sup> One international security worker summed it up: “The UPDF orchestrated a lot of stuff.”<sup>89</sup> In a typical UPDF ambush, as described by residents of Aru Junction, the Ugandan soldiers would set road ambushes on the road connecting Juba and Nimule. “They stop you on the road, they say to you ‘I am LRA, these are the politics of [Sudan’s president] Omar Bashir.’ And then they capture you, they take everything.”<sup>90</sup>

The notorious 105th battalion of the UPDF, comprised of former LRA fighters with unclear command structures, was also dispatched to Sudan. The 105th battalion is a reminder of the complex nature of a war in which former rebels join armies to fight rebels, but also use rebel tactics. In Sudan, the 105th conducted what one international observer at the Juba Talks called “pseudo-operations”.<sup>91</sup> Elders in the Magwi area explained that each time the Ugandan press announced an increase in LRA movement, residents experienced looting and harassment, even if no LRA had been spotted locally. Government officials in Magwi County explained that most looting happened near UPDF trucks: “Most of the witnesses can recognise UPDF because some of them have seen them before when a truck moves”, one local administrator said. “When a truck moved to a point where there was no LRA and then something happens, people are suspicious.”<sup>92</sup> Reports that the UPDF had hired residents to help them stage ambushes fed further suspicion.

In Ikotos, residents reported that the UPDF targeted businessmen transporting goods and cattle. In a 2007 report, a resident of Ikotos County described encounters with the UPDF:

And they claim that that is the LRA ... Those causing atrocities along the roads here are not really the LRA alone; sometimes they are [Ugandan] government militias. Normally when they see a vehicle coming and it is loaded with goods, if there are no SPLA soldiers on the vehicle, they attack and loot the vehicle. The reason I am saying this is that there was a time when some “bandits” clashed with the

SPLA around Ikotos. It happened that one of those wounded in the clash was found in Madi Opei hospital in Uganda. If that was an LRA, I don't think the UPDF would have allowed him in the government hospital.<sup>93</sup>

The environment and information policy was confusing. In June 2008, the Juba Peace Talks Cessation of Hostilities Monitoring Team submitted a confidential report to the Government of Southern Sudan regarding activities of an armed group at Pageri payam on 14 June 2008. About 30 men had raided five houses in Nyongwa village, abducting a 31-year-old man who was found dead three days later with a head injury and a stab wound to the back. Near the site where the body was discovered two bags with military clothing and provisions were discovered. The attackers seemed to have eaten canned beans and biscuits. The SPLA detachment at Loa identified the materials as belonging to the UPDF, although the monitoring team was unable to verify whether the attack was indeed carried out by the UPDF.<sup>94</sup>

South Sudan's Vice-President Riek Machar relayed these findings to parliament. Uganda's government-owned paper *New Vision* later reported that it had obtained documents implicating the LRA in the incident, and that the UPDF had been cleared during a meeting between the UPDF and SPLA in Nimule nine days later on 25 June. The reports of that meeting are somewhat confusing, seemingly making no reference to the monitoring team's ambivalent report. The *New Vision* reported that the meeting's minutes had been signed by SPLA commanding officer Col. Haruna Abai and Col. Sam Kavuma for the UPDF, and that "no one quoted having come across a simple piece of information implicating the UPDF in the act".<sup>95</sup>

An attack in Nabanga payam in Western Equatoria was carried out by the LRA, according to the Cessation of Hostilities Monitoring Team. The finding was later revised after the team found materials near the scene of the killing that implicated the UPDF masquerading as the LRA, including the names of the suspected UPDF soldiers from "Section II, Platoon I, 'A' Coy".<sup>96</sup>

These examples show that opportunities for thorough investigations are limited, thus armed groups identify each other as the culprit. As no action is taken against any armed group, the situation for civilians remains untenable. In general, the UPDF shrugged off all accusations that it was committing atrocities while masquerading as the LRA. "The LRA are looking for all reasons to justify what has happened," said a senior UPDF commander.<sup>97</sup> He argued that the LRA had been targeting civilians and avoiding the UPDF for years.

#### The business of war

Residents resented the UPDF because the soldiers made no attempt to hide their business interests, said the chief of Owiny-Kibul:

UPDF were just making business. They don't want to fight. If they hear that these people are this side of the road, they stay there. Even in Uganda. They hear and they wait for several hours. They don't want to die. They want to make money.<sup>98</sup>

The UPDF's obvious business interests added to the perception that the

neighbouring government used its own conflict to intimidate people across the border and improve its own economic position. In Ikotos, one interpretation was that the Ugandan government wanted to keep Sudan unstable to divert attention from its own problems. Some Eastern Equatorians expressed concern that, with the arrival of the UPDF, several disputed border regions seemed to have passed firmly into Ugandan hands.

The most obvious lucrative endeavour was the logging of teak in Eastern Equatoria's forests. An Owiny-Kibul youth group saw this as part of a broader strategy: for them it was proof that the Ugandan government was "not serious for making peace with the LRA", and they argued that the UPDF was "using the LRA war for making money".<sup>99</sup> When the UPDF ostensibly withdrew from the Owiny-Kibul area under the terms of the Cessation of Hostilities Agreement signed by the LRA and the Ugandan government in August 2006, locals reported that the UPDF cut down 200 trees just outside Palotaka and ferried them across the border before it could be reported to the authorities.<sup>100</sup>

Accusations of illegal logging in Sudan had been circulating in Uganda for years; and Eastern Equatorians provided eyewitnesses. Magwi County's commissioner clarified that before Sudan's Comprehensive Peace Agreement, the former Khartoum-aligned governor had permitted Ugandan traders to do some logging; in return the Ugandan traders were to build a community centre in Obbo. When the centre did not materialise, the permission expired. The logging did not stop. A young man at a community meeting in Owiny-Kibul said that the soldiers took trees to Uganda as bridge-building material. When they were caught logging in the forest, they killed some civilians, and at times "UPDF put on different uniforms to look like LRA". The UPDF in Sudan, he concluded, "they forget what they came for".<sup>101</sup>

In September 2007, eyewitness testimony about illegal logging by the UPDF was widely reported in the press following the publication of a report I had written.<sup>102</sup>

Asked directly about it, the UPDF dismissed the accusations: "Our duties are to look for rebels in Southern Sudan, to maintain law and order along the road. How can we look for timber?" said one UPDF officer. "It is illegal for anyone to sell wood and timber outside Southern Sudan."<sup>103</sup> Reacting to the accusations, the Ugandan embassy in Sudan wrote:

The baseless allegations made against the UPDF should be dismissed with the contempt they deserve. They are aimed at undermining the image of Uganda and its good relationship with Sudan as well as demeaning the successful achievement of the UPDF against the LRA in Southern Sudan. The UPDF which is now almost alone in Somalia on an Africa Union Mission is a Pan Africanist Liberation Army which does not and will never loot. UPDF, surely does not deserve such unfounded accusations.<sup>104</sup>

It was an irony picked up by many commentators, including people attending the Juba Talks, that the International Court of Justice had ruled two years earlier that during the UPDF presence in DRC between 1995 and 2003,

the Republic of Uganda, by acts of looting, plundering and exploitation of Congolese natural resources committed by members of the Ugandan armed forces in the territory of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and by its failure to comply with its obligations as an occupying Power in Ituri district to prevent acts of looting, plundering and exploitation of Congolese natural resources, violated obligations owed to the Democratic Republic of the Congo under international law.<sup>105</sup>

The proliferation of armed groups created a profitable weapons-circulating system between armed groups and civilians. The chief of Owiny-Kibul explained that during the 1990s, weapons for government-aligned militias always flowed “from Torit because Arabs are there”, while weapons for civilians reached the area through Uganda or Ethiopia. In addition, the LRA sold weapons to civilians in exchange for information about the SPLA’s whereabouts.<sup>106</sup> With Operation Iron Fist, the local arms trade in Imatong changed, said a member of the Ikotos Peace Committee: “The UPDF came in 2002, and 2002 was also when the guns came to Imatong.”<sup>107</sup> In Ikotos and near the Tsereteya Mountains, UPDF guns and ammunition fuelled a flourishing gun market; by extension, armed activity amongst civilians in the area was assured. The authorities turned a blind eye to the arms trade, said a man from Torit who was working in Ikotos at the time.<sup>108</sup> A 2007 report stated “that some elements of the UPDF contributed to insecurity in South Sudan by weapons trading”, calling on the Southern Sudanese government to crack down on the military activities of its army and affiliated militias.<sup>109</sup> As late as January 2008, residents saw UPDF soldiers bartering their guns for food around Kajo Keji.<sup>110</sup>

## Impact on peace

### Undermining a peaceful resolution

The direct impact of the UPDF presence on the Juba Talks goes beyond accusations and counter-accusations regarding attacks during the negotiation period. From the standpoint of the LRA/M, the presence of the Ugandan army in Sudan at the very time when sensitive political issues were addressed was a manifestation of the militarisation of Uganda and the domestic role of the UPDF. Citing an example of the UPDF’s clash with the Rwandan army in Kisangani, the LRA/M issued a statement that underlined

Uganda’s lack of respect for international law and peaceful co-existence with other nations. The known and unwelcome presence of the UPDF in many parts of Southern Sudan, well after the protocol allowing them to be in the Southern Sudan expired in February 2006, smacks of impunity and is a source of total embarrassment to Uganda as a nation.<sup>111</sup>

Some respondents in Eastern Equatoria argued that Uganda had displaced its own problems of army violence to Sudan; often cited was the UPDF’s crude approach to the Juba Talks. In the early days of the LRA assembly in Owiny-Kibul in September 2006, residents reported that about 100 LRA fighters had peacefully gathered (although whether they had stayed was

contested, as the germination debate shows), trusting a mere 23 SPLA soldiers for their protection. The government-run Uganda Media Centre then invited foreign diplomats and journalists to view the assembled LRA in Sudan. As protection, Ugandan military vehicles – two mambas, two buffaloes, two trucks of UPDF soldiers, and four military jeeps – escorted the busload of journalists and diplomats.

The SPLA was not informed about a military convoy entering Sudan. Word about the military convoy reached the LRA, which promptly dispersed from the assembly area for good, which caused the first major hitch in the talks. The convoy was in the end stopped by Sudanese civilians demanding to see SPLA permission for this military movement.<sup>112</sup> Residents around the assembly area later often referred to this example when arguing that the Ugandan government was pursuing a hidden military agenda to create barriers to peace with the LRA.<sup>113</sup>

With hindsight, this incident might qualify as the single most damaging moment of the Juba Talks, derailing the assembly and reviving violence. The UPDF presence became arguably the greatest obstacle to any trust from the LRA leadership, either in peace talks or regarding future protection from the Ugandan government in case the LRA signed a deal. The double strategy of talking in Juba while simultaneously deploying military forces in Eastern Equatoria was widely interpreted as a deliberate attempt to sabotage the peace talks. In community meetings people regularly stated that for the peace talks to stand a chance of success, the UPDF had to be withdrawn.<sup>114</sup>

The presence of the UPDF, it was generally concluded, was “not convincing during peace talks”, and did not provide leverage to speed that process along. It was seen rather as delaying community healing, as it was expected that the two perpetrators, the LRA and the UPDF, would never participate in a reconciliation process. The effect of providing this military “leverage” might have been to make a peace deal impossible.

Leverage is a frequently cited concept. In a violent conflict between state and non-state actors, leverage tends to be interpreted as military pressure until an agreement is signed. Kleiboer calls leverage “one of the most elusive elements of mediation. It makes for fuzzy conceptualisations, and research produces contradictory results concerning its importance for successful mediation outcomes. Few analysts bother to define leverage explicitly.”<sup>115</sup> Applying the concept of leverage to the Juba Talks highlights the fuzziness of the concept as the two parties at the table experienced very different kinds of leverage. International actors called for military pressure against the LRA. The Ugandan government was, if at all, subtly pressured: it was hinted that its international reputation depended on allowing this peace process to be successful. Additionally, the US maintained its close and supportive military relationship throughout the talks and beyond. The application of leverage thus was limited to immediate security concerns, rather than wider issues of militarisation, structural violence and its impact on human security and development.

With the military threat against the LRA thus often unofficially sanctioned by international actors, the issue highlighted another challenge to the Juba peace process. The young government of Southern Sudan was navigating a fragile foreign peace process while trying to nurture its relationship with Uganda,

its most important regional ally. "It is an intricate relationship between the government of Southern Sudan and Uganda. It is hard to dismiss the UPDF in all of this," said one international member of the mediation team when trying to understand why the permission to the UPDF to move around Sudan had been extended, although it had become an impediment to the peace talks. Deflecting calls from the LRA/M delegation to remove the UPDF from Sudan, the Ugandan government delegation claimed that the UPDF was there for "other reasons than the LRA".<sup>116</sup> Speculation what this meant was rife, usually concluding that the SPLA wanted UPDF backup to manage its own security and to deter the SAF.

#### Militarisation in peace time

The presence of the UPDF had an impact on the Juba Talks and on how civilians experienced Southern Sudan's own transition to peace. Southern Sudan was desperately trying to stabilise its fragile north-south peace, and the presence of a foreign army added instability that caused great concern among the local population. In 2006, the sentiment was strong that the UPDF presence was undermining Sudan's fragile peace. During a community meeting in Owiny-Kibul December 2006, a resident shouted:

The community does not want LRA and UPDF in Southern Sudan because they have suffered more than enough from the Southern Sudan war ... SPLA and the Khartoum government ended the war, we are now supposed to be free, why should the foreign troops be allowed to disturb us? If SPLA is not serious, Pajok land will be empty of people. The owners are kicked out of their houses.<sup>117</sup>

He was frustrated that the SPLA seemed to sanction war in his home area. Feeling abandoned by the SPLA, an Owiny-Kibul youth group had strong views on how protection could be guaranteed: since the Southern Sudanese government had failed to shelter the communities from the UPDF or to ask the UPDF to leave Sudan, the youth requested instead that the SPLA provide them with guns to fight off the UPDF themselves.<sup>118</sup>

Eastern Equatorians' experience of peace - and fledgling efforts of civilian disarmament - were further disturbed because the UPDF presence also meant that Sudanese were being recruited as soldiers. This was particularly reported of the 105th battalion, which needed local knowledge to operate effectively in Sudan. Recruitment primarily occurred in camps in Uganda. Three respondents told of family members who had been recruited into the UPDF. In Nimule on 28 December 2005, the chief of Owiny-Kibul met a friend who had been signed up for the 105th battalion and was now travelling in a convoy of six UPDF lorries. The newly recruited Sudanese soldier was dispatched to Jebel-Lin to fight the LRA, wearing a UPDF uniform and talking from a UPDF vehicle. He expressed surprise that he was arriving in his home country, which he had thought to be at peace. The chief saw the same convoy return empty to Uganda on 9 January; he deduced that the forces had stayed in the bush. He expressed concern that Sudanese were coming back to fight, and to go "against the

new spirit of peace”.<sup>119</sup>

For Eastern Equatorians, the spirit of peace required reconciliation and the resolution of personal grievances. This tends to involve compensation payments, particularly for lost property or a family member killed. Reconciliation with the UPDF had been promised, but proved impossible. One man in Pajok said that a UPDF officer killed his son and “I was promised to be compensated for my son by a UPDF commander, but the UPDF did not come back up to now.”<sup>120</sup>

UPDF movement contributed to the sentiment that peace had not yet come to Sudan. The movement of UPDF gunships, reported in Magwi and Ikotos counties up to 2008, was often mentioned as a definitive sign that the current peace was not to be trusted; as was the fact that the UPDF had planted landmines along the road from Panyikwara to Magwi when the army moved from Palotaka and Tibika, severely restricting civilian movement.<sup>121</sup>

In addition to the residents’ general impression that the army had made a peace deal impossible there was also a strong sentiment that its presence would impede a peaceful life in other ways. One man said that even when both forces had left at some point in the future it would be up to those left behind to pick up the pieces on their own: “The LRA and UPDF will eventually go away but the civil population will remain after enduring all the killings and torture.”<sup>122</sup> The presence of soldiers also brought with it a reminder that human security requires more than absence of physical violence. In Magwi County, the young men explained the long-term consequences of the foreign army presence: “The UPDF presence in Southern Sudan has led to much prostitutions in the area which may escalate the spread of HIV/ AIDS.”<sup>123</sup>

As Sudanese joined the UPDF - usually recruited from camps in Uganda - and civilians demanded to be armed for protection, the process of demilitarization and peaceful return to Sudan was thrown off course by the prospect of livelihoods and careers in a foreign army. For returnees from Ugandan camps, encountering Sudanese soldiers in the UPDF in Sudan created a difficult situation. A man from Pajok, whose cousin had joined the UPDF from Achol-Pii refugee camp in Uganda in 2005, explained that for those returnees who had come back to Sudan to live in peace in their own country, the presence of the Ugandan army, fortified with Sudanese soldiers, was disturbing.<sup>124</sup>

In the Panyikwara area, which most returnees had fled for Uganda in the mid-1980s to escape SPLA forced recruitment campaigns, it was unsettling to return to the area to find both feared armies, the SPLA and the UPDF, working together. This led the returnees to believe that the SPLA was planning another uprising against the Sudanese government, using Eastern Equatoria as a launch pad with the UPDF as a backup force. “If the SPLA is planning for another rebellion they should tell that clearly to the community rather than keeping the UPDF inside Sudan in a claim of fighting the LRA when in fact they have failed to defeat the LRA in the past 20 years,” one man in Owiny-Kibul said.<sup>125</sup>

Above all, the UPDF presence was an obstacle to the transition to peace, confirming Equatorians’ suspicions that the Southern Sudanese government was not overly concerned with how Equatorians fared in the peace.<sup>126</sup> Writing in

the Sudan Tribune in 2005, one Equatorian outlined why he felt that the UPDF presence had been damaging: the UPDF were proof that Uganda was moving its battlefield to Southern Sudan, he argued. The forces had sealed the border to assure peace in Uganda while fighting its war in Sudan; more civilians than Ugandan soldiers had been killed by the LRA; the UPDF presence had decreased security in Magwi, Ame, Opari, Pajok, Agoro and Pageri; people had been re-displaced since the Ugandan forces had arrived; time spent fighting the LRA was time taken away from Sudan's own peace and development process; the Southern Sudanese government was misguided to hand over the task of fighting the LRA to Ugandans, and was hurting its own citizens in the process.<sup>127</sup>

Local mistrust of the new Southern Sudanese government was manifest. Residents of Eastern Equatoria said that the Southern Sudanese government was not concerned about their security; they also doubted the strength of an SPLA that needed a foreign army as backup. "The SPLA seems to be weak because they have done nothing to chase away the UPDF, but instead they stay together," said a young man from Owiny-Kibul.<sup>128</sup> Rather than viewing the UPDF presence as strengthening the SPLA's capacity to protect them, for those in the affected counties it was an additional hostile force: "LRA and UPDF are the responsibility of Southern Sudan since they are both in Southern Sudan. It is [up to] the Southern Sudanese government to remove them from Southern Sudan," explained one man.<sup>129</sup>

The civilian experience in Eastern Equatoria has shown that, as Kaldor and Beebe argue, unless war activity prioritises the protection of the individual, it is likely to escalate the very violence it aims to prevent.<sup>130</sup> This might be the main reason why violence against civilians persists in this volatile region. Kaldor and Beebe identify an

"overly militarized perspective" and a "continued preoccupation with fighting wars and attacking enemies that hampers change".<sup>131</sup> The UPDF in Sudan seemed to prove that war cannot end by countering it with more war and atrocities. A youth group in Owiny-Kibul outlined their fear that the "long presence of UPDF in Southern Sudan may likely plunge [the Ugandan and Southern Sudanese govern- ments] into war and that the government of Southern Sudan should be very careful with issue of the UPDF presence in the Sudan".<sup>132</sup> Residents wondered whether it was really the president of Uganda, rather than the Southern Sudanese government, who had the last word on UPDF deployment in Sudan.<sup>133</sup> Such experiences fuelled the affected communities' doubts about the strength of the Southern Sudanese government.

A side effect of the incident with the UPDF convoy accompanying journal- ists and diplomats to the LRA assembly area in 2006 was that after the failed assembly - and with some fingers pointing at the SPLA, which had not dispatched sufficient protection forces to the area in time - the SPLA presence in Magwi County increased dramatically. Owiny-Kibul was turned into an SPLA training centre. In April 2007, when reportedly only remnants of LRA were left in the state, Magwi County Commissioner Emilio Igga during a meeting in Kapoeta outlined his two major concerns about the situation in his county. After the impasse in the Juba Talks between December 2006 and April 2007, and a surge of LRA violence in the state in the first few months of 2007, relations within

the community had further deteriorated, as those who had supported the assembly as a way to bring peace were now accused of destabilising the area. But, he added, the suggested solution had made things even worse: as more SPLA were deployed in the area to contain the violence, the locals' resentment of the SPLA had come to the fore, and the SPLA treated locals with no respect. Abuses were regularly reported. In fact, he concluded, the SPLA presence created more problems than it solved and peace remained elusive.<sup>134</sup>

#### International support and continued militarisation

When in 2006, the LRA/M and the Government of Uganda gathered in Juba to start peace talks, the presence of international agencies and foreign governments was important for the LRA. From their perspective, the peace talks gained legitimacy from the growing international acknowledgment that, although the LRA had perpetrated the most visible and brutal atrocities, the UPDF had also been a perpetrator, herding people into camps, imposing structural violence on northern Ugandan civilians, and committing atrocities against civilians in Uganda and Sudan.<sup>135</sup> For the LRA/M, the hope of the Juba Talks lay initially in reaching an understanding that both sides had to be called to account in one way or another. Yet as progress at the table remained slow and the LRA/M was held responsible for the delays, UPDF atrocities moved out of focus. Instead, talk about increasing military pressure on the LRA to move the Juba Talks to a conclusion, grew louder.

#### Calling for a military intervention

Public support to exert military leverage on the LRA to sign a peace deal came primarily from international organisations.<sup>136</sup> Simultaneously, US government representatives, attending the Juba Talks as observers, nurtured a military partnership with the UPDF that had been existent since the 1990s. International observers to the Juba Talks have cited this relationship as the second most damaging element to the Juba Talks. US support for the UPDF was already strong in the late 1990s and has steadily increased since 9/11. Having put the LRA on the terrorist list earlier, the US declared Kony a "Specially Designated Global Terrorist" under Executive order

13224 on August 28, 2008.<sup>137</sup> The War on Terror had brought the US and the UPDF even closer together, with the UPDF deploying to fight Al-Shabbab and Al Qaeda in Somalia and with the terrorist designation paving the way for US intervention against the LRA. With Operation Lightning Thunder billed as a humanitarian intervention citing human rights abuses committed by the LRA - in line with current trends to base a military intervention on a rights framework rather than a legal one, as Mamdani argues<sup>138</sup> - citizens have been left exposed. Even Human Rights Watch, a proponent of military pressure on the LRA, noted that the US-supported military intervention was a failure and had caused the spread of the LRA, putting civilians at risk: "The current strategy of supporting Ugandan army operations is clearly not working," a press release stated.<sup>139</sup>

As low-key military engagement by the Ugandan forces continued in South

Sudan, DRC and the CAR from 2008 onward, the call for vigorous US military engagement became a constant campaign feature of a range of international advocacy groups. Invisible Children's tremendously successful March 2012 video campaign "Kony2012" was aimed solely at continuing US support to the Ugandan troops. By March 15, the viral video campaign had raised an average donation amount of US\$23 million from the 1.7 million visitors to the Invisible Children donation page.<sup>140</sup> Occasionally, local voices were heard. In a December 2010 letter to President Obama, 34 civil society organisations from DRC, CAR and Southern Sudan urged an implementation of the LRA strategy. This strategy to support the disarmament of the LRA, building on US legislation that had been passed after intense lobbying from advocacy groups, had been announced by the White House on 24 November 2010.<sup>141</sup> Reminding the President of the suffering and deaths caused through LRA attacks, the appeal stressed the hardship of life under displacement – most of which, it must be noted, had happened since the military intervention. The main emphasis of the letter however was on the importance to provide civilian protection, which, they pointed out, the UN was not providing.

Human Rights Watch argued for US military engagement on the basis that none of the local national armies have the capacity to obliterate the LRA. The organisation did not explicitly dismiss a role for the UPDF, despite having documented the army's abuses against civilians for years and earlier stating that support for the Ugandan army was not working. The Guardian described the implication that the US should send troops to Central Africa as

distinctly chilling coming from the head of the world's most influential human rights organisation. If it's OK to send in a special forces hit squad to take out Kony, why not also take out all the other, in some cases equally vicious, rebel groups in Central Africa? Why not, even, put the whole continent under US military command?<sup>142</sup>

Between December 2008 and November 2010, the US provided the UPDF with logistical and intelligence support worth more than US\$23 million.<sup>143</sup>

### Regurgitating fallacious strategies

The implications of continued US support for Ugandan military activities are grave: through their mutually beneficial relationship, the US and the UPDF are maintaining the very methods, alliances and military action that have a decade-long history of failure to bring peace to the region, but have instead disastrously affected civilians. Kaldor argues that in situations in which war actors work in a mutual enterprise, "international policy must aim to damp down violence rather than support one side or another or even find a compromise between the sides."<sup>144</sup> Instead incidents involving the UPDF in its fight against the LRA tended to be reported as isolated – loudly rebuffed by the UPDF, at times pointing out its international importance in the war on terror – rather than as a manifestation of how the UPDF functions. The Ugandan army garnered international support, despite the evidence that the UPDF's interpretation and

management of civilian-military relations includes abuse and resource exploitation. A prominent example of this is the 2010 UN report on human rights abuses during the Congolese civil war, which implicated the UPDF as perpetrators of atrocities.<sup>145</sup> The UPDF countered any criticism of its actions by threatening to withdraw its support for the Somalia mission.<sup>146</sup>

US thinking about a military strategy and about the role of the UPDF stayed within parameters that are devastating for civilians who continue to live in increasingly militarised environments. In the White House strategy to support the disarmament of the LRA, a broader understanding of the militarised environment and the way this war had been fought was noticeably absent. The strategy speculates, "Any reduction in military or diplomatic pressure, or the provision of safe haven by any state or non-state actor, could enable the LRA to regroup and rebuild its forces."<sup>147</sup> In reality, the LRA had been managing for more than 20 years to continually rebuild its forces, particularly when under military pressure, yet its numbers had dwindled by the time the strategy was released. Further down, the strategy spells out the tragic consequences of the US assumption that military pressure is the only way to contain the LRA: "The LRA has often responded to military pressure by retaliating against vulnerable communities."<sup>148</sup> Brutal massacres of hundreds of civilians in DRC at Christmas 2008, committed shortly after Operation Lightning Thunder was launched with no protection provisions in place, prove this point.<sup>149</sup> Yet the strategy suggests no alternative approach to resolving a crisis that had been ongoing for decades. Drawing conclusions from an LRA expert meeting Hemmer asks "whether a continuation of current military activities is acceptable when the safety of the population inhabiting the area cannot be guaranteed, particularly given the extensive timeframe and low success rate of these activities thus far".<sup>150</sup> Although this question focuses on the viability of Operation Lightning Thunder, it becomes even more pertinent in relation to the length of time the UPDF has been present in Sudan and the impact this presence has had on civilians over many years.

There was a certain irony in the comment of UPDF spokesman Lt Col. Felix Kulaigye who, responding to the publication of the Obama strategy with its strong military emphasis, told the newspaper *The East African* "military action should have come way back in 2003 (at the peak of LRA brutality). Many lives would have been saved in Sudan, DR Congo and Uganda."<sup>151</sup> It was unclear what he thought the UPDF had been doing in Sudan all these years. The comment might be simply distasteful, yet it points to the greater problem of how perceptions, beliefs and military power intersect to create civilian victims. The UPDF has for years been criticised for fighting the LRA as if it was fighting a conventional enemy. Having persistently and unsuccessfully pursued the LRA in Uganda with military tactics more suited to frontline battle than to fighting an insurgency in difficult territory, the UPDF then exported the same inappropriate tactics to Sudan.<sup>152</sup> While the LRA had existed successfully as a mobile force for decades, and had shown great creativity in reinventing itself in the face of a string of armed opponents through forced recruitment, violence against civilians and shifting locations, conventional military thinking had been dominated by

outdated notions of war. "For an operation to cripple LRA's ability to make war, it must establish the rebel army's centre of gravity," the Ugandan newspaper *The Independent* quotes a UPDF general's assessment of Operation Lightning Thunder.

In military terms, a centre of gravity is that object which, when destroyed, would bring other elements of enemy strength to collapse and therefore render the ability of the enemy to make war futile. In the case of the LRA, the person of Kony is the central fulcrum around which the functioning of the LRA rotates; you kill him and LRA would collapse. In this case, Kony is to LRA what Jonas Savimbi was to UNITA in Angola.<sup>153</sup>

Such thinking prevailed, even when it became clear that the strength of the LRA lay in independently operating small units and that Kony's central grip on his forces might have been weakened without diminishing the LRA's lethal impact.<sup>154</sup>

The UPDF's continued presence points to a larger issue as the failure to protect the citizens of Eastern Equatoria was also the international community's: UPDF abuses had been reported in Uganda for years. Sudan's and Uganda's inability to protect their own citizens was seemingly not taken into account, and all of the regional governments involved - Kampala, Khartoum and later Juba - failed to take decisive action against this militarisation by a foreign government's army. US military support prevailed.

## Conclusion

Being caught between several armed groups has been devastating for civilians in South Sudan. However, hostilities by the LRA and the UPDF have been particularly confusing for local residents: it was unclear why a foreign rebel group turned against Sudanese civilians, and even less comprehensible how a foreign state force was seemingly allowed to do the same. The continuing disregard and outright abuse of civilians by a foreign army, with none of the benefits of an end to the rebel insurgency they have come to fight, poses broad questions about the damaging effect of the recycling of military beliefs and methods. In light of the fact that the UPDF has been able to act for long stretches of time with US support, international conventions regarding civilian protection cannot be simply dismissed and abuses by the UPDF cannot be seen as accidents. Rather, they show that atrocities against civilians and lack of transparency are part of how the UPDF functions. Further, international actors, namely the US, do not prioritise addressing these issues. In a complex conflict situation, bringing in yet another force with little control over its behaviour merely entrenches the conflict and exposes civilians, as this case study shows. This is, however, a lesson that remains to be learned in international thinking about seemingly localised conflicts, particularly those that draw huge, if superficial, international interest through advocacy campaigns. In the meantime, life in a peaceful environment remains elusive for civilians.

## Notes

1. The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, "Letter from the President to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President Pro Tempore of the Senate regarding the Lord's Resistance Army," Washington, DC, October 14, 2011.
2. Invisible Children, "Kony2012", videocampaign, released March 5, 2012.
3. Butagira, "Seven Questions."
4. Findings have been published in Schomerus, *Perilous Border*, Schomerus, *The Lord's Resistance Army in Sudan* and Schomerus, *Violent Legacies*, as well as Schomerus and Tumutegyereize, *After Operation Lightning Thunder*.
5. Author interview with storekeeper, Owiny-Kibul, November 23, 2006.
6. For a more detailed history of the LRA in Sudan and connections to other armed groups, see Schomerus, *The Lord's Resistance Army in Sudan* and Schomerus, *Violent Legacies*. Johnson describes how first contacts between the LRA, William Nyuon Bany and the EDF, created the LRA-Khartoum collaboration. Johnson, *The Root Causes*, 100, 113.
7. Assistant interview with male resident, Palotaka, June 16, 2008.
8. Allen, "Full Circle?"
9. Personal email from Charles Kisanga, EDF Secretary General until 2005, February 14, 2008.
10. See Prunier, "Rebel Movements and Proxy Warfare."
11. Author (with translator) interview with former SAF soldier, Port Sudan, January 19, 2011.
12. Residents of Owiny-Kibul recalled that LRA killed four people in the area in 1994, after having been in the area peacefully for a few years. At the time the killing came as a surprise.
13. Author interview with international security adviser, Juba, November 7, 2006.
14. Author notes at community meetings, Pajok, Owiny-Kibul, December 7, 2006.
15. Author interview with international security expert, Juba, February 1, 2008.
16. Author interview with resident, Owiny-Kibul, November 23, 2006.
17. *Ibid.*
18. Author interview with Chairman of Acholi Community, Juba, November 8, 2006.
19. Author (with translator) interview with former SAF soldier, Port Sudan, January 19, 2011
20. The team sought places that had suffered LRA attacks, so the high number of attacks is predetermined. Often residents have conflicting memories about attacks on their villages; after decades of war it is impossible to trace exactly which armed group did what. The data is thus best viewed as an indication of the scale of the war experience.
21. Three Sudanese researchers and myself conducted the interviews. Some interviewees took the word "family" to mean their nuclear family; others also referred to uncles or cousins. While the number of Sudanese abducted by the LRA is unknown, these figures are not a reliable indication that LRA abduction of Sudanese in Sudan was more widespread than assumed. Many of the respondents mixed up abductions that had happened in Uganda and Sudan.
22. On July 14, 1996, the LRA killed 106 Sudanese refugees in Uganda's Achol-Pii camp. The attack exposed a fundamental failure to protect refugees. Bagenda and Hovil, "Sudanese Refugees in Northern Uganda."
23. Governments of Sudan and Uganda, "Nairobi Agreement."
24. Hasunira and Solomon, "The new Museveni-Bashir Pact?"
25. Author notes of conversations with LRA members, Juba, December 2006.
26. Author (with translator) interview with former SAF soldier Port Sudan, January 19, 2011.
27. Author interview with SPLA officer, Owiny-Kibul, November 23, 2006.
28. Author interview with former SPLA soldier, Bentiu, January 22, 2011; "Major SPLA

- Offensive in Southern Sudan,” Sudan News & Views, no. 25, March 1997.
29. Rodriguez, “The Northern Uganda War,” p. 81.
  30. Lomo, “The International Criminal Court Investigations”; Refugee Law Project, “What About Us? The exclusion of urban IDPs from Uganda’s IDP related policies and interventions.” Briefing paper, December 2007.
  31. Author interview with boma administrator and health worker, Palotaka, November 26, 2006.
  32. Author interview with Dr Julia Dvany, Undersecretary Parliamentary Affairs, Government of Southern Sudan, Juba, October 15, 2006.
  33. Discussion youth group, Nimule, December 11, 2006.
  34. Marks, Border in Name Only.
  35. Ibid.
  36. Author interview with Riek Machar, Vice-President of the Government of Southern Sudan, Maridi, June 13, 2006.
  37. On the Juba Talks, see Drew, Initiatives.
  38. Government of the Republic of Uganda and Lord’s Resistance Army/Movement, “Cessation of Hostilities.”
  39. Author interview with Vincent Otti, Second-in-Command of the LRA, Ri-Kwangba, September 22, 2006.
  40. Author interview with UN security, Juba, December 15, 2006.
  41. Author notes on Joseph Kony’s speech to UN staff, mediation team and Acholi legal advisors, Ri-Kwangba, December 12, 2006.
  42. Author interview with local journalist, Juba, January 31, 2008.
  43. Author interview with Lt.Col. Matthias Dot Maluk, SPLA Base Commander, Magwi, February 7, 2008.
  44. A comprehensive assessment of OLT and the impact on civilians is in Atkinson, From Uganda to the Congo and beyond and Schomerus and Tumutegereize, After Operation Lightning Thunder.
  45. Espeland and Petersen, “The Ugandan Army and its War in the North.”
  46. The UPDF’s conduct in Uganda and DRC is widely documented by researchers and human rights agencies. See for example Dolan, Social Torture; Finnstroem, Living with bad surroundings; amnesty international, Uganda: The Failure to Safeguard Human Rights, Galletti and Rone, “North Crisis Worsened by UPDF”; Mawson, Breaking the Circle, Human Rights Watch, Army and Rebels Commit Atrocities in the North and Uprooted and Forgotten.

A telling case about the murky security and justice environment in which the UPDF moves is what the Ugandan High Court called a “blatant case of extrajudicial killing” involving a senior UPDF commander. See the cable from the US Embassy in Kampala

“Embassy Cable: Subject: Uganda: Additional information on 2002 Gulu prison incident/ Confidential Kampala 001399,” Kampala, December 17, 2009. PGOV SIPDIS;

EO 12958 DECL: 2019/12/17; TAGS PHUM, UG; REF: STATE 112641;

CLASSIFIED BY: Aaron Sampson, Pol/Econ Chief, State, Pol/Econ; REASON: 1.4(B), (D).

47. Author interview with chairman of the Acholi community, Juba, November 8, 2006. At the time of the accusation, Awet Akot was based with the SPLA in Torit as one of the SPLA's high commanders, and had been promoted to General when the SPLA introduced formal ranks.
48. Vuni, "Sudan's Greater Equatoria Conference."
49. Author interview with man in market, Obbo, October 3, 2006.
50. Author interview with UN security, Juba, September 8, 2006.
51. Matsiko et al., "Kony Orders Rebels."
52. Author notes of first trip of the CHMT, Owiny-Kibul, October 2, 2006.
53. Author interview with leader of women's collective, Juba, June 28, 2006.
54. Author interview with international security adviser, Juba, November 7, 2006.
55. Author interview with parish priest of Palotaka and Acholi corridors, Juba, November 7, 2006.
56. See for example Mwenda, "Uganda's Politics of Foreign Aid and Violent Conflict."
57. Discussion with agricultural workers, Ikotos, June 16, 2008.
58. Discussion with leaders from Eastern and Central Equatoria attending a workshop at Totto Chan, Juba, March 3, 2009.
59. Author interview with parish priest of Palotaka and Acholi corridors, Juba, November 7, 2006.
60. Discussion with youth group, Owiny-Kibul, December 10, 2006.
61. Author interview with Dr Julia Dvany, Undersecretary Parliamentary Affairs, Government of Southern Sudan, Juba, October 15, 2006.
62. Author interview with Sudanese journalist, Juba, January 31, 2008.
63. Author interview with female government worker, Magwi, June 13, 2008.
64. Author interview with Betty Acan Ogwaro, MP Magwi County Southern Sudan Legislative Assembly, Juba, June 9, 2006.
65. Author interview with Dr Julia Dvany, Undersecretary Parliamentary Affairs, Government of Southern Sudan, Juba, October 15, 2006.
66. Discussion (with translator) with Congolese refugee camp leaders, Makpandu refugee camp, February 24, 2009.
67. JIOC, "Dungu Assessment."
68. Author notes (translation from French) of meeting with civil society leaders from DRC and CAR, Nairobi, January 18, 2012.
69. Ibid. For a more detailed explanation about the relationship between the US and the UPDF's presence in Somalia see Schomerus, Allen and Vlassenroot, "Obama Takes on the LRA."
70. Author interview with international security expert, Juba, November 7, 2006.
71. Kaldor, "Inconclusive Wars."
72. Branch, *Displacing Human Rights*, 80.
73. Author interview with member of the peace committee, Imatong, June 18, 2008.
74. Author interview with Julius Moilinga, MP Eastern Equatoria State Assembly, Juba, November 8, 2006.
75. Author interview with UPDF Colonel, Juba, December 13, 2006.
76. Author interview with chairman of the Acholi community, Juba, November 8, 2006.
77. Ochan, *Responding to Violence*.
78. The first-born twin would be named Opio.
79. Author interview with resident, Owiny-Kibul, November 24, 2006.
80. Kabonero, "No Genocide in Uganda."
81. "South Sudan, Ugandan Says Sudanese Army Created a New LRA," *Sunday Monitor*, November 6, 2006.
82. Research assistant interview with executive chief, Pajok, June 16, 2008.

83. The people of Acholi/Madi/Southern Bari/Lotuho/Lokoya/Lulubo, "Reconciliation [sic] with the Ugandans," Juba/ Ri-Kwangba, July 2006.
84. Ibid.
85. Author interview with resident, Owiny-Kibul, November 23, 2006.
86. Author interview with religious leader, Ikotos, June 15, 2008.
87. Author interview with leader of women's self help cooperative, Juba, February 12, 2008.
88. Author interview with female government worker, Magwi, June 13, 2008.
89. Author interview with international security expert, Juba, February 1, 2008.
90. Author interview with chief of Aru who stayed during the war at Aru Junction, June 11, 2008.
91. Author interview with international security expert, Nabanga, April 13, 2008.
92. Group discussion with elders, chiefs and administrators in Magwi Town, June 13, 2008.
93. Ochan, Responding to Violence.
94. CHMT, "Verification Report on Armed Group Activities at Pageri Payam."
95. Musaka, "UPDF Not Behind Attack."
96. Dak, "Ugandan Army Implicated."
97. Author interview with UPDF officer, Juba, December 13, 2006.
98. Author interview with resident, Owiny-Kibul, November 23, 2006.
99. Discussion with youth group, Owiny-Kibul, December 10, 2006.
100. Author interview with boma administrator and health worker, Palotaka, November 26, 2006.
101. Author notes of community meeting, Owiny-Kibul, November 28, 2006.
102. See the original report: Schomerus, *The Lord's Resistance Army in Sudan. An example of press coverage is Nyakairu, "Army Looted Sudan Timber."*
103. Author interview with UPDF officer, Juba, December 13, 2006.
104. Embassy of the Republic of Uganda in Khartoum, "UPDF Does Not Loot."
105. ICJ, "Case Concerning Armed Activities on the Territory of the Congo."
106. Author interview with chief, Owiny-Kibul, November 23, 2006.
107. Author interview with member of peace committee, Imatong, June 18, 2008.
108. Author interview with food security consultant, Juba, January 25, 2008.
109. Ochan, Responding to Violence.
110. Author interview with Sudanese information liaison officer, Juba, January 31, 2008.
111. Olweny, "First Position Paper of the LRA Peace Delegation."
112. Author notes of first field mission CHMT to Palotaka and Pajok, October 3, 2006.
113. Author notes, Owiny-Kibul, December, 2006.
114. Discussion with youth group, Owiny-Kibul, December 10, 2006.
115. Kleiboer, "Understanding Success and Failure of International Mediation," 371.
116. Author discussion with international member of mediation team, Juba, April 19, 2007.
117. Author notes of community meetings in Pajok, Owiny-Kibul, December 7, 2006.
118. Discussion youth group, Owiny-Kibul, December 10, 2006.
119. Author interview with chief, Owiny-Kibul, November 23, 2006.
120. Research assistant interview with male resident, Pajok, June 17, 2008.
121. Discussion with youth group, Owiny-Kibul, December 10, 2006.
122. Author notes of community meetings, Pajok, Owiny-Kibul, December 7, 2006.
123. Discussion with youth group, Nimule, December 11, 2006.
124. Author notes of community meeting, Owiny-Kibul, November 28, 2006.
125. Discussion with youth group, Owiny-Kibul, December 10, 2006.
126. Branch and Mampilly, "Winning the War, but Losing the Peace?"
127. Abacha, "No to Ugandan army in the Southern Sudan."
128. Discussion with youth group, Owiny-Kibul, December 10, 2006.
129. Author notes of community meetings, Pajok, Owiny-Kibul, December 7, 2006.
130. Kaldor and Beebe, *The Ultimate Weapon*.
131. Ibid., 2061-4.
132. Discussion with youth group, Owiny-Kibul, December 10, 2006.

133. In 2010 Brigadier Otema Awany, a heavily implicated officer of the UPDF, interpreted the UPDF's mandate solely in terms of its success in finding Kony. This added to the uncertainty about who was in charge. Labeja, "UPDF to Continue Pursuing Kony."
134. Personal email from Sudanese national working for INGO, Kapoeta, May 11, 2007.
135. On the impact of structural violence in northern Uganda, see Finnstrom, *Living with Bad Surroundings* and Dolan, *Social Torture*; author notes on Juba Talks, July–December 2006.
136. For mixed signals of the international community see Schomerus, "International Involvement and Incentives."
137. US Department of the Treasury, Office of Foreign Assets Control, "What you need to know about Sanctions: Executive Order 13224 blocking Terrorist Property and a summary of the Terrorism Sanctions Regulations (Title 31 Part 595 of the U.S. Code of Federal Regulations), Terrorism List Governments Sanctions Regulations (Title 31 Part 596 of the U.S. Code of Federal Regulations), and Foreign Terrorist Organizations Sanctions Regulations (Title 31 Part 597 of the U.S. Code of Federal Regulations)", Washington, D.C: not dated. US Committee on Foreign Affairs. "Strategy to Support the Disarmament of the Lord's Resistance Army," 6.
138. Mamdani, *Saviors and Survivors*, 274, 82.
139. Kavanagh, "Uganda Is Losing U.S.-Backed Fight Against LRA Rebels."
140. Press release: Ellecom, "Fundraising Metrics from Kony2012/ StayClassy", March 15, 2012. The campaign drew sharp criticism, particularly for its oversight of the regional perspective. See, for examples, Rosebell Kagumire "Kony2012: My response to Invisible Children's campaign", March 8, 2012; Mareike Schomerus, Tim Allen and Koen Vlassenroot, "Kony 2012 and the Prospect for Change: Examining the Viral Campaign", *Foreign Affairs*, March 13, 2012; Mahmoom Mamdani, "The downside of the Kony2012 video", *Pambazuka News*, March 13, 2012.
141. US Committee on Foreign Affairs. "Strategy to Support the Disarmament of the Lord's Resistance Army."
142. Young, "How Do you Solve a Problem Like Joseph Kony?"
143. US Committee on Foreign Affairs. "Strategy to Support the Disarmament of the Lord's Resistance Army," 6.
144. Kaldor, "Inconclusive Wars," 271.
145. United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner. Democratic Republic of the Congo, 1993–2003. Report of the Mapping Exercise.
146. AFP, "UN Report Jeopardises Uganda Role in Peace Missions."
147. US Committee on Foreign Affairs, "Strategy to Support the Disarmament of the Lord's Resistance Army."
148. *Ibid.*
149. See Human Rights Watch, *The Christmas Massacres*.
150. Hemmer, *Expert Meeting Report*. I was one of the speakers at this meeting.
151. Abdallah, "US Pushing for New Law against LRA."
152. Kaldor and Beebe argue that US military interventions have been hampered by the US military's belief in its own power narrative. Kaldor and Beebe, *The Ultimate Weapon*, 748–54.
153. Mwenda, "Seven UPDF Generals Criticise Kony Attack."
154. Cakaj, *The Lord's Resistance Army of Today*.

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