

Ugandan Pastoralists' Everyday Histories of Gun Acquisition and State Violence[†]

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This paper aims to practice history from below concerning the disarmament of the pastoral communities of north-eastern Uganda, the Karimojong and the Dodoth. The central government is a major source of so-called illegally transferred guns for East African pastoralists, and state violence has awoken the memories of local residents in terms of their experiences with violence. In the disarmament of the twenty-first century, newly purchased guns are being submitted to the military in order to emancipate captive pastoralists who were taken to and detained in military barracks. Those who will be exchanged for these guns are represented by the pastoralists as homologous with nineteenth century slaves who were caught by outsiders engaged in ivory trade when guns were brought into the Karamoja region. The ritual healing of violence-related illnesses requires a shared history of state violence to make people realize that those who rule always exercise violence against those being ruled and how people have lived as cultural existence. This past reconstruction is currently present and is a process of interweaving personal memories into collective memories. The history of arms transfer and the state control of north-eastern Ugandan pastoralists is the past facts selected through problem consciousness directed at external violent rule. It is also a composition of facts and current history in the sense of Croce's historical thought and is a history lived with the body.

In East African pastoral societies, automatic rifles have been abundant since the 1980s. Political scientists and anthropologists have sounded an alarm bell that pastoralists' survival is being threatened by inter-group armed violence over livestock. According to their arguments, arms transfer control can only be accomplished effectively by disarmament conducted by the state and international society.¹

In Karamoja (Figure 1) in north-eastern Uganda, when the collapse of the Ugandan government under Idi Amin Dada Oumee's (1925–2003) military dictatorship resulted in an inflow of automatic rifles to the region in 1979–80, cattle-raiding by using automatic rifles have become a daily occurrence.² The central government, which is backed by the

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¹ Gray et al., 'Cattle raiding'; Schlee, 'Comment'.

² Many raids are carried out against people belonging to other ethnic or territorial groups. However, raiding

United Kingdom and the United States, has been implementing a disarmament policy that was praised by the Ugandan government as being the most consistent and longest in Ugandan history since 2000.³ While achievements in terms of arms control are emphasized in history by the state, they have also led to complex arms transfer and armed conflicts, including violent confrontations between the national army and local pastoralists and frequent raids provoked by disparities of arms. As a result, coping practices for illnesses caused by political and physical violence have been developed.

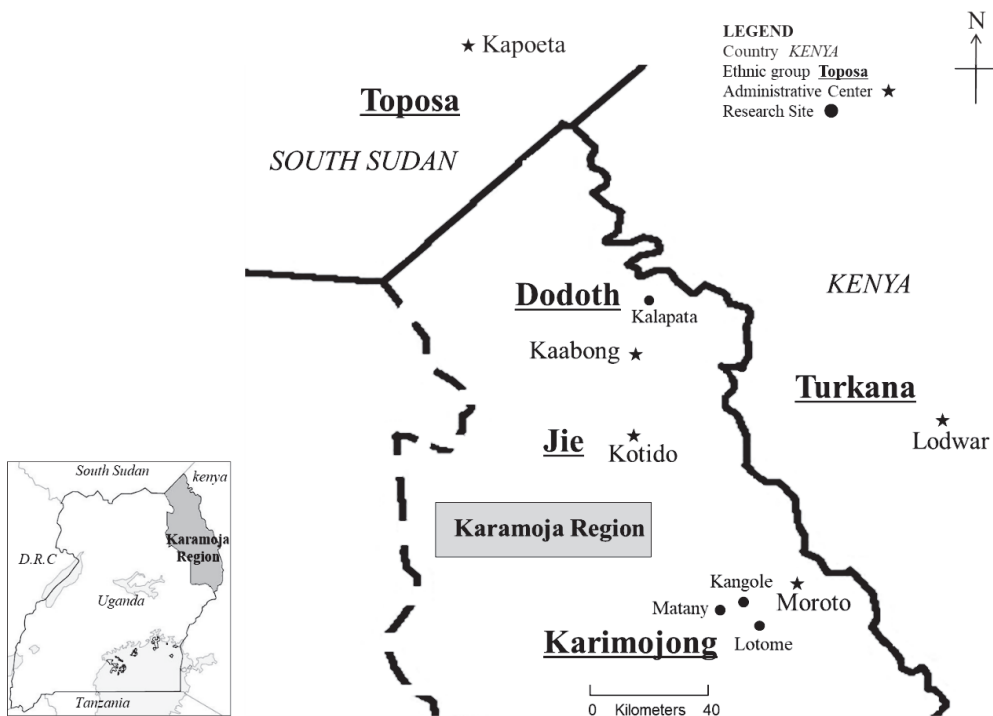


Figure 1. Map of the Research Area

Source: Author.

This paper describes and analyses an everyday history from below⁴ of gun acquisition and complex violence under the hegemony of disarmament based on explicit endeavours in order to attend to the voices of pastoralists who have been marginalized and to explain their everyday experiences to those of people with dominant force. It will note the pastoralists' creativity in the face of the difficulty in surviving and elucidate on the culture of resistance being formed against the self-contained culture of violence. Resistance, in this case, will not remain at the level of resistant violence against dominant violence, which is obviously

within one ethnic group and territorial group is not unusual.

³ Hazama, 'Intergroup'.

⁴ Rosaldo, 'Celebrating'.

futile in front of large scale and systematic violence of the dominant power. This paper grasps the possibility that pastoralists who are structurally in the lowest social stratum are actually able to domesticate unreasonable violence and alter the modern violence system by means of sustaining everyday life.

Field research has been conducted in Karimojong society since 1998 and in Dodoth society since 2002. They are the semi-nomadic pastoralists in the Karamoja region, the semi-arid savannah of north-eastern Uganda bordering Kenya and South Sudan. The Karimojong and the Dodoth engage in cattle-, goat-, and sheep-based pastoralism, speak a common Eastern Nilotic language, sometimes practice inter-marriage, and sometimes share pasture land.

I

Two historical events caused the inflow of guns into the Karamoja region. This gun acquisition is remembered in current local gun designations and transactions.

Eastern Nilotes living on the borders between Kenya, Uganda, Sudan, and Ethiopia, such as the Karimojong, the Dodoth, the Jie, the Toposa, the Turkana, and the Nyangatom, use the word *ngatomyan* (s. *atom*) to describe guns. The word *ngatomyan* relates to the word for *elephant* (*etom*). The word calls to mind the earliest influx of rifles in the nineteenth century when Ethiopians, British people, North Americans, Arabs, and Swahili people supplied rifles to Eastern Nilotic pastoralists as payment for ivory and as tools for hunting elephants. The Karimojong-speaking cluster of the Eastern Nilotes (*Ateker*) first encountered gunrunners operating in the Maji border area of south-west Ethiopia.⁵ Thus, firearms were first introduced into the Karamoja region to secure ivory as a commodity.

After Uganda became a British protectorate in 1894, the Karamoja region was excluded from British rule for 17 years because its semi-arid land was seen as unsuitable for the production of the cash crops that were in high demand in Britain, such as cotton and coffee. However, elephants were numerous in the area, and ivory traders were attracted to this unexplored commodity. Local inhabitants joined traders in ivory hunting and received livestock as a reward. As the number of elephants decreased throughout the world and the prices of ivory climbed, competition between traders became intense.⁶ It was at this point that traders gave pastoralists in the Karamoja region guns to hunt for ivory or as a reward, replacing livestock as payment for hunting.

It is this time in the beginning of twenty century that ivory traders appeared as gun suppliers for the first time in administrative records. The traders included Arabs, British people, North Americans, Greeks, Ethiopians, and slaves from the Swahili coast. In the 1910s, rifles were supplied as tools or rewards; traders initially exchanged modern firearms for ivory and slaves both before and after the Karamoja region came under colonial rule.⁷ Today, the Karimojong and the Dodoth must frequently release their friends and relatives who were caught by the army from detention huts in army barracks; this is referred to as the emancipation (*alakakin*) of a slave or a porter (*ekadalan*). Bringing back a captive involves the transfer of automatic rifles and livestock; this is described in more detail in Section V.

Estimating the total number of guns in the Karamoja region is difficult due to the lack of

⁵ Mburu, 'Delimitation'.

⁶ Mamdani et al., *Karamoja*.

⁷ Barber, 'Karamoja in 1910'; Welch, 'Pastoralists'.

records, but Mamdani et al. reported that, at the beginning of the twentieth century, guns entered northern Uganda from the Karamoja region.⁸ They based this assertion on a report written by a district officer that stated that, when two chiefs from the Acholi explored the area, including Kotido, Kaabong, and Moroto, by the order of the colonial government, they acquired 1,200 rifles from traders who worked primarily in the Karamoja region. In 1931, the population of the Karamoja region was estimated to be 65,000.⁹ It is almost certain that the population was smaller in the 1910s than in the 1930s. Thus, in the 1910s, pastoral societies, including the Karimojong and the Dodoth, had at least one gun for every 54 people.

In 1979, the regime of Idi Amin was overthrown. In the same year, the Matheniko, one of the three main territorial groups of the Karimojong, raided Idi Amin's armoury in Moroto, the capital of the district. The Moroto army barracks had been abandoned, and the Karimojong took advantage of the situation to acquire guns from the deserted armoury. The number of guns taken was sufficient for the needs of the group, with a surplus left over for trade with neighbouring ethnic groups.¹⁰ Quam estimated that 10,000 guns went into circulation at the time.¹¹ Sylvester and Jeremy estimated that, in addition to the 10,000 guns, two million rounds of ammunition were transported at the time,¹² and Odhiambo cited 12,000 guns in accordance with an estimation by Wangoola.¹³ An elder Karimojong from Lotome, in 2003, recalled in conversation with author (Hazama) that people had transported guns in bundles on the backs of donkeys and that they had reminded him of bundles of firewood. According to the event calendar, a list of historical events shared orally to indicate certain years, 1979 was 'the year the Matheniko broke into army barracks for guns' (*ekaru ngolo abwangunita Ngimatheniko ngatomian*).

It is highly probable that not only guns but also bullets had been exchanged much more frequently than guns for various daily necessities; this remains true today. For example, in 2003, an AK-47 bullet sold for 500 UGX in Kaabong. At the time, this is equivalent to the price of two litres of local brew made from maize or millet, which can be acquired in exchange for bullets. In these transactions, brew purchasers are usually soldiers dispatched to the Karamoja region; when their salaries were delayed, they use bullets in place of cash to buy brew from women in pastoral society. The soldiers have been spread all over the Karamoja region since implementation of disarmament, and women store crops, money, and bullets in food granaries.

The commodification of arms dates back to the beginning of colonisation, and arms have become a part of everyday life for pastoralists, not only as tools of protection and aggression but also as a transaction method.

II

In 1980 in the Karamoja region, the transition from traditional guns to modern guns was accomplished. This was a considerably earlier inflow compared to that experienced by the general citizens of Sudan and Kenya. The Boran and the Gabra, pastoralists in northern Kenya and south-western Ethiopia, respectively, acquired AK-47s in 1991 from members

⁸ Mamdani et al., *Karamoja*.

⁹ Langlands, 'The population'.

¹⁰ Mamdani et al., *Karamoja*.

¹¹ Quam, 'Creating peace'.

¹² Sylvester and Jeremy, *Karamoja, Uganda's land*.

¹³ Odhiambo, *The Karamoja conflict*; Wangoola, 'Cattle rustling'.

of the Ethiopian government military who fled southward into Kenya after the fall of the Derg government to Tigrean insurgents.¹⁴ The Sudanese army began supplying northern Baggara groups with AK-47s and bullets in 1986, encouraging them to raid the Nuer and the Dinka located in the Western Upper Nile and northern Bahr el Ghazal.¹⁵

When modern European guns capable of continuous fire, including AK-47s and G3s, were brought into the Karamoja region after 1980, they completely dominated gun trade in the Karamoja region and replaced traditional match-lock guns. As a result, automatic rifles now account for 90 per cent of the guns owned by pastoralists today. By 1998, 64 per cent of Karimojong men whose semi-permanent settlement was Lotome and who were over 18 years of age owned a gun (n = 123), and, in 2003, 90 per cent of Dodoth men over 18 years of age whose semi-permanent settlement was Kalapata (n = 30) owned a gun.

In July 2008, I studied approximately 214 rifles owned by the Karimojong in Bokora County in the Moroto District.¹⁶ Of these, 89.7 per cent were semi-automatic rifles. The rifles owned by the Karimojong can be classified into the eight categories listed below.

1) In total, 65 AK-47s or copies of AK-47s were found. Locally, the AK-47 is called *Amakana*, and it occurs in ten versions: *Aceger*, *Akeju-asuulu* (or *Akeju-batat*), *Asili-reng*, *Apas*, *Ameri-keju*, *Ayesengor*, *Nakasongola*, *Atodobokakilegit* (or *Aritongit*), *Akwapenek*, and *Ariamakor*. Both *Atodobokakilegit* and *Akwapenek* can be fitted with a fixed bayonet (*ekileng*). The sight of *Atodobokakilegit* is ring shaped (*todo* means a round horn shape of cattle), and its wooden gunstock is dark (*bok*). Although it is very popular because it lasts well and has little kickback, *Nakasongola*, a word that originates from the name of a district in central Uganda in which the gun is manufactured, is an inferior product that melts at the neck after repeated firing. *Apas*, which is a silver-white iron (*apas*), is made in Yugoslavia.

2) The G3 is called *Aliba*. In total, 44 G3s were found. *Aliba* refers to a small green weaverbird. Germany, France, and Israel were identified as the countries that produce this gun, and Kenyan police often use G3s.

3) There are two types of light machine guns: *Acoronga* and *Narikot*. In total, 35 light machine guns were found. People say that *Narikot* 'drinks' a chain (*erikot*) of bullets at one time. *Acoronga* has a tripod (*awed*) that looks like a chicken's foot.

4) The self-loading rifle is called *Epian*, which sounds like the word for thunder (*ngipian*). In total, 31 self-loading rifles, divided into five types, were found: *Locicuwa*, *Lokirion*, *Nato*, *Akosowan*, and *Elekejen*. *Locicuwa* has a split on the side of the barrel near the front so that bullets can be seen as they are fired. *Lokirion* has a black body and a long, quadratic barrel.

5) A self-match-lock gun called *Amatida* was the oldest one found. In total, 22 were found. *Amatida* is a handmade gun made of iron pipes, such as water pipes. There are types: *abicir* and *logelegel*. Both are shotguns that use gunpowder. They are stuffed and then ignited by friction. The cartridge case is removed by a single shot. The older of the two, *lolelegel*, has no sight.

6) The assault self-loading rifle (ASLR) is called *Apeledeng*. The ASLR is divided into four types: *Achinese*, *Agurigur*, *Agorogoro*, and *Aparipar*. In total, ten ASLRs were found. *Achainis* is used by the Uganda People's Defence Force when they march in ceremonies. *Aguriguri* is powerful enough to shoot helicopters in the air. *Agorogoro* is an old type of

¹⁴ Galaty, 'Boundary-making'.

¹⁵ Hutchinson, 'Nuer ethnicity'.

¹⁶ Administratively, the district was reorganized along with the creation of the Napak District adjacent to southwestern Moroto in 2010. Then, Bokora County was incorporated into the Napak District.

gun, and it makes a particular sound, like ‘gorogoro’, as empty cartridges are removed one by one during shooting.

7) The Uzi gun is called *Eitabui*. Six Uzis were found, divided into two types: *Achacha* and *Loringiring*. The Uzi is a compact, boxy, and lightweight sub-machine gun. *Eitabui* originally referred to a square, three-litre can of oil that was distributed as aid supply during a period of starvation in 1980.

8) The G2 is called *Eleponbong*. Five G2s were found. This gun has a stand and a square ‘cup’. The stem of the word *Eleponbong* (*lep*) comes from *akilep*, which means to milk, and the gun is said to run bullets as smoothly as milk coming from the teat of a cow.

Data on the types of guns and the years of their acquisition showed that, first, before 1979, gun transactions were recorded less than once every two years, but, from 1980 onwards, transactions took place every year. Second, the AK-47, which was developed by Michael Kalashnikov and adopted by Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in 1947, were acquired by the Karimojong in 1980. Third, when the history of gun transactions is divided into before 1979 and after 1980, the average number of guns acquired per year increased more than tenfold, from 0.6 per year before 1979 to 6.5 per year after 1980 (Figure 2).¹⁷

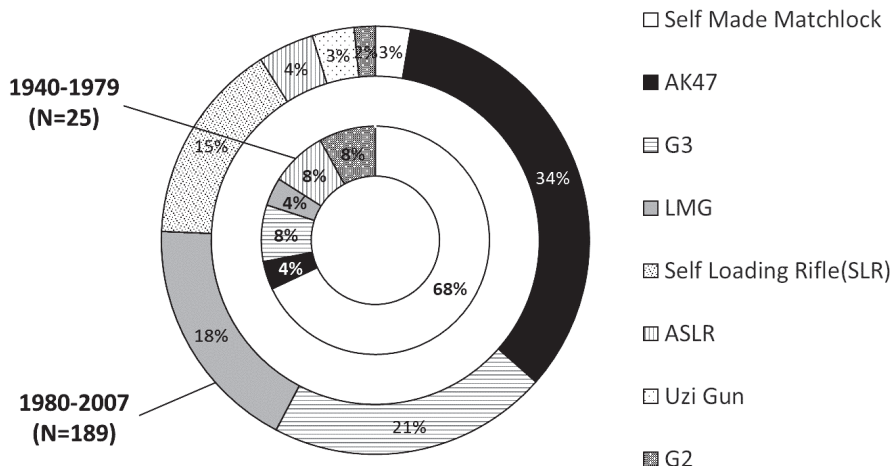


Figure 2. Types of guns acquired before 1979 and after 1980

Source: Author.

Thus, the increases in AK-47s and G3s demonstrate that guns taken from the centre of the Karamoja region in raids spread across the area. It can be said empirically that the influx of rifles began in the late nineteenth century along with the ivory trade brought in by outsiders, whereas the proliferation of automatic rifles, especially AK-47s and G3s, began in 1980 in the Karamoja region.

Although the guns used before automatic rifles became widespread were used even in the

¹⁷ When the Karimojong and the Dodoth express a certain past, they refer to events that their conversational partners can understand, such as ‘when a comet flows’ and ‘when a drought happens’. In popular memories, drought, conflict, livestock disease, and hunger play key roles. See Appendices 1 and 2.

2000s, the low frequency of their transaction before 1979 may reflect that they became unnecessary due to the proliferation of new guns or the malfunctioning of old guns. The reason people have guns is usually to safeguard their families and herds from attacks. If the increase in the frequency of transactions after the inflow of automatic rifles reflects, to some extent, the reality of gun transaction, it is expected that the necessity of defence increased. A 12-year-old Karimojong shepherd composed and sang the following song in 2003 to describe the feeling of being protected by his elder brother's gun during herding:

Go to graze in Lomuriakori.
There is a gun of Lokiru always.
Go to graze in Lomuriakori.
There is a gun of Lokiru.
Go to graze in Lomuriakori.
The yellow one [ox] is becoming fat.
There is a gun of Lokiru always.

Lomuriakori is the name of place where cattle grazes, especially in dry seasons, and inter-ethnic raids usually revolve around livestock. The song is inspired by the potential battle field in which the elder brother's gun can protect the 'yellow ox', as contemporary pastoral scenery involves both guns and cattle in order to protect the herd and allow the family to survive.

III

Although successive political powers have engaged in disarming pastoralists in the Karamoja region since 1980, the army of the central government has played contradictory roles, first removing guns and then providing them during violent political conflicts. For example, as a countermeasure against anti-government forces, guns were provided to pastoralists by the government because the local people were considered a military capability that would favour the government.¹⁸ With a change in political power, fleeing soldiers deployed in Karamoja region exchanged their guns for food provided by the local people.

This contradictory structure of disarmament by the government is not a holdover from the distant past. In 1999 and 2005, I conducted research on how the 34 guns owned by men in Lotome were acquired. The research revealed that the number of guns given to people who served as local security¹⁹ was less than the number of guns bartered for livestock from an arms merchant (10 of the 34 guns). These guns were distributed as a substitute salary, the payment of which had been delayed, and as a means of self-defence for special forces, such as the Anti Stock Theft Unit and the Local Defence Unit.

Disarmament is not an apolitical process. The changing tolerance for transferring arms to convenient actors based on the intentions of the dominant power resulted in the paradox that has enabled and even encouraged people who do not have guns to acquire them.

The disarmament of automatic rifles in the Karamoja region has been attempted by successive governments since it was first implemented 1983–5 by the government led by

¹⁸ For example, during the second period of Obote's rule (1980–85), pastoralists in Karamoja were recruited as military forces to suppress anti-government activity by the National Resistance Army.

¹⁹ The military organisation was formed as a part of the disarmament policy, which people can join by submitting illegal guns to the government.

Apollo Milton Opeto Obote (1924–2005). The government has a formal written history regarding the military intervention in the Karamoja region and notes that it was a legitimate pacifying action, assuming that physical violence was performed by pastoralists using illegally acquired weapons.²⁰ However, in the everyday history of pastoral people, disarmament, called *akilem ngatomyen* (to pick guns) in the Karimojong and Dodoth languages, is remembered as a conflict with the state that also involved raids between neighbouring pastoralist groups.

The first example of disarmament of automatic rifles occurred between 1983 and 1984, after Obote borrowed an armed helicopter from the Kenyan government, utilizing the militia established in the district bordering neighbouring countries. In December 1983, the army bombed villages and shopping centres in Matany and Kangole, both of which belong to the Napak District today. In the Government report, these operations are stated to have been punishments for resistance to disarmament.²¹ From the perspective of the Karimojong, these operations were more of a revenge by the state as theft. They began looting cattle to be eaten by Christian soldiers in celebration of Christmas. A middle-aged Karimojong man based in Kangole narrated a story like the one below:

Militia from Langoland came in a very large number of heavy-duty trucks for the purpose of getting ‘Christmas cow’ and attacked in Lokwasonyong in Matany. Another militia group also arrived in Kangole but did not know where to go, asked questions and got answers from people, and then moved to Matany. Soon, the explosion began to come from the direction of Matany. The battle began at the herding camp in Matany. The Karimojong opposes the militia. Battle started from two p.m. to three p.m. Militias were brought back eastward to Moroto, where the main troops settled. On the way, a fierce battle occurred between the Karimojong and the militia. When they arrived in Kangole, they began to rage and bombard the houses indiscriminately. It continued without interruption until dawn, and the shooting fight never ceased. The battle was severe, but the Karimojong forced the militia to give in, and militia began to escape into Moroto. Soon, the army soldiers stationed in Moroto and the militia came to support Lango militia. The soldier kept killing people and continuing to blow up. But they were rebuked, lost the direction, and dispersed. Some returned to Soroti; others ran away to Moroto. I was eight years old then. I was with my parents in a semi-permanent settlement in Kangole. During the bombing, we were forced to run. We ran to the church and evacuated because we knew they would not bomb the church. So, I led an evacuation life with a lot of people for a week.

The second example involves the implementation of a security maintenance plan from 1983–5, which is called ‘the year of stealing’ in the event calendar of the Karimojong. In this period, military personnel fired at and bombed pastoralists, confiscated their livestock, and murdered locals rampantly, resulting in physical conflicts due to local civilian resistance. In addition, the ‘Pian people [one of major territorial groups of the Karimojong] [had] nowhere to go’. About seventy per cent of the population of southern Karamoja was forced to relocate.²² This estimate supports the narratives of the Karimojong concerning state violence.

The third example of the disarmament of the Karimojong occurred during ‘the year

²⁰ Office of the Prime Minister, *Karamoja integrated*.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Dodge, ‘Uganda-rehabilitation’.

people were tied with rope'. It was led by Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, the current president, in 1986. In this case, it is said that the '*Kadonya* method', which involved violence aimed to force people to abandon their guns, was implemented. Although the original meaning of *Kadonya* is unknown, Karimojong men talked the following: 'Museveni's soldiers came to pick our guns. Those who had refused the submission of guns were hung on trees and poles with the knees and elbows tied together'. From this explanation, it seems that impersonal torture was being carried out as a warning to others or as corporal punishment.

IV

The contradictions pertaining to disarmament and violence are not simply memories of the distant past. They affect the everyday lives of people in the Karamoja region, which is now under today's disarmament intervention; thus, these memories are being physically and socially updated and revived.

Military operations designed to confiscate guns in the Karamoja region begin by obtaining secret information. One or two intelligence officers are posted in a barracks to facilitate the process. In the Moroto District, at least 25 barracks, including detachment, brigade, and divisional barracks, were counted in 2008. Each holds 50–100 battalions. In actual operation, armies in charge of the area come from barracks and surround a village, usually in the early morning, to capture suspected gun owners and to determine probable gun owners. Residents are forced out of the settlement and divided into two lines according to gender, and the males are physically searched. Meanwhile, inside the village, the soldiers go door to door searching for guns and other items, such as bullets, military uniforms, and soldiers' caps. If any of these items are found, their owners are either taken to the army barracks or questioned. Any man who is taken to the army barracks and might face a court martial.

Former captives claimed to have experienced torture at the army base; soldiers were said to have beaten them with sticks, forced them into small, low-roofed huts (*ejaa*) where they could only kneel, forced them to perform heavy labour, and only allowed them to have one or two bathing per week. For example, a Karimojong man was captured and held in the barracks of Lotome in the Moroto District three times for a total of 16 days since November 2007. According to his reports, the daily schedule for those who were captured was as follows: wake at 7 a.m., perform labour from 7 a.m. to 1 p.m. with one toilet break at 10 a.m., eat at 1 p.m., perform labour immediately after eating until 4 p.m., and receive a beating at 4 p.m. His labour consisted of carrying stones to construct the commander's hut, fetching water, gathering firewood, gathering grass for the hut's roof, and mowing grass inside the army compound.

It is not uncommon for a suspect who is charged with gun possession or raiding and taken to a detention hut in the army barracks to make a false confession of possessing a gun during interrogations accompanied by torture. Once a confession is made, the interrogation is over. From then on, interrogations accompanied by torture are held until a gun is submitted.

Given the torture, the relatives and friends of the captive generally attempt to free him. Among the Dodoth, three methods were used to free a captive in 2007: (1) obtain verbal evidence from administrative leaders and military officials (eight cases), (2) submit a gun possessed by a relative or friend (nine cases), or (3) submit a newly purchased gun (16 cases). Bringing back a captive is often expressed as the emancipation (*alakakin*) of a slave

or a porter (*ekadalan*). In the Karamoja region, during times of ivory hunting and trade around 1911, men were provided as a labour force for traders²³ and as a labour force for cargo carriers.²⁴ These workers were slaves to be mentioned as homologous with captives under disarmament in 21st century.

When the disarmament programme currently in progress resorts to force, the people are terrified, and the friends and family of captives struggle to achieve the freedom of the captives. Among other strategies, a common way to negotiate a captive's freedom involves submitting newly purchased guns or guns owned by other people. It may seem that such a behaviour satisfies the purpose of removing guns from local ownership in north-eastern Uganda; however, although guns are given to the army in exchange for captives, the reality is that the demand for guns is stimulated by the desire to obtain guns in order to barter for captives' freedom.

[Case 1]

In September 2007, a Dodoth man (X) in Kalapata did not possess his own gun. X was taken as a rebel against the military, as X kept his military cap. An elder brother of X purchased a gun from a Dodoth man (Y) with two young bulls and put this gun in the mayor's hand. The mayor submitted it to the army commander, and X was released.

Y is a herd owner, a livestock trader, and a gun handler. In the period of disarmament, and especially after the policy of forced sedentarisation established in 2007, gun supply decreased due to the strengthened crackdown on guns. The exchange rate rose to ten to twenty cattle per AK-47. However, the number of cattle Y received was variable from two to ten heads. This means that, while Y received a large number of cattle from the owner, he sells guns at a fixed exchange rate of one gun to two cattle when clients are hoping to free a captive.

Apart from the market rate, the Dodoth have an exchange rate for cattle at the village level. The standard price in the village is strongly fixed. Guns to free captives are also included in this exchange system. If market principles are brought into livestock exchanges between the Dodoth, the person who holds the exchange cannot help but respond to disadvantageous transactions; thus, locally fixed exchange rates work to prevent them.

Regarding those who bought guns with a small number of cattle, Y said, 'they were robbed of cattle and humans by "enemies" (or army), and they fell into ruin. The village is different from the market. This is same to the case that number of cattle is small in case of bridewealth paid by a poor family'. It is emphasized here that the non-market principle works in terms of establishing exchanges. In the exchange of guns and cattle for villagers who have fallen into difficulties, the soaring yet floating exchange rate, which is the result of supply and demand, cannot be used. This transaction is executed within the framework of mutual aid using the fixed exchange rate set by the commune. For the Dodoth, the

²³ *Ngitome*, one of the Karamojong territorial groups, literally means 'elephant people'. The elder who lives in the village nearest to the centre of their hometown, Lotome, said, 'The beginning of the cattle of Lotome is ivory. The ivory was brought to Baringo in Kenya, where people received cattle. Ivory was taken from Baringo to Addis Ababa. Ivory was brought, and cattle were driven by *ekadalan*. The meaning of the name of *Lotome* is "the place to hunt ivory"'.

²⁴ Lopuko was made a chief in Bokora by Captain Tufnell, who was appointed Touring Officer for the Rudolph area, which included Karamoja in 1911. Barber noted, in 1962, that '[t]he chiefs were expected to keep their people in order, and to provide porters and food when called upon to do so. ... While the traders had raided and taken slaves, they had brought cattle, but government seemed to offer nothing but hard work for little reward'. See Barber, 'The Kalamojo'.

transaction of acquiring a gun to free a human captive is different from a market exchange.

V

The Karimojong and the Dodoth have similar past and present positions in terms of the violence they have experienced in the region, and these positions and superimposing between past and present have become a resource to safeguard people's daily lives. Individual and collective memories of history and oralities play a decisive role in allowing people to cope with illnesses caused by violence.

Disarmament, including state violence, caused a gap between people who had automatic guns and people who did not and resulted in further armed violence and raiding between neighbouring groups. Violence-related illnesses occurred in the prolonged low-intensity conflict, and people faced the problem of how best to heal the bodies.

One way was to construct a healing place to recall the history of state violence. Consider an illness called *etukuri* as an example. *Etukuri* is a type of 'heart illness' (*etau*) caused by a continuous gunshot 'entering the heart', an armed helicopter's flying sound, or the shock caused by the sound of a rocket gun. In hearing gunshots and explosions and recalling battles and torture, those suffering from *etukuri* have acute episodes of feeling as though their heart and blood vessels are jumping with their heartbeat and experience chest pain, difficulty breathing, fainting, and confusion. People living with *etukuri* experience traumatic events through their bodies.

Historicising violence and state plays critical role in sustaining everyday life of pastoralists. In ritual healing, participants sing songs to compare the violent events they experienced with the state violence that people in the past experienced. Songs of medicine in ritual healing refer to history (*ngakiro nguna etakanuniyete*, literally, 'events that happened').

In January 2013, after being taken to the army barracks and tortured for giving incorrect information, a Dodoth man fell into madness. Songs of medicine reminded him of the violence of the colonial government, for example, the burning of the house of a Dodoth man who fought with the current government as a militia of the former government in 1988, armed helicopter bombings in 2007, and Jie and Dodoth women collectively throwing themselves into a muddy stream to protest against being prohibited from wearing the traditional clothing of pastoralists and made naked by the colonial government in the 1950s and Idi Amin's government in 1971.

Shared histories never repeat static images. One male participant of the Dodoth while singing these songs of medicine said, 'talking about living with each other among overwhelming violence makes one forget to kill oneself'. Songs of medicine in ritual healing allow people to realize that everyday life continues even after those who rule exercise violence against those being ruled. The present is a reconstruction of the past that involves interweaving personal memories into collective memories. To this extent, history is current, productive, and creative.

VI

Successive central governments with violent military systems play contradictory roles in disarming the Karimojong and the Dodoth and then providing them with guns when violent political conflicts occur. In the disarmament of the twenty-first century, this contradiction

is not a holdover from the distant past. Newly purchased guns have been submitted to the military in order to emancipate captives who were pastoralists taken to and detained in military barracks. Those who were exchanged for guns are found its similarity with nineteenth-century slaves who were caught by outsiders when guns were brought into the Karamoja region. In superimposing memories in healing practices, the collective remembering of past state violence is carried out through the body of the person experiencing violence-related illness. The history of arms transfer and the state control of north-eastern Ugandan pastoralists is the past fact selected by problem consciousness directed at external violent rule. The history of gun availability is a composition of facts, and current history in the sense of Croce's historical thought is lived through the body. The everyday lives of the Karimojong and the Dodoth involve the accumulation of certain practices, and history only depicts popular lifestyles. The entanglement of individual entities becomes the foundation for cultures of resistance that overturn regimes present in the modern violence system, enabling the identification of the existing consequences of prolonged violence and the sharing of existing knowledge and new strategies for changing armed violent regime. People affected by violence not only wish to talk about it but also want to look for ways to break the social chain of violence and for new possibilities for alternative order. Detailing how resistance to violent dominant power is specifically organized by the weak in their daily life is the next task.

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Ugandan Pastoralists' Everyday Histories of Gun Acquisition and State Violence

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Appendix 1. Karamojong Event Calendar

1914	<i>ekaru a Ngalebei</i> [the year of women workers]
1920	<i>Nasogolo a Lakalees</i> [Nasogolo and Lakaleese]
1923	<i>ekaru ngolo arere a Toto Kobok Achia</i> [the year Toto Kobok Achia was killed]
1926	<i>ekaru a lomee</i> [the year of goats] <i>ekaru ngolo awaria akolong</i> [the year the sun became dark]
1927	<i>emorimor</i> [continuous rainfall]
1928	<i>ekaru a lobil a ngitomei</i> [the year of the disease of elephants] <i>ekaru a ngimongo</i> [the year of the fruits of <i>Balanites</i>]
1933	<i>ekaru ngolo emarere ngitunga</i> [the year they counted people]
1939	<i>ekaru a lokwakoit</i> [the year of white bones]
1941	<i>ekaru ngolo abokeke ngataparini</i> [the year they dug dams]
1943	<i>ekaru ngolo ke euga a Lote</i> [the year of the food relief of Lote]
1945	<i>lorengelaga</i> [red necklace]
1946	<i>lotekonyen</i> [eyes] Ngaduruko [the last women's initiations]
1952	<i>lotiira</i> [the star of hunger]
1953	<i>ekaru ngolo arere ngiruwosi</i> [the year chiefs were killed]
1954	<i>ekaru ngolo a longeu</i> [the year of fulfilled granaries]
1956	<i>Apule</i>
1958	<i>asapan a Ngigetei</i> [the initiation of Ngigetei]
1960	<i>ekaru ngolo emeleku ka ngakan</i> [the year of the hoe of hands]
1961	<i>locuu</i> [starvation] <i>lolibakipi</i> [green water]
1962	<i>ekaru kobote</i> [the year of Obote] <i>mukuki</i> [the year of spears] <i>ekaru a Namongo</i> [the year of Namongo]
1963	<i>ekaru ngolo a nagilgil</i> [the year of the helicopter]
1965	<i>ekaru ngolo lomoroko</i> [the year of the comet]
1966	<i>ekaru adwarakile</i> [the year of bitter milk]
1966–67	<i>ekaru ngolo acakinori agilgil Kwarikwar</i> [the year a helicopter landed in Kwarikwar]
1967	<i>ekaru ngolo keetom</i> [the year of the elephant] <i>Cepsekunya</i>
1968	<i>ekaru ngolo lopetun</i> [the year of widespread]
1969	<i>ekaru ngolo emarere ngitunga</i> [the year they counted people]
1971	<i>ekaru ngolo alaca Amin ngitunga</i> [the year Amin undressed people]
1973	<i>ekaru ngolo atwana akolong</i> [the year the sun died]
1974	<i>ekaru ngolo angolia Apalosiel ngitunga</i> [the year Apa-Losiel killed people]
1979	<i>ekaru ngolo eritare Amin</i> [the year Amin was chased away] <i>ekaru ngolo abwangunita Ngimatheniko ngatomian</i> [the year the Matheniko broke into army barracks for guns]
1980	<i>ekaru ngolo ka akoro</i> [the year of hunger] <i>ekaru ngolo kebuta</i> [the year of smut] <i>ekaru ngolo a ngikolya</i> [the year of fish]
1982	<i>ekaru ngolo arere Apa-Loris</i> [the year of Apa-Loris]
1983	<i>ekaru ngolo ecunya arieng Matany ka Kangole</i> [the year the army burnt Matany and Kangole]
1984	<i>ekaru ngolo amica</i> [the year of the army] <i>ekaru a akooko</i> [the year of theft]
1985	<i>ekaru ngolo Nakichumet</i> [the year of Nakichumet]
1986	<i>ekaru ngolo ekamaria Museveni apukan</i> [the year Museveni came into government] <i>ekaru ngolo ayenere ngitunga angamuguwae</i> [the year people were tied with rope] <i>lorionokoriot</i> [black ground]
1987	<i>ekaru ngolo kemogo</i> [the year of cassava]
1988	<i>ekaru ngolo amunyarere Ngimatheniko alo Matakul</i> [the year the Matheniko were killed in

ITSUHIRO HAZAMA

- Matakul]
 1989 Arusi [RC]
 1990 *ekaru ngolo ka awi ka Alinga* [the year of the herding camp of Alinga]
 1991 *ekaru ngolo aterege* [the year of meningitis]
 1992 *ekaru ka Apuno* [the year of Apuno]
 1993 *ekaru ngolo a Natoo* [the year of Natoo]
 1994–95 *ekaru ngolo ka akiriket arengepuwa* [the year of the initiation of Arengepuwa]
 1997–98 *ekaru a kolera* [the year of cholera]
 2000 *ekaru ngolo aarere Ekoneakamilyo* [the year Ekoneakamilyo was killed]
 ekaru ngolo acuna ariang Lokopo [the year the army burned Lokopo]
 2001 *ekaru ngolo aremyoto Ngipian Loroo* [the year the Pian raided Loroo]
 ekaru ngolo ejaaria apukan Ngikarimjong ngatomian [the year the government disarmed the Karamojong]
 2002 *ekaru ngolo aremyoto Ngiupe awi a Ngibokora a Namanit* [the year the Pokot raided the herding camp of the Bokora in Namanit]

Appendix 2. Dodoth Event Calendar

- 1928 *ekaru a lokijuka* [the year of rushing]
 1939 *ejie a jirman* [the fight of Germany]
 ekaru a Locim [the year of Locim]
 1943 *ekaru arengelaga* [the year of red marriage bangles]
 1951 *ekaru emaase* [the year of the locusts]
 1959 *ekaru kakimaro* [the year of counting]
 1960 *ekaru ngolo emeleku ka ngakan* [the year of the hoe of hands]
 ekaru atwania emusugut a Naurat [the year the white man died in Naurat]
 1961 *ekaru a Loyoro* [the year of Loyoro]
 1962 *ekaru auru* [the year of independence]
 1963 *ekaru a lolibikipi* [the year of green water]
 ekaru anagiliigil [the year of the helicopter]
 1964 *aremun Ngididinga Uganda* [the Didinga flee to Uganda]
 1965 *ekaru a lodiri* [the year of Lodiri]
 ekaru a looyamorok Logum [the year of the green vegetables in Logum]
 ekaru ka Adungo Alichan [the year of Adungo-Alichan]
 1969 *ekaru ngolo kakimaro* [the year of counting]
 1971 *kikama Amin apukan* [Amin took over the government]
 akilac ngitunga [to undress people]
 1972 *kirita Amin Ngimiidi* [Amin chased away the Asians]
 1973 *ekaru atwania akolong (ecapio)* [the year the sun died (during weeding)]
 1974 *ekaru ka bulokku haam* [the year of the block farm]
 1976 *ekaru alobolei* [the year of gourds]
 1978 *ekaru anawokoupal* [the year they brought shields]
 1979 *kirit Obote Amin* [Obote chased Amin]
 1980 *ekaru kakimaro* [the year of counting]
 ekaru a lopiari [the year of sweeping away]
 ekaru a Elia [the year of Elia]
 1981 *ekaru akitanai* [the year of feeding]
 ekaru ngolo anya mere nyicolubei [the year of eating rats]
 1982 *ekaru ewokere ngimomwa Turkan* [the year of carrying *Sorghum* to the Turkana]
 1983 *ekaru angarere Lopedo* [the year of opening Lopedo]
 1984 *ekaru a lorengepelu* [the year of the red field]
 1985 *kikama Tito Okello apukan* [Tito Okello took over the government]
 ekaru a Loumo [the year of Loumo]
 1986 *kikama Museveni apukan* [Museveni took over the government]
 siripis [three pieces]
 1987 Namusali
 1989 *Tarau Marwas Emupi a Dodoth* [Marwas became the MP of Dodoth]
 1990 *eryangiryang* [earthquake]

Ugandan Pastoralists' Everyday Histories of Gun Acquisition and State Violence

- ekaru a lomongin* [the year of male animals]
ekaru ateregege [the year of meningitis]
1991 *ekaru kakimaro angitunga* [the year of counting people]
1992 *ekaru ngolo aramareta Nyidodoso ngaitu a Lokongikile* [the year the Dodoth raided the cows of Lokongikile]
1994 *ekaru ngolo aloto ngitunga Loding Turkan* [the year people went to the Loding (and Turkana)]
1996 *asere ata Museveni* [the election of Museveni]
1997 *ekaru ngolo alokimul* [the year of saliva]
ekaru ngolo agiligil [the year of the helicopter]
ekaru arere Limangiro [the year Limangiro was killed]
1998 *ekaru a gialanarere ngimongin* [the year of selling male animals]
2000 *ekaru ka abass kakuri* [the year of the bus and the dove]
ekaru ngolo aramareta Ngijie ngaituk a Lokitela Arengan [the year the Jie raided the cattle in Lokitela Arengan]
2001 *asere a Museveni ka Lodou* [the elections of Museveni and Lodou]
2002 *ekaru ngolo enyakarya ariang ngatomian* [the year the soldiers returned the guns]