

ENDNOTES

1. These are the Uganda People's Democratic Army, Uganda People's Army, Holy Spirit Movement, Uganda National Rescue Fronts I and II, Allied Democratic Forces, Lord's Resistance Army, People's Redemption Army, Ugandan National Democratic Alliance, Uganda National Liberation Army, Severino Lukoya's Lord's Army, Uganda Christian Democratic Army, West Nile Bank Front and the rebellion of Dan Opiro in Apac.
2. The northern Uganda conflict began with the UNLA and UPDA in 1986, but Kony founded what later became known as the LRA in November 1987. Thus, the northern conflict is in its eighteenth year, but the LRA is 17 years old.
3. World Food Programme Emergency Report No 4 of 2004. Available at www.reliefweb.int
4. Museveni is an ethnic Munyankole (from the Banyankole group) from western Uganda and Okello was an ethnic Acholi from the north.
5. Interviews with numerous people in Gulu, Kitgum and Soroti.
6. The agreement was a power-sharing deal concluded in Nairobi in December 1985 between Tito Okello and Yoweri Museveni.
7. H Behrend, *Alice Lakwena and the holy spirits*, Fountain Publishers, Kampala, 1999; R Gersony, *The anguish of Northern Uganda: Results of a field-based assessment of the civil conflicts in Northern Uganda*, submitted to the US Embassy, Kampala and USAID mission, Kampala, August 1997, <www.usaid.gov/regions/afr/conflictweb/reports/gersony/gersony_uganda.pdf>; R Doom & K Vlassenroot, *Kony's message: A New Koine? The Lord's Resistance Army in Northern Uganda*. *African Affairs*, 98, 1999) pp 5–36.
8. C C M Lamwaka, *Civil war and the peace process in Uganda, 1986–1997*, *East African Journal of Peace and Human Rights* 4(2), 1998, p. 155.
9. Doom & Vlassenroot, *op cit*, pp 16–7.
10. Behrend, *op cit*; HURIPPEC, *The hidden war: The forgotten people*, Makerere University Faculty of Law, Liu Institute for Global Issues, 2003; Doom & Vlassenroot, *op cit*, pp 16–8.

11. Interview with opinion leader, Gulu, 5 October 2003; interview with opinion leader, Soroti, 5 November 2003.
12. Gersony, op cit, p 25; HURIPEC, op cit..
13. See also, Gersony, op cit, who outlines ten main root causes; HURIPEC, op cit, which focuses on ethnic violence; R R Okumu, Analytical proposal for peace in Northern Uganda, unpublished paper, 2003, who emphasises “prejudice and discrimination against the Acholi”.
14. Doom & Vlassenroot, op cit, p 19.
15. Behrend, op cit, pp 179–80.
16. These 18 politicians were accused of being rebel collaborators after raising concerns about the nature of the operation. All were acquitted after two years in prison, however, as the government did not have any hard evidence against them. See Gersony, op cit, pp 31–32.
17. Bigombe is an Acholi from the north.
18. For more information, see B Afako, Lessons from past peace initiatives, monograph commissioned by the Civil Society Organisations for Peace in Northern Uganda, 2002.
19. In fact, following the 11 September terrorist attacks in the United States, the LRA was included on the U.S. ‘Terrorist Exclusion List’.
20. Gersony, op cit, pp 9–16.
21. HURIPEC, op cit, pp 24–31.
22. For a chronological catalogue of human rights violations by each regime since 1962, see *Pamphlet summary of report of Commission of Inquiry into violations of human rights*, 1988.
23. Gersony, op cit.
24. Interview with religious leader, Gulu, 15/9/03.
25. Gersony, op cit, p 21–3. The most recent report on the conflict reported that the violations were in fact carried out by the NRA itself, though it was impossible for RLP to verify the accuracy of these historical events. FEDEMU was absorbed into the NRA after the overthrow of Tito Okello (HURIPEC, op cit, p 34).
26. See Gersony, op cit, p 7.
27. Interview with religious leader, Gulu, 1/10/03.
28. Interview with opinion leader, Gulu, 5/10/03.
29. Interview with elder in Kitgum, 16/10/03.

30. HUR�PEC, op cit.
31. Interview with teacher, Gulu, 6/10/03.
32. Interview with former UPA commander, Soroti, 07/11/03.
33. Group discussion with 20 women IDPs from Soroti and Katakwi districts, Soroti, 7/11/03.
34. Interviews with opinion leader and two local councillors in Luwero, 29/10/03.
35. Interview with a driver, Luwero, 29/10/03.
36. Interview with local council politician, Luwero, 29/10/03.
37. Gersony, op cit.
38. Interview with religious leader, Gulu, 7/10/03.
39. Interview with former senior government official, Kampala, 5/12/03.
40. J Barber, *Imperial frontier*, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1968, chs 10–11, cited in HUR�PEC, op cit, p 19.
41. HUR�PEC, op cit, pp: 19–20; Doom & Vlassenroot, op cit, pp 7–8.
42. Interview with local politician, Soroti, 7/11/03.
43. Interview with Yoweri Museveni, *Drum Magazine* (East), October 1985, p 9.
44. Interview with former senior government official, Kampala, 5/12/03.
45. Interview with religious leader, Gulu, 7/10/03.
46. Interview with businesswoman, Gulu, 18/12/03.
47. Interview with NGO worker, Kitgum, 10/10/03.
48. Interview with businessman, Kitgum, 14/10/03.
49. Interview with displaced teacher, Soroti, 8/11/03.
50. Interview with teacher, Luwero, 29/10/03.
51. Interview with displaced teacher, Soroti, 8/11/03.
52. IRIN Web Special on the War in Northern Uganda, <www.irinnews.org/web-specials/uga_crisis/>. This is based on UN estimates.
53. Interview with local government official, Gulu, 7/10/03; interview with senior government official, Kampala, 4/12/03.
54. It does not possess tanks, helicopters, artillery or other heavy weaponry that insurgencies such as UNITA in Angola used to receive.
55. BBC News online, 2 November 2000, <news.bbc.co.uk>.

56. GUSCO, My life as a child soldier. *The Child Trumpet* 2(Jan–March),2003, p 7. See also Doom & Vlassenroot, op cit, 20.
57. Confidential interview, Gulu, 17/12/03.
58. Behrend, op cit, p 179. A Lukermoi, The effects of the Holy Spirit movement on the Christian Church, MA Thesis, Department of Theology, Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda, 1990, p 49.
59. Behrend, op cit, p 180.
60. Ibid., pp 181, 187.
61. She also later sent him a letter to stop fighting in mid-1987. Behrend, op cit, p 86.
62. Interview with Acholi elder, Kitgum, 15/10/03.
63. There are notable exceptions to this, however, including the 1988 raid on Lacore Hospital and Sacred Heart School near Gulu. See Behrend, op cit, p 180.
64. Gersony, op cit, p 44; GUSCO, op cit, p 8; W Weeks, Pushing the envelope: Moving beyond protected villages in Northern Uganda, submitted to UN-OCHA, New York, 2002, p 9.
65. Focus group discussion with ten boys, Gulu, 6/10/03.
66. E Rubin, Our children are killing us, *The New Yorker*, 23 March 1998, p 61.
67. BBC, op cit.
68. Interview with ex-rebel boy combatant, Kitgum, 1/10/03.
69. For example, interview with opinion leader, Gulu, 7/10/03.
70. For example, group discussion with 18 school teachers, Gulu, 5 October 2003; group discussion with 12 secondary school children, Gulu, 6 October 2003.
71. Interview with northern politician, 3/12/03.
72. Focus group discussion with eleven ex-combatants, Gulu, 6/10/03.
73. Interview with ex-combatant, Soroti, 5/11/03.
74. For example, focus group discussion with five ex-combatants in KICWA, Kitgum, 14/10/03; focus group discussion in Palenga IDP camp, Gulu, 8/10/03.
75. Interview with escaped abductee, Gulu town, 6/10/03
76. Interview with senior government official, Kampala, 5/12/03.
77. LRA press release from 2003 obtained by RLP.
78. Interview with senior government official, Kampala, 5/12/03.

79. Ibid; see also J A Obita, *The first international peace efforts, 1996–8, in Protracted conflict, elusive peace: Initiatives to end the violence in northern Uganda*, Accord Series No. 11, Conciliation Resources, London, 2002, www.c-r.org/accord/uganda/accord11/
80. Interview with local government official, Lira, 11/11/03.
81. Mackinlay, 2003.
82. For instance, during the early days of the rebellion in 1988, Kony recruited ex-UPDM political organiser Otunu Lukonyomoi into the group. According to a former HSM member, Lukonyomoi “gained many followers because he tirelessly criticised his own people’s failings and combated every form of hypocrisy. He also spoke repeatedly against killing civilians.” Lukonyomoi’s popularity led to rivalry between him and Kony, and he died under mysterious circumstances later that year. Behrend, *op cit*, pp 181–182.
83. Kilama allegedly died in mysterious circumstances in the early 1990s. Focus group discussion in Palenga IDP camp, Gulu, 8/10/03.
84. Interview with senior government official, Kampala, 4/12/03.
85. Focus group discussion with ex-combatants at Concerned Parents Association Reception Centre, Kitgum, 11/10/03.
86. Testimony of a junior LRA commander in documented conversation with religious leaders in 2002.
87. Interview with UPDF commander, 2/10/03.
88. Focus group discussion with ex-combatants at Concerned Parents’ Association Reception Centre, Kitgum, 11/10/03.
89. Interview with ex-junior commander, Kitgum, 10/10/03.
90. Confidential interview, 17 September 2003; confidential interview, Kampala, 4/10/03.
91. Interview with senior government official, 5/12/03. Kony is reported to have between 30 and 100 wives. IRIN Web Special on the Crisis in Northern Uganda, *op cit*.
92. Interview with senior independent analyst, Kampala, 5/12/03.
93. Interview with UPDF commander, 2/10/03.
94. Interviews with senior government officials, Kampala, 3–6/12/03.
95. Interview with high-ranking ex-combatant, Gulu, 7/10/03.
96. Interview with international official, Kampala, 4/10/03; interview with senior government official, Kampala, 4/12/03.

97. Interview with senior government official, Kampala, 6/12/03.
98. Interview with international NGO representative, Kampala, 6/12/03.
99. Interview with ex-junior commander, Kitgum, 10/10/03.
100. Interview with senior government official, Kampala, 6/10/03.
101. Interview with NGO worker, Lira, 13/11/03.
102. Interview with ex-combatant, Soroti, 5/11/03.
103. Interview with two ex-combatants, Soroti, 5/11/03.
104. Interview with escaped abductee, Gulu, 6/10/03.
105. Interview with ex-combatant, Gulu, 6/10/03.
106. W Weeks, *Pushing the envelope: moving beyond protected villages in Northern Uganda*, submitted to UN-OCHA, New York, March 2002, p 11.
107. Interview with opinion leader, Gulu, 7/10/03.
108. Interview with senior government official, Kampala, 4/12/03.
109. See para. 27 of "Machel Report", otherwise known as "The Impact of Armed Conflict on Children", A/51/306, UN Department of Information, New York, 1996.
110. Interview with ex-junior commander, Kitgum, 10/10/03.
111. Interview with NGO worker, Gulu, 16/9/03.
112. Interview with ex-UPA rebel commander, Soroti, 4/11/03.
113. Interview with ex-abductee, Soroti, 5/11/03.
114. Focus group discussion with six ex-combatants, Kitgum, 11/10/03.
115. Focus group discussion with eleven ex-combatant girls, Gulu, 6/10/03.
116. Interview with ex-rebel, Gulu, 7/10/03.
117. Interview with ex-abductee, Gulu, 6/10/03.
118. *Ibid.*
119. Interview with ex-combatant, Gulu, 6/10/03.
120. Interview with regional analyst, Kampala, 6/12/03.
121. Behrend, *op cit*, p 182.
122. Interview with senior government official, 4 December 2003; interview with senior government official, 5/12/03.

123. WFP Emergency Report No. 4 of 2004; UN CAP report, 2004. Approximately 879,000 people out of a total population of 1,076,000 in Gulu, Kitgum and Pader have been displaced. The government's "protected villages" policy is the other chief reason for the displacement, of course. This policy response to the war is discussed in more detail in section 3.
124. Interview with senior government official, Kampala, 4/12/03.
125. Interview with NGO worker, Gulu, 16/9/03.
126. Gersony, *op cit*, p 88.
127. *Ibid*;; focus group discussion with five ex-combatants, Kitgum, 14/10/03; focus group discussion with ten schoolteachers, Lira, 12/11/03.
128. Focus group discussion with five ex-combatants, Kitgum, 14/10/03.
129. Interview with women's peace activist, Gulu, 7/10/03.
130. Interview with male teacher, Kitgum, 13/10/03.
131. Interview with human rights activist, Kampala, 21/10/03.
132. Interview with local government official, Kitgum town, 16/10/03.
133. Interview with senior government official, Kampala, 3/12/03.
134. Interview with local government official, Gulu, 15/9/03.
135. Interview with teacher, Gulu town, 15/9/03.
136. Interview with IDP woman, living under a tree, Kitgum, 15/10/03.
137. Interview with Uganda Human Rights Commission representative, Gulu town, 7/10/03.
138. HURIPPEC, *op cit*..
139. Interview with NGO worker, Gulu, 30/9/03.
140. Interview with alleged LRA collaborator, Kitgum, 16/10/03.
141. Interview with IDP woman, Gulu, 6/10/03.
142. Interview with NGO worker, Kitgum, 11/10/03.
143. Point 3 of the Ten Point Programme, for example, talks of "Consolidation of National Unity and Elimination of all Forms of Sectarianism." NRM Ten-Point Programme, from original pamphlet, copy available on file.
144. Interview with senior government official, Kampala, 4/12/03.
145. Only Sudan, Angola and the DRC have more IDPs in Africa. WFP Emergency Report, *op cit*; UN CAP report for Uganda, *op cit*.

146. Interview with Maj Shaban Bantariza, 16/12/03, UPDF headquarters, Bombo.
147. ICRC 4 September 2002.
148. Interview with religious leader, Gulu, 7/10/03.
149. UN CAP report for Uganda, op cit.
150. Interview with war widow, mother of four, Kitgum, 12/10/03.
151. Interview with human rights worker, Gulu, 7/10/03.
152. Interview with IDP woman living under a tree, Kitgum, 15/10/03.
153. Interview with religious leader, Kitgum, 15/10/03.
154. Interview with hospital staff member, Kitgum, 16/10/03.
155. Interview with social worker, Kitgum, 14/10/03.
156. Interview with businessman, Gulu, 6/10/03.
157. Interview with religious leader, Gulu, 7/10/03.
158. UN CAP report for Uganda, op cit. In Gulu, the children are forced to go and sleep in tents specifically allocated to them.
159. Interview with local government official, Gulu, 1/10/03.
160. Interview with religious leader, Kitgum, 15/10/03.
161. Interview with male teacher, Kitgum, 13/10/03.
162. Interview with religious leader, Kitgum, 16/10/03.
163. Interview with NGO worker, Kitgum, 14/10/03.
164. Interview with NGO worker, Gulu town, 6/10/03.
165. Salim Saleh Foundation for Humanity: A case statement, 1997; and Security and Production Programme (SPP), *Concept*, May 2003.
166. Interview with IDP man, Kitgum, 13/10/03.
167. Interview with businessman, Kitgum Town, 14/10/03.
168. Interview with school teacher, Kitgum, 16/10/03.
169. Group Interview with 18 civilians, Gulu town, 6/10/03.
170. Interview with alleged LRA collaborator, Kitgum, 16/10/03.
171. *New Vision*, 5 December 2003.
172. Interview with senior government official, Kampala, 3/12/03.

173. Interview with local government official, Gulu, 7/10/03.
174. Interview with religious leader, Kitgum, 15/10/03.
175. Interview with social worker, Kitgum, 10/10/03.
176. Interview with senior government official, Kampala, 4/12/03.
177. Interview with human rights worker, Gulu, 30/9/03.
178. Interview with escaped abductee, Gulu, 6/10/03.
179. Human Rights Watch, March 2003, cited in the Norwegian Refugee Council 2003 report.
180. Group Interview with 18 teachers, Gulu, 6/10/03.
181. Interview with school teacher and ex-abductee, Gulu, 6/10/03.
182. For instance, interview with senior security official, Kampala, 3/12/03.
183. Interview with school teacher, Gulu, 6/10/03.
184. Interview with NGO worker, Kitgum, 14/10/03.
185. Interview with ex-rebel, Gulu, 7/10/03.
186. Interview with male teacher, Kitgum, 13/10/03.
187. Interview with NGO worker, Kitgum, 10/10/03.
188. Interview with NGO worker, Kitgum, 10/10/03.
189. Interview with religious leader, Kitgum, 16/10/03.
190. Interview with school teacher, Gulu, 6/10/03.
191. Interview with foot soldier, Gulu, 16/10/03.
192. Interview with alleged LRA collaborator, Kitgum, 16/10/03.
193. Interview with government official, Kampala, 3/12/03.
194. Interview with local government official, Gulu town, 15/9/03.
195. Interview with ex-rebel girl combatant, Kitgum, 14/10/03.
196. Interview with 9-year-old boy, escaped abductee, Gulu town, 6/10/03.
197. Interview with businesswoman, Gulu town, 1/10/03.
198. Interview with human rights worker, Gulu, 30/9/03.
199. Interview with security official, Gulu, 2/10/03.

200. Interview with Uganda Human Rights Commission representative, Gulu town, 7/10/03.
201. Interview with opinion leader, Gulu, 7/10/03.
202. Interview with opinion leader, Gulu, 7/10/03.
203. Interview with religious leader, Kitgum, 15/10/03.
204. Group discussion with ten men, IDP camp, Gulu, 3/10/03.
205. Interview with senior government official, Kampala, 4/12/03.
206. Interview with hospital staff member, Kitgum, 16/10/03.
207. *The Monitor*, 31 May 2003.
208. *The New Vision*, 17 June 2003; interview with NGO worker, Soroti, 5/11/03.
209. *The Monitor*, 19 June 2003.
210. On 24 June 2003, LRA abducted over 100 school girls from Lwala Secondary school in Kaberamaido. See *The Monitor*, 2 September 2003.
211. Group discussion with ten IDPs, Bala Stock Farm IDP camp, Lira, 12/11/03.
212. *The New Vision*, 26 June 2003.
213. *The Monitor*, 16 September 2003.
214. Interview with local government official, Soroti, 4/11/03.
215. Focus group discussion with 18 male IDPs, Soroti, 6/11/03; interview with religious leader, Soroti, 6/11/03; interview with NGO worker, Soroti, 4/11/03; interview with security officer, Soroti, 4/11/03.
216. The 9 October Movement, made up of former Obote II supporters, was an anti-NRM group based in Tororo and Busia that conducted assassinations and ambushes in the late 1980s. Interview with senior government official, Kampala, 4/12/03; focus group discussion with 18 male IDPs, Soroti, 6/11/03; interview with former senior government official, Kampala, 21/1/04.
217. Interview with ex-UPA commander, Soroti, 14/11/03.
218. Interview with senior government official, 4/12/03.
219. Interview with senior government official, 4/12/03.
220. Interview with senior government official, 4/12/03.
221. Interview with local resident, Soroti, 15/11/03.
222. See, for example, *Sunday Vision*, 25 August 2003. See also *New Vision*, 30 September 2002, p 3, in which Museveni is alleged to have said: "The anti-

terror campaign will be finished by February or March next year. I will not leave Gulu until I see the last rebel come out of the bush in April.”

223. Group discussion with 20 members of the Lango Religious Leaders Peace Forum, Lira town, 12/11/03.
224. Interview with journalist, Soroti town, 5/11/03.
225. Interview with NGO worker, Soroti town, 6/11/03.
226. UN CAP report for Uganda, op cit.
227. Interview with school teacher, Soroti, 06/11/03.
228. Interview with senior government official, Kampala, 5/12/03.
229. Interview with Arrow Group commander, Soroti, 4/11/03.
230. Interview with ex-Rhino female recruit, 13/11/03.
231. Group discussion with 12 students, Lira, 12/11/03.
232. Interview with IDP leader, Lira, 13/11/03.
233. Interview with an Arrow Group commander, 4/12/03.
234. See, for example, I Abdullah & P Muana, The revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone: A revolt of the Lumpenproletariat, in C Clapham (ed) *African guerrillas*. Oxford: James Currey, 1999, p 185; P Muana, The Kamajor Militia: Civil war, internal displacement and the politics of counter-insurgency. *Africa Development* 22(3–4), 1997.
235. Group discussion with 18 displaced men, Soroti, 6/11/03.
236. Interview with local government official, Lira, 11/11/03.
237. After civilians in Gulu and Kitgum organised themselves into Bow and Arrow groups to resist the LRA in 1991–1992, Kony reportedly became extremely agitated, and LRA abuses against civilians were stepped up tremendously. This was the notorious period when the LRA cut off people’s lips, ears and mouths for “listening to and telling the government where the rebels were.”
238. Interview with NGO worker, Soroti 06/11/03.
239. Interview with a head teacher, Soroti, 11/11/03.
240. Group discussion with ten school girls, Soroti, 7/11/03.
241. Interview with former rank-and-file UPA fighter, Soroti, 04/11/03.
242. Group discussion with ex-combatants, Soroti, 5/11/03.
243. Interview with religious leader, Soroti, 4/11/03.

244. Interview with local government official, Soroti, 4/11/03.
245. Interview with school teacher, Soroti, 06/11/03.
246. Interview with school teacher, Soroti, 06/11/03.
247. Interview with Arrow Group member, Soroti, 07/11/03.
248. Interview with school teacher, Soroti, 6/11/03.
249. The RLP was told of several such incidents taking place.
250. Group discussion with 9 men and 13 women IDPs, IDP camp, Soroti, 7/11/03.
251. Interview with journalist, Soroti, 6/11/03.
252. Group discussion with 9 men and 13 women IDPs, IDP camp, Soroti, 7/11/03.
253. Interview with journalist, Soroti, 5/11/2003.
254. *Africa Confidentialia* 44(19), 2003, p 3; interview with regional analyst, Kampala, 16 October 2003; interview with international official, Kampala, 8/10/03.
255. Interview with Arrow Group leader, Soroti, 4/11/03; interview with journalist, Soroti, 5/11/03.
256. Interview with journalist, Soroti, 6/11/03.
257. In addition to his role with the Arrow Boys, Ecweru was, until recently, Resident District Commissioner (government-appointed governor) of Kasese, before being assigned to Soroti in the recent RDC reshuffle. Interview with journalist, Soroti, 5/11/03.
258. Confidential interview, Soroti, 5/11/03.
259. P Roessler, Donor-induced democratization and the privatization of state violence in Kenya and Rwanda. *Comparative Politics*, 2003.
260. Interview with human rights worker, Kitgum, 10/10/03.
261. See Afako, op cit, as reviewed in the appendix.
262. Interview with religious leader, Gulu, 7/10/03.
263. Interview with business woman, Gulu, 1/10/03.
264. Interview with hospital staff member, Kitgum, 16/10/03.
265. Interview with religious leader, Gulu, 7/10/03.
266. Afako, op cit.
267. Negotiations were held between Gulu LC-V Walter Ochora and LRA Lt. Col. Onen Kamdulu at Awoo Nyim, Gulu District, in June 2001. A demilitarised zone was set up, the UPDF provided logistical support for the talks, and the LRA

agreed not to loot for a specified period. However, Afako (op cit, pp 6–7) reports that “the process simply lost impetus” and was not followed up.

268. Gersony, op cit, p 31.

269. Ibid, p 32.

270. Interview with NGO worker, Kampala, 6/12/03.

271. Group discussion with 12 teachers, Lira, 12/11/03.

272. Gi Khadiagala, The role of the Acholi religious leaders’ peace initiative (ARLPI) in peace building in Northern Uganda, in *The effectiveness of civil society initiatives in controlling violent conflicts and building peace*, Greater Horn of Africa Peace Building Project, USAID report, March 2001, pp 11–12.

273. See, for example, Continuing conflict in Acholiland: An objective CSO perspective. CSOPNU paper, Kampala, 16 June 2002.

274. Okumu, for example, wrote an “Analytical Proposal for Peace in Northern Uganda” in January 2003, in which he called for greater attention to the political and economic marginalisation of the north to avoid future political conflict, more serious peace negotiations with the LRA and increased international involvement. Okumu, op cit.

275. Interview with religious leader, Kitgum, 14/10/03.

276. Interview with international official, Kampala, 23/10/03.

277. Act No. 2 of 2000.

278. Interview with human rights worker, Gulu, 7/10/03.

279. Interview with religious leader, Gulu, 7/10/03.

280. See BBC interview with President Museveni, 25 December 2003, reproduced in the *Monitor*, 27 January 2003; IRIN news, 27 January 2004.

281. *The East African*, 12–18 January 2004, p 5.

282. Interview with IDP man, Kitgum, 14/10/03.

283. Act No. 14 of 2002.

284. Section 2 of the Amnesty Act, No. 2 of 2000.

285. Section 7(2) of the Anti-Terrorism Act, No. 14 of 2002.

286. Ibid.

287. Gersony, op cit. p 61.

288. See, for example, *ibid.*, p 93.

289. *Ibid.*, p 88.
290. *Ibid.*, pp 21–2.
291. HURIPPEC, *op cit*, pp 54–55.
292. Front for National Salvation, which Museveni formed as a student at the University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. See *ibid.*, p 47.
293. *Ibid.*, pp 24–31.
294. Uganda Freedom Movement/Army from Buganda, and the Uganda National Rescue Front from West Nile.
295. HURIPPEC, *op cit*, pp 24–26.
296. Afako, *op cit*.
297. Gersony. *op cit*, p. 93.