

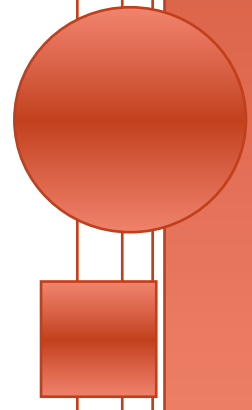


Photo by Daily Monitor

ONGWEN'S JUSTICE DILEMMA

Perspectives from Northern Uganda

This report highlights a range of perspectives and questions raised by people in Uganda on the prospects for justice in relationship to the recent surrender and transfer of Dominic Ongwen - former LRA abductee turned rebel commander - to The Hague to await trial at the International Criminal Court (ICC). For opinion leaders and the population within northern Uganda, Ongwen's case raises dilemmas for the states and justice institutions involved, as well as for the conflict-affected communities



ONGWEN'S JUSTICE DILEMMA

Perspectives from Northern Uganda

INTRODUCTION¹

On Friday 16th January, the Refugee Law Project (RLP) in collaboration with Northern Uganda Transitional Justice Working Group (NUTJWG) hosted a consultative dialogue in Gulu to reflect on emerging viewpoints on: ***“Ongwen’s Justice Dilemma”***. This followed wide-ranging debates within and beyond Uganda sparked by Ongwen’s surprise surrender to the Seleka rebels in Central African Republic (CAR) and his eventual handover to US Special Forces stationed in CAR.

About sixty-one opinion leaders within the region participated: including political, religious and cultural leaders (For a list of participants see Annex). This report presents a summary of some of the major reflections on Ongwen’s justice dilemma. The reflections were guided by the following key questions:

1. Is Ongwen a victim, a perpetrator or both: What layers of responsibility exist in Ongwen’s case?
2. Should he be tried or forgiven? If tried, could he be tried in Uganda or only at the ICC? Who should surrender Ongwen to the ICC and why? Will he only be tried for crimes committed in Uganda or those in CAR?
3. If tried by the ICC, what justice should be done for crimes committed in northern Uganda prior to 2002?
4. What implications, if any will such action or inaction have on the fight against LRA and prospects for ending LRA rebellion, building sustainable peace, justice and reconciliation in LRA affected areas and Uganda at large?
5. What precedent should be set in this case in terms of child protection vis-a-vis criminal responsibility?

¹ Jackson Odong of the Refugee Law Project (RLP) prepared this report with valuable input from Stephen Oola, Eunice Ouko, Lyandro Komakech, Barnabas Otim and Chris Dolan. For more information contact: ctj@gmail.com or visit www.refugeelawproject.org

Similarly, an extended discussion was held on Saturday, 17th January during a live radio talk show on Radio mega FM in Gulu. In both forums, the issue sparked furious discussions and generated interesting insights. It was evident that whatever process is adopted in Ongwen's case there are serious potential legal and political ramifications. His case has implications for international law and the fight against the LRA, as well as the broader prospects for sustainable peace, justice and reconciliation in LRA affected areas and specifically Uganda. In fact, it was the conclusion at the dialogue, that Ongwen's fate is not a personal dilemma but a dilemma for Uganda and the ICC to grapple with. It was partly on this account that many of the participants and callers preferred Ongwen to be handed over to the ICC, but on condition that the court pay attention to the plight of the victims in LRA affected areas, re-open the entire investigations in northern Uganda, ensure full accountability for atrocities committed by all parties to the conflict, and accord Ongwen a fair hearing. Contributors felt that while Ongwen should answer for his actions, the court must equally take into account the circumstances of Ongwen's abduction and investigate the failures to protect him as a criminal liability for which impunity must not be condoned.



Participants at the roundtable consultative meeting on Dominic Ongwen's Justice Dilemma

ABOUT ONGWEN'S SURRENDER

On January 6, 2015, the US Military Advisors and African Union's Regional Task Force (AU-RTF), hunting the LRA in Central African Republic (CAR), announced that they had custody of a senior LRA Commander, Brigadier Dominic Ongwen. Now 34 years old, Ongwen was abducted at the age of ten by the LRA in northern Uganda in 1999, as he was on his way to school. He subsequently rose through the LRA ranks to become Kony's second in command. Ongwen surrendered voluntarily to the Seleka rebels in CAR, but was later handed over to the US military advisors in Bangui. Given that there was already an ICC indictment hanging over his head, Ongwen's surrender sparked a debate about what should happen to him next.

ABOUT LRA CONFLICT

The LRA has been fighting the Government of Uganda for the last 28 years. For 22 years, Northern Uganda was its battlefield, until 2006 (during the Juba Peace Talks) when the LRA moved its operations into South Sudan, CAR, and DRC where it operates today. The LRA conflict is known for its brutality against civilians and is often presented as having generated one of the world's worst humanitarian crisis in which over 60,000 children (including Ongwen) were abducted and forcefully conscripted to LRA ranks, and in which an estimated 2.8 million civilians were displaced into Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) camps across Northern Uganda.

This is a dilemma of the states involved, the justice systems involved and communities affected— Oloya Alier Tebere

Past efforts to end the rebellion including, peace negotiations, Amnesty Law, referral to the ICC and the Juba Peace process had all failed to find a lasting solution. The latter particularly set out a range of mechanisms with which to deal with the LRA situation and this included a special division of the High Court in Uganda called the International Crimes Division (ICD) to complement the ICC.

DILEMMA'S AND VIEWPOINTS

VICTIM - PERPETRATOR IMPASSE

There is no clear-cut answer to the question; is Brigadier Dominic Ongwen a victim, perpetrator or both? Most participants argued that Ongwen is a victim and will remain so because it was the Government that failed in its responsibility to protect him, prior to his abduction. Ongwen was abducted in Gulu in 1990, at the age of 10 while on his way to school. Sheikh Musa Kilil said, *“It was the responsibility of government to protect such a child, a pupil who was going to school”*. Reflecting on who a victim is in the context of the LRA, a former abductee noted, *“Victims in LRA conflict are all those who were abducted, those who lost their property, body parts, their lives, loved ones and others who have been forced to kill”*. Another participant argued that Ongwen is a victim because; *“Ongwen was abducted, destroyed and ruined. He was made a teacher of a system whose motto value is, kill to survive”*

However, others were of the opinion, notwithstanding the fact of his abduction, Ongwen is also a perpetrator. He grew up in captivity and rose through ranks of the LRA committing crimes and offending humanity. According to the ICC indictments, Ongwen is allegedly criminally responsible for seven counts of war crimes and crimes against humanity including, murder, enslavement, inflicting bodily harms, looting and cruel treatment of civilians.² While Ongwen could be individually responsible for the alleged crimes, some participants contend that he was in a system whose principle is “kill to survive”. Anthony Akol, a former LRA abductee narrated his own experience. He said he escaped the day Dominic Ongwen was abducted but got abducted several days later. According to him, within the LRA one simply had to obey orders or get killed. He said:

“LRA is like when one is starting a company; those who started it are the perpetrators. Kony is the perpetrator. When I was in the bush, I was told to go and bring Cassava, and we had to bring it without question. Whatever, I did in the bush was because I was told to do it. Similarly, we had people who were abducted as children and were forced to kill their own brothers, sisters, mothers and fathers; who are they—are they perpetrators or victims?”

² http://www.icc-cpi.int/en_menus/icc/situations%20and%20cases/situations/situation%20icc%200204/related%20cases/icc%200204%200105/Pages/uganda.aspx

The complexities of the views presented suggest that Ongwen is both a victim and a perpetrator; a fact the ICC must pay close attention to throughout the trial and not simply at sentencing.

WHO ELSE IS CULPABLE IN ONGWEN'S CASE?

The ICC indictment of Ongwen focuses on his individual criminal responsibility. This ignores the circumstances surrounding Ongwen's abduction, indoctrination including all those equally responsible for war crimes in Northern Uganda. Sheikh Musa Kilil of Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative (ARLPI) argues that, *"the Government, the army, the police, the community, the parents, the school, all different groups or categories who failed to protect this child from abduction are liable"*. Others argued that the LRA leadership, in particular Joseph Kony who ordered Ongwen's abduction, is responsible for Ongwen's crimes and that the court should make such a determination and set Ongwen free.



Sheikh Musa Kilil - Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative (ARLPI)

According to Oloya Alier Tebere, the Technical Advisor to the Chairman Gulu District Local Government, the State bears the greatest responsibility for its failure to protect Ongwen and many other victims abducted or killed by the LRA. Ongwen, he said, is like any other child abductee with the LRA and no matter how long he/she spends in captivity and whatever ranks they acquire should not turn them into war criminals. They are victims. He contends that, by focusing on why the state failed to protect Ongwen, one would end up unpacking other layers of responsibility, which perhaps may relate to State failures as well as the failures of the international community that is now so eager to condemn Ongwen.

According to Awany Andrew, Deputy Resident District Commissioner, Gulu district, Dominic Ongwen, like other abductees, reached an adult age where he ought to have made a decision to quit the LRA but stuck in there and he must be held accountable for the crimes he committed as an adult. He added that Ongwen had plenty of opportunities to escape and therefore should not use his abduction as an excuse. But Sister Mary Okee of Amnesty Commission Gulu disagreed. She said, *“We should learn as a government, that the Acholi people acknowledges where we have failed and that’s why they preferred an amnesty. Instead of prosecution, we must be able to apologize to the victims like Ongwen.”*

Tollit Charles of NUTJWG also notes that the global humanitarian community has often depicted the LRA as the perpetrator without unpacking the political dynamics of the entire conflict. **The trial at ICC should therefore provide an opportunity for the victims in northern Uganda to set the record straight.** Who did what, where, when and why in northern Uganda during the war?

TRIAL OR FORGIVENESS DILEMMA

Opinions were divided on whether Dominic Ongwen should be tried or forgiven. Those who called for forgiveness maintained that Ongwen is a victim and cannot be doubly punished. They believe that, because he was abducted and did not join the rebellion voluntarily, a trial will jeopardise the prospect of other abductees who have risen through the LRA ranks coming out. Prosecuting Ongwen, they argued, may undermine justice for other LRA abductees and it will morally absolve the government from its failure to protect them.

However, those who wanted him tried argued that Ongwen is a subject of the ICC because of the earlier indictment on him, and that he must follow judicial process for his release or conviction.

There were also those who saw Ongwen as a victim but still wanted him tried by the ICC because, they believe, it is only at the ICC where he will get a fair trial. They argued that given the precedent set by Kwoyelo's precarious situation, a trial within Uganda at the International Criminal Division (ICD) could not be trusted. Generally, the opinion leaders within northern Uganda believe and are hoping that Ongwen's trial at the ICC presents an opportunity to uncover the 'silent truth'. The assumption is that, truth about the LRA war and missing persons can be uncovered. A panelist on the radio talk show lamented: *"I think we need to take this opportunity, to mobilize ourselves to find the truth and we have Ongwen to help us do this"*. He added that all parties involved in the LRA conflict must be held accountable, and that anything less would amount to a travesty of justice.

The primary objection to the ICC as the forum of dealing with war crimes in Uganda has been and remains its failure to hold both sides of the conflict accountable. According to Norbert Mao, President General of the Democratic Party, *"the goal for meaningful accountability and justice in northern Uganda should lead to national healing and reconciliation. This requires addressing the unresolved legacies of conflicts in Uganda and their consequences."* Mao added that, all regimes that have perpetrated crimes must take responsibility and apologize to the victims. Besides, the question of what justice should be done for crimes committed prior to 2002, before ICC came into force remains unanswered. This casts doubts on what justice ICC will deliver to war victims.

Some people argue that given the centrality of the Juba peace process and the strong justice system within the Acholi, they do not necessarily oppose Ongwen's going to the ICC, but that he should be cleansed before any other process is commenced. They believe that the ICC should truly complement Uganda's domestic processes by honoring a local justice framework agreed in Juba and allow Ongwen to first participate in local justice mechanisms like *"nyono tong gwen"* or stepping on the egg before he faces trial at The Hague. This, it was argued, would appease Ongwen's parents and psychologically prepare Ongwen for his defense. In the absence of such measures, the ICC will be putting a victim on the stand.

COMPLEMENTARITY PRINCIPLE

Ongwen's case was also seen as a challenge to the principle of complementarity, under which the ICC is intended as the court of last resort. According to the complementarity principle, the ICC only gets involved when the responsible state party is **either unable or unwilling** to prosecute international crimes. In 2010, Uganda domesticated the Rome Statute by enacting the ICC Act. It set up an International Crimes Division (ICD) - a special division of the High Court - with jurisdiction over all international crimes including those for which the ICC indicted Ongwen. The ICD's first and only test case thus far has been that of LRA Col. Thomas Kwoyelo. The question now is where will a trial at the ICC leave the ICD?

According to leaders in northern Uganda, handing Ongwen to the ICC does not necessarily mean he should face trial there. Provisions in the law allow the Uganda Government to request the court to defer the case to Uganda to be tried domestically. This they argued is dependent on whether ICC Pre-Trial Chamber II believes that Uganda meets international criteria to try war crimes. Drawing on Thomas Kwoyelo's example, the leaders wondered whether Uganda could ever approach the court to defer Dominic Ongwen. Kwoyelo's trial, they said, was mismanaged and it is therefore clear that Ongwen cannot get a fair trial within Uganda. Some participants observed that, if Ongwen is to face trial in Uganda, it will only be Ongwen on trial but if Ongwen is to be tried in The Hague, both Ongwen and Uganda will be put on trial, given the circumstances that led to Ongwen's involvement in the LRA and layers of criminal responsibility embedded in his particular case. According to Okello Douglas Peter, Gulu District Council Speaker, *"Ongwen's justice dilemma in the court of public opinion is that, he has to be tried nationally using the ICD but our courts have not been very independent"*. Bishop Macleord Baker Ochola II, said: *"The government of Uganda cannot take Ongwen to court since it is also implicated in the same crimes as well as the question of responsibility to protect its citizens"*. He also noted that it is Joseph Kony rather than Ongwen who should face trial, and that Ongwen should be forgiven.

AMNESTY AND TRADITIONAL JUSTICE DILEMMA

Ongwen's immediate transfer to The Hague also casts doubt over the future of amnesty and of traditional justice mechanisms related to the LRA conflict going forward. According to local leaders, the intention of the amnesty law and traditional justice has been to bring about peace, justice and reconciliation by providing alternative to punitive justice. Sister Mary Okee of Amnesty Commission, Gulu reported that to date, 28,000 combatants have denounced rebellion and returned home under the Amnesty. However, despite the Amnesty's successful implementation, there have been a lot of debates and contestations around the questions of Amnesty in Uganda and alternative mechanisms that can provide victims with justice. Some commentators argue that if Ongwen is handed over to Uganda with the Amnesty Act still in place, Ongwen, may be given Amnesty and will never face Justice. Such amnesty will not be binding on the ICC. While discussing whether Ongwen qualifies for Amnesty and should be subjected to Local justice mechanisms such as *Mato Oput*, Mathew Otto of Ker Kal Kwaro Acholi said:

“Mato Oput is a very powerful religious and traditional instrument that binds the Acholi people and all those who believe in its philosophy. The position of Ongwen is a little bit outside the consideration and application of Mato Oput and thus, we shall have to go The Hague”



Mathew Otto - Ker Kal Kwaro Acholi

Awany Andrew, a government official, argues that traditional justice mechanisms have lacked credibility and may not necessarily be partial. He added that, *“during the peace talks, rebels were talked to and they were given a chance to denounce rebellion. The likes of Ongwen, had some considerations which I may not perhaps be able to unpack”*.

On the contrary, some participants advocate for alternative justice citing its role in individual and social healing. Sheikh Musa Kilil said: *“As religious leaders, we insist for alternative justice system because it is holistic and restores relationships. Prosecuting Ongwen, alone at the ICC, does not restore broken relationships in community.”*

The need for alternative justice mechanisms is based on the changing nature of today's wars. Oloya Tebere observed that the existing justice mechanisms, including the ICC were developed for inter-state conflicts and cannot adequately deal with today's wars and related crimes. He further questioned whether the Acholi justice system could bring justice to victims outside Acholi region including communities in CAR. Using the example of Boko Haram in Nigeria, he argued that wars have become transnational and transcultural and there is need for the international community to develop appropriate justice systems that respond to the changing nature of wars and its violations.

IMPLICATIONS OF ONGWEN'S TRIAL

DOUBLE JEOPARDY?

Leaders argued that Ongwen is a victim of abduction like any other child in LRA captivity. He was abducted at the age of 10 on his way to school way back in 1999 and whatever happened subsequently should not be allowed to erase this fact. His parents have been crying for his rescue just like any other parents within northern Uganda. The Government of Uganda and the international community failed to protect Ongwen and an estimate 60,000 others during the LRA war. His indoctrination and mistreatment during captivity have been a punishment in itself. To punish a former child soldier is therefore double punishment, which further compounds the injustice in northern Uganda. Bishop Mark Baker Ochola II said,

“Ongwen is a victim of circumstance; so if the world wants to punish him twice, then that is another injustice. What we know is that when

LRA abducts a child, the first thing they do to that child is to destroy his/her humanity so that he/she becomes a killing machine in the hands of the LRA”



Bishop Macleord Baker Ochola II – Secretary ARLPI

In relation to punishment, another participant said; *“Ongwen will be punished but please do not fear ICC because it is the highest court of fair trial. They will not judge him on politics, on his abduction rather on how he fought the war. What Ongwen did outraged the conscience of the people and affected humanity”*

FUTURE DEFECTIONS AND RETURN

The LRA is still estimated to have over 300 combatants within the jungles of CAR, DRC and South Sudan. Ongwen’s trial at the ICC will definitely impact on the fight to end the LRA menace once and for all. It will discourage further defections and close doors for several abductees who would wish to come out. Joseph Kony and top LRA commanders will capitalise on this as propaganda to discourage defections. Jolly Laker of Invisible Children Uganda noted; *“We believe the case of Ongwen is a very sensitive issue. Either Ongwen will be rushed to Justice or actions taken upon him will jeopardize further defections and return of those still in captivity”*



Jolly Laker - Director, Invisible Children Uganda

WHAT PRECEDENT?

Most participants were concerned about what precedent the ICC wants to set in this case of Ongwen given the intricacies involved. Should child abductees be treated as criminals upon surrender on account of their length of stay in captivity? What constitutes command responsibility within rebel outfits like LRA that award ranks without clear criteria? Will the circumstances that led Ongwen into the rebellion constitute a defense or mitigating factor? How is state responsibility to protect children addressed? Will the court acknowledge its limitations and recommend other measures to deal with crimes committed prior to its jurisdiction? Finally, what impact will its trial have on domestic accountability and reconciliation processes agreed in Juba? Sheikh Musa Kilil contends that, *“Ongwen may be taken to the ICC, but like Kenyatta, he may be acquitted, because a perpetrator may end up being acquitted; but what happens at home or where Ongwen is said to have been committing crimes? and generally on reconciliation?”*.

IMPLICATION FOR JUBA PEACE AGREEMENTS?

The various dilemmas outlined above have reignited a puzzle on how to sequence peace and justice, which may be linked to the Juba Peace Agreement particularly the Agenda Item 3 on Accountability and Reconciliation. After Juba peace agreement, government declared that, they would implement the agreement, with or without the signature of Joseph Kony. According to Norbert Mao, “the key tenets in that agreement was that, there would be no impunity and that there would be recourse to domestic processes as alternatives to the ICC.”

Okello Douglas Peter observed that our Government has not been committed to dealing with the legacy of the LRA conflicts and victims continue to yearn for accountability and justice within the region. He cited a recent Parliamentary resolution from a petition submitted by victims to Gulu district Local Government and later presented in the Parliament of Uganda, in which war victims are demanding an apology from government. The district speaker stated that Government has not yet fulfilled its commitment in that regard. He added that, *“the Lokodi massacre for example has raised a question of how protected were the protected camps”*.

One participant argued that reuniting Ongwen back into the community is another way of re-traumatizing them. This reflection is a strong reminder of the unresolved question of national healing and reconciliation. Norbert Mao, president of Democratic Party said, *“Healing takes time; issues of reconciliation and accountability take time and so the only way of looking at the predicaments that befell Acholi is to look back on what went wrong in Uganda and embark on a national healing process”*

ENDING IMPUNITY

To end impunity in the LRA war, all parties who committed atrocities within LRA affected areas must be held accountable, leaders said. Those who speak on behalf of war victims and former LRA fighters must not be perceived as condoning impunity. Simon Oyet of Nwoya stated that, *“some people believe we are supporting LRA when we speak in favor of Ongwen or victims of his nature. Our concern is that the person in question was our child. While we must not condone impunity, the question is, are we hearing the voice of the victims?”*

The way victims (now perpetrators) who escape from captivity is handled has implications. Zero Bebel Abukha said, *“If we now take punitive steps without articulating the circumstances under which they got abducted, what would be the*

signal to the others still in captivity; and again if we do not act, what would be the sign to fighting impunity?” He advised that there is need to weigh carefully the available options in order to enlist more holistic accountability and justice approaches. Moreover, some participants view this as the golden moment to engage on the question of impunity in Uganda in a broader sense. One participant stated; *“we have never had a chance to present our case to the world but this is the chance for it as well as for Government of Uganda to be answerable to the people for its atrocities including mass encampment”*. Reparations remain an important part of justice agenda in Northern Uganda. A participant from Empowering Hand argues that, *“it would be a good thing to have Ongwen go the ICC but it is important to know if that will be of benefit to the local communities especially in regards to reparations”*. Besides, there are many victims still traumatized and in need of relief.

CONCLUSIONS

Ongwen is both a victim and a perpetrator; what made him a perpetrator is the key question which, if addressed would perhaps result in better understanding of the multiple layers of responsibility that exist in Ongwen’s case. His case is complex with far reaching implications. His trial should open doors to comprehensive accountability and reconciliation for northern Uganda and Uganda at large. Even as it prosecutes Ongwen, the ICC should therefore be sensitive to the real justice needs within the affected communities.

Concerning his trial at The Hague, the leaders conceded that Ongwen is legally a subject of the ICC because of an indictment on him. However, an indictment is not a conviction, and it does not mean that Ongwen is already guilty. It also does not mean that ICC must prosecute Ongwen.

Other layers of responsibility also exist in Ongwen’s case and the ICC must re-open its investigations into the northern Uganda situation if it is fully to appreciate the justice dilemmas raised by his case. All parties to the conflict must be held accountable for justice to be done. Ongwen must be protected by the ICC and be given absolute discretion to choose his defense team.

Equally, trial of Ongwen has implications for the fight against the LRA and the prospects for sustainable peace, justice and reconciliation in LRA affected areas and specifically Uganda. His prosecution at The Hague must not jeopardise the meaningful and robust accountability and reconciliation mechanisms agreed in Juba for post-conflict northern Uganda. There is need

to complement the ICC proceedings with domestic processes that provide acknowledgement to the multiple victims of the conflict, provide healing to survivors and the affected community, and take steps to promote national reconciliation and guarantee non-recurrence.

The Ongwen trial also presents an opportunity to kick-start a process of establishing an impartial historical record of what happened in Northern Uganda in a Rights-based perspective. The ICC must open an outreach office in northern Uganda and pay attention to views of the community throughout the trial. There is need to provide victims and community throughout the LRA affected areas an opportunity to participate and monitor the proceedings. The populations should equally be sensitised on the ICC mandate and its implications for Transitional Justice processes in northern Uganda.

Finally, while it is important to end impunity, reparations to victims remain equally vital. We must not simply prosecute the crimes Ongwen committed but also focus on righting the wrongs meted upon the affected communities by balancing the costs of the prosecution with reparatory measures to restore the victims as closely as possible to their position before victimisation.

ANNEX 1

S/ No	NAME	Gender	ORGANIZATION/DISTRICT
1	Patrick Uma	M	GuluFm/Acholitimes
2	Okot Komakech Deo	M	RLP NMPDC
3	Hope Okeny	F	Kicici Uganda
4	Sdrey Viamart	F	WAPA
5	Veriangu cranebruck	F	WAPA international
6	Rubangakene Moris	M	Radio king
7	Awany Andrew Moses	M	RDC Gulu
8	Okello Douglas peter	M	District Speaker
9	Holly Peter	F	LSE4srp
10	Oola Stephen	M	RLP
11	Robert Adupa	M	NUTJ
12	Nono Francis	F	RLP
13	Rosalba Oywa	M	PVP
14	Denis Godwin Okello	M	UYC
15	Ajok Cathy	F	EHs
16	Okello Moses	M	HURINET-U
17	Otto Mathew	M	KKA
18	Akol Anthony	M	CPF
19	Oyet Simon (Hon)	M	Nwoya
20	Oryem Nyeko	M	JRP
21	Sheikh Musa Kilil	M	UMSC/ARLPI
22	Lyandro Komakech	M	RLP
23	Oloya Alier Tebere	M	TA/Gulu
24	Andrew Simbo	M	UWAP
25	Avola Tabitha	M	Rupiny
26	Komakech Ogwok	M	RLP
27	Bishop Mark Baker Ochola II	M	ARLPI
28	Okot Ronny Job	M	NTV Gulu
29	Apiyo Edina	F	Gulu University
30	Thomas Prince	M	Grass Roots Reconciliation Group
31	Oruku Chris	M	NTV Uganda
32	Musoke Grace	M	NTV Uganda
33	Emma Mutaizebwa	M	NTV Uganda
34	Joel Alang	M	Grassroots Reconciliation Group
35	Ouko Eunice	F	RLP
36	Odong Jackson	M	RLP
37	Denis Barnabas Otim	M	RLP
38	Joseline Amony	F	RLP
39	Ibrahim Makara	M	HURINET-U
40	Okot Benard Kasozi	M	RLP
41	George Godie Aporo	M	DGF
42	Julius Ocungi	M	Daily Monitor
43	Sister Okee Mary	F	Amnesty Commission/DRT
44	Komakech Patrick	M	Amani Institution

45	Julian Hopwood	M	JRP
46	Dr. Lioba Lenhart	F	IPSS-Gulu University
47	Zero Bebel Abukha	M	DPC Nwoya
48	Arnest Tumwesigye	M	Vision Group
49	Jolly Grace O.A	F	Invisible Children U
50	Opiyo Winfred	M	PID-Uganda
51	Ayella .C. Micheal	M	
52	Abong Thomas	M	
53	Norbert Mao	M	Democratic Party
54	Ojera Moses	M	Gulu University
55	Opiyo Tonny	M	Kitgum District Local Gov't
56	Mark Whyte	M	Trust land Gulu University
57	Ocaka mike	M	Advisory Consortium for Men
58	Odong Martine	M	Daily monitor
59	Cinderella Anena	F	IRH-George Town University
60	Tolit Charles Atiya	M	Governance and Human Rights Initiative
61	Lusan Edward white	M	University of Copenhagen and Gulu University