

# Key texts and agreements

## Documents relating to the northern Uganda peace process

All texts listed are available on  
Conciliation Resources' website,  
<http://www.c-r.org/accord>.

*Titles listed in **bold** are reproduced in  
full here.*

- **'Nairobi Peace Agreement'**, with appendixes A, B, C, D and E, between the military government of Uganda (Military Council) and the National Resistance Movement/Army (NRM/A) hosted by the government of Kenya, December 17, 1985. Nairobi, Kenya
- **'Pece Agreement'**, agreement between the Uganda government (NRM) and the Uganda People's Democratic Movement (UPDM), June 3, 1988. Pece Stadium, Gulu, Uganda
- **'Addis Accord'**, agreement between the Uganda Peoples' Democratic Movement (UPDM) and the Uganda (NRM) government, July 14, 1990. Hilton Hotel, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
- **'Gulu Ceasefire'**, NRA-LRA Ceasefire Agreement and Ceasefire Implementation Schedule. February 2, 1994. Gulu, Uganda
- **'LRM/A Letter to President Museveni'**, November 6, 1997. London, UK
- **'President Museveni Letter to LRM/A'**, November 22, 1997. Kampala, Uganda
- **'Signed minutes'** of the meeting between the LRM/A and the government of Uganda hosted by the Community Sant'Egidio, December 13, 1998. Rome, Italy
- **'Nairobi Agreement'**, agreement between the governments of Sudan and Uganda hosted by the government of Kenya and The Carter Center, December 8, 1999. Nairobi, Kenya
- **'The Amnesty Act'**: government of Uganda, January 17, 2000. Kampala, Uganda
- **'Joint Statement of First Ministerial Committee Meeting'**, governments of Sudan and Uganda January 21, 2000.
- **'Joint Statement of the Second Ministerial Committee Meeting'**, governments of Sudan and Uganda, March 3, 2000.
- **'Lomé Non-Paper'**, agreement between Uganda and Sudan, sponsored by governments of Libya and Egypt, July 11, 2000.
- **'Atlanta Joint Action Plan for Implementation of the Nairobi Agreement'**, from the Uganda/Sudan joint ministerial committee meeting held in Atlanta July 18-19, July 19, 2000. Atlanta, USA
- **'Winnipeg Communiqué'**, Joint Communiqué on Immediate Action on Abducted Children, issued by the governments of Uganda and Sudan, hosted by the government of Canada and Egypt. September 17, 2000. Winnipeg, Canada
- **'Khartoum Implementation Plan'** Minutes of Technical Committee Meeting with workplans. Uganda/Sudan ministerial meeting hosted by The Carter Center, October 7, 2000. Khartoum, Sudan
- **'Record of Commitments Made'**, with letter to Mr. Joseph Kony, November 19, 2000. Nairobi, Kenya
- **'Agreed Minutes of the Nairobi Meetings'**, Uganda/Sudan ministerial meeting hosted by The Carter Center. Participants included Sudan, Uganda, and observers included: governments of Egypt, Canada, and Libya, Save the Children – Denmark, UNICEF, IOM. June 2, 2001. Nairobi, Kenya.
- **'Meeting Record'** of the ministerial meeting hosted by The Carter Center with Letter to Joseph Kony. Participants included delegations from the governments of Sudan, Uganda, Libya, Canada and Egypt and observers included: Save the Children – Denmark, UNICEF, IOM. November 27, 2001. Nairobi, Kenya.

# THE NAIROBI PEACE AGREEMENT (17 DECEMBER 1985)

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## THE UGANDA PEACE TALKS AGREEMENT FOR THE RESTORATION OF PEACE TO THE SOVEREIGN STATE OF THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA

This agreement is made pursuant to the Peace Talks held in Nairobi, Kenya during the period 26th August 1985 to 17th December 1985 under the Chairmanship of His Excellency Daniel Toroitich arap Moi, President and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Kenya, between the Military Government of Uganda, which assumed power in Uganda following the ouster of the former government of that country on the 27th of July 1985 (Hereinafter referred to as 'The Military Government'), and the National Resistance Movement.

We, the Military Government and the National Resistance Movement, the parties to this agreement;

APPRECIATING the offer by his Excellency President Daniel Toroitich arap Moi and the brotherly people of the Republic of Kenya to convene, host and chair our talks and search for peace in our beloved Uganda;

RECALLING the desire of the people of the sovereign state of Uganda at independence on the 9th of October 1962 to exercise fully the right to self-determination of one nation within the United Nations Organisation;

MINDFUL of the determination proclaimed by the people of the world in the charter of the United Nations to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of all men and women of all nations and to promote social progress and freedom, which determination was restated and subscribed to by the sovereign state of Uganda in the charter of the Organisation of African Unity but more particularly in the bill of rights contained in the independence constitution of Uganda and the successive constitutions of Uganda;

AWARE of the endless conflicts resulting from the denial of, or impediments in the way of, freedom and peace for the citizens of and people in Uganda by successive governments, which conflicts have destroyed peace and stability, eroded national institutions and democratic principles and threatened the sovereignty and integral status of our country so dearly cherished by us and all Ugandans everywhere;

CONSCIOUS of the need for the creation of conditions of stability and well-being and peace based on respect of individual persons and of the need for respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all persons in Uganda without distinction as to race, sex, place of origin, political opinions, colour, creed or language;

RECOGNISING the passionate yearning for peace and freedom for all citizens of Uganda everywhere and other people living in Uganda, a yearning shared by all nations and people of good will towards Uganda and the decisive positive role that such citizens, nations and people can play in the political, social and economic development of Uganda in times of peace;

CONVINCED that any continuation of armed conflict, dictatorial rule, denial of human rights and fundamental freedoms prevent development in Uganda as well as positive international co-operation with friendly and brotherly nations and other bodies and militates against the ideals of peace;

CONVINCED that Uganda has an inalienable right to peace and complete political and economic freedom and in that regard must exercise the right of self-determination as a sovereign state and integral national territory whose boundaries were more particularly delineated and described in schedule 1 to the constitution of the Republic of Uganda of 1967;

WELCOMING the commitment to and participation in the search for peace in Uganda by our brotherly neighbours the Republic of Kenya and the United Republic of Tanzania and recognising that instability in any one of the nations is a threat to the peace and

stability of the whole East African region;

BELIEVING that the process of restoration of peace, stability and democratic rule and government is now irresistible and irreversible as exemplified by the spirit of mutual co-operation, trust and frankness between the parties at the peace talks: and in so believing desiring a formula to terminate the problems that have for so long bedevilled and manacled Uganda, such as dictatorial rule and all practices of denial of human rights and fundamental freedoms, discrimination and massacres associated with such rule;

NOW DO SOLEMNLY PROCLAIM for and in the name of Uganda the urgent necessity:

(1) of bringing to a most speedy end dictatorship in all its forms and manifestations, armed conflict and denial of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

(2) of restoring peace, security, law and order throughout the country through reconstruction of the country's economy, re-establishment of an effective administration both in central and local government, initiation and implementation of military reforms designed to ensure balanced, disciplined and national armed forces and security services and,

(3) of laying the groundwork for the preparation and drafting of a popular constitution which will be the supreme law of Uganda, which constitution shall be promulgated by a popularly elected Parliament/National Assembly in due course and ensuring the speedy return to democratic government through free and fair general elections within the framework of such a constitution.

AND TO THIS END DECLARE AND AGREE THAT:

### CEASEFIRE

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#### Article 1: CEASEFIRE TERMS

After the signing of this agreement, there shall be a ceasefire on the following terms:-

(a) With effect from 0920 hours on the 17th day of December 1985, there will be complete and immediate cessation of hostilities. The commanders of the

various combatant forces shall issue instructions to the forces under their command to ensure that within 48 hours of the signing of this agreement, all fighting everywhere in Uganda shall cease.

(b) There shall be immediate cessation of recruitment into or formation of any combatant force other than the National Force and the National Army to be formed by the Military Council pursuant to Article 7 and 8 of this Agreement.

(c) All roads in the country shall be opened and made safe for the civilian and commercial traffic to operate normally.

(d) All hostile propaganda shall cease immediately.

(e) With effect from the date of signing of this agreement, all parties shall forthwith stop the acquisition and procurement of arms, ammunitions and any other military hardware.

(f) No soldier or any other personnel under the command or control of any of the combatant forces shall engage in any criminal acts or other acts that violate human rights.

(g) All members of the security forces or any of the other combatant forces who have violated human rights since the 27th July 1985 shall be immediately punished and disciplining of such forces shall be a routine practice and part of the operational code of conduct. Nothing in this paragraph shall be interpreted to mean that any person who may have committed similar acts prior to 27 July 1985 is exonerated.

(h) All political detainees who are known to be members of the National Resistance Movement shall be immediately released.

(i) Arrangement shall be made to provide non-military supplies to the combatant forces behind ceasefire lines and neutral agents may be involved in this exercise, and without prejudice to the generality of the fore-going, the provisions of Article 3 of the Geneva Convention on the amelioration of the condition of wounded and sick in the armed forces in the field dated the 12th August 1949 set out in Annexure 'D' to this Agreement shall apply.

(j) All combatant forces shall not, under any circumstances whatsoever,

mobilise or deploy their troops without first obtaining authority of the Military Council and informing the monitoring/observer force.

(k) The parties to this agreement shall establish, on behalf of the Military Council, a committee to be known as the Ceasefire Committee, consisting of representative of the forces represented on the Council and the monitoring/observer force for the purpose of implementing the terms of the ceasefire.

THE MILITARY COUNCIL

Article 2: THE MILITARY COUNCIL

(1) There shall be a Military Council which shall be the supreme organ of the government in Uganda and which shall upon the signing of this agreement be composed of representatives of the combatant forces and the Head of State as follows:

(a) Head of State/Chairman, Military Council	1
(b) Uganda National Liberation Army (UNLA)	7
(c) National Resistance Army (NRA)	7
(d) Uganda Freedom Movement (UFM)	1
(e) Federal Democratic Movement (FEDEMU)	2
(f) Former Uganda National Army (FUNA)	1
(g) Uganda National Rescue Front (UNRF)	1
Total	20

(2) All the combatant forces shall nominate their representatives to be appointed to the Military Council in accordance with the agreed numbers, and the Head of State and Chairman of the Military Council shall sign the instruments of appointment. All representatives of the combatant forces who are appointed to the Council shall take the prescribed oath of allegiance.

(3) The political parties that took part in the 1980 general elections may be represented on the Military Council but the mode of their representation shall be decided upon by the Military Council after due consultation with the political parties concerned and in accordance with Article 5 (1) (i).

Article 3: CHAIRMAN AND VICE-CHAIRMAN OF THE MILITARY COUNCIL

(1) There shall be a Chairman of the Military Council who shall also be the Head of State of Uganda.

(2) The Chairman shall preside at all meetings and sessions of the Military Council.

(3) There shall also be a Vice-Chairman of the Military Council who shall in all respects rank second to the Chairman/Head of State and who shall, subject to paragraph (6) of the article, in absence of the Chairman/Head of State, exercise the power and perform the duties and functions of the Chairman/Head of State.

(4) The Head of State at the date of signing of this agreement shall continue to be the Head of State and Chairman of the Military Council.

(5) The Chairman of the High Command of the National Resistance Army at the date of signing of this agreement shall be the Vice-Chairman of the Military Council.

(6) If the office of the Chairman/Head of State or Vice-Chairman shall become vacant by resignation, death or incapacity resulting from infirmity of mind or body, the Military Council shall, by secret ballot and two thirds majority, elect the Chairman/Head of State or Vice-Chairman, as the case may be, from among the representatives of the combatant forces on the Military Council.

(7) At no time during the rule of the Military Council in Uganda pursuant to this agreement shall the Chairman and the Vice-Chairman to the Military Council be members of the same political party or combatant force. The Military Council shall formulate the procedures for securing this agreed position.

Article 4: POWERS OF THE MILITARY COUNCIL

(1) The Military Council shall be the supreme authority in whom the executive and legislative power shall vest.

(2) All powers of the Head of State shall be exercised by him in Council.

(3) Notwithstanding the provisions of paragraph (1) above, the Head of State

may exercise the legislative and executive powers of the Council in exceptional circumstances, which exceptional circumstances will be determined by the Military Council by a two-thirds majority.

(4) After the signing of this agreement and appointment of the representatives of combatant forces to the Military Council, the Military Council shall review decrees promulgated and political appointments and promotion made by the Military Government since 27 JULY 1985.

Article 5: PROCEDURES OF THE MILITARY COUNCIL

(1) The Military Council shall formulate its own rules of procedure.

The normal method of reaching decisions shall be by consensus except in regard to the following matters where a two-thirds majority shall be required to reach decision by secret ballot:

- (a) Matters affecting the provisions of the agreement.
  - (b) National defence policy and building of a new army and other security services.
  - (c) Programmes of the interim period.
  - (d) Political appointments, promotions, including appointment in the security services.
  - (e) Review of decrees.
  - (f) Rehabilitation of war ravaged areas and settlement of displaced persons and fighters and soldiers who will not be absorbed into the new army.
  - (g) Issue of violation of human rights.
  - (h) Matters concerned with the promulgation of the new constitution and the holding of elections.
  - (i) Admission and dismissal of members of the Military Council.
- (2) Notwithstanding the provisions of the foregoing paragraph, the Military Council may, in its own discretion and from time to time, determine such other matters of national importance upon which decisions shall be reached by a two-thirds majority.
- (3) The two-thirds majority referred to herein shall mean that decisions by the Military Council requiring a two-thirds majority vote shall not be reached unless at least fourteen members of the twenty members of the Council vote in favour of those decisions.

CODE OF CONDUCT

Article 6: NEED FOR AND FORMULATION OF NATIONAL CODE OF CONDUCT.

- (1) There is need for a change in the political direction of Uganda and in this regard, the Nation shall require a code of conduct for leaders and public officers.
- (2) The Military Council shall, as a matter of urgency, set up a committee or commission to formulate a National Code of Conduct which shall, among other things, prescribe the qualifications for members of the Military Council, the Cabinet and other public officers.
- (3) Until such time as the National Code of Conduct is worked out, sections 41 and 42 of the 1967 constitution of Uganda, with the necessary modifications, shall provide the minimum qualifications for membership of the Military Council, the cabinet and appointments to the other public offices.

THE NEW NATIONAL ARMY AND NATIONAL DEFENCE POLICY

Article 7: RECRUITMENT OF A NEW NATIONAL FORCE AND ITS FUNCTIONS

- (1) Soon after the cessation of hostilities under article 1 of this agreement and subject to paragraph (2) of this article and the sequence of events set out in Annexure 'A', there shall be established a new national force, composed of soldiers from all the combatant forces nominated by the respective combatant forces in the following numbers:  
UNLA 3,700 soldiers  
NRA 3,580 soldiers  
FEDEMU  
UFM  
FUNA 1,200 soldiers  
UNRF  
Total 8,480 soldiers
- (2) The Military Council shall establish a selection committee consisting of the representatives of all the combatant forces represented on the Military Council together with the representatives of the monitoring/observer force for the purposes of selecting and vetting the soldiers

nominated by the respective combatant forces to form the new force. The terms of reference of the selection committee and the criteria to be applied in the selection and vetting shall be determined by the Military Council.

- (3) The functions of the said new national force shall be:
    - (a) To ensure general security in the country.
    - (b) To supervise the voluntary laying down of arms by all combatant forces in the country and to disarm any force which does not do so voluntarily.
    - (c) Under direction of the Military Council and in conjunction with the monitoring/observer force to collect and store arms received throughout the disarmament under Article 12.
    - (d) To participate in the recruitment and training of a new national army.
  - (4) During the exercise of selecting the said new force, the Military Council shall:
    - (a) Subject to article 9(1)(b) make arrangements for the maintenance and upkeep of those soldiers of the combatant forces awaiting selection into the new army.
    - (b) Ensure the retraining and resettlement of all men and women of the various combatant forces who are neither eligible nor qualified or who may not wish to join the said new national army, and for this purpose the Military Council shall work out, as a matter of priority, a program for resettlement of those men and women back into civilian life.
  - (5) The soldiers and combatants who may be absorbed into the new national force or army shall be given priority in the Police, Prisons and other security services.
- Article 8: THE NEW NATIONAL ARMY
- (1) The new National Force established under Article 7 shall be the first batch of the new national army.
  - (2) The new national army shall be broad-based and representative of the country as a whole and shall be recruited in the first instance from the combatant forces existing at the date of signing of this agreement and in accordance with the national defence policy formulated under Article 9, provided that the second batch or

recruitment shall be composed in the same proportions as those used for the first batch.

**Article 9: THE NEW NATIONAL DEFENCE POLICY**

- (1) After the signing and coming into force of this agreement, the Military Council shall, as soon as practicable embark upon the formulation of a national policy to determine:
- (a) The functions, size, nature, name and composition of the new national army to enable the new national force established under Article 7 and the monitoring and observer force to carry out recruitment of the new national army and the demobilisation of the combatant forces and,
  - (b) The arrangements for the maintenance and upkeep of those soldiers of the various combatant forces awaiting selection into the new national army.
- (2) In formulating a new national defence policy, the Military Council shall take into account the views of the national conference on this matter.

**THE MONITORING/OBSERVER FORCE**

**Article 10: THE MONITORING/OBSERVER FORCE**

- (1) After the signing of this agreement, the Uganda government shall invite into Uganda a force from four Commonwealth countries namely: Kenya, Tanzania, Great Britain and Canada. The force shall be known as the Monitoring/Observer Force and shall carry out the following duties:
- (a) To observe and monitor the implementation of the ceasefire.
  - (b) To observe the security arrangement throughout the whole country.
  - (c) To assist in the disarmament/security arrangements exercise as may be requested by the Military Council within their terms of reference.
  - (d) To monitor the movements of troops to agreed assembly points.
  - (e) To assist in the collection and securing of arms from soldiers who have been demobilised.
  - (f) To monitor compliance with agreed arrangements and investigation of alleged breaches of the ceasefire.

- (g) To assist in the recruitment and training of the new national army.
  - (h) To carry out any other duties assigned to them by the Military Council in consultation with their respective governments.
- (2) Prior to the monitoring/observer force moving into Uganda and after the ceasefire has been effected, there shall be sent into the country a reconnaissance team, which may be from one or more of the countries invited to contribute to the monitoring/observer force, to identify the positions of all the combatant forces and thereafter to determine the size of the monitoring/observer force required. The terms of reference of the reconnaissance team shall be as specified in Annexure 'B' and manpower and equipment in Annexure 'C'.
- (3) During the period of operation of the reconnaissance team, all the combatant forces shall remain at their positions as at the end of ceasefire.
- (4) The provisions of Annexure 'A' and 'B' as they pertain to the operation, functions and duties of the monitoring/observer force shall be in addition to and not in substitution of the derogation from the provisions of this Article.

**Article 11: RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE MINISTRY OF DEFENCE AND THE TOP RANKS OF THE ARMED FORCES.**

When reviewing the political appointments and other promotions made since the 27th July 1985, the Military Council shall ensure a balance between the combatant forces represented on the Military Council existing immediately prior to the signing of the agreement and the National Resistance Movement in the distribution of responsibilities in the Ministry of Defence and the armed forces.

**COLLECTION AND STORAGE OF ARMS**

**Article 12: COLLECTION AND STORAGE OF ARMS**

- (1) Upon the ceasefire coming into effect, all arms of the combatant forces shall be collected and stored by the respective forces within known

armouries belonging to those forces. The said collection and storage shall be monitored by the monitoring/observer force which shall enumerate and verify the said arms.

- (2) No arms shall be drawn from any armoury referred to in paragraph (1) of this Article without the express authority of the local commander and concurrence of a representative of the monitoring/observer force in the area. It shall be the duty of the representative of the monitoring/observer force to report drawing of arms without his concurrence to the next higher command headquarters where all the parties to this agreement shall be represented.

**DEMILITARISATION OF KAMPALA**

**Article 13: DEMILITARISATION OF KAMPALA**

- (1) The city of Kampala shall be demilitarised and neutralised by removing out of Kampala all troops to be determined by the reconnaissance team. The security of Kampala shall be maintained by the police force which shall have been screened and whose arms shall have been verified by the monitoring/observer force. The Monitoring/observer force shall be adequately represented to ensure the neutrality of Kampala.
- (2) The demilitarisation arrangements for Kampala shall remain in force until the complete demobilisation of the combatant forces has been achieved through recruitment in the new force established under Article 7 or resettlement of the men and women not so recruited.

**PERSONS WHO SERVED IN IDI AMIN'S REGIME**

**Article 14: PROVISIONS FOR PEOPLE WHO SERVED IN IDI AMIN'S REGIME**

- (1) All persons who served in responsible position(s) in Idi Amin's regime, including those who served in the army, the State Research Bureau or other security services and who are known to have committed atrocities or other heinous crimes shall be punished according to law. The prosecution of such a person shall not be time barred.

(2) All persons who served in the notorious State Research Bureau and Public Safety Unit shall not be eligible to join the new national army or any other security services.

(3) All ex-soldiers who served in the army in the period 1971-1979 and who are not covered under (1) above shall have to be carefully screened and vetted to be eligible to be admitted to the new national army or any other security services.

(4) In vetting such persons the committee shall give preference to those who have special skills to fill places which cannot otherwise be filled. The said persons must have clean records.

## CONVENING OF NATIONAL CONFERENCE AND GENERAL ELECTIONS

### Article 15: NATIONAL CONFERENCE

As soon as practicable after the signing of this arrangement, the Military Council shall convene a National Conference to discuss key national issues, to wit, tenure of the interim government, the future national constitutional framework, elections and the national army. Representatives of the said national conference shall be drawn from all districts as well as all national institutions, political parties, religious groups and the Military Council.

### Article 16: HOLDING GENERAL ELECTIONS

Free and fair general elections shall be held in Uganda as soon as practicable to return the country to parliamentary democracy.

## IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGREEMENT

### Article 17: IMPLEMENTATION

(1) For the purpose of ensuring the implementation of this agreement, the Military Council constituted pursuant to Article 2 of this agreement shall at its first meeting expeditiously discuss and resolve matters relating to the following issues:

(a) Review of all the decrees promulgated by the Military Council government since the 27th July 1985.

(b) Formulation of the broad guidelines for the government programme of action.

(c) Establishment and formulation of the terms of reference of a commission of inquiry into violation of human rights in Uganda since independence.

(d) Formulation of broad guidelines for the restructuring of the new national army and the harmonisation of ranks within the combatant forces, as a basis for the formation by the Military Council of a new national defence policy under Article 9 of this agreement, which guidelines shall include strategies for the rehabilitation and resettlement of the combatant forces who will not be recruited into the national army.

(e) Review of cabinet portfolios and other political appointments made by the Military government since 27th July 1985.

(f) Such other urgent matters as may be determined by the Military Council.

(2) The Military Council when deciding the above issues shall not be governed by the two thirds majority rule set out in Article 5 of this agreement, but shall reach its decisions by consensus.

### Article 18: PREPARATION OF THE FIRST MEETING OF THE MILITARY COUNCIL

Upon the signing of this agreement an ad hoc committee shall be set up for the purpose of making the following practical arrangements for the first meeting of the fully constituted Military Council.

(a) Preparation of agenda for the meeting.

(b) Designation of date and venue for the meeting.

(c) Making necessary security and accommodation arrangement for the meeting.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the parties hereunto have, through their representatives, set their hands at Nairobi this 17th day of December 1985.

### SIGNED BY:

*General Tito Okello LUTWA*  
*Chairman, Military Council and*  
*Head of State of Uganda*

*Yoweri Kaguta MUSEVENI*

*Chairman, High Command of National Resistance Army and*

*Interim Chairman, National Resistance Movement*

### IN THE PRESENCE OF AND WITNESSED BY:

*H.E. Daniel Toroitich Arap MOI*

*President and Commander-In-Chief of the Armed Forces of The Republic of Kenya and*

*Chairman of the Uganda Peace Talks*

## ANNEXTURE 'A'

Sequence of events leading to the formation of the new National Army and the demobilisation and rehabilitation of combatant forces:

1. Signing of the agreement.
2. Ceasefire implementation.
3. Nomination of the country to provide the monitoring and observer force commander and the reconnaissance team.
4. Formation of ceasefire committee.
5. Formation of the ad hoc committee to prepare the first meeting of the Military Council.
6. Reconnaissance team deployment.
7. Monitoring/observer team deployment.
8. First meeting of the Military Council.
9. Formation and training of national army.
10. Demobilisation and rehabilitation.
11. Withdrawal of the monitoring/observer teams.
12. Decommissioning of the ceasefire committee and the monitoring/observer force.

The participants at the Uganda Peace talks considered the requirements for training and formation of a new national army beginning with the new military force as the nucleus and made the following observations:-

Training:

To train a soldier takes approximately six months. However, converting those who have had basic military training would require approximately three to four months. Training an officer takes between 9-12 months. It was therefore agreed that those with basic military

training be put under cadre courses and could thereafter be utilised to train others.

Formation of a new National Force:

It has been agreed upon that a nucleus force of 8,480 soldiers be formed consisting of members from all combatant forces. The subsequent recruitment and training would depend on availability of funds and training facilities. However, it is recommended and agreed that to train the 8,480 soldiers cannot be done at one go and therefore this would be done in stages which would take a minimum of 9 months.

## ANNEXTURE ‘B’

### The Reconnaissance Team and the Monitoring/Observer Force

Terms of reference for the Reconnaissance Team:

1. After the effectiveness of the ceasefire has been confirmed by the commanders of all parties, a reconnaissance team will be sent to the field and their terms of reference would be as follows:-

(a) To confirm that ceasefire is effective before the monitoring/observer force moves into the country.

(b) To identify locations of all fighting units and mark their positions on the map.

(c) To assess the size of the monitoring/observer force required.

(d) To recommend to the Military Council the regrouping of various units (if necessary for the ease of administration).

(e) To recommend areas where assembly points will be located for the troops who are in permanent barracks, preferably in areas with adequate storage facilities for the arms and also with good logistic and administration facilities.

(f) To recommend which forces should be disengaged.

(g) To determine logistic support required for both the troops and the monitoring/observer force.

(h) To work out evacuation contingency plans for the monitoring/observer force members in the event of resumption of hostilities.

(i) To recommend the location of joint

operation centres at regional levels and sub-joint operation centres at district level.

(j) Any other duty the Military Council may deem necessary.

(k) The above task must be completed within one week.

2. The Military Council shall determine which country will provide the monitoring/observer force commander; preferably the same country should provide the reconnaissance team.

Terms of reference and operational strategies for the monitoring/observer force:

3. After the reconnaissance team's recommendations have been approved by the Military Council, the monitoring/observer force will be deployed in various areas of the country and terms of reference will be:

A: Unit Level

- To monitor and observe the maintenance of the ceasefire by the various forces.
- To monitor and observe the movement of all the combatant forces.
- To monitor and ensure that no arms are drawn without the authority of the local commander, with concurrence of the monitoring/observer team representative or higher authority.
- To attend all meetings of an operational nature.
- To liaise with the monitoring/observer team leaders of neighbouring units.
- To send daily situation reports (SITREPS) to sub-joint operational centre.
- Any other duties the Military Council may deem necessary.

B: District Level (Sub-joint operation centres)

The district S/JC will be responsible to regional joint operation centres (JOC) for:

- Attending all district security meetings.
- Co-ordinating all activities of the monitoring/observer teams deployed in the district.
- Compiling and sending daily SITREP to the regional joint operation centre.
- Paying regular visits to the units within the district.

• Liaising with the neighbouring districts.

• Liaising with district administration on operational and security matters.

• Any other duty the Military Council may deem necessary.

The Sub-joint operation centres will be composed of:

- The district administration.
- The monitoring/observer force representative.
- Representatives of fighting forces within the district.

C: Regional Level (Joint Operating Centre)

The Military Council shall appoint a person to be the Chairman of the joint operation committee at the regional level. The regional joint operational centres will be responsible to the ceasefire committee for:

- Attending all regional security meetings.
- Co-ordinating activities of the monitoring/observer teams deployed in the region.
- Compiling and sending situation reports (SITREPs) to the ceasefire committees.
- Paying regular visits to the district headquarters within the region.
- Liaising with the other regional monitoring/observer force representatives.
- Any other duty the Military Council may deem necessary.

## ANNEXTURE ‘C’

Manpower and equipment requirements for the Reconnaissance Team:

1. A: Composition of the Reconnaissance Team Headquarters:

The Reconnaissance Team Headquarters shall be composed of the following personnel:

- Recce Team Commander
- Deputy Commander/Operation Officer
- Logistics Representative
- Communication Representative
- Medical Representative
- 2 Staff Officers
- 2 Military Government Representatives

- 2 NRA Representatives.

The Military Council shall provide the supporting administrative staff.

B: Composition of each Recce Team

Each Recce team shall compose of the following:

- Team Leader
- Logistics/Administrative Representative
- Communication Representative
- 2 Military Government Representatives
- 2 NRA Representatives
- Medical Representative
- Representative of the fighting force to be visited

C: Number of Teams

The Recce teams shall be allocated as follows:

A: Kampala and Mpigi Districts

One Recce team to cover Kampala and Mpigi districts. They would require road transport to visit areas where units are located; a helicopter may be used where necessary.

B: Central Region

One Recce team to cover Luwero, Mubende and Mukono districts. They would use a helicopter and partly road transport.

C: Western Region

One Recce team to cover Masaka, Rakai, Mbarara, Kabale, Rukungiri, Bushenyi, Kasese, Kabarole, Bundibugyo, Hoima and Masindi districts. They would use a helicopter and partly road transport.

D: Eastern Region

One Recce team to cover Kamuli, Iganga, Jinja, Soroti, Moroto, Tororo, Mbale, Kapehorwa and Kumi districts. They would use a helicopter and partly road transport.

E: Northern Region

One Recce team to cover West Nile and the rest of northern Uganda. They would use a helicopter and partly road transport.

2. Summary of the Manpower and Equipment Requirements

Total manpower required	51
Total helicopter required	6
Total vehicle required:	
2 staff cars, 7 communication Landrovers and 8 cargo Landrovers	17

Radios for communication between the Recce teams and the headquarters will be required.

3. The Military Council will need to arrange the following facilities to be available for use by the Recce team:

- Fuel for helicopters and vehicles
- Feeding and accommodation
- Medical facilities
- Air and road transport
- Office facilities for the Recce team headquarters
- Any other facilities that may be deemed necessary.

ANNEXTURE ‘D’

Article 3 of the Geneva Convention for the amelioration of the condition of the wounded and the sick in armed forces in the field dated the 12th August 1949: Conflict not of an international character:

In the case of armed conflict not of an international character occurring in the territory of one of the high contracting parties, each party to the conflict shall be bound to apply as a minimum, the following provisions:

1. Persons taking no active part in the hostilities, including members of armed forces who have laid down their arms and those placed Hors de combat by sickness, wounds, detention or any other case, shall in all circumstances be treated humanely, without adverse distinction found on race, colour, religion or faith, sex, birth or wealth or any other similar criteria.

To this end the following acts shall remain prohibited at any time and in any place whatsoever with respect to the above mentioned persons:

- (a) Violence to life and persons in particular murder of all kinds, mutilation, cruel treatment and torture,
- (b) Taking of hostages,
- (c) Outrages upon personal dignity, in particular humiliating and degrading treatment,
- (d) The passing of sentence and the carrying of executions without previous judgement pronounced by a regular constituted court affording all judicial guarantees which are recognised as indispensable by civilised peoples.

2. The wounded and sick shall be taken care of. An impartial humanitarian body, such as the International Committee of the Red Cross, may offer its services to the parties to the conflicts. The parties to the conflicts should further endeavour to bring into force, by means of special agreements, all or part of the other provisions of the present conventions.

The application of the proceeding provisions shall not affect the legal status of the parties to the conflict.

ANNEXTURE ‘E’

Participants to the Uganda Peace Talks

Kenyan Delegation:

1. His Excellency Hon. Daniel Toroitich arap Moi, CGH, MP, President and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Kenya and the Chairman of the Uganda Peace Talks
2. HE Hon. Mwai-Kibaki, EGH, MP, Vice President and Minister for Home Affairs
3. Hon. Justus Ole Tipis, MP. Minister of State, Office of the President
4. Hon. Elijah Mwangale, MP, Minister of Foreign Affairs
5. Hon. K.N.K. Biwott, MP, Minister of Energy and Regional Development
6. Mr Simeon Nyachae, Chief Secretary
7. Mr Bethuel A. Kiplagat, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
8. Mr James S. Mathenge, Permanent Secretary, Office of the President
9. Mr A. Kiptanui, Private Secretary/Comptroller of State House
10. Ambassador Omar A. Fakh, Deputy Secretary/Head of Africa and OAU Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
11. HE Lawrence C.T. Dena, Kenya High Commissioner to Uganda
12. Major General Dedan N. Gichuru, Chief of Staff, Kenya Army
13. Major James M. Mulinge, Kenya Army
14. Major Hency Biwott, Kenya Army
15. Mr Stephen M. Mwenesi, Attorney General’s Chambers
16. Mr Marx G.N. Kahende, Second Secretary, Kenya High Commission, Kampala



**Military Government Delegation:**

- 1. General Tito Okello Lutwa, Chairman of the Military Council and Head of State
- 2. Lt. General Bazilio Olara-Okello, Chief of Defence Forces
- 3. Hon. Abraham Waligo, Prime Minister and Minister of Finance
- 4. Brigadier Gad Wilson Toko, Vice Chairman of the Military Council and Minister of Defence
- 5. Hon. Paul Kawanga Ssemogerere, Minister of Internal Affairs
- 6. Hon. Dent Ocaya-Lakidi, Member of Military Council
- 7. Brigadier Fred Okecho, Member of the Military Council
- 8. Lt Col. Dr James Kweya, Member of the Military Council
- 9. Captain Livingstone Kalyesubula-Kabaale, Member of Military Council
- 10. Hon. Olara Otunnu, Minister of Foreign Affairs
- 11. Hon. Sam Kuteesa, Attorney General and Minister of Justice
- 12. Hon. Robert Kitariko, Minister of Public Service and Cabinet Affairs
- 13. Hon. Professor Yoweri Kyesimira, Minister of Planning and Economic Development
- 14. Lt Col. Eric Odwar, Ministry of Defence
- 15. Major Thomas Kiyengo, Ministry of Defence

**Officials:**

- 1. Mr Jack Bugingo, Uganda High Commissioner to Nairobi
- 2. Mr Phillip Adonga, Uganda High Commission, Nairobi
- 3. Dr Christopher Twesigye, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kampala
- 4. Mr Dick Nyai, Office of the Chairman/Head of State
- 5. Captain Patrick Nkurunziza, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting

**National Resistance Movement Delegation:**

- 1. Mr Yoweri Kaguta Museveni. Chairman High Command, National Resistance Army and Interim Chairman National Resistance Movement
- 2. Dr Samson B. Kisekka, Co-ordinator National Resistance Movement, External Mission

- 3. Mr Eriya Kategeya, Secretary for Political Affairs, National Resistance Movement
- 4. Mr Matthew Rukikaire, Secretary for External Operations, National Resistance Movement
- 5. Mr Zak K.R. Kaheru, Secretary for Finance and Supplies, National Resistance Movement
- 6. Elly Tumwine, Army Commander, National Resistance Army, Member NRM
- 7. Mr Sam. S. Male, Secretary of Executive Committee, National Resistance Movement
- 8. Mrs Gertrude Njuba, Member of National Resistance Council
- 9. Mr Kirunda Kivejinja, Member NRC

**THE PECE AGREEMENT  
(3 JUNE 1988)**

**THE PEACE AGREEMENT  
BETWEEN THE UGANDA  
GOVERNMENT AND THE  
UGANDA PEOPLE’S  
DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT**

This AGREEMENT is made pursuant to the various Peace Talks and Negotiations held between the Government of Uganda and the Uganda People’s Democratic Movement at GULU and STATE HOUSE ENTEBBE.

We, the GOVERNMENT OF UGANDA and UGANDA PEOPLE’S DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT (UPDM), the Parties to the Agreement:

AWARE: that Uganda has undergone Persistent Political, Social and Economic turmoil since Independence in 1962;

CONSCIOUS: that this period of turmoil has resulted into retrogression in all the various aspects of our lives and National Affairs;

CONVINCED: that the aforesaid turmoil and its ramifications is a result of the wrong politics adopted and pursued by the past successive Governments during the said period;

BELIEVING: that this NEGATIVE development can only be arrested, checked and REVERSED by the adoption of a correct political line,

proper economic policies and the observance of the cardinal principles of the Rules of Law, to wit:

- a). The respect for the Dignity of the Human person, the Fundamental freedom and Liberty, and the basic Human Rights of all Ugandans without distinction or discrimination on whatever grounds;
- b). The respect for justice to all, AND obedience to the will of the people of Uganda in the running of National Affairs;

UNITED IN PURPOSE: in the search for lasting peace and the attainment of a just society and social progress in our Motherland Uganda;

NOW DO SOLEMNLY PROCLAIM IN THE NAME OF UNITY, JUSTICE, DEMOCRACY, PEACE AND PROGRESS IN UGANDA the need:

- 1. To bring immediate and lasting peace to Uganda;
  - 2. To bring an end to the social retrogression occasioned by the wrong politics of the past;
  - 3. To establish and sustain a system of Government acceptable to and endorsed by the people of Uganda;
- AND IN THIS PURSUIT DECLARE AND AGREE THAT:

**A. POLITICS**

(1) Government shall expand and complete the formation and constitution of the NRC before the end of 1988, in accordance with the stipulated NRM Programme, and Section 2(iii) (a) and (b) of Legal Notice No. 1 of 1986.

For the avoidance of doubt, UPDM shall be accorded appropriate representation in the NRC in accordance with the provisions of Legal Notice No. 1 aforesaid, and also in the Government Executive.

(2) The expanded and fully constituted National Resistance Council shall, within the period of tenure in office of the present Government as stipulated in Section 14 of Legal Notice No. 1 of 1986, resolve itself into a Constituent Assembly and draw up a Popular National Constitution that shall safeguard the Interest and Fundamental Rights of the people of Uganda.

Provided that in the making of the Constitution and the economic situation in the country allowing, a National Referendum shall be conducted to enable the people of Uganda to decide on the issue of Party System and system of Government that shall replace the present Interim Government.

(3) The Interim Government shall call for and organise free and fair General Elections within the period of its tenure of office.

(4) Government shall continue and complete the exercise of election of Resistance Councils and Committees from village to District level in war ravaged areas, as a matter of priority.

(5) In the Interim Period, while the appointment of Cabinet Ministers and their Deputies remains the prerogative of the President, the composition thereof shall reflect the National interest of the People of Uganda.

**B. MILITARY**

(1) All hostilities between Government and UPDM shall cease forthwith upon the signing of this Peace Agreement.

(2) Upon the signing of this Peace Agreement the Implementation Committee herein established shall ensure that Government releases all the combatants and non combatants arrested as a result of the hostilities between the UPDM and Government, and are currently being held in various Prisons and Detention Centres.

(3) The UPDA Officers and men who wish to continue with Military service and qualify shall be absorbed and integrated into the NRA and shall participate at all levels of the Army depending on their experiences, ability and merits and shall not be victimised, discriminated against, frustrated, or maligned in any way at all.

Provided that while the absorption and integration exercise is going on any charge or allegation that is brought against any officer or soldier of UPDA or NRA shall first be investigated by the Implementation Committee to determine the genuineness of the charge or allegation and decide on the course of action to be taken thereon.

(4) All UPDA Officers and men who desire to Join the Productive Unit of the NRA shall initially be sent to Pabo

Military Farm, and later to such other Productive Units appropriate for the attainment of their individual skills, trade or needs.

(5) The UPDA Officers and men who opt NOT to continue with Military Service shall be free to do so, and shall within the National Programme be assisted either to pursue education in schools and Institutions of Higher learning, or be adequately assisted and provided with the means to settle and resume civilian life.

Provided that the safeguards contained in the proviso to paragraph (3) of part B hereof shall apply.

(6) All UPDA School-going-age children (Kadogos) shall be resettled and provided with education in Military Schools.

(7) All civil servants who due to the hostilities between UPDM and Government have not been able to carry out their duties shall be considered for reinstatement in accordance with Public Service Regulations.

(8) The National Army shall be balanced and drawn proportionately from all Districts of Uganda and shall guard against all forms of discrimination, sectarian politics, misuse of the Armed Forces for the attainment of personal political ends and shall uphold the Constitution in force.

(9) After the Interim period the elected Parliament shall determine the name of the minimum entry qualifications for the National Army.

(10) A Military Implementation Committee comprised of representatives of UPDA or NRA is hereby established to oversee and supervise the execution and implementation of the Agreement save those that are to be done by NRC.

Provided that other Groups that will join the Peace process shall be co-opted into the Implementation Committee.

**C. REHABILITATION**

(1) Government shall mobilise all available resources to rehabilitate the socio-economic infrastructure in Gulu and Kitgum Districts as well as in other war ravaged areas.

(2) Government shall declare a policy of free education at all levels, up to the end of the year 1989, for pupils and students from the war ravaged areas.

(3) Government shall, up to the end of the year 1988, exempt the peasants of the war ravaged areas from paying graduated tax.

(4) The declared Government policy of rehabilitating people and restocking their livestock which were looted, rustled or lost during the hostilities should be strengthened and made more realistic to have practical effect on the population.

(5) The currency Reform Exercise shall be carried out in all areas that were due to the war incapacitated from so doing.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF THE PARTIES HERETO HAVE SET THEIR HANDS THIS 3RD DAY OF JUNE 1988.

Signed by:

*President Museveni, On Behalf of the government of Uganda*

*John Angelo Okello, On Behalf of the Uganda People's Democratic Movement*

In the Presence of:

*Bishop Emeritus of Gulu*

**THE GULU CEASEFIRE  
(2 February 1994)**

**THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN  
THE UGANDA  
GOVERNMENT AND THE  
LORD'S RESISTANCE ARMY**

This cease-fire agreement is made pursuant to the peace initiatives conducted during diverse dates between May 1992 and January 1994, as a means of finding a non-violent solution in the Northern Uganda districts of Gulu, Kitgum and neighbouring areas in the region, between National Resistance Minister of State, Resident in the North, Hon. Mrs Betty Atuku Bigombe with National Resistance Army 4th Division

Commander Colonel Samuel Wasswa on the one hand and the Lord's Resistance Army leader H.H. Joseph Kony and his High Command on the other.

We,

The National Resistance Army and the Lord's Resistance Army (hereinafter referred to as 'NRA' and 'LRA' respectively), parties to this agreement,

Appreciating the necessity for viable and sustainable peace in this region of Uganda that has been bedevilled by insecurity for a long time now,

Recalling the desire of both the people and the government for peace in the region and mindful of endless conflicts that fail to improve the plight of our people in the region,

Convinced that any continuation of armed conflict prevents development in this region,

Welcoming the commitment to, and participation in, the search for peace in the region by the government of the National Resistance Movement and the Lord's Resistance Army leadership,

Do now solemnly proclaim for and in the name of peace in the region, the urgent necessity:

- Of bringing to a most speedy end, armed conflicts in all its forms and manifestation.
- Of restoring total peace, security and good order throughout the region and laying groundwork for that goal.

And to this end declare and agree that:

After the signing of this agreement there shall be formalised a cease-fire on the following terms:

- With effect from 14:00 hours on the 2nd day of February 1994, hostilities between the two parties to this agreement formally cease forthwith.
- Atrocities in the form of abductions, highway robberies, ambushes, real and all their disguised forms and manifestations cease henceforth.

All subsequent peace negotiations between the government and the Lord's Resistance Army will be channelled through and handled by the Office of the Minister of State, Resident in the North and that of the 4th Division Commander, National Resistance Army.

In the event of violation(s) of the cease-fire, punishment will be meted out to the individual member of the force concerned, accruing to the rules of the force and the laws of the country.

This cease-fire agreement will be implemented according to he programme of schedule attached herewith.

In witness whereof the parties hereunto have, through their representatives, set their hands at Laceyokot this 2nd day of February 1994.

*Col. Samuel WASSWA*

*Division Commander*

*4th Division National*

*Resistance Army*

*George Komakech OMONA*

*Field Commander*

*Lord's Resistance Army*

In the presence and witnessed by:

*Hon. Mrs. Betty BIGOMBE*

*Minister of State in the Office of the Prime Minister, Resident in the North*

*The District Administrator, Gulu*

*The District Administrator, Kitgum*

*Mr Yusuf Okwonga ADEK*

*Mr Okot OGONI*

*Mr Okidi ANGOL*

*Mr George William LUGAI*

## APPENDIX A

### CEASEFIRE IMPLEMENTATION PROGRAMME SCHEDULE

Pursuant to the Cease-fire Agreement signed on 2nd February 1994, the Lord's Resistance Army undertakes:

1. To regroup all their forces, and this shall equally incorporate the duty of:

- (a) Locating and assembling casualties and other LRA members in sickbays;
- (b) Collecting all LRA military equipment and hardware from where they were hidden;

(c) Documenting men and women under LRA control;

(d) Upon orderly regrouping, LRA will inform government and the 4th Division Commander for the purpose of seeking area of assembly.

2. (a) To, in conjunction with district authorities of Gulu and Kitgum, conduct public rallies in all counties

for the purpose of explaining the peace process to the public. During this process two elders shall be nominated from each Division for the purpose of performing traditional cleansing rituals.

(b) LRA leader H.H. Joseph Kony will consequently thereafter meet all the nominated elders to draw a programme for the cleansing rituals.

(c) Performing for the rituals aforementioned to take place immediately after the meeting in 2(b).

Delegate members from both sides for the peace talks and discussing modalities for the peace accord.

To expeditiously conclude the peace process within five months from the date the cease-fire agreement becomes effective, LRA agrees that mobilisation of elders and performing rituals shall take place within two months from now and the final peace talks to take place within one month before the conclusion of the process.

A Cease-fire Implementation Committee constituted by both sides shall periodically review progress on all points every month.

If however not all is achieved within the stipulated time frame, both sides will review the time schedule with a possibility of an extension of one month within which all will have been accomplished.

# LETTER FROM THE LRM/A TO PRESIDENT MUSEVENI

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6 November 1997

His Excellency  
Yoweri Kaguta Museveni  
President of the Republic of Uganda  
State House, Kampala, Uganda

Mr President,

I am writing this letter to you on behalf of the Military High Command of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), and its political wing, the Lord's Resistance Movement (LRM) who have authorised me to communicate this message to you personally.

We acknowledge in the national interest of our country, that of the people of northern Uganda, and especially the Acholi people the urgent need for a just and permanent resolution to the armed conflict in northern Uganda, between the LRM/A and your government which has gone on relentlessly for the last eleven years. We also recognise the overwhelming demands by a wide section of fellow Ugandans as well as the international community for peace to be restored to northern Uganda and indeed throughout the country. We further recognise that without peace and security, there will never be any economic development or prosperity for our people and they will be consigned to perpetual poverty and underdevelopment.

We hereby, therefore, inform you that in response to the demands and wishes of the majority of our people, the Lord's Resistance Movement/Army have resolved to pursue a peaceful resolution to the northern conflict through constructive, meaningful and honest dialogue with your government. This decision to give peace a chance has not been reached lightly, but was agreed upon after exhaustive and widespread consultations of our people. Our resolution to pursue peace is in line with our commitment to consider all viable means of achieving a lasting sustainable peace in our land and a clear benchmark of good will, responsibility and courageous leadership on our part.

Given the seriousness and sensitivity of this matter, we have decided to communicate this message directly to you, in order to give you the opportunity to consider and respond to its content without the constraints of publicity. If you and your government are equal to the challenges for peace, and sincerely wish to see an end to the suffering of the northern people, especially the Acholi people, then we will expect reciprocal initiatives from you, which will facilitate further dialogue and subsequent meaningful negotiation between the two parties. We would like to make it clear that although we have chosen to communicate directly with you at this stage, we will at an appropriate time in due course require the involvement and participation of neutral third parties in any peace process that may evolve.

In April 1997 at the Kacoke Madit (KM) in London, United Kingdom, the LRM/A's publicly declared intention of

pursuing a peaceful resolution to the northern conflict was enshrined in the conference resolutions. We are aware that in a recent letter 'on behalf of the government of Uganda' to the KM international coordinator, the Director General of external security organisation Mr David Pulkol stated that your government was waiting for an unequivocal communication from the LRM/A concretising their declared intention to seek a peaceful settlement of the conflict in Acholiland.

I therefore hope that this letter now removes any obstacles on your part and that you will now respond appropriately to the demands and wishes of the people of Acholi and Uganda as a whole and will fully commit yourselves without any further ambiguity to a peaceful resolution of the conflict through dialogue with us.

The multiple causes and effects of the 11 years of war in Northern Uganda, and the modalities for a just and permanent resolution are enormously complex and require detailed and systematic consideration of all the underlying factors and related issues. As a result, there are no short cuts nor quick fixes to achieving a lasting and meaningful peace. It will require serious and demonstrable commitment on all sides. We hope that in the national interest your government will also make such a declaration of your intentions.

Yours thankfully,  
Dr James A. Obita  
Secretary for Foreign Affairs

# LETTER FROM PRESIDENT MUSEVENI TO THE LRM/A

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22 November 1997

Dr James Obita  
Secretary for Foreign Affairs  
Lord's Resistance Movement/Army

Dr Obita,

I have received your letter of 6th November 1997, which states that you are ready for a peaceful settlement of the sustained campaign to attack, maim and kill innocent civilians in the North of Uganda. This is not to forget the kidnapping, raping and defilement of young girls and press-ganging young boys into military service. These criminal activities have gone on for too long.

We have never hesitated to negotiate peace with former enemies: Mustapha Adrisi, Moses Ali, Ateker Ejalu, Omaria, Otema Allimadi, late Tito Okello, late Odong Latek, Angello Okello, Luwero, Kironde and many others. We have negotiated with or pardoned all the above people.

As far as your group is concerned, we have never prosecuted any of your members that have been surrendering; not even the ones we captured. Indeed, some years ago, Betty

Bigombe negotiated with Mr Kony to the East of Gulu. We gave your group a safe zone, where to stay with your force. When we got impatient with the negotiations, we publicly gave you seven days in which to decide to come out of the bush. We did not launch a surprise attack on you. You decided to return to the bush.

All along, therefore, we have never needed convincing to engage in dialogue with enemies. However, following the breakdown of the Betty Bigombe/Kony talks and the intensified atrocities against the population of Uganda, we decided to adopt the policy of forgiving all members of your groups except: Kony, Lagony and Otti Vincent because they were the authors of these heinous crimes against humanity. I personally feel very strongly against these individuals because of the damage they have done to our people in Northern Uganda.

As I said previously, however, Uganda is not my personal property. Since reasonable numbers of Ugandans feel that we should talk even to the Konys in spite of these crimes, we have been ready to do so for sometime and you cannot say that you do not know this. Sister Rachele has told some of your people; the priests of Sant'Egidio of Rome have contacted some of your people; Dr Martin Alier, in addition to attending Kacoke Madit, has contacted some of your people, etc. You have been evasive or even arrogant. On our part we are determined and able to bring peace to Northern Uganda by peace or by war. The latter costs much more in terms of lives and money.

Therefore, since you have, at last, contacted me indicating your readiness to negotiate an end to this criminality with few parallels, I only need to inform you that we have always been ready, our revulsion at your methods notwithstanding.

Therefore, our delegation is ready to discuss with your representatives anywhere and we are ready to reach a peaceful settlement within the confines of the 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda.

Yoweri K. Museveni  
President

## NAIROBI AGREEMENT (8 DECEMBER 1999)

### AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS OF SUDAN AND UGANDA

In order to enhance relations between our two countries and to promote peace in the region, we make the following commitments:

1. Each of us will respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the other, in accordance with the charters of the United Nations and the Organisation for African Unity.
2. We renounce the use of force to resolve differences, and will take steps to prevent any hostile actions against each other.

3. We will make every effort to disband and disarm terrorist groups and to prevent any acts of terrorism or hostile actions that might originate in our territory that might endanger the security of the other nation.

4. We agree not to harbor, sponsor, or give military or logistical support to any rebel groups, opposition groups, or hostile elements from each other's territories.

5. We will join in a common effort to promote regional peace, both on our own initiative and in full support and in no way to prejudice or interfere with IGAD's role in bringing an end to the civil war in Sudan.

6. We will refrain from hostile and negative propaganda campaigns against each other.

7. We will return all prisoners of war to their respective nations.

8. We especially condemn any abuse or injury of innocent citizens, and will make a special effort to locate any abductees, especially children, who have been abducted in the past and return them to their families. All information about such cases will be shared with The Carter Center, UNICEF, and other international organisations and we will cooperate fully in the search and rescue of these victims, beginning immediately with those who can be identified.

9. We will honor international laws governing refugees, NGO activities, and cross-border transportation, and facilitate the return or resettlement of refugees in accordance with UNHCR regulations.

10. We will offer amnesty and reintegration assistance to all former combatants who renounce the use of force.

11. If all other terms of this agreement are honored satisfactorily, we desire to reestablish normal relations between our two countries. Within a month of this date, we will open offices in both capital cities and assign junior diplomatic personnel for service. By the end of February 2000, ambassadors will be exchanged and full diplomatic relations restored.

In order to implement this agreement, designated members of our contact groups will act as an interim committee. As soon as practical, a joint ministerial committee will be established with at least three sub-committees, to deal with political, security, and humanitarian issues.

We understand that, when requested, The Carter Center will publicize this agreement and continue to play a role in its implementation.

Signed by:

*Yoweri MUSEVENI*

*President, Republic of Uganda*

*Omar al-BASHIR*

*President, Republic of Sudan*

Witnessed by:

*Jimmy CARTER*

*Former US President,*

*Chair, The Carter Center*

*Daniel Toroitich arap MOI*

*President, Republic of Kenya*



