

SECOND INTER- PARTY COOPERATION CONFERENCE

POPE PAUL VI MEMORIAL CENTER, RUBAGA-KAMPALA

THEME: Together We Can Cause Change

13TH-15TH DECEMBER 2009

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Executive Summary

The inter-party cooperation comprises of four opposition political parties in Uganda including: Conservative Party (CP), Forum for Democratic Change (FDC), Justice Forum (JEEMA) and Uganda Peoples Congress (UPC). The current chairperson of the IPC summit is Mama Miria Obote the party president of UPC. From December 13th-15th, 2009 the IPC members met at Pope Paul VI Memorial Center in Rubaga, Kampala to discuss the second protocol. Social Democratic Party (SDP), Peoples Progressive Party (PPP) and Democratic Party (DP) were invited to attend the second IPC conference. Of the three non-IPC members invited, SDP attended and was represented by the Party President Hon. Micheal Mabike and a few of its members. Under the theme "Together We Can Cause Change".... number of IPC members attended the conference including....men andwomen. The party Presidents of IPC members, steering committee, members of individual parties under IPC, secretariat staff of CIL/IPC and partners including KIC, NDI and IRI attended the conference. A list of participants is attached to the report as Annex A and the conference program is attached as Annex B.

The objectives of the conference were threefold:

- To assess IPC's progress since its formation and forge a way forward for the cooperation;
- To endorse the transformation of IPC into an Inter-party Alliance (IPA); and
- To prioritize tasks for IPA in preparation for the 2011 general elections.

The conference was also intended to provide uniform information to party leaders and selected members to enable them effectively communicate IPC matters to the electorate.

A number of presentations were made by the Party Presidents of the IPC, CIL Chairperson, and steering committee members of IPC and SDP's President on: the objectives of IPC, the history of the cooperation, its achievements, the Uganda IPC wants, and the road map of IPC to the 2011 elections. Representatives of KIC made three presentations on their partnership with IPC and issues that the cooperation may want to address. The new protocol for IPC was discussed and signed. Overall, there was consensus that whilst there were a number of challenging situations, an alliance for IPC was necessary if the opposition is to win elections in 2011.

The key points emerging from the conference were:

1) Context

- The importance of an alliance with a common message, symbol and colour;
- The road map to 2011 elections and what IPC needs to contend with as it prepares for it;
- The new IPA protocol; and
- KICs plan for continued partnership with IPC.

2) Activities

- The need for each party to nominate candidates to field for presidential, parliamentary and local council elections and later subject them to an audit in order for the alliance to select winning candidates through primaries where need arises;
- The need to form a committee to address the challenges of the media including strategies to be undertaken to influence the re-opening of CBS and Suubi FM radio stations and the re-composition of the Electoral Commission. Activities proposed for influencing the re-opening of CBS and Suubi FM radio stations included: sit down strike by Ugandans, boycott of New Vision and demonstration by Ugandans. The options would be discussed by the committee before selecting the most appropriate action(s) to take.
- Establishment of a think tank for IPC. The proposal to have Dr. Jean Barya and Prof. Juuko on the think tank team was proposed and lauded by members.

The meeting ended with the signing of an Inter-Party Alliance which would shape the direction for the alliance.

In the words of the Swedish Prime Minister, Mr. Fredrick Reinfeldt on a brief to him by Mr. Rasmusson on KIC activities in Uganda "...Establishment of democracy should never be under rated"

Introduction

Alliances/coalitions are becoming common in many countries and are the current form of government in Kenya, Zimbabwe and Malawi.

To support the work of IPC, KIC and other partners have/are providing both technical and financial support to IPC to enable it strengthen itself in order for it to effectively implement its activities before, during and after the 2011 elections. KIC is supporting activities of IPC in its transformation from a co-operation to an alliance. It provided both financial and technical support for the conference.

The second IPC conference was held in Rubaga, Kampala from December 13th-15th 2009 and its objectives were threefold:

- To assess IPC's progress since its formation and forge a way forward for the cooperation;
- To endorse the transformation of IPC into Inter-party Alliance (IPA); and
- To prioritize tasks for IPA in preparation for the 2011 general elections.

The conference was also intended to provide uniform information to party leaders and selected members to enable them effectively communicate IPC matters to the electorate.

This report provides highlights of key discussions and decisions reached. It is presented in four parts:

Part A: Remarks by Party Presidents and KIC on IPC; This provides highlights of the presentations made in this regard. Part B: Presentation on IPC road map to the 2011 elections; this provides highlights of what IPC needs to do and contend with as it prepares for the 2011 elections and ideas from participants on how best to win the 2011 elections; Part C: Discussion by participants on Presentations in Part A and B; and Part D: IPA protocol. The conclusion forms the last page of the report.

Annexes include the list of participants, conference program and the presentations of the party presidents, steering committee members and KIC and the additional IPC protocol of 2009.

PART A: Remarks by Party Presidents and KIC on IPC

The UPC party president:

The first IPC conference held from August 14th-16th 2008 was attended by 143 members. The IPC made 15 resolutions including promoting internal democracy by among others holding delegates' conferences and development of a clear road map and feasible strategies for winning 2011 elections. In terms of achievements the delegates' conferences of IPC members were held between November 2008 and February 2009. IPC endorsed electoral reforms, which were sent to Parliament as electoral amendment Bills. The IPC leaders have began publicizing IPC through rallies and meetings in Masaka on 4th December, Jinja 5th December and Hoima 6th December 2009.

This conference is intended to transform IPC to IPA. IPC needs to triple its efforts to take over power from NRM in February 2011. The coming months will be critical for IPC. Apart from intensifying mobilization to increase the numbers of women and youth joining IPC, they must conduct adequate voter education. IPC should appeal to the international community including all non African countries with embassies in Uganda, the Presidents of East African Community (EAC), leaders of African Union and other development partners to refrain from supporting activities that enhance corruption, weaken political institutions, encourage fraudulent elections and abuse of human rights among others. IPC is grateful to the Swedish partners for the technical and financial support to the cooperation.

The party president of JEEMA

Despite the achievements of IPC at national level including implementation of the IPC work plan, the grassroots population still needs to be reached more with information on IPC. IPC needs to assert itself as the lead institution for the constituent parties. It also needs to pursue the potential for local funding. Areas of weakness of IPC need to be identified and addressed in order to strengthen the cooperation. For instance the summit chair is detached from the steering committee which works as the executive arm of IPC. The chair of the summit is a titular head with no lee way to take any initiative. It may therefore work better for the summit and steering committee to be chaired by the same party and for the chair of the summit to be an ex-official member of the steering committee.

The role of the secretariat needs to be re-defined—It should not be the think tank of the cooperation. IPC should have a separate think tank whose role among others should be to put IPC at the center of political issues in Uganda. It should generate new ideas, evaluate various options and explore alternative sources of funding to enable IPC implement its programs. An IPC that is weaker than member political parties raises questions as to whether the IPC can take on NRM and win an election. The think tank should be in position to generate strategies to make IPC dynamic and stronger than individual member organizations.

The weakest parties in the IPC should be able to reap benefits from the cooperation just like the stronger ones to encourage commitment to the cooperation. KIC can share experiences with IPC on how they have managed to share benefits between weak and strong parties in their political alliance.

IPC should address the limitations of press freedom in the lead up to the elections and thereafter. Denial of access to media to the opposition like the case of FDC in Karamoja should be addressed and JEEMA IN Masaka on December 6th, 2009 should be addressed. IPC needs to develop strategies and take action to influence the re-opening of CBS and Suubi FM radio stations. A proposal to hold a sit down strike was floated and various IPC members were urged to publicize the strike to enable it to take place effectively.

A proposal to request Prof. Fredrick Juuko and Dr. Jean Barya of the Free Movement to constitute a core team of the IPC think tank was made by the JEEMA party President. Three officials from the Free Movement would be joined by one member from each participating party and the head of CIL. These individuals would comprise the IPC think tank. The JEEMA proposal on the think tank should be discussed and a decision on the IPC think tank reached.

Remarks by CP party president

Electoral reforms are necessary for holding free and fair elections and IPC should pressurize government to ensure that reforms are undertaken. Key areas for electoral reform should include: restoration of Presidential term limits and removal of UPDF from Parliament.

Like in a football match, the opposition political parties are players and should be involved in decisions pertaining to free and fair elections for instance the composition of the Electoral Commission.

The spectrum of cooperation should be free to enable individual parties to propose ideas. The CP president supported the proposal by JEEMA party president to undertake a sit down strike on January 4, 2010. All Ugandans should be encouraged to stay home to demonstrate their dissatisfaction with the continued closure of CBS and Suubi radio stations.

CP disagrees with the President of Uganda's pronouncements of a ban on "bimeezas". They ban is in defiance of Articles 20, 23, 41 and 29 of the Constitution. It is important for IPC to develop strategies to address presidential pronouncements of this nature so as to enhance the freedom of speech which is key in a multiparty democracy.

Remarks by Hon. Salaamu Musumba-vice president FDC

IPC has moved from a state of mutual suspicion to one where suspicion is no longer significant in implementing its activities. The conference currently taking place is a result of a long path of hard work and commitment to IPC. FDC is fully aware of the remaining tasks but is committed to moving Uganda forward. FDC is satisfied that cooperation is the only way forward. With the review of the cooperation it is possible to move from IPC to IPA. However, the IPC should not lose sight of the task ahead. On December 12, 2009, 2000 militia were passed by President Museveni at Kololo airstrip in Kampala. The IPC owes it to Ugandans to stop militarization of the country. FDC will put in their brains and all resources in the two days dedicated to the conference to ensure that 2011 elections are free and fair. FDC reiterates its commitment to providing leadership to Uganda. Hon. Salaamu apologized for the late arrival of the FDC party President and informed members that he was arriving from upcountry trips of mobilizing Ugandans in preparation for the 2011 elections.

Remarks by Hon. Micheal Mabikke -SDP party president

NRM is using divide and rule to keep itself in power. It is only the combined strength of all opposition parties that will defeat NRM. SDP is committed to joining IPC. SDP will hold a national council meeting on 27th January 2010. One of the items on the agenda is to renew the mandate of the interim SDP leadership and the second is to direct their grassroots leaders to endorse SDP to join IPC. SDP would like to add value to IPC on two fronts.

- Mobilizing youth in Uganda and publicizing IPC among the youth; and
- Countering the vote rigging crews that NRM leaders including President Museveni continue to pass out in preparation for the 2011 elections.

There are three challenges for IPC. They mainly arise from the parties within and outside IPC and the public. For parties that have not joined IPC their fear is that IPC will swallow them. IPC should make an effort to convince the parties that have not joined that they will not be swallowed. Second is the joint electoral platform arising from experiences of Zimbabwe. How will IPC ensure that participating parties have a fair share of leadership positions once it comes into power? How can IPC guard against the fear of a stalment in government like the cases in Kenya and Zimbabwe when they arise? There is need to address these fears.

On the issue of the radio stations-CBS and Suubi Fm that remain closed to date, a motion is in parliament for them to be opened unconditionally. It may be debated in Parliament on December 15th 2009.

Remarks by the FDC party president

He has over the last couple of months been travelling widely. Despondency/ apathy is widespread. The alliance must show the population that there is a credible effort to take power in 2011 by addressing certain vital aspects that cause rigging of elections. Unless the population sees movement on these two fronts despondency will remain a significant factor. There is also concern that it is not only an alliance that should be formed but the new alliance should have essential differences from previous ones many of which have ended in disaster. One area the population will look out for is the agenda that unites the opposition alliance. Possession of a clear plan of action once they take power to monitor and create changes in the lives of Ugandans will also be key for the population. Effecting changes apart from taking power will be vital for the alliance. It must be a productive alliance. As soon as IPC agrees on a policy platform and action plan, it should invest in publicizing it and carrying out public relations around it so that everybody appreciates the positivity around it in order to undermine the advocates of doom. IPC appreciates the financial and technical support from KIC. It is hoped that the stakeholders here will reach the desired destination in transforming Uganda to transit to a democratic dispensation where the rule of law and accountable government are the corner stones. The work of the Netherlands Institute in coordinating dialogue with NRM is laudable. Any effort in this direction is important. Interface with government to achieve a process of peaceful transfer of power is very relevant and required. The dialogue would be the vehicle to achieve the peaceful transition of power.

Remarks by KIC- Amb.Rasmus Rasmusson-Deputy Chairperson KIC

The work of IPC should improve on the lives and opportunities for Ugandans. The majority of voters in Uganda are women and youth. IPC should promote their interests and priorities in order to secure victory in 2011. KIC is interested in listening to ways in which IPC intends to promote democratic development in Uganda including: The passage of the Marriage and Divorce Bill (M&DB), How it will engage young people in dialogue to create an attractive and relevant electoral platform; and How it will deal with the proposals in a Private Members Bill to be introduced into Parliament to make homosexuality a crime in Uganda.

IPC needs to think of options to secure a free and fair election even if electoral laws are not amended. KIC hopes Democratic Party (DP) will join IPC soon to prevent the possibility of a vote split. The Swedish Christian Democratic Party is a smaller part of the Swedish Alliance and has a lot in common with DP. In an alliance, compromises have to be made because it is a give and take situation. The end result should be the ability to implement priorities.

Donors should advocate against election violence and manipulation of the elections and seek ways to hold those involved in election manipulation and violence responsible. The "business as usual" attitude of donors should be confronted.

Dialogue between government and opposition should be promoted. Issues like "what can be done to assure a loser in an election an honorable exit and full security" should be discussed.

IPC should engage organizations like IDEA and EISA to learn about their election activities in different countries. IPC should define what they expect from IDEA and EISA before approaching them to enable them maximize output once they make contact.

Fighting corruption will be key for the IPC's election platform. It is necessary to unveil practices of the dishonest elite.

Women and youth should be engaged in order to have them fully support and benefit from the alliance election platform. The NRM should be engaged in order to promote a peaceful and understanding attitude in Uganda. KIC and its partners are prepared to assist in an engagement at the grassroots.

Any dialogue between government and parties should avoid concentrating too much on the elections. A listening attitude between all parties and ability to seek common ground in the interest of all Ugandans is required.

Despite the achievements of IPC big challenges lie ahead including encouraging DP to join IPC in order to avoid split votes in 2011.

The party affiliated organizations of the Swedish Alliance will continue to support IPC.

Remarks by Mr. Lennart Karlsson—representative Centre Party, Sweden

The Center party and Center Party International Foundation are one of the partners facilitating the IPC.

The current government in Sweden is an alliance which the parties therein agreed upon and fully supported. Lengthy negotiations are vital to coordination before common stands are taken. Mutual understanding, respect and confidence are key to the alliance work and unity amongst the alliance members.

In agreement with President Barrack Obama as he received the Nobel peace prize in Oslo in early December 2009, “The only way to build peace is to develop institutions...to believe that it is possible to change human beings, we need to support human rights and to invest in development in our countries...we need to use moral imagination to create a better world.”

Power is not a goal in itself but a tool which provides opportunities to change things. A government that is able to develop institutions, that is willing to invest in development for everyone, that has a true respect for and an active support for all human rights and lives is worth a government. If IPC is fighting for power for its own personal upgrading and gain-the struggle is unworthy. The first step for the opposition alliance will be to win elections. It will be difficult and will demand all their energy and creativity.

It is clear that winning the elections in a free and fair contest may not be possible. It is important for the donor community to condemn all forms of manipulation. Opposition needs to convince the technical and financial partners of Uganda that the alliance is a real alternative for the new rule in Uganda.

They should be convinced that it is a solid organization with a common plan about how the leadership will be formed and shared and a political platform that shows that you have a better alternative for the development of Uganda. They should be convinced that the alliance has a strategy on how to combat corruption and how to strengthen the protection of human rights among other issues. The first test will be to win elections. The more difficult test will be to establish a government where all ingoing parties find a place. The alliance will have to find a workable form of governance to be able to serve the country in the way Ugandans and the global society expect.

Remarks by Magnus Ramstrand

The respect for human rights and dignity of human beings is important for any democracy. A number of issues affecting Ugandans need to be addressed-- for instance the poor health services, corruption and violence against women. The aspirations of young people in Uganda need to be promoted. Giving incentives to young people and entrepreneurs to create jobs is important. Uganda has rich resources which should be harnessed for the young peoples benefit. The way forward is to empower people to participate in governance. IPC should devise strategies to encourage people to vote on election day.

The attitude of people needs to change so that they stop seeing themselves as victims. It is one year to elections. IPC needs to reach all undecided voters. 20% of the time should be spent in meetings/conferences and 80% in meeting voters and the public. It is good that trainers have been trained to reach others.

The voters in Uganda want an alternative which is viable to the present polity. They also want free and fair elections in which their ballot will be respected and counted.

Key note speech on the Uganda We Want—Mr. Omar Kalinge--JEEMA

A brief history of Uganda since independence was provided to address the topic of the “Uganda We Want”. Since 1980, all elections have been disputed as not being free and fair. With 2011 around the corner, an NRM research team in a report released in November 2009 claims the national voters’ register has 1 million ghosts registered as voters. An incompetent, partisan Electoral Commission was re-appointed. Militarization, corruption with impunity and nepotism remain rife. One man rule, death of institutions of governance and an economy based on cronyism, patronage and grabbing are the order of the day. The opposition alliance is the only way to save Uganda from the current challenges. A joint electoral platform is necessary.

The IPC wants:

A prosperous, democratic and peaceful Uganda where all citizens can enjoy their rights. A Uganda where rule of law prevails regardless of one’s status in society and where separation of powers is adhered to. A Uganda where leaders are judged by what they have done for Uganda and not what they have amassed through abuse of their offices.

A Uganda where exploitation of women, youth, workers and persons with disabilities by selfish politicians is replaced by genuine empowerment and personal growth opportunities.

A Uganda where children are well fed both at home and in schools. A Uganda where more farm tractors than four wheel drives will be imported. A Uganda where investment in Agriculture will be a priority. A Uganda in which quality primary, secondary and higher education and employment opportunities will be available to every citizen without preference or discrimination. A Uganda where quality affordable health care is for all and where health workers are remunerated appropriately. IPC wants a Uganda where employees are decently employed, will have a minimum wage and a living wage where employee benefits are availed timely to the beneficiaries. IPC wants a Uganda in which the gap between the rich and the poor is reduced to acceptable levels through equitable access to opportunities for income generation and training. IPC wants a Uganda. IPC wants a Uganda in which the media is ethical and completely free to carry out its professional obligations without let or hindrance. Where access to information is a right that cannot be denied. A Federally administered Uganda where natural resources are equitably beneficial to the citizens, transparently and with full accountability. Where no secret deals can be concluded by selfish leaders. A Uganda that is truly independent, at peace with her neighbours and non-aligned in its relations with other nations of the world.

Dr. Nabwiso’s presentation- Where IPC has come from?

The first IPC Protocol was signed on August 5, 2008. The objectives of the first IPC protocol were four and included:

- Advocacy and campaigns for constitutional, legal, electoral and administrative reforms
- Identification of socio-economic and political challenges where corrective action is needed
- Identification of common policy positions to address the identified challenges.
- Possibility of developing a common electoral platform for the 2011 general elections.

IPC has made some achievements since its formation. They include:

- Member parties holding delegates conferences between November 2008-February 2009 to improve internal democracy;
- Registration of the Uganda Institute for Governance;
- Agreement between KIC and CIL to facilitate the latter to conduct activities of IPC;
- Holding of a workshop on communication, coordination and decision making with technical and financial support from NDI and IRI to streamline these critical areas to further strengthen IPC operations;
- Launching of IPC electoral reform proposals with technical and financial support from IRI;
- Introduction of Private Members Bills on electoral reforms in Parliament;
- In order to build capacity of IPC members a womens’ trainers workshop and youth trainers workshop were held in 2009.

- Joint IPC presidents visits to the districts of Masaka December 4th 2009, Jinja December 5th 2009 and Hoima December 6th 2009; and
- With assistance from KAS 72 party members from IPC have been trained to conduct voter education.

What has caused this success: without technical and financial support IPC would not have had the said achievements. KIC has been flexible and allowed IPC leaders to work without interference. IPC leaders have realized that NRM cannot be dislodged easily if each party goes into an election individually. Proper management of the program by summit leaders and secretariat has led to some of the mentioned achievements. The summit has met officially nine times and has held numerous special meetings. The steering committee has met 34 times and minutes are available to members.

Conflict resolution mechanisms have been created to ensure IPC remains focused on its activities.

PART B: Road map to 2011 elections

Hon. Salaamu Musumba

The task ahead is to choose a presidential candidate the IPC will support. The IPC needs to have the majority of MPs so that it can be in charge of the legislature. It needs to find 215 MPs and 15 MPS representing special interest groups IPC will also need to look for women MPs for all the districts.

The IPC needs to know the NRM plans for 2011. One thing that is clear is the planned use of militia to influence the forthcoming election process and results. The passing out of 2000 cadres for 2011 to oversee elections in Kampala region bears witness to the NRM plans in this regard. MPs have been to Kyankwanzi and all have military uniform. In every district the District Internal Security Officer (DISO) will coordinate the violence at every station. There are 21,000 polling stations in Uganda which have all been assigned trained military people. All LCIIIs have received military training and are positioned to cause violence. They have redefined the model in Kampala. It is known that the legal requirement for LCIs to be in place has not been met to date. However NRM has recruited a security committee at LC1 level which is manned by NRM cadres. They will be in charge of elections at every village. The EC headed by Eng. Kiggundu is to designate new polling stations. NRM has moved ahead in helping the EC to re-organize polling stations. They have already decided with the security committee that has been set up to be responsible for deciding how to re-organize the polling stations. The cadres will target opposition at household level. They will also contend with a lot of state resources some of which is donor money and CHOGM funds. The state will deploy a lot of money to steal the election. President Museveni is allergic to elections and is not listening to the cries of Ugandans to put in place a credible EC in which all Ugandans have trust that they can change power using the ballot not the bullet. Government work has stopped. What is in place is political work by NRM. All budget resources are going to be diverted into resources for NRM to win the election. The population is going to be impoverished and therefore very difficult to mobilize. How will IPC counter the status-quo? It is no longer a matter of taking power but survival. It will no longer be tear gas but live bullets.

Proposals for the way forward for IPC

An alliance for opposition parties will be key in addressing the aforementioned challenges. It should be marketed country wide. A road map for the 2011 elections for IPC has been drawn. The remaining aspect is to agree on the rules for the election.

Each party should raise resources for the forthcoming election activities. Apart from financial resources the parties should exercise good governance within. Whatever they dislike about NRM they must not practice. They must not import bad practices. They must train their members, young people, women and elders and encourage them to re-package themselves and their message. Each IPC member should accept to do the task that it will be assigned and that it can do best. The biggest problem they will face under IPC is leadership at all levels. They must learn to think beyond themselves and desist from practicing subsistence politics.

What will IPC do as an alliance?

They will have intra party primaries for all elective positions including the presidential, parliamentary and local government positions. The time frame is by end of February 2010 so that by March 2010 they can have a list of all the people who have been successful in the party primaries. The names of successful candidates will then go through an audit to see which of them give the alliance the best chance of winning. The election will be planned with military precision. At this point they want to use consensus as the rule. It will be a give and take.

They will then move to an election when consensus fails. The participating parties will treat each other as equals and with mutual respect so that when the public see IPC working it will give them the mandate to lead them. When the second protocol is given to participants for discussion they should not tear it apart but constructively criticize it and provide alternatives.

It is important to note that the opposition did not make any input to the EC 2011 road map and yet they are important stakeholders in the elections. The EC set to amend the enabling election laws and has not sent any amendments to Parliament. The IPC must win within the current electoral laws. IPC should operate from a perspective that the law will not be amended but they have to win. EC proposes to procure equipment for the coming election. IPC should have intelligent people to understand the soft ware and set up a parallel EC for IPC. This is what they intend to do when they move together as an alliance. Demarcation of constituencies is a mandate of EC but government has taken it upon itself and continues to create new districts and new constituencies. They are reviewing the current status-quo so that if government increases districts it does not use them to create new constituencies because that is the EC's mandate.

IPC must update registers. Ugandans who have come of age need to be registered. NRM claims there will be no national registration. IPC should have a program for registering all Ugandans who come of age. They believe that as parties they will do all that is necessary within the current conditions.

The participating parties must watch their backs. Efforts to destabilize parties are being sown by NRM. Parties should watch everybody because they will be destabilized from within.

Where are they going as IPC...Create an alliance that works. Each party within IPC should create an infrastructure that works. For instance FDC should be able to increase their MPs from 40 to 215..CP should have the ability to increase MPs from their current one to 200..JEEMA should marshal enough energy to increase MPs from 1-200 and UPC from 10 to 200. Like Magnus says the algebra of 1+1+1 will equal to 300

Part C: Discussion of Part A and B

Ground rules were made to guide the discussions. All parties will be allowed to contribute through representatives raising their hands. One person from the IPC secretariat will choose the person to speak. All parties will have at least three speakers. Each person should use less than 5 minutes to make their contribution. Self introductions should be done before addressing the issues.

CP

- Poverty alone should not stop IPC from winning. They need specific messages for each area. A properly packed contextualized message can attract listenership and votes.
- The sit down strike for CBS and Suubi FM radio stations should not be looked at as minor. It is important that the sit down strike is taken seriously so that CBS is re-opened. A committee should be set up to see how preparations for the sit down strike will be implemented.

- It is important for IPC to fight against the causes of bad governance. There's need to have a federal system to replace the centralized system of governance.
- It is important for all IPC members to know what each member party stands for. The slogan for the IPC "TWEKATTE TWETASSE" is not very good because it implies that as soon as IPC members get rid of NRM and gain power they will disintegrate. It is important to define the issues that each party stands for so that they are debated and appropriate messages which all members concede to are developed for IPC.
- The Vision of IPC should be clear so that all members work towards achieving that vision.
- It is important to do a SWOT of IPC to guide its future work.
- It is important to address internal wrangles within each party so as to form a more formidable alliance.
- There are very few women in the conference...Has the cooperation considered engendering its activities so as to strengthen mobilization for IPC? Can women be empowered to speak on behalf of IPC? How soon will grassroots mobilization on IPC begin? It is important to select volunteers within the party to conduct party activities like educating the population on IPC.

FDC

- There's need to have a desk at IPC to look at issues concerning security forces. The recruitment, training and deployment of the army is an issue of contention within the UPDF and Ugandans and needs redress.
- The opposition has one common enemy which therefore enhances the need for the alliance so that they have one candidate whom they all support for each elective position.
- The issue of candidates crossing may also be addressed if people realize they have lost and will not move to other parties within the opposition. By so doing they will have more seats.
- It is important to empower the population, convince them and sacrifice to guard their votes. The population if convinced can help to guard the ballots. In Teso in 2006, the public was involved in observing the election and even escorting ballot papers at different levels. They also escorted the votes to the tally room and threatened the CAO to declare the real results that had been announced at the polling stations and he obliged. IPC must be ready to guard the vote even when the army is brought to man polling stations.
- Picking a symbol for IPC that sells will be important. It must be one that is easily understood even on polling day.
- Some people were trained as trainers but have not been deployed to train others. Time is running out and IPC needs to deploy the trainers.
- The IPC has weaknesses which are keeping NRM in power. No mobilization is taking place in the villages. For instance in the last elections the parties did not have agents to guard their votes at most polling stations. It is important to start planning for party agents. Parties within IPC should cooperate in this venture to ensure that all IPC votes in the entire country are protected.
- All parties should identify their coordinators at district level and share information between parties so that if someone from one of the IPC parties is on the ground he/she can conduct activities of IPC more effectively.
- Boycott of New Vision is good because it yielded results when New Vision insulted the Kabaka this year. The paper later apologized and Baganda began buying it. Commitment to the activities proposed for re-opening Suubi and CBS FM should be implemented.
- The Buganda problem needs to be solved if IPC is to move ahead. It should also be in position to communicate its position clearly.
- The issue of federal needs to be addressed and a common and clear position defined, communicated and sold to the relevant stakeholders so that IPC does not end up with the same problems that other regimes have faced. It is important for all parties to define what form of federal they want so as to arrive at a common position.
- The on-going registration by internal security operatives needs to be addressed and countered. Should they warn IPC members not to participate ...is the registration for NRM primaries...what is its purpose? IPC needs to address this issue and communicate to its members and supporters.
- The opposition should desist from buying into NRM propaganda. For instance the rhetoric that the opposition has no agenda/program for the country should not be used by individual members of IPC to destroy each other. With regard to FDC it is important for members of other parties within IPC to look at the FDC platform and strategic

plan on the FDC website so that they do not become a proxy for such propaganda. MPs need to ask government to explain the ongoing registration activities that are raising concern within the population and then communicate to the population.

JEEMA

- The dishonesty that emanated from the past alliances should not arise in IPC. Much as the IPC is committed to promoting democracy and freedom, they will not unquestionably promote every aspect of western culture. Many Ugandans believe that homosexuality is contrary to the morals of Ugandans and parties like JEEMA cannot promote homosexuality.
- Reopening of CBS is critical for mobilization.
- The necessity that has led to the creation of IPC must guide the cooperation in its strategies and plans. IPC has entered a competition with an amorphous organization which will use everything within its means to win the coming elections. After understanding the system in which IPC will compete how can it prepare itself to contest in the coming election and ensure that the election and transfer of power takes place peacefully.
- The formation of a think tank is very relevant to IPC so that research and analysis are properly conducted and appropriate advice given to IPC on identified issues.
- Media houses should be called upon to cooperate with IPC in its activities geared towards protecting media freedom. For instance they could be called upon to publicize the actions that will be taken by IPC to influence the re-opening of CBS and Suubi FM radio stations.
- It is important for all parties using radio to appear together and speak jointly on issues.
- IPC should take voter education seriously and conduct informal education activities.
- A lot of resources have been spent and implementation of the proposed ideas should be done especially at the grassroots level.

UPC

- The milestones achieved in this gathering should not be underestimated. The primary concern should be the means for achieving the strategies set.
- There is need to categorize the challenges Ugandans are facing and develop appropriate messages to address them. IPC should understand President Museveni and NRM in order to define the problems caused by the regime and also be in position to communicate them clearly and effectively during the campaigns.
- There's a lot that needs to be done as individual parties in terms of raising resources. Quantify the resources required. Each party should assess its own strengths and weaknesses and harness its main strengths.
- Campaign strategy: IPC should move from problem based campaigns to solution based campaigns.
- Defining the mission of IPC is important. The slogan "Together We Can Cause Change" should be maintained but the word "regime" should be added before the word "change".
- Timing and strategies that need to be deployed should be developed. Internationalization of the issue after defining the problem is required to isolate NRM and President Museveni. All other persons responsible for creating the unbearable conditions should also be isolated just like what has been done in Kenya and Zimbabwe. Whatever actions the group takes must be measured with strong and deliverable outputs. What will be the impact about the goal of regime change if CBS remains closed? A latent economic implication by closure of radio stations should be applied e.g. boycotting buying newspapers like New Vision and Bukedde so that economically it bites the govt.
- The sit down strike for CBS may not work in Uganda. The secret of liberty is courage. Liberty has never been given on a silver platter. A proposal for a million man/woman march was made.
- In Amuria LCV elections of 2006 the current LCV formed a coalition of opposition members to campaign for him leading to his victory. Mobilization of the youth is key to a successful campaign.
- The opposition needs to strengthen its structures on the ground. The NRM has no message to give the people but since the opposition is not on the ground NRM continues to enjoy support. A proposal was made to the party

presidents to tour the country collectively and communicate the party message and leave a task force to continue to carry out mobilization.

- On the issue of homosexual rights, it remains a controversial issue that cannot win political support. The issues of homosexual rights should not make IPC and its partners --KIC hit a snag on our right to democracy and the course we want to take.
- There is need to put pressure on the EC to send money to district registrars to enable them register voters.
- The closure of CBS should be used to mobilize Buganda. A committee should be set up to discuss with Buganda how the land issues should be handled. In 2006 radio Veritas was closed during the elections. A lot of pressure was mounted internationally and locally. Locally they mobilized the people and used it to their advantage.
- The activities geared towards re-opening CBS and Suubi FM should not take place on January 4th 2010 but instead take place during times which are most productive for instance a week after January 4th 2010. People staying home in the form of a sit down strike will not yield the desired impact. A ribbon was proposed to spice up the proposed action. Motorists can be requested to flash lights during the day to support the action. Monday and Friday are not good days for strikes.
- The mistrust between IPC members needs to be continuously built. There are people within IPC who have worked closely with President Museveni. They should share his weaknesses with Ugandans to make it easier to remove him. In relation to the youth, it is important to tell the truth about certain occurrences that have affected Uganda to encourage young people to join the cause of IPC.
- The critical issues that continue to affect Ugandans need to be addressed. For instance if IPC chooses to address an issue affecting Buganda they should meet with Buganda leaders and discuss with them so as to build consensus.
- More women and youth need to be involved in IPC activities.
- It is important for IPC not to concentrate on the differences but on the things that unite them. Dialogue on issues is necessary for IPC members. It should also be promoted with NRM.

SDP

- Getting more MPs into parliament will be critical for the opposition. In Kenya there was no way Hon. Raila Odinga the current Prime Minister of Kenya would have formed an alliance with President Kibaki if MPS for ODM were not many enough to cause the a decision and eventually an alliance.
- Powerful messages that will move the population to the side of opposition are required. When communicated the messages should have an impact on both NRM and opposition supporters.

KIC comments on issues raised in the discussions

In Sweden the alliance looked at the broader picture and agreed to disagree. Where they disagreed they put the issues aside and focused on those that they agreed upon and were therefore able to reach consensus.

The four partners of the Swedish alliance had different strengths and weaknesses. In the working groups they respected one another and it was a win-win situation where they agreed to disagree and concentrated on things that united them. Dispelling mistrust within IPC members will remain key in strengthening IPC.

One year to elections is very short. Spread out the trainers of trainers so that they reach more people. Ensure that women and youth are involved in the activities. It is not a matter of young vs old. It is a matter of sharing ideas and showing respect for each other because both young and old share a common vision and have ideas to contribute to the alliance.

A national conference of the alliance maybe vital to continue building consensus on some of the issues raised.

Responses by party presidents to issues raised by participants

A boycott of New Vision/Bukedde, sit down strike or demonstration are all options that can be discussed and consensus reached before taking action on influencing the re-opening of CBS and Suubi FM radio stations.

SDP

It is important not to boycott elections. Leaders may have plans to rig elections but those plans can be halted by Ugandans if they stand against election manipulation and violence. S.18 of Political parties and Organizations Act (PPOA) provides for a cooperation, alliance or merger of parties. Are participants interested only in their parties or are they interested in taking power? Parties are a means not an aim. What is the most viable outfit that can be used to remove President Museveni and his NRM? The alliance presents the best option to take over state power. How do parties go into an alliance and still remain with an identity? It makes no sense to cooperate and use different symbols to vote for different office bearers. All successful alliances have one platform, symbol and message.

KIC

KIC is planning to sign a new agreement with IPC/IPA and CIL for 2010. What are the IPCs plans after 2011? What kind of input can KIC give? They believe in democracy where people can make their choices without being persecuted. Respect between government and opposition is important.

FDC party president: On homosexuality, IPC must be very careful when dealing with this matter. Right now it is not an urgent issue because there are so many urgent evils confronting Uganda for instance corruption and poverty. Secondly, IPC should look at the proposals in the Bill against homosexuality. It would not be surprising if members of the opposition are the first to be arrested under that law. If one reads the proposal to Parliament not only can anyone be arrested for practicing and concealing homosexuality but once arrested regaining one's freedom is very difficult. It is an appropriate law that can be used for mudslinging and persecuting the opposition. However one perceives it morally it is not fundamental to IPC. Some people are using the emotional aspect that there is a campaign in schools to induce young people to join homosexuality. That campaign is illegal for heterosexual relationships too, because it is illegal to lure minors into any form of sexual relationship. The formation of a committee to deal with CBS closure to provide a way forward on the matter is required. Attention should not only be focused on CBS but media freedom. IPC needs to agitate for the changing of EC. A timeframe should be set for instance by February 2010 to demand for the replacement of the EC to allow the new one to prepare for the forthcoming elections.

Additional protocol for IPC-Attached to the report as Annex D

Article 2d of the first IPC protocol provided for the current additional protocol. All IPC member parties have worked tirelessly to agree on a common protocol. It has a preamble and 19 articles.

Key highlights of the protocol

One of the main objectives of the protocol is to campaign on a common electoral platform.

On elections: all parties shall conduct party primaries for presidential candidates and submit one name to the national electoral affairs committee of the IPC. Following the submission of names for the presidential election from each member party of IPC, the summit shall select one candidate through consensus. If no consensus is reached the national conference of IPC shall vote for the presidential candidate. Where no candidate attains 50% of the votes, a re-run for the two candidates with the highest votes shall be held to reach a decision on a candidate. The same procedures shall be followed for parliamentary candidates.

The national electoral affairs committee shall be the sole authority to issue a certificate to a candidate for his party to be present him/her for nomination to the EC.

No party shall endorse a candidate except as agreed in the protocol. The symbols of the parties within IPC shall retain their individual party symbols for registration with the EC. After the process of choosing a candidate no party shall be allowed to sponsor another candidate for the same election.

40% of positions in the cabinet will be reserved for women.

Signing of the protocol

The additional protocol to the original IPC protocol was signed by the four party presidents of individual parties within IPC and witnessed by the Secretary Generals of the respective parties on December 15th 2009 at 1:00 p.m.

Conclusion

The press remains a vital ally for IPC in the struggle for democracy. The appending of signatures to this historic document is meant to re-energize and motivate the IPC to provide positive change by the power of the people using all avenues including the media. No amount of intimidation, money, guns will deter the opposition. Injustice cannot defeat a just cause. It is important for IPC to work together as a team to bring about the desired change.

The reappointment of the EC and re-opening of Suubi and CBS FM require civil action. A committee should be put in place to work out modalities on how the plan and action should be made and implemented. Parties within IPC should second two members each to the committee for this purpose. This was supported by CP, FDC and JEEMA party presidents.

There is no clear written formula for choosing candidates in an alliance. The IPC additional protocol is one of the few that spells out how candidates in an alliance are selected. The real elections for 2011 will take place in the party primaries of the IPC. That is healthy for democracy and IPC members are looking forward to competing for leadership through primaries.

It is important for new ideas to be floated to improve the performance of the cooperation by establishing a think tank.

The four presidents of IPC agreed that federal will be an issue in the IPC platform.

The work that concludes today simply answers an overwhelming public demand that parties should work together to establish a new order. This demand has been loud and it is hoped that those who have not heard it will hear it in good time. Uganda requires cooperation of all parties to establish a new order as spelt out in the new additional protocol including rule of law and democracy. There is no doubt that the current regime is simply a military government and transition is needed from it to a democratic dispensation which can only be through regime change. A system cannot be changed without changing the regime. The current regime applies mainly three tools:

1. A tool that creates terror within the people. For instance the trainings currently taking place for paramilitary forces and other security groups in preparation for 2011 elections.
2. Domination of the institutions responsible for democratization of the country...including the EC and media
3. Use of public money to fund NRM activities and others that derail opposition activities and vote buying among others.

What is being done here is not that the individual parties are weak but the fact that IPC appreciates that they are not competing against NRM party but a military regime with its vicious capacities. It is important to galvanize all opposition support to face the coming election. For this cooperation to succeed, IPC must not depend on the written word but the spirit of those who want to cooperate in the protocol. The spirit must be guided by the objectives of the cooperation. Every action taken should be advised by the central objective of regime change. The IPC must be cognizant of the fact the NRM is working to cause problems in the various parties in order to fail the cooperation. IPC must therefore work conscientiously to overcome the attacks they will have to contend with in the next election.

IPC invites the leaders of NRM to take the latest opportunity to cause a transition to a democratic dispensation. It is important for them to do the right thing now because if this opportunity is squandered it will lead to instability and a national crisis. They should reflect on what their role and legacy will be in Uganda. NRM will be confronted as it comes. If it chooses to go the way of not supporting reforms that will lead to a democratic dispensation, it will be confronted in equal measure. Uganda is not ready to face what they did in 2001. If people are preparing to beat IPC supporters they will respond in equal measure. It is hoped that the IPC will not have to go down that path. The right thing can be done and moves made to the path of civility, reforms and a democratic transition. All domestic and external friends of Uganda should employ whatever influence they may have on NRM to embrace the reforms that have been proposed to have credible elections. The proposed reforms are common sense. For instance the appointments and tenure of the current commission cannot allow them to organize and supervise free and fair elections. The international community reacts too late in situations like the current one in Uganda and should not play the role of a fire brigade this time. It is now that they can prevent the fires that will arise if no reforms are made.

KIC was impressed by the procedures for choosing candidates for IPC. The IPC needs to look for more resources to enable it achieve victory. The first is the Ugandans in the Diaspora, second is the donors. Donors owe it to IPC to put pressure on the challenges that will face the opposition in the next election. Mr. Rasmusson will meet with the chairperson of the EU delegation in Uganda to share his thoughts on IPC. It is important for youth and women to be brought on board in IPC activities. KIC will continue to provide support to IPC.