

## Karamojan politics: Extension of state power and formation of a subordinate political elite

### Supplemental data

Mining operations and land acquisitions in Karamoja involving members of the new Karamojan elite.

| Location                 | Dates             | Investor  | Type                        | Strength of evidence | Discussion  | Sources   |
|--------------------------|-------------------|---|-----------------------------|----------------------|---|---|
| Rupa, Moroto District    | 2012-2014 or 2015 | Jan Mangal (Cornelius Lorika Kodet with Engola Sam) | Gold mining                 | High                 | Cornelius Lorika, an influential Pian Karimojong businessman who owns Mount Moroto Hotel in Moroto, Apule Lodge in Mbale, and Entebbe's tourist attraction the Aero Beach, appears to be the only Karamojan involved in a major mining operation. Together with the State Minister for Housing Engola Sam and a Gujarati businessman, Lorika owned a company called Jan Mangal, which operated a gold mine at Nakiloro and Nakibat in Rupa Sub-county in Moroto District from 2012 to 2015 or 2016.   | Human Rights Watch (HRW). <i>"Get the Gun!": Human Rights Violations by Uganda's National Army in Law Enforcement Operations in Karamoja Region</i> . New York, HRW, 2007; Saferworld. <i>Beyond the Reach of the Hoe: The Struggle for Land and Minerals in Northern Uganda</i> . London, Saferworld, 2014; interview, UA5, Ugandan human rights lawyer, Kampala, 12 December 2016; interview, UO126, Karamojong NGO worker, Kampala, 14 December 2016; interview, UO128, Karamojong NGO worker, Skype, 11 January 2016. |
| Kautakou, Napak District | 2010-present      | Amodoi Peter  | Illegal acquisition of land | High                 | The most prominent (and most thoroughly documented) case of land-grabbing in Karamoja has involved the acquisition of a land title to 169 hectares of land at Kautakou by Amodoi Peter Ayopo, a high-ranking Tome Bokora Karimojong official in the Office of the Prime Minister (and, at one time, the Acting Commissioner for Karamoja at the Office). Located on the border between the Bokora and Matheniko territories—and, more recently, between Napak and Moroto districts—Kautakou was deserted by its Bokora inhabitants during the period of conflict in the 1980s and 1990s; some of them began to return | Public Procurement and Disposal of Public Assets Authority. <i>Procurement and Disposal Audit of Uganda Investment Authority for the Financial Year 2010/2011</i> . Kampala, Government of Uganda, 2012; Tebanyang, Emmanuel, Nathan Lowanyang, and Maria Svindseth. <i>"Take Anything, Leave Our Land": Two Land</i>   |

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|  |  |  |  | <p>in the wake of the 2006 disarmament campaign. At around the same time, government agencies—including the Ministry for Karamoja Affairs (housed in the Office of the Prime Minister, which employs Amodoi), Karamoja Private Sector Development Promotion Centre (a parastatal run by Lomokol Jimmy, Amodoi’s brother), Ugandan Investment Authority, and Moroto District Local Government—decided to establish an industrial park (intended to host a factory run by Tororo Cement, which is co-owned by the Minister of Foreign Affairs Sam Kutesa and controls major mining operations on Mount Moroto) at Kautakou, which is also conveniently situated along the main transport route from Moroto to Nakapiripirit (and Mbale) and Soroti, and across the road from Moroto Airstrip. Amodoi took advantage of his knowledge of the impending government investment and persuaded some Matheniko Karimojong elders in the nearby Nadunget to declare themselves the lawful owners of the land, which he purchased from them in March 2010 for UGX 20 million (at that time, approximately USD 8,000). In May 2011, Amodoi sold the land to the Uganda Investment Authority for UGX 623 million (approximately USD 250,000). The transaction generated widespread discontent among the customary owners of Kautakou. In 2014, they staged a demonstration that briefly blocked a motorcade in which Janet Kataha Museveni, president’s powerful wife and, at that time, Minister for Karamoja Affairs, was travelling between Moroto and the State Lodge at Morulinga (near Kangole in Napak District) and, subsequently, initiated legal proceedings against Amodoi and the Uganda Investment Authority for fraud and illegal acquisition of their land; as of early 2017, the court case had not been resolved, although the proposed industrial park has been relocated.</p> | <p><i>Acquisitions Cases Offer a Glimpse into Karamoja’s Complicated Development Problem and the Growing Storm over Its Land Resources.</i> Moroto, Karamoja Development Forum, 2015; interview, UO68, Karamojong civil servant in Moroto District, Moroto, 2 November 2016; interview, UO93, Karamojong civil society activist, Moroto, 7 November 2016; interview, UO121, MP from Karamoja, Kampala, 9 December 2016; interview, UO123, Karamojong lawyer, Kampala, 10 December 2016; interview, UO126; interview, UO127, Karamojong donor agency worker, Kampala, 15 December 2016.</p> |
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| Kamsalaba, Nakapiripirit District | 2013 - present  | Lokeris Peter and his sons: Koriang Ben and Felix Apo-Oroma | Irregular acquisition of land | Moderate | <p>Together with his sons Koriang Ben and Apo-Oroma Felix, Lokeris Peter, the Chekwii County MP and junior Minister for Minerals, has used their company Welt Machinen Engineering (through which they previously supplied machinery for a widely ridiculed tractor scheme implemented as part of the Karamoja Integrated Disarmament and Development Program) to obtain a land title and mining license to Kamsalaba Rock (an area of approximately 32 hectares according to the Uganda Mining Cadastre Portal) near Acherir in Nakapiripirit District in 2013. As a high-ranking government official, Lokeris is claimed to have known that China Road and Bridge Corporation (CRBC) intended to use material from the rock in the construction of the tarmac road from Moroto to Nakapiripirit. According to a source close to the family, Lokeris ‘has access to road construction information. He told me once that the company [CRBC] budgeted [UGX] 46 billion for the stones. He spent basically nothing on the license. With the knowledge from the Ministry of Works, which as an MP and minister he’s privy to, he obviously had access to any information.’ After CRBC had extracted stones—destroying Kamsalaba Rock in the process—Welt Machinen Engineering sued the company and the Ugandan government for UGX 35 billion (approximately USD 9.5 million) in compensation. In late 2016, the Uganda National Roads Authority apparently agreed to pay Welt Machinen Engineering UGX 26 billion (approximately USD 7 million). Because, much like Amodoi Peter at Kautakou, Lokeris and his sons obtained a land title without compensating customary owners, the local community initiated legal proceedings against them.</p> | <p><i>New Vision</i>, 2010. “Multi-purpose walking tractors to boost rural farmers.” September 26. <a href="http://www.newvision.co.ug/new_vision/news/1281956/multi-purpose-walking-tractors-boost-rural-farmers">http://www.newvision.co.ug/new_vision/news/1281956/multi-purpose-walking-tractors-boost-rural-farmers</a>; <i>NTV</i> (Uganda), 2016. “Government asked to pay Shs46 billion to Chinese firm in Moroto mining row.” <a href="http://www.ntv.co.ug/news/local/22/oct/2016/government-asked-pay-shs46-billion-chinese-firm-moroto-mining-row-14701">http://www.ntv.co.ug/news/local/22/oct/2016/government-asked-pay-shs46-billion-chinese-firm-moroto-mining-row-14701</a>; interview, UO58, Karamojong priest, Nakapiripirit, 28 October 2016; interview, UO93; interview, UO94, Karamojong politician, Moroto, 7 November 2016; interview, UO126; interview, UO128.</p> |
| Iriiri, Napak District            | c. 2002-present | Gutti Andrew, Limlim Robert, Lomokol                        | Irregular acquisition of land | Moderate | <p>General Gutti Andrew (Chairman of the Uganda People’s Defence Force General Court Martial), Limlim Robert (Coordinator of the Northern Uganda Social Action Fund), Amodoi Peter’s brother Lomokol Jimmy (Executive Director of the Karamoja</p>   | <p>Interview, UO58; interview, UO94; interview, UO127.</p>  |

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|                                     |              | Jimmy, Lochap Peter Ken  |                               |          | Private Sector Development Promotion Centre), and Lochap Peter Ken (former Moroto District LC5 Chairman and Lira District Resident District Commissioner) are alleged to have perpetrated the largest-scale land grab in Karamoja. These four Tome Bokora government officials (from Lotome, northeast of Iriiri) laid claim to the land as soon as the sections of the Bokora Wildlife Reserve located in the vicinity of Iriiri Trading Centre were de-gazetted in 2002. They are believed own all the land in Iriiri Sub-county that is not protected through the Bokora or Pian-Upe wildlife reserves. Gutti, Limlim, Lomokol, and Lochap farm some of the land themselves; they have also allowed settlers from other parts of Karamoja—attracted by Iriiri’s fertility—to build homesteads in the area. Relatedly, migration to Karamoja’s ‘green belt’ (caused by the destruction of pastoral livelihoods) has apparently facilitated irregular acquisition of land elsewhere in the region, including at Kautakou; many former inhabitants of that area have now settled in Iriiri. |  |
| Lopei, Napak District               | Unknown      | Kitelore (Lokwang) Peter | Illegal acquisition of land   | Moderate | Lokwang Peter (also known as Kitelore), an owner of a hardware store in Moroto, has apparently acquired a land title to either 1,000 or 8,000 hectares of de-gazetted land in Lopeei Sub-county in Napak District.  | Interview, UO94; interview, UO126; interview, UO127. |
| Lorengedwat, Nakapiripirit District | 2016-present | Lokong Israel            | Irregular acquisition of land | Low      | Lokong Israel, the owner of Shalosa Hotel in Moroto, supposedly demarcated approximately 500 hectares in Lorengedwat in Nakapiripirit District in late 2016.  | Interview, UO128.                                    |
| Multiple                            | Unknown      | Cornelius Lorika Kodet   | Irregular acquisition of land | Low      | In addition to his short-lived investment in Jan Mangal, Cornelius Lorika Kodet is reported to have collected a large number of land holdings throughout the region.  | Interview, UO128.                                    |