

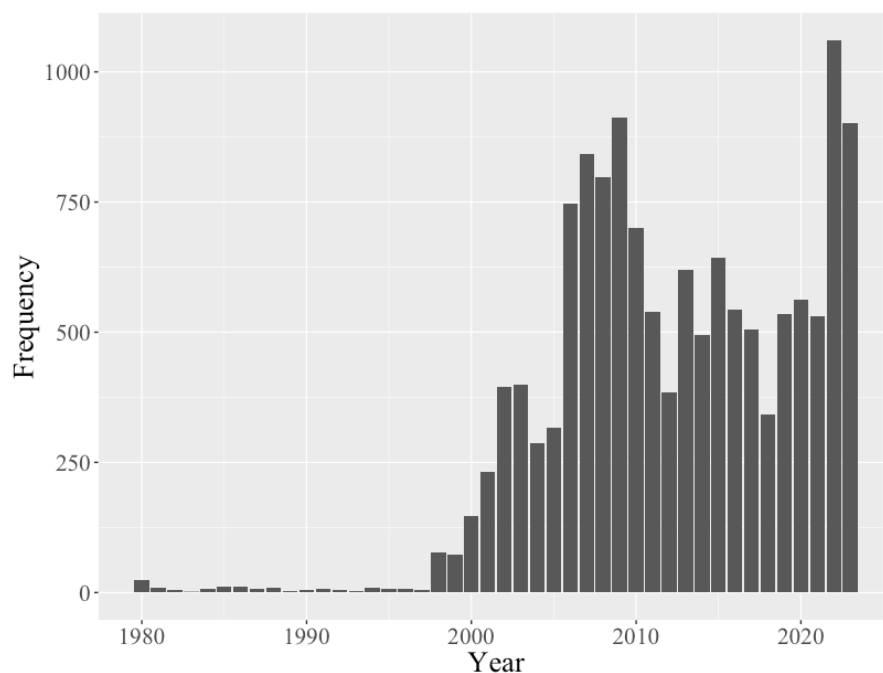
State capacity and elite enrichment in Uganda's northeastern periphery

Supplementary material

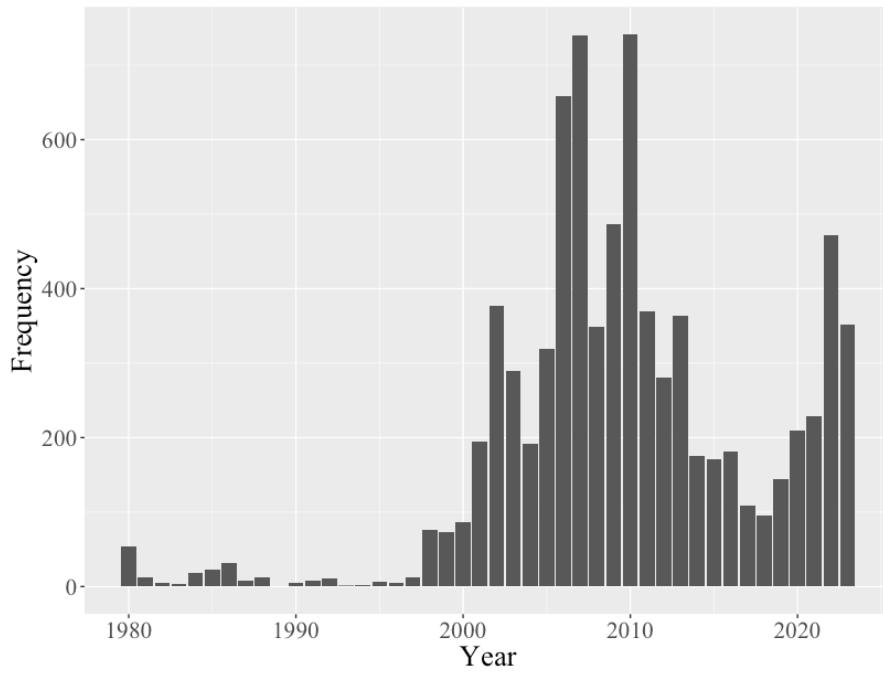
Appendix 1. Media reporting on Karamoja

Factiva, the source of the data presented in the appendix, aggregates news media content, including almost 14,000 articles on Karamoja. Media reporting provides valuable suggestive evidence of historical trends that accords with, and helps to corroborate, the argument advanced in the article. For example, the frequency of media reports of military presence in Karamoja corresponds to the number of Uganda People's Defence Force (UPDF) personnel deployed to the region according to other sources. Similarly, media reporting on the confiscation of weapons tracks the quantity of guns that the Ugandan government claims to have recovered from Karamojans. Representativeness of these data is nonetheless limited. First, media interest in Karamoja only imperfectly maps onto actual developments in the region, especially given the long history of its marginalisation. Second, while Factiva coverage of Karamoja since 2000 appears to be largely complete, the repository contains few media articles on the region published prior to that date, and none from before 1980.

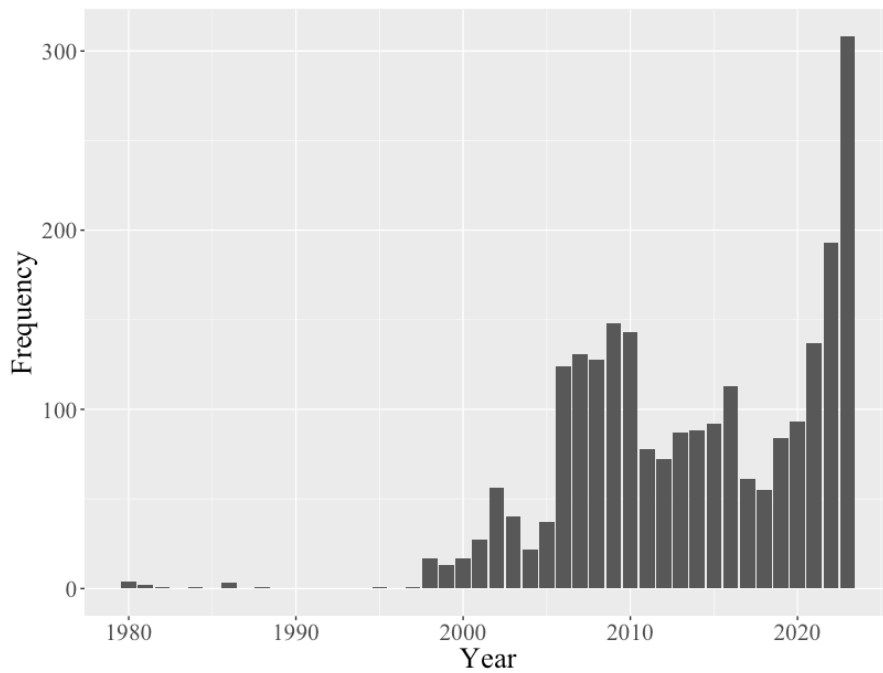
Plot 1. All media reporting on Karamoja (keyword: Karamoja; number of articles: 13,726)



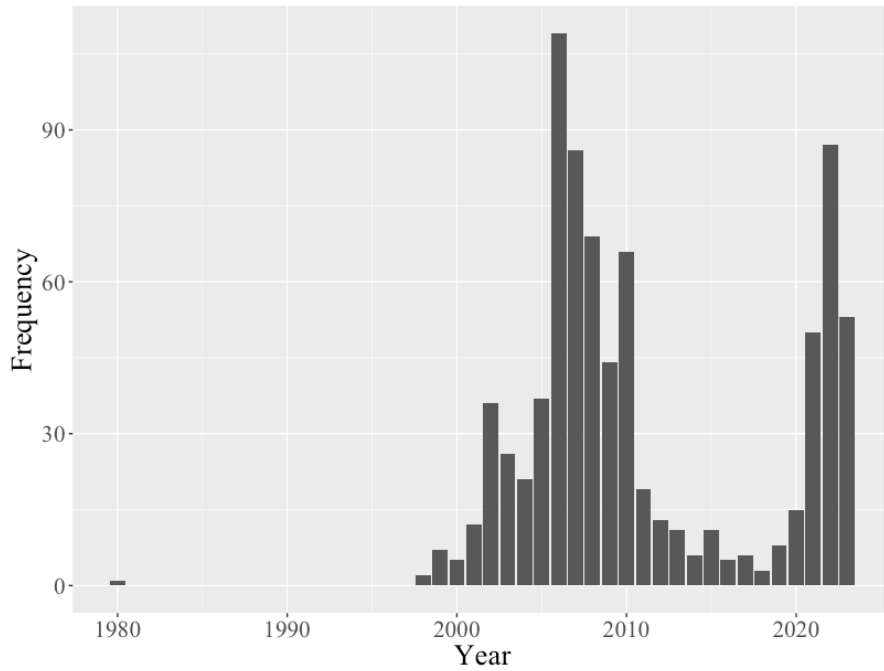
Plot 2. Media reporting on military presence in Karamoja (keywords: Karamoja *and* army *or* military *or* soldiers *or* UPDF; number of articles: 7,952)



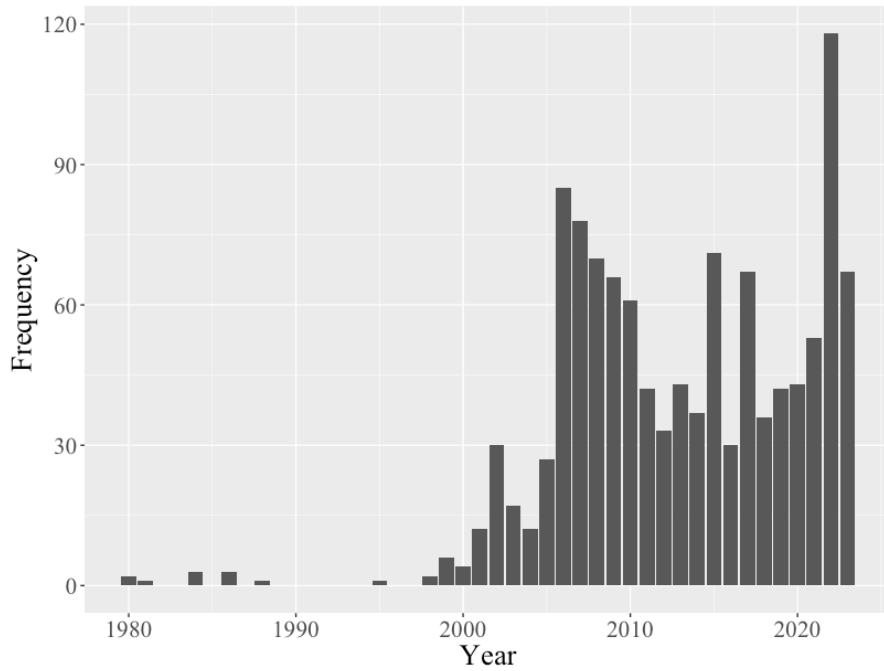
Plot 3. Media reporting on police presence in Karamoja (keywords: Karamoja *and* police; number of articles: 2,378)



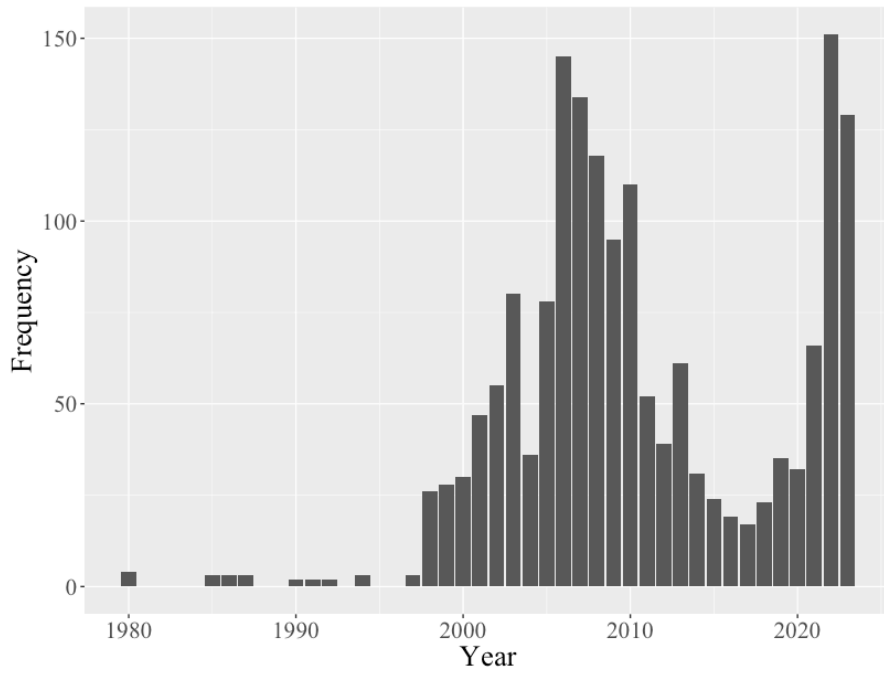
Plot 4. Media reporting on confiscation of weapons in Karamoja (keywords: Karamoja *and* guns confiscated *or* guns recovered *or* weapons confiscated *or* weapons recovered; number of articles: 808)



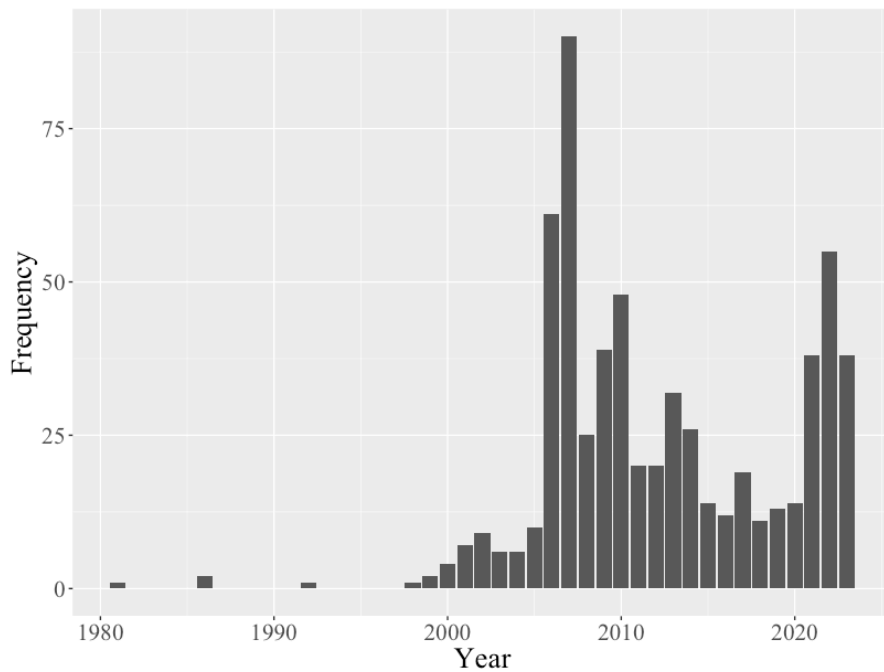
Plot 5. Media reporting on violence in Karamoja (keywords: Karamoja *and* violence; number of articles: 1,163)



Plot 6. Media reporting on raiding in Karamoja (keywords: Karamoja *and* raiding *or* rustling; number of articles: 1,686)



Plot 7. Media reporting on human rights abuses in Karamoja (keywords: Karamoja *and* rights abuse *or* rights violation *or* torture; number of articles: 624)



Appendix 2. Human rights violations committed in Karamoja by the UPDF

The list is undoubtedly incomplete. While most, and perhaps all large-scale incidents, such as the ones at Lopuyo in October 2006, which resulted in 48-75 deaths and displacement of over 1,000 people, Nagera-Kapus in February 2007 (34 deaths), and Lokitelang in April 2010 (10-43 deaths) have been recorded, many less deadly cases have likely failed to attract the attention of human rights agencies, journalists, and scholars, especially if they took place in locations remote or otherwise inaccessible from towns. Furthermore, most of the collected evidence concerns violations that occurred in 2006 and 2007, when the brutality of the UPDF cordon and search operations attracted considerable attention. Although the incidence of human rights violations in subsequent years presumably reduced as disarmament gradually drew to a close, the decline was probably not as pronounced as the data suggest. As the list demonstrates, human rights violations continued, but only newsworthy, larger-scale incidents were reported.

Unless specifically stated otherwise, the reported incidents are attributed by sources to the UPDF.

Date	Location	Type	Number of incidents	Number of victims	Source
unknown	Kacheri and Panyangara, Kotido District, and multiple unspecified locations in Kaabong District	Rape	Unknown	Unknown, multiple	Stites and Stefansky Huisman (2010)
late 1999	Unknown	Death	1	Several hundred	Gray et al. (2003)
2001-2011	Across Karamoja	Death	Multiple	623	Kolyangha (2011)
unknown, possibly 2002	Lotim, Kaabong District	Beatings	Unknown	Unknown, multiple	Knighton (2002)
9.03.2002	Nakapelimoru, Kotido District	Death, rape, beatings	1	Multiple, at least 17 (2 deaths, including 1 child, 12 rapes, beatings of multiple children)	Ibid.
21.03.2002	Kotido-Moroto road, Kotido District	Death	1	3 (including Fr. Declan O'Toole, shortly after he reported the 9th March 2002 incident in Nakapelimoru to the Irish embassy)	HRW (2007); Knighton (2003)

05.2002	Moroto District	Torture	1	1 (mother of David Pulkol MP, beaten and forced to swallow her beads)	Knighton (2002)
2004	Across Karamoja	Death caused by violent incidents	Unknown	202	CEWARN (2007)
2005	Across Karamoja	Death caused by violent incidents	Unknown	545	Ibid.
2006	Across Karamoja	Death caused by violent incidents	Unknown	147	Ibid.
unknown, possibly 2006	Natapararengan and Lomormor, Nakapiripirit District	Dismemberment and torture	Unknown	More than 10	Bevan (2008)
04-05.2006	Kotido District	Death, injury	Unknown	11 (and 5 injuries)	Mkutu (2008)
05.2006	Kotido District	Death	1	Unknown, multiple	Bevan (2008)
05.2006	Losogat, Kotido District	Death	1	2	Anonymous (2006)
8.05.2006	Lomejan, Kotido District	Death	1	1	Ibid.
13.05.2006	Locholi, Napak District (then Moroto District)	Death, injury, torture	1	Unknown, multiple (including 1 death)	Ibid.
16.05.2006	Morualoyette, Napak District (then Moroto District)	Death, injury	2	4 (including 1 death and 3 injuries)	Ibid.
19.05.2006 & 26.05.2006	Jimos, Kotido District; Loperot, Loputiput, and Longoleki, Moroto District	Death, sexual violence, extrajudicial detention	4	Unknown, multiple (including 5 deaths and 4 rapes)	HRW (2007)
21.05.2006	Kakomongole, Nakapiripirit District	Death, injury	1	Unknown, multiple (including 2 deaths)	Anonymous (2006)
27.05.2006	Modokonyang, Kotido District	Death	1	1	Ibid.

29.05.2006	Nawaikorot, Napak District (then Moroto District)	Beatings	1	Unknown, multiple	Ibid.
3.06.2006	Watakau, Kotido District	Death, torture	1	Unknown, multiple (including 3 deaths)	Ibid.
07.2006	cattle market near the Kotido-Kaabong district border	Death	1	6	Bevan (2008)
9.06.2006	Nadunget, Moroto District	Death, injury	1	3 (including 1 death and 2 injuries)	Anonymous (2006)
09.2006	Longalom, Moroto District	Beatings	1	Approximately 30	HRW (2007)
29.10.2006-1.03.2007	across Karamoja	Death	unknown	161-189	Ibid.
29.10.2006	Lopuyo (Lopei according to Mkutu 2008), Kotido District	Death, sexual violence and displacement	1	48-75 deaths (including at least 1 UPDF soldier), 1 rape, displacement of at least 1133 people following destruction of their homes by UPDF	HRW (2007); Mkutu (2008); OHCHR (2006)
10.11.2006	Kadokini, Kotido District	Death, injuries, torture, extrajudicial detention	1	50 households (including 3 deaths, 2 injuries, 7 acts of torture, 68 arrests)	OHCHR (2006)
14.11.2006	Kanawat, Kotido District	Death and injury	1	8 (4 deaths, including 1 child, and 4 injuries, including 1 child)	Ibid.
7.12.2006	Kalodeke, Kaabong District	Death	1	8	HRW (2007)
10.12.2006	Nakot, Kaabong District	Death	2	2	Ibid.
2006-2007	across Karamoja	Beatings	9	Unknown, multiple	Ibid.
2006-2007	across Karamoja	Extrajudicial detention; torture and deprivation of food, water and shelter while in custody	Unknown, multiple	Unknown, multiple (between 50 and 100 at the Nadunget detention facility only)	Ibid.
1.01.2007	Irosa, Kaabong District	Death and injury	1	2 (including 1 death and 1 non-lethal gunshot wound)	Ibid.

26.01.2007	Nadunget, Moroto District	beating	1	2	Ibid.
12.02.2007	Nagera-Kapus, Kotido District	Death	1	34 (including 16 children)	Bevan (2008); HRW (2007)
14.02.2007	Kotido District	Death	1	52	<i>BBC</i> (2007)
25.03.2007	Kacheri, Kotido District	Death	1	2	OHCHR (2007)
04.2007	Naaut, Tapac, Moroto District	Death	1	1	Ibid.
prior to 24.04.2007	Tapac, Moroto District	Torture	Unknown	2	Ibid.
7.05.2007-11.05.2007	Najokogolit, Katikekile, Moroto District	Death and torture	3	20 (4 deaths and 16 acts of torture)	Ibid.
11.05.2007	Nakwanga, Moroto District	Death	1	1	Ibid.
around 20.05.2007	Losilang, Kotido District	Death	1	1	Ibid.
prior to 19.05.2007	Lokopo, Moroto District (now Napak District)	Torture and sexual violence	Unknown	2	Ibid.
prior to 22.05.2007	Katikekile, Moroto District	Torture	Unknown	Unknown, multiple	Ibid.
23.05.2007	Lojom, Tapac, Moroto District	Beating	1	1	Ibid.
29.05.2007	Kodike, Iriiri, Moroto District (now Napak District)	Rape	1	1	Ibid.
05-06. 2007	Nateedekitoe, Losilang, Kotido District	Beating and torture	Unknown	Unknown, multiple	Ibid.
28.05.2007-3.06.2007	Lorengedwat, Nakapiripirit District	Beating and sexual violence	5	Unknown, multiple	Ibid.
prior to 11.06.2007	Nayese, Losilang, Kotido District	Injury, torture and beating	3	4	Ibid.
29.06.2007	Kacheri, Kotido District	Death	1	1	Ibid.
4.07.2007	Lopotuk, Moroto District	Death	1	2 (including 1 child)	Ibid.

4.07.2007	Lokopuk, Moroto District	Beating	Unknown	Unknown, multiple (including children)	Ibid.
31.07.2007	Lotinit and Lorukum, Nakapiripirit District	Torture	22	Unknown, multiple	Ibid.
07-08.2007	Lokopo, Moroto District (now Napak District)	Torture	Unknown	11	Ibid.
01-06.2009	Kotido and Moroto districts	Death	Unknown	80	Wanyama (2009)
3.01.2010	Kacheri, Kotido District	Death	1	1-20 (including 1 child)	Butagira (2010)
30.03.2010-31.03.2010	Kosiroi, Moroto District	Death	1	12 (allegedly involving Lt. Col. Muhoozi Kainerugaba)	Kulayigye (2010); Nsubuga (2010)
24.04.2010	Lokitelangilam, Rengen, Kotido District	Death	1	10-43 (including 5 or 6 children)	Butagira (2010); Edwards (2010)
22.06.2010	Moroto District	Death	1	2-8	Ariong (2010)
18.08.2010	Rengen, Kotido District	Death	1	10	Kulayigye (2010)
2012	Across Karamoja	Violations of the rights to life, to freedom from torture, and to personal liberty	148 (including 20 cases of violations of the right to life)	Unknown, multiple	OHCHR (2013)
2013	Across Karamoja	Violations of the rights to life, to freedom from torture, and to personal liberty	101 (including 22 cases of violations of the right to life)	Unknown, multiple	Ibid.

Appendix 3. Mining operations and land acquisitions in Karamoja involving members of the Ugandan political elite

The strength of the evidence of the Ugandan political elite's involvement in natural resource exploitation in Karamoja varies across cases. In some instances, multiple sources provide such evidence and corroborate claims made

elsewhere. In others, allegations of such involvement are not meaningfully substantiated. Below, I rate the strength of evidence as high where a wide range of sources—of multiple types—report NRM elite’s mining operations or land acquisitions in Karamoja, provide considerable detail about these activities, and do not contain information that conflicts with other sources; as moderate where the range of available sources is smaller but nonetheless provides detailed and consistent evidence of elite involvement in the exploitation of the region’s natural resources; and as low where the sources or provided detail are insufficient to substantiate advanced claims.

Location	Dates	Investor	Type	Strength of evidence	Description
Lopedo, Kaabong District	1990s-present	Salim Saleh and others	Gold mining	High	In the 1990s, President Yoweri Museveni’s brother General Salim Saleh (Caleb Akandwanaho) formed a partnership, in which he appears to have held a 40 percent-stake, with Branch Energy of South Africa to develop a gold mine at Lopedo in (what is now) Kaabong District. The company claimed to have invested USD 40 million at Lopedo and constructed an airstrip used to transport extracted gold to Nairobi’s Wilson Airport. Citing low profits, in 2001 Branch Energy sold the mine to Catalyst Corporation, which was apparently co-owned by Salim Saleh, and Oslo International; the mine appears to have remained mothballed in subsequent years (<i>Ababaka</i> , 2009; <i>Africa Analysis</i> , 2001; <i>New Vision</i> , 2002a; Mirzeler and Young, 2000: 418; Rugadya et al., 2010; Interview: UO94, Karamojong politician, Moroto, 7.11.2016). In 2011, however, an outfit called East African Gold (EAM) PLC was incorporated in Jersey to reestablish gold extraction at Lopedo; the mine was operational as of 2014 (HRW, 2014).

Tapach, Moroto District	c. 2014-present	Muhoozi Kainerugaba	Gold mining	Moderate	<p>President Museveni's eldest son Muhoozi Kainerugaba, at that time a lieutenant colonel in charge of the 13th Battalion of the Special Forces, operated in Tapach in Moroto District in 2010; according to allegations voiced by the Pokot politician Francis Adamson Kiyonga, Muhoozi and his subordinates were responsible for the killings of several civilians in the area (Kulayigye 2010; Nsubuga 2010). According to my interviewees, Muhoozi identified the area's mining potential during that time. A few years later (perhaps around 2014) he apparently established a gold mine on Moroto Mountain that operates disguised as UPDF barracks. Because military personnel have blocked access to the area, this claim cannot be verified; it has, however, been voiced by two reliable and well-informed research respondents (Interviews: UO94; UO126, Karamojong NGO worker, Kampala, 14.12.2016) and accords with information about Muhoozi's activities in the region published in the media.</p>
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Moruita, Nakapiripirit District	2012-present	Jovia Akandwanaho	Illegal acquisition of land	High	In 2012, two companies, Feronia Uganda Limited and Pro-Solutions Limited, reported to be controlled by Salim Saleh's wife Jovia Akandwanaho, acquired land titles (for a 99-year lease) to 6,130 hectares of land at Kamacharin and 2,001 hectares at Kakomon-gole in Nakapiripirit District, for which they paid UGX 440 million (approximately USD 180,000 at the time of the transaction) and UGX 140 million (approximately USD 55,000), respectively (<i>Daily Monitor</i> , 2012; Talep, 2012; Interviews: UO2, former Karamoja MP, Kampala, 13.10.2016; UO5, senior LC5 official, Amudat District, Amudat, 17.10.2016; UO55, Karamojong senior Nakapiripirit District LC5 official, Nakapiripirit, 27.10.2016; UO56, Karamojong LC5 councillor, Nakapiripirit, 27.10.2016; UO123, Karamojong lawyer, Kampala, 10.12.2016; UO126). The sale was conducted by the then Nakapiripirit District LC5 Chairman Lorot John, Chief Administrative Officer Kisémbó Moses, Deputy Resident District Commissioner Oryem Bernard, and District Physical Planner Aji Nkobe without following due process specified in Ugandan law, which grants limited (but not nonexistent) protections to customary land owners. Neither the area land committees nor the District Land Board were consulted; the District Physical Planner forged the District Land Board chairman's signature (Ariong, 2012; UO56; UO123; UO128, Karamojong NGO worker, Skype, 11.01.2017). The district government has never received the payment for the lease, which was allegedly made directly to Lorot and other officials (UO56; UO123). After the transaction, Feronia and Pro-Solutions engaged in talks to sub-lease the land to a Canadian ranching company for USD 8 million; the Akandwanahos' son was seen in the area with the company's representative and spoke to district officials (UO5; UO56; UO123).
Karenga, Kaabong District	Un-known	Unidentified members of the Museveni family	Irregular acquisition of land	Low	Unidentified members of the Museveni family have supposedly acquired a tract of land in Karenga in Kaabong District, close to the borders of Kidepo National Park, with the intention of transforming it into farmland (UO94). I have not been able to obtain any more information about this apparent instance of land-grabbing.

Boma Grounds, Moroto, Moroto District	c. 2013	Janet Kataha Museveni	Irregular acquisition of land	Low	As the Minister for Karamoja Affairs, Janet Kataha Museveni has occasionally been linked to misappropriation of public funds (e.g. <i>New Vision</i> , 2012). There is, however, no evidence of her direct involvement in mineral exploitation or land-grabbing in the region. The rumour, originally spread in 2013, that she had acquired the land title for Boma Grounds, Moroto's most important public space, does not appear to be credible (Interview: UO126). The First Lady has also been accused of using government officials such as Amodoi Peter and Limlim Robert, known to have been involved in land-grabbing in Karamoja (Czuba, 2019, online appendix; Tebanyang et al., 2015), as conduits to acquire land for herself, but available evidence is insufficient to verify the veracity of this claim (Interview: UO67, Karamojong senior Napak District official, Moroto, 2.11.2016).
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Multiple locations on Mount Moroto, Moroto District	1990s (?) - present	Tororo Cement (Sam Kutesa)	Limestone and marble mining	High	<p>Tororo Cement—co-owned by Sam Kutesa, the former Minister of Foreign Affairs—has continuously operated in Karamoja longer than any other mining company. Originally licensed (perhaps in the 1990s) to mine limestone and marble on 12 km² of land on Mount Moroto, it has since irregularly (and possibly illegally) expanded its operations to cover 49 km² (Interviews: UO5; UO119, Kuliak politician, Moroto, 11.11.2016). Mount Moroto appears to be the source of the majority of the Tororo Cement’s supply of limestone, which it needs to manufacture its eponymous product. The company is the largest cement producer in Uganda and the sixth largest taxpayer in the country (<i>Uganda Business News</i>, 2016). The profits from its Karamojan operations are, however, impossible to determine. As a local leader in Amudat, through which limestone and marble is transported from Kosiroi to the company’s factory in Tororo, has observed, “[t]here is no independent way of quantifying what Tororo Cement is taking. Because Sam Kutesa has a 30 percent share of Tororo. His daughter is married to the son of the president [i.e. Muhoozi Kainerugaba]. Tororo Cement is undervaluing how much cement they ferry, evading taxes to the central government, not paying the local government at all. All that is because Kutesa is in government” (UO5). It is worth noting that, until 2016, when Tororo Cemented invested in its own trucks, all the vehicles used to transport the minerals extracted from Mount Moroto to Tororo were apparently owned by Salim Saleh (UO126).</p>
Rupa, Moroto District	2012-2014 or 2015	Jan Mangal (Sam Engola and Cornelius Lorika Kodet)	Gold mining	High	<p>Jan Mangal operated a gold mine at Nakiloro and Nakibat in Rupa Sub-county in Moroto District from 2012 to 2015 or 2016, when it closed the operation because of yields insufficient for large-scale investment. The company was co-owned by the State Minister for Housing (and Salim and Jovia Saleh’s former partner in the theft of minerals in the Democratic Republic of Congo in the 1990s, as well as a suspected drug trafficker) Sam Engola (apparently the majority shareholder), influential Karimojong Pian businessman Cornelius Lorika Kodet, and a Gujarati businessman (HRW 2014; Saferworld, 2014; Vlassenroot, Perrot, and Cuvelier, 2012; <i>New Vision</i> 2002b; Interviews: UA5, Ugandan human rights lawyer, Kampala, 12.12.2016; UO126; UO128).</p>

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