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*To generate and disseminate knowledge by conducting basic and applied research of social, economic and political significance to Uganda in particular and Africa in general, so as to influence policy, raise consciousness and improve quality of life.*

### **Pastoralism and Crisis in Karamoja**

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**Workshop Report No.4/1994**

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# Pastoralism and Crisis in Karamoja

## 1. Introduction

- i) This report is a summary of the proceedings of the 2nd Workshop on "Pastoralism, Crisis and Transformation in Karamoja", held at the St. Phillip's Community Centre, Moroto from 28-29 January 1994. Unlike the first Workshop held at Makerere University, Kampala, in August 1992, which brought together the elite from Karamoja, the Moroto Workshop was meant to take back research findings to the people on whom the research was done in their own home and delivered in their language (Ngakarimojong). It was intended that the local people directly influence the proceedings of the workshop.

The participants of the Moroto workshop included local opinion leaders such as elders, cattle camp leaders, warriors, vigilantes, women and youths. But also in attendance were the Central Government Representatives (CGRs) for Moroto and Kotido Districts, other government officials, representatives from church organisations, local and foreign NGOs, the Karamoja Development Agency, the Ministry of State for Karamoja and security organs. These latter groups were more or less a cross-section of those who had attended the Kampala meeting.

- ii) **Background**

The Centre for Basic Research (CBR) began its research programme on pastoralism in Karamoja in May 1989 with 4 researchers, two of whom (Ernest Wabwire and Ben Okudi) have unfortunately since passed away.

The more Karamoja was studied the more it was discovered the crisis was not merely natural. It also became apparent that there were divergent views on the situation in Karamoja. These standpoints have a long history and are shaped by different interests. All these differing views came to light during the meeting and were reflected even among the Karimojong community itself.

After its first phase of research, CBR realised that people's experiences and aspirations were paramount in defining lasting solutions. It was, therefore, important to bring the people together to assess their own needs, so as to enable them shape events that impinge on their lives. This approach was also meant to inform those working in the area (NGOs and Government), about the feelings of the local people, while at the same time involving local people in defining solutions to their problems.

Researchers have a role to play in this process. They dig out information including that which is sometimes buried in government archives. They get information to explain why certain things happen the way they do, discuss with different people from among the local communities, and identify alternative views and suggest solutions. This fosters participation through committee relations created during the research process. To bear

fruit, these efforts require direct participation of the people. It is for this reason that CBR translated a summary of its research findings into the three local languages used in the region: Ateso, Ngakarimojong and Luo.

### iii) Content

Workshop discussion focused around two issues, a) the changing ecology and, b) the causes and the nature of social problems in Karamoja. Professor Mahmood Mamdani opened the discussion on the first issue with a paper on “Ecology and the Natural Crisis”, while Charles Ocan introduced the second with a paper on “The people, Disasters and Change”.

Beginning with plenary discussions on the two issues, the workshop broke up into committee (group) discussions around issues identified as key by participants. Finally, it closed with recommendations.

The Workshop identified a number of dimensions to the crisis in Karamoja:

- a) The natural factors in the crisis were seen as having been intensified by social reality. In response to a difficult environment people had adopted strategies of mobility in order to get access to a variable and uncertain resource (forage). On the other hand, official policy tries to curtail mobility which it views as undermining modern development efforts. In the process of restricting Karimojong mobility, the natural crisis is deepened, as the social crisis equally gets worse.
- b) It was observed that the alienation of pastoral resources by the state through the creation of forest reserves, game reserves, and other restricted areas (buffer zones) was a wrong policy. While accepting that such resources should be preserved for future generations, it was felt such preservation should be done by the community itself which feels a sense of belonging and ownership.
- c) The tendency of experts to arrive at solutions to problems without involving the people was seen as the source of the people's apathy to state policies. Hence, to be able to find out what mistakes had been committed, and how the Karimojong survive in the conditions in which they live, necessitated involving the people themselves in open discussions.

It was observed that the current dilemma facing Karimojong pastoralists was manifested by contradictory happenings with opposite effects:

- a) The ecological crisis was increasingly pushing the people out of Karamoja in search for pasture and water.
- b) The social conflicts resulting from cattle raids had forced the peoples surrounding Karamoja to try to push the Karimojong back to Karamoja during drought periods.

## 2. Proceedings

### Session I: Ecology

- i) In his paper on “Ecology and the Natural Crisis”, Professor Mamdani sought to stimulate the people's initiatives in overcoming their problems, by making them aware that these problems were largely caused by social factors. Most of these social factors were caused by policies adopted by the colonial and post-colonial states.

In explaining the causes of deterioration of the environment, Mamdani cited archival records of 1900 documented by one Kenyan settler, who described Karamoja as savannah (white country). But 60 years later, another description showed that Karamoja had been turned into a bare country (red country).

Mamdani's paper also concentrated on unravelling the relationship between the natural and social crisis, and sought to explore opportunities available to the people. He told the participants that after four years of CBR research in Karamoja, two important conclusions had been reached.

The first conclusion was that since agriculture fails four out of every five years because of the rainfall patterns, survival depended on cattle keeping. Without irrigation, the people who practised agriculture were the militarily weaker ones who had no choice. Whenever they had a choice, they moved into cattle keeping. Cattle have an advantage over crops. They can be moved from place to place in search of water and forage. The second conclusion reached, therefore, was that the most viable method of production in Karamoja was “mobile pastoralism.

Surprisingly, every government starting with the British colonialists had seen mobility as the problem rather than the solution. Every government thought in terms of how to control the people, how to tax them, and how to keep them under some form of administration. None of them cared to give realistic and practical consideration as to how these people would survive.

He further pointed out that more than 50% of grazing land in Karamoja was lost as a result of the way boundaries were drawn by colonialists. For example, some land between Uganda and Sudan, was declared inaccessible to the people. In the process, wild animals moved in, and with them came tsetse flies, which carried diseases. These policies not only restricted grazing land but also introduced more diseases.

The people had known mobility as the key to their survival but government imposed laws to restrict that mobility. This brought them into conflict with the law. In the process, some chiefs appointed by the colonialists and who became enthusiastic in implementing the anti-mobility policy were killed by the people. One chief named Achia was killed in 1924.

The British later decided that the Karimojong should stop mobile grazing and settle in the western part of Karamoja which had more water and pasture. The area was also seen as ideal for crop cultivation and permanent settlement. But western Karamoja was

traditionally a dry season grazing reserve. So to settle in it all the year round created crisis during the dry seasons for which the areas had been traditionally set aside.

The British, however, found that the more they pushed the people away from their land, the more the people sought other ways of survival. When they took away grazing grounds, people resorted to cutting forests in high grounds for sale as firewood and charcoal.

The British then adopted another strategy. They defined the people as the problem. The people had to be kept out of the forests by creating forest and game reserves in the 1940s and 1950s respectively. Naturally both wild animals and cows go where there is more water and grass. The creation of these reserves denied cattle keepers access to these vital resources. Grazing in gazetted areas amounted to trespassing.

Before the introduction colonial administration, these reserves were considered communal property. When the state took over ownership of these reserves, people resorted to "stealing" and destroying what they no longer saw as theirs. As a result of forceful interference in the management of these properties, the government has not had harmonious relations with the local communities.

## ii) Discussion

During the discussion, many participants were of the view that the situation had deteriorated and insecurity was on the increase. All the way from Soroti to Moroto every one grazing animals possessed a gun (AK 47). It was not far-fetched to say that force defined how people lived, and yet this force was necessitated by increasing insecurity caused by suspicion between different groups. This violence emanated from and was a reflection of the intensity of cattle raids. It also denoted changing relations between government and the communities, and breakdown in local authority. It was a dilemma in a society where elders had lost authority to young warriors without a systematically defined transition. The fact that even discussions aimed at seeking solutions to the problems had become militarised posed an even greater challenge to solution seekers.

Some participants felt that in order to get out of the quagmire facing Karamoja, the Karimojong must change to move into irrigated agriculture, preferably in the Western part of Karamoja - a solution that had already been attempted with disastrous effects by the colonial authorities. But the participants acknowledged that neither the government nor NGOs had the money to provide such extensive irrigation. And yet the fact remained that without irrigation, agriculture failed every four out of five years.

It was recognised that under the current circumstances the more the people moved into agriculture without irrigation, the worse the crisis would become. The meeting was in a dilemma as to how to surmount this problem. The viability of crop cultivation was identified as a crucial issue that required rigorous inquiry.

Further discussions on Mamdani's paper focused on the continuing hostilities between the Karimojong and the settled agricultural communities in the neighbouring areas of Teso, Acholi and Lango. Karimojong pastoralists who often moved out in search of water and dry season pastures were being forced back by neighbours who had turned

hostile. In Teso areas, for example, grass was usually set on fire to discourage Karimojong pastoralists from coming. However, the contradictory result of this approach was noted, since no sooner was the grass burnt than more nutritious grass sprouted. Still it was necessary to recognise that the burning of grass was an expression of hostility arising from cattle raids.

There were divided opinions on the issue of mobility as a sustainable way of pastoral production; as is reflected in the following views:

- a) Those who viewed it as retrogressive suggested that this pastoral way of life had to be transformed. Mobility had exacerbated inter-group rivalry, by encouraging militarised conflicts over resources which should belong to specific communities. This had made some well endowed areas inaccessible. It was also blamed for ecological deterioration, backwardness and the poor quality of stocks.

Increasing water supply was considered by this group as a necessary initial step. The construction of valley dams was seen as an immediate prerequisite to save the Karimojong pastoralists. It was argued that the survival of most pastoralists was uncertain in the next 10 years as the populations of people and animals multiplied. They suggested that dams be scattered all over Karamoja to curtail movement.

- b) Some participants on the other hand hoped that mobility if well coordinated would help to improve relations among different tribes. For example, if some pastoralists remained in Teso when rains returned, it would be possible to check cattle rustling because the friendly atmosphere created during the search for resources in the dry season would extend beyond the drought. They also argued that for mobility to function smoothly traditional institutions to govern it must be reactivated or new ones created.
- c) The point of view of agricultural experts present at the workshop was that since some Karimojong settled near permanent water sources were already practising settled agriculture, government should facilitate the adoption of high yielding and fast maturing drought - resistant crop varieties. Since cereals were now contributing more and more to the Karimojong diet, crops also needed to be diversified instead of depending only on sorghum.

Irrigation was seen as a good idea, but the expenses that would be involved in accomplishing extensive irrigation works were too massive to be conceivable in the short run. Some people suggested that government should provide the water. But the experience of the silted valley tanks of the 1960s prompted scepticism about government's ability to provide and maintain water facilities. Even in the recent past, government had pledged to construct 36 valley dams; but after five years only two had been constructed.

Mamdani, in his final response argued that mobile pastoralism was the most viable short-run measure. He emphasised that to recognise reality was not to support it, and that any solution which did not recognise reality was bound to fail. He pointed out that no organisation could bring in big sums of money singly to irrigate Karamoja.

There was a contradiction between politics and the economy which had brought about changed circumstances thus making the water problem worse and worse. Economically the most important activity in Karamoja was pastoralism, but politically there was a system that marginalised pastoralism. Politicians saw the crisis in the area as a problem of pastoralism and, therefore, sought to eradicate it in favour of settled farming. Official policy thus, failed to appreciate the problems facing pastoralists, and under such circumstances it was inconceivable to design an appropriate water policy. He cited three crucial events that had happened in the recent past to support his argument:

- a) Over the last 80 years, every government had been trying to stop mobility and yet every time mobility seemed to increase. Efforts by governments to stop mobility had resulted into enormous social crises. The use of force to stop mobility had actually failed. Pastoralists moved because of the hard environment; as it worsened they moved even more. Therefore, no amount of education was going to convince the Karimojong that if they did not move, their animals would die less.

All cattle camp leaders supported this argument although government officials (except the CGR for Moroto) opposed it vehemently.

- b) Those who lost their animals either worked for those with animals, or moved out of Karamoja or turned to agriculture. The problem with agriculture was that it was only possible for those who had capital resources or easy access to water. Under conditions of limited resources, crop cultivation could not provide a solution for the desperate majority, and yet more and more people were losing animals.

This factor of desperation by the majority was unanimously acknowledged as a serious problem facing Karamoja and even exacerbating violence.

- c) In the past the relationships among Karimojong groups and between them and their neighbours (the Iteso, Langi and Acholi) were richly textured through social relations such as intermarriages, barter, cattle loans and other forms of reciprocal exchanges. These relations had now been crippled. The situation had been aggravated by cattle raids and violence. This in turn had curtailed the distances over which herders could operate; and downgraded the effectiveness of local institutions, without providing viable replacement.



## Session II: The People, Disasters and NGOs in Karamoja

### iii) Presentation

Charles Ocan in his paper on "The People, Disasters and Change", said that Karamoja was a diverse social set-up in Uganda, with 10 different social groups in a population of only 400,000. Instead of looking at them as one group, most studies saw the 10 groups as if they were completely alien to one another.

He argued that the nature of the social problem facing Karamoja could not be understood without concretely grasping the people's way of life, how it has changed in the course of time and why?

In order to understand social relations in Karamoja it was important to underscore pastoralists' changing forms of existence. Karimojong pastoralists have two types of homes: the permanent settlement where the rest of the family lives at all times; and the grazing camps, where cows are taken mostly during the dry season. Because of the grazing camps, some people had tended to assume that the Karimojong were wanderers without homes. Such an assessment ignored the fact that the majority of members in each household actually stayed in the permanent settlement all the year round.

To ignore the relationship between permanent settlements and temporary ones (grazing camps) was to miss a crucial factor in the Karimojong way of life.

Ocan, observed that it was important to understand the relationship between the permanent settlements and the grazing camps. In the past when the system was still coherent the relations were more dynamic. When the need to move arose during the dry season not all cattle would be taken to the grazing camps. Some would be left to cater for the needs of families at the permanent settlement, by providing milk and blood. The younger wives then, visited their husbands at the cattle camps in turns, taking along cereal foodstuffs grown in the permanent settlements.

The grazing camps were meeting points of people from different communities and grounds for harmonising possible conflicts. Although these relations had been disrupted over time, there was a lot to learn from them as a means for suggesting newer forms of relations in order to redress the crisis. More so, it was necessary to recognise that as a result of the distortion of the unity which had existed between the different groups through traditional forms of relations, without creation of new forms of harmonious relations, it had now become difficult for these groups to co-exist.

He emphasised that the life of the people in Karamoja had been made more difficult by the failure of government and other change agents to understand their way of life. Even dominant opinion tended to view the Karimojong as an undifferentiated social category. This, however, was not a true reflection of the reality nowadays. There had been a lot of differentiation as some had become rich pastoralists, traders and big farmers. Others had gained privileges as chiefs or state agents; while the majority had been marginalised. Even the outlooks of these different categories varied because of differing interests.

The Karimojong were also used as recipients of knowledge and solutions generated outside while their experiences were simply ignored. There were equally no significant long-term programmes aimed at transforming the people's lives. Most programmes were usually ad-hoc, mooted in response to drought, disease or escalating violence.

The colonial policies prohibited outward movements, sometimes through the use of force and sometimes by building valley dams near permanent settlements, as a way of attracting cattle keepers to these settlements. As a result of this policy, by 1960 the Karimojong had started constructing small scattered homesteads, instead of having large compounds (manyattas). Unfortunately, post-colonial governments have perpetuated the same policies started by the colonial government.

#### iv) Discussion

Much of the discussion of Ocan's paper focused on food security. Although the participants acknowledged that cereals constituted about 70% of the diet for majority of Karimojong; it was felt important to ask where this 70% came from since agriculture often failed, as recognised earlier in the meeting.

In the past, the Karimojong survived on the basis of barter trade with their better-endowed neighbours. Insecurity within and outside Karamoja had made it difficult to move food from one place to another. In effect, for every six months of drought in a year, there has to be a famine. This means that traditional systems of food security have broken down. This dichotomy explains the significance of relief agencies (mainly NGOs) as providers of relief food items during critical conditions.

The whole logic behind food relief distribution was reviewed. It was, for example, argued that diseases claimed a lot of animals, and yet much of the "food for work" programme was not devoted to improving livestock. "Food for work" was supposed to be a relief programme aimed at increasing productivity and improving infrastructure through labour from those benefiting from the food. But participants noted that no component in it was directed at pastoral improvement. Without an appropriate animal health infrastructure, diseases broke out, killing most animals.

Without animals, the people became even more vulnerable to famine. And whenever there was a famine, foreign and local NGOs rushed in to complement government efforts. But how much could be seen today of the work done by NGOs since 1980 when most of them came to Karamoja? It was observed that the NGOs came with their own programmes in which they did not involve the local people. Participants were particularly critical of the World Food Programme (WFP), which they accused of failing to address basic needs of the society, let alone just leaving its food to rot away in stores while people died of famine.

The NGO culture further came under severe criticism when one participant accused them of lack of transparency, and failure to consult and involve local people in project formulation and implementation. Some participants openly considered NGOs as appendages of imperialism. Local participation was seen as essential for any project to succeed. The example provided was the improved security along some roads achieved

through mobilization of local initiative. Many cattle camp leaders even declared willingness to contribute materially to the construction of dams, so long as they were involved in their planning.

The discussion of Ocan's paper also focussed on Karamoja's social problems, that had featured in Mamdani's paper. Most problems were attributed to the haphazard partitioning of Karamoja; the use of excessive force by successive governments; the collapse of traditional lines of authority without corresponding recoument and inter-group conflicts aggravated by cattle raids.

Some of these factors led different tribal groups to adopt narrower and restrictive outlooks; identifying themselves as distinct, if not antagonistic to the others. This gave rise to the culture of revenge which got worse as people armed themselves, both to protect their cattle and to raid and accumulate more.

In conclusion, it was accepted that the starting point should be to understand the reality facing the Karimojong. There were reasons why the Karimojong continued to live the way they did. A lot of resources had purportedly been pumped into Karamoja without materially benefiting the people - something that had created a lot of scepticism and suspicion. The people felt that their greater involvement in development projects was the only solution.

While responding, Charles Ocan also concurred that mobility was the best short-term measure considering available resources. There should, however, be a long-term plan to change the system of production in Karamoja by involving the people affected - both in planning and execution.

### **Day, Session I: Group Discussions**

During the morning of the second day the workshop divided into 4 groups; each of them chaired by a CBR researcher. The decision to have CBR fellows chair DAY II sessions was taken for three reasons. One was to allow greater participation by the local people since DAY I had been dominated by the elites and government officials. All sessions on DAY I had also been chaired by government officials (RC V chairmen for Moroto and Kotido, respectively). Two, stemming from one above, it was essential for the chairmen of the groups to enlist greater participation from the local people. Three, the group meetings were being conducted in the local language, with little translation, which meant limited participation by CBR fellows. Rapporteurs for each of the groups were selected by each group from those who knew the local language as well as English.

Before the participants went into group discussions they identified 12 issues in a short plenary. Each of the groups was supposed to identify at least 5 issues out of the 12 which it felt were crucial to the Karamoja problem. It was on the basis of these discussions that recommendations were finally made. Below are the 12 issues identified for group discussions:

1. Pastoralism and the viability of mobility.
2. Environmental deterioration.
3. The nature of traditional cultural practices and social set-up.
4. Cattle raids and violence.
5. The viability of crop cultivation.
6. Food security, local systems and other forms of intervention such as NGO activities.
7. Animal disease control.
8. Other forms of infrastructure: education, human health, roads, etc.
9. Water availability.
10. The relationship between the central government and local communities.
11. The relations between traditional community institutions.
12. Community conscientisation, mobilisation and rural development

In all the group discussions, the following issues featured prominently: cattle raids, environmental deterioration, mobility, food security, and the relationship between government and local institutions.

The participants condemned the practice of cattle raids which they felt was responsible for loss of lives, anarchy and in a way contributory to food shortages, both in and outside the Karamoja region. It had created them permanent enemies, often prompting military interventions into problems that could otherwise be solved politically.

While, the government's military option was considered least effective in combating internal cattle raids, the participants observed that it was essential for the state to protect the Karimojong from external raids. It was felt this would remove the suspicion with which the warriors view the state organs - which are often seen as rushing to stop internal raids while leaving people vulnerable to external aggression.

The participants indicated that for any military options to succeed, it was necessary to enlist the co-operation of warriors and the local people, since the communities were also equally affected by insecurity. Three aspects were highlighted as essential for a lasting solution:

- a) the involvement of the young warriors in social processes that promote democracy;
- b) alternative economic activities be sought to involve the warriors in productive activities;
- c) local communities to be involved in intergroup dialogue.

Participants felt that society had changed over time. The authority of traditional elders had dwindled as warrior youth acquired more prominence. Hence, the role that the warrior youth were playing in society could not be underestimated. It was, therefore, recognised that no amount of force would pacify the Karimojong. Instead, peaceful dialogue be sought between the different communities but involving the warriors.

The participants regarded mobility as a way of pastoral production which ensured survival in a heterogeneous environment. The establishment of better relations between communities were considered as being more meaningful and necessary in fostering mobility.

In food security, the participants viewed lack of traditional food storage system and a diversified crop base as significant problems. It was felt that existing crop varieties were not diversified enough nor were they suited to existing climatic conditions so as to protect the people from incidental losses. Others felt that the use of relief food items from NGOs as redress to food shortages discouraged local initiatives. Above all, the restrictions to cattle keeping worsened the food situation.

It was observed that community participation in environmental protection was necessary. The people felt that the traditional form of controlling reserves was more suited to protecting the environment than the official approach which alienates people from the resources. The result of this approach was for people to view the resources as alien and when possible "teal" them. Activities such as voluntary tree planting could only be achieved if people felt a sense of belonging.

The participants also felt that many of the development projects initiated before had become unsustainable because the local communities were not involved in their planning, implementation and evaluation. Many felt that the local people were not involved in searching for solutions to their problems and, therefore, the solutions did not address crucial issues adequately.

It was observed that the problems affecting the people of Karamoja could not be solved if they were not understood from the point of view of the local people. This in turn had to take into account different interest groups. It was also necessary for any solution to seek popular participation, in order to accommodate the majority.

Formal and non-formal education were regarded as essential to the process of achieving progressive change. Education should be tailored to the nature of the production process which is based on pastoral mobility and livestock rearing.

Also central in the discussions were cultural issues. Culture was seen to be key in the development of any people, and that positive aspects of culture had to be encouraged while those which are injurious to society had to be discouraged. The following were particularly singled out as wrong practices:

- a) the refusal by some parents to send their children to school, except in rare cases of the male and the disabled;
- b) the tradition of raping young girls as a way of courting; and such girls then being often forcefully married to such suitors;
- c) many people criticised the prohibitively high bride price, which according to them encouraged some youth to raid cattle for bride price.

### 3. Conclusions

#### Session II: Conclusions and Recommendations

Following the group discussions specific, recommendations were adopted by workshop participants:

1. It was recommended that pastoralists should be allowed to remain in the no-man's-land when rains return so that these could act as deterrents against cattle raiders who took the advantage of the absence of people in these buffer zones. Raiders tended to use these areas as hiding grounds for launching attacks against their neighbours.
2. Local vigilante groups be encouraged to facilitate security in their areas with the support of government agencies. The control of these vigilantes should, however, remain in the hands of local communities, otherwise they would soon be turned into anti-pastoral agencies.
3. Government should establish a cordial and friendly relationship with the warriors through conscientisation and mobilisation. They should be encouraged to use their guns for defence purposes only; and through community supervision, as such.
4. "Food for work programmes" be used to mobilise local manpower and resources in the improvement of animal husbandry as well as other sectors of the infrastructure. It was observed that currently livestock improvement was being ignored.
5. The people should be encouraged to mobilise local resources, for example by contributing cattle for the construction of valley tanks and valley dams.
6. The valley tanks and dams should be scattered all over Karamoja to avoid over-concentration of animals in some areas, and they should not be constructed with a view to curtailing mobility.
7. A system of mobile para-veterinary services should be encouraged to take services nearer to the pastoralists who need them.
8. Alternative forms of employment should be encouraged, for example handicraft making.
9. Punitive operations against whole clans in response to individual wrongs should be discouraged. Instead the community concerned should assist the law enforcement agencies in identifying wrong elements.
10. To ensure food security, it was suggested that crop diversification be encouraged. Government should also look into the possibility of faster-maturing, drought-resistant varieties of crops.
11. Adult education and vocational training be encouraged to provide alternative skills so that income sources are diversified. To start with, such education, should be suited to the needs of pastoralists.

12. Community afforestation be encouraged. Trees should also be planted around cattle watering places to improve vegetation. Above all, the control of such resources, be they natural or artificial, should revert to the local communities.
13. It was recommended that in future neighbouring communities which experience hostilities with the Karimojong should send representatives to such meetings in order to foster dialogue.

### List of Participants

1. Thomas Alinga Cattle Camp leader, (reknown) of Kangole, Bokora, Moroto district
2. Apagilita Lote Camp leader, (reknown) of Kangole, Bokora
3. John Loru Vigilante, kangole, Bokora
4. Moses Aleper Elder, Pian
5. Philip Ngorok Elder, Ngoleriet, Bokora
6. John Lomongin RC5 Councillor, Namalu, Chekwi
7. Swaib Lomuse Councillor, Moroto Municipality
8. Hellen Akol (Mrs) DRC, Moroto, Iriri, Bokora
9. Charles Moro District Agricultural Officer, Moroto District
10. Fr. Chalers Lokolimol Moroto Diocese, Moroto
11. Fr. John Lokut Moroto Diocese, Moroto
12. Margaret Achila (Mrs) RC5 Women Representative, Kotido District
13. Paulo Loitakori Elder, Omaret, Matheniko
14. John Paul Pedo Subparish Chief, Omaret, Matheniko
15. Keem Lokurudoi Elder, Omaret, Matheniko
16. Haji Sadiq Odwori Central Government Representative, Moroto District.
17. Michael Lote RC5 Chairman, Moroto District.
18. Matyama Fred Representative from the Ministry of State for Karamoja Affairs.
19. Jim Suk Akwech District Co-operative Officer, Moroto District.
20. Zakayo Longole RC5 Secretary, Mass Mobilisation and Education, Moroto District
21. Okene Ayaru Karamoja Adult Education Association, Kotido, Dodoth
22. Sam Abura RC5 Secretary for Security, Moroto
23. Timothy Osire Veterinary Department, Moroto
24. Richard Obin Karamoja Development Agency, Moroto
25. Temiteo Sagal Elder, Rupa, Matheniko
26. Peter Lokeris Special Assistant to the President on Karamoja Affairs
27. Mathew Tuko District Resistance Councillor, Moroto
28. Joseph Lochap Elder, from Loputuk, Matheniko
29. Adongar Lowam Elder, Matheniko
30. Faustino Tebanyang RC5 Councillor, Moroto
31. H.E. Gidudu Social Services, Moroto Diocese
32. Sam Akol Chairman, Uganda National Framers Association, Moroto



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|-----|---------------------|--|
| 33. | Saidi Kachinga      | Elder, Loputuk, Matheniko                                |
| 34. | Irito Lorei         | RC3 Chairman, Nadenget, Matheniko                        |
| 35. | Apalobanga          | Camp leader, (reknown) of Matheniko                      |
| 36. | Lino Manang         | Camp leader  |
| 37. | Michael Lokuda      | Police Officer, Moroto                                   |
| 38. | Meripus Nangiro     | RC1 Chairman, Loputuk, Matheniko                         |
| 39. | Luka Nangiro        | Warrior/Vigilante  |
| 40. | Agen Laranguria     | Warrior/Vigilante.                                       |
| 41. | Paul Lokeris        | Karamoja Development Association                         |
| 42. | Silvester Omara     | Police Officer, Moroto                                   |
| 43. | Paulex Kolib        | Elder, Katanga, Moroto                                   |
| 44. | Andrew Keen         | Political Mobiliser, CGR's Office, Moroto                |
| 45. | John Longora        | RC5 Councillor, Moroto                                   |
| 46. | Lino Lomongin       | Vigilante, Rupa, Matheniko                               |
| 47. | Cornelius Kokoi     | Rich Farmer, Namalu, Chekwi                              |
| 48. | Lt. Leonard Kayanja | Central Government Representative(CGR),<br>Kotido        |
| 49. | Samson Ilukor       | Assistant CGR, Kaabong                                   |
| 50. | David Owili         | RC5 Chairman, Kotido                                     |
| 51. | Gabriel Lotyany     | Secretary, RC5, Kotido                                   |
| 52. | Spear Omara         | RC5 Secretary Education and Mass Mobilisation,<br>Kotido |
| 53. | Peter Lokiru        | Elder, Kotido  |
| 54. | David Moding        | Elder, Kotido  |
| 55. | Samuel Lochoro      | Elder, Kaabong   |
| 56. | Joseph Tikol        | RC5 Councillor, Kaabong, Kotido                          |
| 57. | Joseph Meri         | RC5 Councillor, Kaabong, Kotido                          |
| 58. | John Lokim          | Elder, Kaabong, Kotido                                   |
| 59. | Ocaya               | DVO's Office, Kotido                                     |
| 60. | Yusuf Longole       | RC1 General secretary, Loputuk, Matheniko                |
| 61. | Rev. Isaac Longole  | St. Phillips Church of Uganda, Moroto                    |
| 62. | Edward Eko          | Assistant CGR, Nakapiripirit                             |
| 63. | Malinga             | Lutheran World Federation, Moroto                        |
| 64. | Joseph Pedo         | Community Development Assistant, Kangole                 |
| 65. | Joseph Tezikoma     | Security Officer, Moroto                                 |
| 66. | Grace Olum          | Matakwai, Katanga, Moroto                                |
| 67. | Jonathan Maraka     | Etop Newspaper, Soroti                                   |
| 68. | Frank Muhereza      | Centre for Basic Research, Kampala                       |
| 69. | Peter Otim          | Centre for Basic Research, Kampala                       |
| 70. | Mahmood Mamdani     | Centre for Basic Research, Kampala                       |
| 71. | Charles Ocan        | Centre for Basic Research, Kampala                       |

**CBR WORKSHOP REPORTS**

1. **Pastoralism, Crisis and Transformation in Karamoja**; Report of a Workshop Organised by CBR and held at the Faculty of Science Makerere University, August 14 - 15, 1992, by Joe Oloka-Onyango, Zie Gariyo and Frank Muhereza; 26p.
2. **Women and Work: Historical Trends**; Report of a Workshop Organised by CBR, and held at the Faculty of Science, Makerere University, September 7-10, 1992, by Expedit Ddungu, James Opyene and Sallie Kayunga; 61p.
3. **Workers' Education**; Report of a CBR Workshop held at the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine, Makerere University, March 19-20, 1993, John Jean Barya, Sallie Simba Kayunga and Ernest Okello-Ogwang; 47p.
4. **Pastoralism and Crisis in Karamoja**; Report of the Second CBR Pastoralism Workshop held at St. Phillips community Centre, Moroto, January 28-29 1994, by Frank Emmanuel Muhereza and Charles Emunyu Ocan; 19p.