



Governing for Equal Opportunity and Shared Prosperity

Recalling the dream that was and should be...

Our National Anthem

- Oh Uganda! May God uphold thee, We lay our future in thy hand. United, free, For liberty Together we'll always stand.
- Oh Uganda! The land of freedom.
 Our love and labour we give,
 And with neighbours all
 At our country's call
 In peace and friendship we'll live.
- 3. Oh Uganda! The land that feeds us By sun and fertile soil grown.
 For our own dear land,
 We'll always stand:
 The Pearl of Africa's Crown.

We the People of Uganda

RECALLING our history, which has been characterized by political and constitutional instability;

RECOGNISING our struggles against the forces of tyranny, oppression and exploitation

COMMITTED to building a better future by establishing a socioeconomic and political order through a popular and durable national Constitution based on the principles of unity, peace, equality, democracy, freedom, social justice and progress

EXERCISING our sovereign and inalienable right to determine the form of governance for our country, and having fully participated in the constitution-making process;

NOTING that a Constituent Assembly was established to represent us and to debate the Draft Constitution prepared by the Uganda Constitutional Commission and to adopt and enact a Constitution for Uganda:

DO HEREBY, in and through this Constituent Assembly solemnly adopt, enact and give to ourselves and our posterity, this Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, this 22nd day of September, in the year 1995.

FOR GOD AND MY COUNTRY

Source: Uganda Constitution, 1995 (as amended)

Foreword

Uganda is a country of immense opportunity and untapped potential, but also serious problems and contradictions. This citizen's manifest is a reflection of both the hard realities of Uganda's problems expressed by citizens from a diverse background coming together in the citizens manifesto process. The citizen's manifesto is also a deep commitment by the same citizens to do something.

We also know that at the interface between the state and citizen lie several opportunities. In this maze of challenges, citizens are becoming more aware that the answer lies with them and what they can reclaim. This is consistent with the global phenomena that indicate that, if the world is going to change then people must become agents of their own development. But what it calls for is a radical shift in democratic thinking and civic organizing so that while we continue to celebrate and enjoy 'representative democracy', mediated through institutions like Parliaments and other forms of representative governance, time has come for us to move on to another type of democratic culture known as 'participatory democracy'.

In the midst of the many problems Uganda and its people face, there are many things we should be proud of and harness for our common good. We are rich in diversity and gifted in many ways. One area that is bursting with opportunity is music, popular culture and citizen expression. The expansion of the local music industry in Uganda is phenomenal and has now started impacting global tastes. On the local scene, young people are expressing themselves variously, singing on topics which, if spoken on in public rallies, would have got them to jail. These innovations in popular culture have paid off economically and changed the mode of consuming cultural enjoyment among the young and the old. This is an opportunity that we need to tap into because it is an active citizen space.

Another opportunity is the innovative spirit of Ugandans - the country being ranked the most entrepreneurial country in the world! The number of small businesses is growing at an exponential rate and while there are many businesses that do not see their first birthday, there are many that have evaded all conventional economics models to survive and serve their owners. Women have been the front-runner in some of the best run small businesses, many give testimonies of how their children have gone through school, how they have built houses and even changed gender relations in their own homes. This is an opportunity to grab because it represents an alliance of citizens with an unwavering resolve to 'make things work'.

The changing face of political life and the emergence of new forms of political expression is also an opportunity we must harness. When political leaders in opposition political parties start talking to each other in search of a common political minimum agenda, it presents a glimmer of hope. Another occurrence over the years there has been a very high turnover of Members of Parliament, with nearly sixty percent of each Parliament voted out of the House. This may point to the idea that while some politicians play the game of patronage, this is not a game that can be easily be sustained. This citizen's manifesto will certainly seek to cash into these important changes to make Uganda a better country for all.

On behalf of the 18 UGMP Members, I would like to thank every single Ugandan who participated in generating the content for this Manifesto, the leadership of our Citizen Manifesto partners in the 14 regions of Uganda, leaders of interest groups and their membership.

Special thanks go to our development partners under the auspices of the Democratic Governance Facility, who have supported the Citizens' Manifesto process since its inception in 2009.

Together, our resilience and creative imagination will deliver the Uganda we so aspire to see, one of equal opportunity, shared prosperity, a country of 'peace, prosperity and happy people'.

Richard Ssewakiryanga

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
UGANDA NATIONAL NGO FORUM

1 - Introduction

'If you think you are too small to make a difference, you haven't spent a night with a mosquito...'

African Proverb

In 1995, Ugandans adopted a new constitution. Through the Constituent Assembly, we committed ourselves to build a better future for our children, our grandchildren and ourselves. It was a promise to build a constitutional order based on the principles of unity, peace, equality, democracy, freedom, social justice and progress. The Citizens Manifesto is an expression of our continuous commitment and resolve to renew this promise while demanding that those who seek to lead us are committed to the fulfillment of this promise and are accountable to us.

Through the 2016-2021 Citizens Manifesto, we seek to reclaim our power, based on the proclamation in Article 1 of the Constitution "Power Belongs to the People..."! In reclaiming this power, we act in full solidarity with one another, we shall spare no effort in defending the dignity of each one of us, and demanding for a quality of leadership that promotes governance and policies that create conditions for equal opportunity and shared prosperity for all Ugandans.

The primary audience of this Citizens Manifesto is we; the citizens' each of whom must care about, and take responsibility for changing the social, economic and political trajectory of our country. The Citizens Manifesto is a statement of what we want as citizens, what we deserve as a people of this great country and what we will do to make our lives and our country better. It is also statement of what we demand from those who seek our mandate to lead our country. The second key audience of this manifesto is our leaders, institutions of state and government. All these leaders and institutions hold and exercise power and authority derived from and delegated to them by us the citizens of Uganda. We must therefore remain vigilant to ensure that they do not usurp or abuse this power and authority.

This manifesto is presented in 8 sections. Section one is the introduction; Section two is a brief description of the idea of a citizen's manifesto as distinct from other manifestos, especially, the campaign manifestos of political parties; Section 3, delineates the process through which this manifesto was developed;. Section 4 is a statement of the problems facing our countries that we need to confront collectively; Section 5 is our vision of the country we desire to build and our mission on how we seek to realize it; Section 6 is the heart of this manifesto – it is an articulation of our aspirations and commitments to create a better country. They are demands we make on ourselves, but more so, on our political leaders, political parties as well as institutions of state and government. Section 7 is a mutual accountability agenda and finally Section 8 is our citizens' call to action, what each one of us should do to build a better future for our grandchildren, our children and ourselves.

77%

of the total labor force in Uganda is employed in agriculture yet it is allocated an average of only 3.2% of the total budget



2. The Idea of the Citizens Manifesto

"The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men (and women) to do nothing..."

Edmund Burke, 1729-1797

The Citizens Manifesto is both a process and an output of a public declaration of policy and aims issued by political parties or candidates seeking elective offices.

As a process, the Citizens Manifesto is an organized political enterprise by citizens and for citizens. It aims at mobilizing people to generate a vision of our country and galvanize action. It establishes a mutual accountability agenda between our leaders and us, and is thus a basis of a 'Social Contract' with our elected leaders. We used it to assess performance of our leaders during an election cycle and hold them accountable on a continuous basis, and most importantly during elections.

As an output, the Citizens Manifesto is a non-partisan compact that outlines our intentions, commit-ments and demands to inform and change policies, practices, ideas and values that perpetuate inequality, prejudice and exclusion.

A key difference between the Citizens Manifesto and a political party Manifesto is that the former articulates citizens' aspirations, demands and commitments to action while the latter aggregates citizens' demands for implementable programs that respond to their demands and aspirations. For instance citizens may express the need for more schools in an area and in turn a political party must translate this into a comprehensive education policy that guarantees high quality education for all.

The 2016 - 2021 Citizens Manifesto builds on the 2011-2016 political cycle. Over the last 5 years, we were able to build momentum for more collective action, putting demands on political and other leaders to: fulfill their electoral promises; respond to the demands for better quality education and improvements in health care; ensure greater discipline in setting budget priorities; improve transparency and accountability in public expenditure; and create better working conditions for our Nation's public sector workers, especially teachers, health workers, and armed forces.

We were also able to engage in greater collective action inspired by the Citizens Manifesto as attested to by the Teachers sustained demands for better quality education; Traders took action to demand for fair taxes; Civil society sustained an aggressive campaign against corruption through the Black Monday Movement, and women across the country expressing their resilience in many different ways to defend their right to access and use their land. Ordinary men and women from across Uganda also rose in unison to demand for the reform of the electoral system by adopting a National Citizens Compact on Free and Fair Elections.

145

is the number of primary school teachers that can be paid by a one month salary and allowances of a Member of Parliament

3 Preparing the Citizens Manifesto

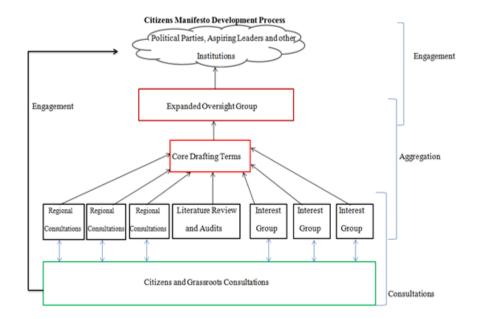
The person who says it cannot be done should not interrupt the person doing it...'

Chinese Proverb

This Citizens Manifesto was developed through a 3-layered multi-pronged process: Engagement, aggregation and consultations as shown in the illustration below:

Building on the lessons from the last round between 2011 and 2015, the process of developing the 2016-2021 Citizens Manifesto was designed to involve as many citizens and citizens formations as possible. This process was therefore embarked on immediately after the 2011 general elections. We adopted strategies to create engagement among our secondary audience and ourselves: the political leaders, political parties and the institutions of state and government.

We undertook an assessment processes to monitor how the numerous actors were implementing the citizens' demands set out on the 2011-2015 Citizens Manifesto.



For example, we conducted regular audits of how the ruling party was implementing its manifesto over the period. Through the parliamentary watch process, we regularly assessed the performance of parliament. Through the client charter monitoring process, engaged with the local governments on how to implement the citizens' demand as set out in the Citizens Manifesto while neighborhood assemblies and face-the-citizens debates organized in a variety of districts provided a vehicle through which citizens exchanged views with, and demanded for accountability from leaders and institutions of state and government.

Opinion polling helped initiate the process of understanding the most contemporary issued that stood in the way of equal opportunity and shared prosperity. Then a process of aggregation of the emerging ideas began at the beginning of 2014. Multiple teams led this process in each of the regions including special interest groups. A Core Drafting Team aggregated further the views from the regional and special interest groups' consultations while collating them with the views developed during the engagement process leading to this final draft manifesto document that was then validated by a national representative team drawn from each region and interest group. In total over 50 civil society organizations were involved across the country and approximately 20,000 Ugandans directly participated in this and connected process with millions of others reached through the media and other mediums.

75% of the total youth population is unemployed

4 Uganda's Key Problems

Learn how to see! Realize that everything connects to everything else'

Leonardo da Vinci

In 2012, Uganda celebrated 50 years of independence. At 50 years, we are supposed to be a mature and transformed nation. This is what most countries such as Singapore, South Korea and many others who were in Uganda's league at independence in 1962 have achieved. But Uganda's 50-year journey has mainly been half a century of broken promises and unfulfilled commitments. Our half a century of independence is punctuated by crisis, instability and missed opportunities. The promise of independence quickly degenerated into despair and disagreements as the state and leaders turned against its citizens.

The disagreement between Buganda Kingdom and Central Government led to the attack on Lubiri Palace and literally ushered in nine years of a reign of terror under Idi Amin (1971-1978), the short-lived governments following the overthrow of Idi Amin in 1979, and the 1981 to 1985 Luwero Triangle NRM/A rebellion in which an estimated 800,000 Ugandans died. It prefaced the 3 years cattle rustling that completely debilitated generations of wealth accumulation in Eastern and Northern Uganda precipitating over 20 years insurgency that created a lost generation of internally displaced peoples [IDPs] who lived on relief without any education or work culture in the camps. Our failure to eliminate the annual famine crisis and desperation despite massive investment in development programmes in the Karamoja sub-region are all indicative of the betrayal of the promise of Uganda at independence.

Today, while we can celebrate some progress made as a country, we are also conscious of the problems that hold us back and undermine our determination to build a present and a future full of opportunity and prosperity. There are many ways to state Uganda's problems today across the regions of Uganda and among special interest groups: from marginalization, unemployment especially among the young people, the unfulfilled women's agenda, the betrayal of armed forces personnel who work at the frontlines of protecting lives and defending our country, the children that we send to school while we cannot provide them with lunch, and many others. However, in the process of preparing this Manifesto it became clear to all of us involved that these are mere consequences rather than the core causes of the problem of Uganda.

Consequently, our deep reflection identified eight underlying problems that Citizens of Uganda have to confront in order to make the progress that we desire as a people namely:

4.1 A flawed System of Governance

The current upheavals and challenges Uganda faces are largely a symptom of historical as well recent setbacks in politics and governance. Accordingly, any attempts to locate a way out must be done involving an honest engagement with developments in the last decade or so and historical misnomers in Uganda's nation building project. Uganda has a structural problem with its politics and the state. The character of the Ugandan State has and still is fundamentally a "predatory" one. Right from the exploitative Colonial Administration of Obote I, Amin, Obote II, Tito Okello's Junta, Museveni (I-VI), the structural make up of Uganda's politics and institutions militates against transformation that will benefit all equitably.

This flawed state project is characterized by two key features: a) highly centralized and unaccountable power structures; and b) an upward exploitative chain that services the political power center. This was first designed to facilitate the exploitation of Uganda's national and natural, including human resources to enrich the colonial master; the crown of the British United Kingdom. So all manner of public good; railways, roads, schools were constructed to aid Uganda's exploitation by and for the English Crown. Second and subsequently all post-independent leaders from Obote, Amin to Museveni became beneficiaries of this flawed structure and consistently rejected any attempts to reform it in any

significant way. Each of these regimes have used public propaganda proclamations, constitutional and legal manipulations and outright brute military force as a core means for achieving and maintaining a state structure that centralizes power and skews the allocation of budgetary resources to maintain their luxurious and comfortable lifestyles and greed for power, at the peril of the rest of the Ugandans who continue to live in fear, on less than one full meal a day, die from preventable diseases and cannot afford quality education for their children.

As long as we, as a people do not transform the above structure that largely remains intact, by meaningfully redistributing power from the centre, change of guard will not mean change of fortune for this country. It is therefore incumbent upon citizens to campaign for major governance and political reforms for a New Uganda. We offer some insights on these much-needed reforms in Section 6.

Transition Failures 4.2

For fifty years, we have failed to manage transitions of all forms. Uganda has not achieved an economic transition from a nature-based economy inherited at independence to a science driven economy based on credible research and informed policy options. The transition towards an industrial, services and a knowledge-based economy is incomplete. Even when the structure of the economy has been changing with the services sector contributing more to Gross Domestic Products (GDP) today, over 70 percent of Uganda's population are still locked up in low productivity in subsistence agriculture with low output.

Most importantly, we have failed to achieve a peaceful transition of power from one governing political party to another or from one president to another.

We believe the future stability of Uganda can only be guaranteed through a peaceful transfer of power from one generation to the next through an election, negotiations or a combination of both.

4.3 **Institutional Breakdown and Democratic Reversals**

The failed transition has precipitated an institutional breakdown that undermines all aspects of governance. This has been worsened by the infamous focus on 'individual merit'. Individual merit politics greatly undermined the growth of institutions and today we continue to struggle with its inertia where the individual is heralded over the institution.

There are several democratic reversals and deficits that we have witnessed. While regular elections have been held since 1996, they have been characterized by massive electoral violations on a deeply uneven playing field. In addition, Institutions that ordinarily guarantee democracy and liberty such as the Legislature, the Electoral Commission, the Uganda Human Rights Commission, the Police and the Judiciary continue to suffer from overbearing Executive authority and undue influence. In spite of the checks and balances built into the 1995 Constitution, the State institutions such as the Executive, the Army, the Police and various Paramilitary groups continue to display extra judicial powers.

Institutions such as Parliament, the Judiciary and the Police have restricted political space. They sometimes operate in ways that may maintain stability but not guarantee democracy and good governance.

It is very difficult for institutions to thrive under this system and so we need wide-ranging systems and governance reforms, some of which we suggest in section 6. For democracy to be consolidated and protected, we need strong institutions that are ideologically result oriented to efficiently deliver high quality services and active citizens able to call political leaders of the state and institutions of government to order.

4.4 Breakdown in Service Delivery Systems

There are ongoing challenges in service delivery in the country. Numerous attempts by Government to fix the problem have produced limited success as evidences by some failures along the service delivery chain. For example, the introduction of Universal Primary Education (UPE) in 1997 created opportunity for millions of children to enroll in primary one. However, the system still struggles to account for over 16 million children that never completed primary school education by reaching primary seven.

Over the last two decades, Government has tried to build a network of health centers grade IIs, IIIs and IVs across the country but invested miserably low budget operational levels averaging (UGX 450 per quarter per health centre III). That is not enough to recruit and retain these health centers with qualified staff or put an end to drug stock outs and or basic equipment.

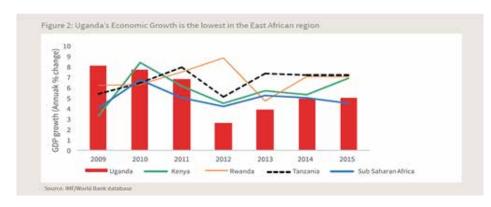
After close to 15 years of implementing a National Advisory Services programme (NAADS), Government admitted failure and enlisted the military to take over some aspects of the programme under the "Operation Wealth Creation". More importantly, the disconnect between central government and local government mandates has blurred the lines of accountability allowing one to blame the other for failures in service delivery. Moreover local governments, whose role in decentralized governance is to bring high quality social services closer to the population, have had decreased budget ratios from about 48% of in 2000/2001 to the current 15% of the national budget.

Like in other cases, the service delivery crisis is a symptom of a wider systems failure, one that can only be changed by a disciplined and self-less leadership with the necessary resolve.

4.5 Economic Growth is still not fully inclusive

The quality of growth is as important as impressive economic growth figure. Over the last two decades, Government maintained an impressive economic growth record with sustained GDP growth averaging around 5% per annum. However, Uganda's quality of growth remains a problem, with over two decades of jobless growth. Most of the growth is taking place in sectors such as services and industry, which are job-inelastic. Increasingly, the majority of the population locked up in low output agriculture, is contributing less and less to our Uganda's wealth. As a result, 83 out of every 100 young people are jobless. An estimated 43 Ugandans out of every one hundred live in conditions of perpetual vulnerability with the danger of falling below the poverty line at the slightest shock. Subsequently, citizens have increasingly become hostages of poverty and poor economic governance.

After over one and half decades of promising economic progress, Uganda's economy shows clear signs of stagnation. After a record impressive growth performance averaging 7%, the economy slowed down to as low as 4.5% in 2006. This slowdown has continued and is further worsened by rising and deepening inequality suggesting that even the growth that was once touted is very unevenly distributed. Uganda in the last 5 years has been the slowest growing economy in East African Community as shown in the illustration below:



To overcome this trajectory, our investments should be made in more productive sectors as well those where majority of Ugandans are to unlock the potential and cash on the resilience of our people.

Wealth should also be more evenly distributed.

Corruption and Patronage stand in our way to Prosperity 4.6

Corruption and patronage undermines livelihood and stands in our way to progress. Endemic corrup-tion is another fault-line that threatens our democracy and undermines economic development. Uganda has been consistently listed among the 50 most corrupt countries in the world under the Transparency International Corruption Index. Consequently, corruption is stifling development and is a potential source of conflict and political instability.

Citizens have a big role in combating corruption as provided for under the 1995 Constitution. However. the ability of citizens to play this fundamental role is severely undermined by the absence of a critical mass able to make increased civic work count. A majority of citizens are also caught up in the survival mode and are thus easily coopted through patronage.

24

trillion lost to corruption in the last ten years. This is enough to pay for the construction of 6 hydroelectric dams to generate more power for industrialization

4.7 **Uganda's Socioeconomic and Political Faultlines**

Since the advent of foreign trade, religion and colonization, we have continually drifted away from the aspirations of our fore parents; aspirations of solidarity, dignity and opportunity; take responsibility and to reject fear and hopelessness and the blame game. This lack of aspirations, responsibility and unity has allowed dictatorial regimes to manipulate and push peoples against each other, promoting conflict without reconciliation, and increasing their vulnerability in the face of powerful and unaccountable central governments. These fault lines include:

- The Nile Divide created by our colonial and our historical post-independence political conflict and the fact that for a long time the military used in different governments was predominately re-cruited from Northern Uganda a divide that runs along the River Nile of Uganda pitting the northern/eastern Uganda mainly Nilotic Peoples on one side and the western and central mainly Bantu peoples on the other. With each side of the Nile Divide prejudiced against each other with such negative grading and name calling such as beasts (Bakoko), killers (Batemu), thieves (Lukwo or Bashuma), etc. Over the coming months and years Ugandans owe it to their posterity to heal this fault lines with hope lines for transformational change to happen.
- The Religious Divide-In Buganda Kingdom was born in immediate pre-colonial rivalries and the establishment of British colonial rule in Uganda creating an Anglican supremacy in the establish-ment and the royal palaces and against the majority Catholic and Muslims "poor" commoners (Bakopi), which although slowly closing still needs a lot of work to repair the gap.
- The Socio-economic Divide has grown especially over the last thirty years when economic policy of liberalization and privatization was adopted but without enough safeguards for managing risk that resulted in inequalities. The net effect of these polices created a small minority of very rich political, military and business elite [the privileged less than 1% rich and powerful] who are working to protect their wealth at any costs. The second layer, composes an emerging middle class of educated are highly qualified employed professionals who maintain an'I don't care' attitude to the Uganda problem [about 24% self-centred elite]. And the third layer of a majority poor surviving by the day often unemployed youthful segment that are desperate but have been made to believe that thinks were really worse in the past therefore are even lucky to get the little "privilege". This last segment has adopted a despondent attitude as a bottom-line peacefully

sleeping in resignation. Their indicator of good governance is"...as long as we can sleep let it be... and in order to deal with their problems the famous thing they do is to "beg the government to help us" [this is the majority about 75% "kasita twebaka tulo" - loosely translated to say ...as long as we can sleep majority].

- The Gender Divide—is founded in the long running prejudice of our cultural values and beliefs which have often placed women as second class citizens without the power to own property, access and control wealth and assets such as land, inherit family assets or make decisions over family monetary income gains. This has perpetuated tension between the two genders often and has been exploited by the ruling elite to mobilise vulnerable women for political support in public while in privately promoting the injustice against them or shelving Bills like the Domestic Relations and Marriage and Divorce Bills that are important to women. In so doing the political elite use the women more as a token presence for parity benefit and for winning votes rather than responding to their needs and being truly accountability to them through equality, and equitable provision of social services and access to justice.
- The Generational Divide—is built on a rapidly growing youthful population. Youth are
 demanding for more spaces in decision-making and benefits from policy decisions against
 the insecurity of the older generation who have not had the opportunity to secure their
 retirement benefits that are not easily willing to retire for the young to take over. This is
 causing so much tension in political parties and cultural institutions particularly.
- The Political Party Divide born out of our violent political history, where each political party
 views and treats other political formations as front line enemies and or traitors rather than
 as competitors selling competing manifestos to the electorate. As a result our multiparty
 democracy driven by the objective to destroy opponents rather than provide high quality
 services based on clear ideological foundation and competitive party manifestos.

4.8 Uganda still yearns for transformational leadership

For all the above issues to turn into opportunity, Uganda needs to adopt a new leadership style. With the citizen-focused leadership this great country has the potential of leaping into a grand future in rec-ord time.

For many Ugandans our nation's development challenges are known and affect their daily lives, the potential interventions and policy prescriptions are not rocket science but what may be missing is a determined people and a selfless leadership to serve and deliver the public good to all. We need a people who do not settle for the status quo but organize and take the necessary action to forge for a better country tomorrow.

We deserve and must work for a leadership that is selfless, disciplined, responsible and inspires people to believe in themselves. One that will liberate our thinking past failures and provide leadership to a future of solidarity, dignity and opportunity.

16.9
million - the
difference
between the
number of
children who
enrolled for
P.1 in 1997
and those who
registered for
PLE in 2014



5 Our Dream and Mission

Don't be pushed by your problems.

Be led by your dreams!

Our vision of Uganda is:

'A Peaceful, Prosperous Nation with a Happy People'

We are also committed to building a values-based society and to continuously hold ourselves to the highest standard of discipline, decency and dignity. The values, that will shape our character and which we seek to hold ourselves and those who seek to lead us to, are stated in the Table below.

Values	Important Indicators	How we can rebuild it
God Fearing	 Respect for life and human dignity Humility, Justice and Honesty Living in harmony Independent Religious Institutions 	Freedom of Worship without violation of human rights Co-existence of different religions
Hard Work	Creativity, Innovation and EnterpriseCommitment to quality work	Enforcement of discipline Motivation and rewards for hard work
Equity	 Regional balance in terms of resource allocation and political representation Social and economic justice 	 Gender Equity Balanced planning and investment incentives in all regions to redress previous imbalances
Moral Uprightness	 Honesty Transparency & Accountability Self-Respect Role modeling & responsible parenting 	 Inclusion of clan leaders in lower levels of governance Effective enforcement of laws Uphold positive cultural values
Tolerance	 Harmony & authentic expression of self Recognition of Diversity Peaceful co-existence and respect for life 	Amnesty Mechanisms Proper socialization Peace and Reconciliation mechanisms
National Solidarity	Collective action and responsibilityShared Visions and GoalsMutual protection and care	Confidence building Effective communication strategies Enforce Swahili as a national language
Constitutionalism	 Independent and reliable judiciary Strong Citizens Agency Respect for constitution and rule of law Independence of 3 arms of government 	Effective systems of checks/balances Sustained Civic Education Promotion of National Values Exemplary Leadership
Discipline	 Effective and impartial implementation of laws and policies Respect for the rule of law Time keeping 	Institute an effective mechanism for rewards and sanctions A law to protect whistle-blowers should be enacted and enforced

Our Mission is:

'Work hard to build a New Uganda which is truly a country of free, prosperous, proud and happy people'

By adopting this mission, we are challenging ourselves to be better and responsible citizens with the resolve and commitment to actively participate in building a future of equal opportunity and shared prosperity through peaceful means, selfless service, integrity and hard work.

6. Our Promises and Demands

We cannot solve our problems with the same thinking we used when we created them

Albert Einstein

6.1 Hopelines for Uganda

Uganda is a country of immigrants! With the exception of the Batwa, the Ike, the Tepeth, we are all descendants of African peoples who migrated into these great lakes region from far afield. Our ances-tors were kept together, without the help of modern technology, by the spirit of solidarity woven into a complex extended family dynamic still available to date. They left the indignity of wars, famine, diseases and other calamities in search of better opportunities. We are a country of diversity, with 65 tribes and dialects and at least 5 recognized religious communities. We are a resilient people having endured many years of dictatorship, marginalization and exclusion without surrender. We celebrate our past achievements and will continue to unite in resisting any form of oppression, exclusion and abuse. These aspirations demands of each one of us a commitment to adopt a citizen-is-central philosophy where every Ugandan citizen is proud of their dual ethno-Ugandan identity, motivated by the determination to work in solidarity with all our peoples to restore our dignity and unleash our collective productive potential to create opportunities of this country so endowed by nature.

It is clear to all citizens today as has been pointed out earlier that faith in the state as an absolute – and a source of all services, to all citizens, is certainly naïve. While the state serves people, it sometimes has to be compelled by the people it serves. It is important to underscore that while challenging the state is an important factor in participatory democracy, providing alternatives is equally important. Citizens have the responsibility to ensure that every challenge on the state is followed by a set of citizen-alternatives that do not relieve the state from its duties but indeed promote new forms of solution seeking. This frame of thinking is an opportunity that can promote citizen innovation, resilience and engagement with the state – not only in combative ways but in constructive ways. We therefore, commit as citizens to:

- We will continuously and relentlessly work to promote and defend the dignity of each one of us, especially the weak and vulnerable. Any act of indignity against any one of us is an attack on all of us as a people and a nation.
- It is our collective responsibility to ensure that our government works for us. The ultimate test of any government that works for her people is the policies and programs that it implements to create conditions for equal opportunity and shared prosperity for all citizens.
- We recognize the collective power of our humanity, looking within our common strength to generate the momentum to take back our country by intensifying our productivity, paying taxes diligently, voting wisely, and actively participating peacefully to shape our destiny as the owners of this great country and not mere powerless spectators.
- We will take appropriate actions to make sure that at all levels, our elected leaders and institutions of state and government such as the legislature, executive, the judiciary, the civil service and the armed forces know that they derive their legitimacy from our delegated authority and must act as our good servants and not masters of this country. We are conscious that this calls for rejecting, ejecting all forms of bad leadership from power, all forms of inefficiency, and corruption in the system of government, and restoring an accountable and democratic governance culture.
- Individual and collective freedoms and liberties shall be the foundations upon which we seek to build prosperity and citizen-centred socio-economic transformation.

Uganda needs a Developmental State 6.2.

Consistent with our vision and mission, we must aspire for our country to evolve into a developmental state pursing a citizen-centred socio-economic development agenda. Over the last half a century, successive governments have worked to appropriate all means of production resulting into landlessness, chronic poverty and systemic disenfranchisement. Endemic corruption is not only standing in the way of development. It is also robbing our future generations of the means they need to create opportunity and prosperity for themselves. We must work to create a developmental state pursing social market principles of: freedom and liberty; order and discipline; justice; responsibility and performance orientation.

- We shall continuously work to ensure that Uganda evolves into a state that uses our Nation's resources to meet the needs of her citizens and to use its influence and power to fight poverty and expand opportunity.
- We demand from political leaders and policy makers important instruments and policies such as regulation of industry and trade, redistributive policies, the use of fiscal and monetary policies that are used to achieve citizen-centred development and opportunity especially for those who work hard.
- We shall directly or indirectly support any political parties and government when they proclaim and put in place policies, laws, budgetary investments and implement programmes that address the needs of the poor such as quality education, health care, affordable public transport system, affordable power and social security.

17% Central Bank Lending rate translates to about 30% for commercial banks, passing on a very huge burden to the borrower

6.3. **Beyond Security and Stability to Peace and Prosperity**

Security and stability are essential preconditions for peace and prosperity. The last half a century of independence has been characterized by widespread insecurity and instability triggered mainly by civil wars, unstable governments, violations of human rights and suppression of individual freedoms and liberties. The incumbent government under the National Resistance Movement Organization (NRMO) has achieved a measure of success in establishing security and stability across the country. For the first time in many years, there are no known active insurgencies in the country and the phenomenon of cattle rustling in Karamoja is more or less under control. With the exception of the threat of terrorism and extremism, recent insecurity and instability as evidenced in the clashes in the Rwenzori region, the land conflicts across the country, unexplained killings of Moslem clerics, and other forms of crime are all manifestations of failed government.

However, security and stability are not just the absence of war or insurgency – they must have peace and prosperity as the ultimate outcome reflected in enduring freedom and improved lives and the wellbeing of all citizens. We deserve better than just 'kastatwebakatulo' (as long as we can sleep). Peace must eventually be reflected in prosperity of people and in the exercise of individual freedoms and liberties. Our single most important challenge therefore is how to safeguard the relative security and stability so far attained and to translate them into peace and prosperity for the majority citizens.

We are committed to building on the progress made in establishing security and stability to create enduring peace and prosperity for the present and future generations of Uganda. We will therefore invest in building the pillars of peace and this regard and as Citizens of Uganda:

■ We commit to advocate and take appropriate action to ensure that government is fully functional and held accountable to all the peoples of Ugandans.

- We will promote equitable distribution of resources and advocate for elimination of inequality in all its forms.
- We demand that political parties and government should invest in creating conditions for good relations with all our neighboring countries.
- We demand that all political parties and Government must adopt and implement policies and programmes that create a sound environment for business and create opportunities for all citizens.
- We demand that all political parties and Government demonstrate commitment and adopt policies that focus on improving the stock of human capital; an essential foundation for building peace and prosperity.
- We demand that all political actors must maintain channels of dialogue and always act in good faith to ensure that any conflicts are resolved amicably and in the interest of promoting peace and prosperity for citizens.

6.4. Reforming our system of governance

Since independence Uganda has been led by strong centralised government, which has progressively become distant from the people; employing brute force to control the population, using corrupt money and privileges to consolidate their grip on power. Consequently, successive governments have largely been unaccountable to us the citizens. For the last half a century of independence, our systems of governance produced dictators, manipulators of constitutions, transactional leaders, and imperial presidents. Although the framers of our 1995 constitution gave us a promise of a new system of governance, one where government and political leaders were to be accountable, that promise has been betrayed through countless amendments and legal reforms and other amendments [e.g 1996 number of minsters increased from 36 to 79, in 2005 term limits removed etc] have watered down the content of that constitution. In effect our leaders have become unresponsive to the popular demands of citizens for a more accountable system of governance. It is therefore our duty as Citizens to:

- Make sure that our country is governed under a democratic system of government based on the rule of law and not the rule by law where all citizens are equal before the law.
- Ensure the system of government shall create opportunities for active participation of all citizens in both politics and civic life.
- Ensure that our national constitution creates mechanisms for periodic peaceful change and renewal of governments and leaders through peaceful, credible, free and fair elections.
- Effectively protect the human rights and the dignity of every Ugandan and ensure they are the source of legitimacy to govern and it shall be our duty to use all lawful means to change govern-ments that abuse human rights and undermine the dignity of our people.
- Advocate for effective distribution of power between central government and local governments including the decentralization of political, fiscal and administrative functions.

6.5. Political and Constitutional Reforms

A credible political leadership, a durable national constitution and, strong, internally democratic political parties and an informed and consciously active citizenry free from the vulnerabilities brought about by poverty are essential building blocks for an enduring democracy a peaceful and prosperous country. The need for political, constitutional and legal reforms must start with consensus recognition of the existing problem.

Our history of political violence, the failure to renew political leadership in the last thirty years and the less than satisfactory manner in which political parties are run provide evidence enough to justify the urgent need for streamlining our political institutions and processes if our democracy has to work effectively and deliver the much needed results and positive impact for the our people. We commit to work relentlessly through peaceful means to achieve political and constitutional reforms for a fully functional democracy by:

Developing options paper on transitional political reforms and mobilise the country through re-gional public dialogues to generate a national consensus on content and steps towards delivering such reforms in a transitional government of national unity.

- Ensuring the proposed government of national unity has specific timeframes and deliverables such as leading a truth reconciliation and healing process; leading on institutional reform processes for re-organizing political parties into viable instruments for democratisation; reconstitutions values and nature of the state in Uganda from the current centralized all powerful one to a responsive decentralized people centre developmental state.
- Ensuring such a position paper could include the relevance and value addition for a possible federal arrangement negotiated by representatives of the various regional peoples collectives of Uganda and not individuals merit type delegates who can be bribed to accept unclear terms of the New Uganda.
- Developing specific high quality criteria of minimum standards to be met by serious national party to reduce of the risk of selfish people registering fake briefcase political parties.
- Mobilizing citizen action to influence parliament and the executive to revisit the resolutions thereof Regional Free and Fair Elections and the National Compact for Free and Fair elections held in 2014.
- Mobilizing citizen to collectively organize and effect mass turn up to vote and protect their votes in the upcoming and future elections in order to defeat evil minded people who want to take ad-vantage of the low voter turn out to easily manipulate elections processes and results.
- Mobilizing fellow citizen to collectively monitor and review elections and democratic accountability processes and results covering free and fairness, credibility, legitimacy, accountability and effectiveness with the view gathering factual evidence and making specific recommendations for reforms to improve on quality and relevance to the peoples of Uganda.
- Mobilizing peaceful civic public advocacy action for political and constitutional reforms for transformative action for a New Uganda characterised by an enterprising, peaceful, prosperous country with a happy people.
- Mobilizing citizens and impart skills in collective action for wealth creation and entrepreneurial opportunities through cooperatives, investment clubs and community associations for a truly people centred economic and democratic transformation in a New Uganda.

6.6 **Public Services that Uphold Dignity**

The delivery of public services including quality education, accessible and affordable quality healthcare, agricultural advisory services, access to water and sanitation, access to financial services or the establishing of peace and prosperity are the responsibility of any government. Government also has a responsibility to provide full accountability on how it spends public funds in ensuring the provision of these services. Access to these services by citizens is therefore a right inherent in the concept of citizenship. We shall not allow any government to discriminate among citizens on the basis of gender, ethnic, religious or political affiliation. Provision of these services is not a favor but a responsibility that government owes to its citizens.

From a regional opportunity perspective, inequalities are startling - while children of the more well-to-do in Kabojja Junior in Kampala are sure of 1st Grades in their exams, Adjumani, Yumbe, Kotido, Agago and Amuru have failed to register any pupil in first grade for the last 2 years and Amolatar district was exceptional in producing children who are NOT learning basic literacy and arithmetics. Educational success appears to come to those who can afford and not necessarily those who work hard.

We will demand and work to make sure that every Ugandan child shall have access to a quality and rewarding primary and secondary education, which shall be compulsory. Progressively, we shall ensure that education for every Ugandan child is guaranteed through appropriate programmes such as affordable student loan schemes, subsidized tuition and free education programmes. Investment in vocational training and transition-to-the-job-market programmes evidenced through appropriate budgetary allocations shall be the basis for supporting any political party or Government.

- We believe that a health services delivery system is essential to ensuring the survival of mothers giving birth, the survival rates and health of our Nation's children, and the productivity of our Nation's labor force. We demand the establishment of a national health services delivery system and a national health insurance scheme to support and deliver a robust healthy services infrastructure, the quality of medical and support personnel, availability of drugs and essential supplies, and an inspectorate system capable of detecting and correcting service delivery failures with the system.
- Our Nation's teachers, health workers, and the men and women who serve in the security forces shall be provided with dignifying working conditions and rewarding remuneration. When they do their work with dignity and respect, it shall be our duty as citizens to protect them from unfair treatment and patronage.
- We demand for specific, time-bound and measurable programmes to enhance the delivery of af-fordable credit and other financial services to local businesses and Ugandan citizens, including programmes targeted at the poor and marginalized sections of our society.

6.7 Equal Opportunity in National Development

'I have the audacity to believe that peoples everywhere can have three meals a day for their bodies, education and culture for their minds, and dignity, equality and freedom for their spirits'.

Martin Luther King Junior

We celebrate the progress we have made over the 53 years of independence and the few over 30 years under the leadership of Yoweri Museveni. The challenge of our generation though is to ensure that development translates into equal opportunity and shared prosperity for all. At the moment, the gaps are glaring. Over 7.5 million Ugandans are chronically poor. Approximately 43 Ugandans out of every 100 live in conditions of perpetual vulnerability. Income inequality between households and regions is startling. In Karamoja and parts of Eastern Uganda, households are faced with hunger and unable to cope with a government is incapable of responding in a timely manner. Inequality still manifests itself in many forms including gender, access to public services and distortions in the tax regime.

All this can change if we have a government that cares about its people, developing the local economy, values and rewards excellence and believes in equitable development. It is our individual and collective responsibility to change this situation and demand that Government adopts better policies and takes action to ensure equitable and people-centered development. To that end we:

- Shall demand that Government adopts policies that promote inclusive economic growth and development, create decent and well-paying jobs for our working population, reduces inequality and uplift the majority of citizens from conditions of perpetual vulnerability.
- Shall support Government programmes that are geared towards growing the economy and expanding opportunity for all citizens by investing in rebuilding household and local government economies.
- Will work to ensure we have a government that will establish, resource and operationalize an Independent Salaries and Remuneration Commission to put in place a just and fair salary, benefits and remuneration regime for all public sector workers.
- Will work to see greater investment of taxpayers' money in public schools and hospitals all over the country where majority of citizens' access services.
- We demand that government change its budget priorities to ensure measurable reduction in public administration expenditure and promote investments in the productive socio-economic sectors of the economy, and in particular agriculture, education and health.
- Will work in our different capacities to see a fair tax regime that boots domestic companies and creates an environment in which local businesses can compete favorably with foreign investors.

Decent Employment 6.8

In the rush for privatization and attracting foreign direct investment since the early 1990s the govern-ment of Uganda set up the Uganda Investment Authority, the Export Promotions Board, actively participated in strengthening regional trading blocks such as the East African Community (EAC) and the Common Market for East and Southern Africa (COMESA); launched an aggressive international drive led by numerous prediction trips abroad to various countries to lobby and sign trade relations protocol agreements and memoranda. Consequently a number of international corporates have set up shop in the country mainly in the plastics, for processing and service sectors such as tourism.

Unfortunately this investment rush also brought with it poor quality and sometimes "rogue" investors at a time when the country had weak and limitedcapacity to regulate and provide oversight. That was exacerbated by a corrupt justice system and incompetent labour unions leaving local labour at the mercy of these "investors" offering miserable pay and abusive working conditions to locals. For example a manager of the Mt. Meru Company a food-processing group in Lira Town of northern Uganda was reported having urinated on causal labourers in broad day light while laughing away saying he was spraying them with insecticides. That action has not been gueried to date. Many young girls have been reported smuggled to Gulf States into emotional and physical abusive and violent working conditions. The Uganda government has recently officially signed memoranda for exporting Ugandan graduates girls to work as housemaids in the same region. Such abusive actions and many more that go unreported completely negate the dreams for a New Uganda.

7.5 million People live in absolute poverty and ...

15 million Ugandans are vulnerable

We demand that elected leaders and government put in place fully functional regulatory framework for building a performance oriented society with the freedom to work as hard as they can and their performance is the basis for reward and success in the market based on just pay, incentivized work and high quality productivity. This would require a regular minimum wage review and monitoring of conditions of work and labour trends. It means implementing strong skilling programme through vocational schools in our education systems rather than the current parrot learning education.

On our part we citizens of Uganda commit to strengthening collective capacity of our labour and cooperative movement for peaceful action and negotiations but also strengthening our determination to increase our productivity and contribution to economic development of the country we love so much.

6.9 **Equity in sharing Natural Resources Wealth**

Since independence, successive governments have either directly or indirectly concentrated on stealing from the public and abusing the public trust. Over the years, resources that we own in common, including forestry, wetlands, wildlife protected areas and oil and mineral wealth have been appropriated, abused or over exploited by or under the watch of the different governments. Governments have demonstrated their inability to protect the public trust resources placed under their trusteeship as mandated by our constitution and so:

■ We declare that the natural resources of Uganda belong to all over and shall be conserved, protected and developed for the benefit of the present and future generations of Ugandans.

- We shall assume full responsibility to always protect our natural resources wealth from unfair expropriation, overexploitation and degradation. We shall only support those political parties and leaders who demonstrate commitment to ensure the ecological and legal integrity of our natural resources and promotion of equal access to these resources by all citizens.
- We shall only support and elect political leaders and political parties that make specific and measurable commitments towards the conservation and development of our Nation's natural resource and guaranteeing the autonomy and independence of state institutions mandated to governance these natural resources.

6.10 A Corruption free Uganda is a must!

Official and unofficial corruption has become the real cancer eating at the core of our society. Official corruption happens when public funds are stolen through official channels including the formal budget process. For example, the executive and legislature may conspire to allocate funds to each other while paying no attention to the plight of public sector workers. Funds may be allocated to enhance the salaries and wages of politicians or fund the political pledges of a president when government cannot allocate funds to provide for lunch for children at school.

Every election, political parties, including the National Resistance Movement Organization (NRMO) promised zero tolerance to corruption in their campaign manifestos. However, what we see is half-hearted commitments, isolated prosecutions of alleged corrupt public servants, and generally lack of will to take political responsibility for failure to stop the theft of public funds. On the contrary, corruption and theft of public funds have become endemic and become the glue that holds together the patronage system currently standing in the way of progress so:

- We commit and challenge ourselves to take charge of a renewed fight against corruption since the ruling party and Government have failed to discharge this mandate and the opposition performance in the recent electioneering processes have not shown hope them rejecting election corruption through vote buying either.
- We shall not vote for any Member of Parliament or councillor who votes to increase their pay as a priority over all expenses as soon as they are sworn in as Members of Parliament.
- We shall keep a detailed anti-corruption performance register of each and every Member of Parliament and Local Government Councillors and public service leaders to make sure we have evidence based accountability at the next election opportunity and public performance audit.

6.11 We demand Strong and Functional Institutions

The strength of any country can only be strong as the strength of its institutions. The institutions of state: the legislature, executive and the judiciary must be independent and strong to executive their mandates and protect citizens from the exercise of excessive and extra judicial authority. The coercive instruments of state including the armed forces and intelligence services must be used to promote the common good not as instruments of oppression, brutality]and degradation of human dignity.

Functional institutions of Government are also a precondition for addressing the problems articulated in this manifesto. The performance of government and the quality of public services can only be a reflection of the quality of public service institutions and institutions of citizenship such as civil society organizations, religious and cultural institutions, as well as citizens economic formations. Unfortunately, from independence to date, Uganda has fallen a victim of strongmen who consistently undermine the growth of strong and independent institutions.

It is our duty as citizens to defend and protect the independence of institutions of state and citizenship as the foundations for building a durable democracy and

19 mothers die per day of pregnancy related complications.

This translates to

6,935 mothers per year!

Meaning, we have lost

34,675 in the last 5 years

7 Accountability Mechanisms

Patriotism means to stand by the country. It does not mean to stand by the president or any other public official.

Theodore Roosevelt

Since our independence in 1962, political leaders have progressively built themselves into powerful masters to whom all owe a living and must serve without question. For democracy to work and development delivered in a people centered way, citizens hold the key and power to keep leaders and institutions in check.

Ugandans and their leaders all have a civic duty to use their positions and all the opportunities that come to recognize our collective responsibility to strengthen mutual accountability. Mutual accountability will promote national solidarity, entrench a sense of patriotism and responsibility. The Citizens Manifesto's identity as a process of continuous mobilization and engagement by citizens and with their leaders will ensure that it is kept alive.

The following are some critical milestones and processes that will define the line of the 2016-2021 Citizens Manifesto:

- a) **Assessment of Political Party Manifestos:** By the end of 2015, we shall undertake an analysis of manifestos of political parties and leaders seeking our mandate to establish which ones best reflect our aspirations in the citizen's manifesto and act accordingly.
- b) **Effective participation in the 2016 General Elections Campaign Period:** We shall mobilize fellow citizens to effectively participate in the campaign period to engage leaders seeking our mandate around priorities in the citizen's manifesto. Those who commit to our aspirations be supported.
- c) **Institutional, legal and policy reforms:** Our aspirations require extensive reforms in governance and politics and so we shall regularly campaign for the necessary reforms and undertake audits of progress being made by elected leaders.
- d) **Prioritization of citizen demands in the Local and National Budget Process:** We shall effectively participate in the planning and budgeting process to ensure resources allocated to areas that we have defined.
- e) **Citizen-Leader's Surgeries and Social Accountability Platforms:** We shall hold regular platforms through which we challenge our leaders to demonstrate evidence of what they are doing to advance priorities in the citizen's manifesto.
- f) **Audit of Political Party performance:** The winning party or coalition government will be annually audited on their performance benchmarked against the citizen demands in their manifesto.
- g) **Political performance audits of key institutions of state:** Finally we shall as citizens audit the per-formance of key institutions through which we believe our aspirations will be delivered, including Parliament, Local Councils and the President's Office.

$oldsymbol{8}$. Citizen Call to Duty

We don't have to engage in grand, heroic actions to participate in the process of change. Small acts, when multiplied by millions of people can transform the world.

Howard Zinn

The 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda vests power in people but also demands of them a high level of responsibility. Through the Citizens' Manifesto thousands of Ugandans from across the country have spoken: expressed their aspirations and committed to do something about their country. We do so to exercise our citizenship and in fulfillment of Constitution of the Republic of Uganda 1995. The Constitution asserts the supremacy of Ugandan citizens in their governance. Article 1 (2) states that, '...all authority of the state emanates from the people of Uganda; and the people shall be governed through their will and consent'. Sub section (4) adds that 'the people shall express their will and consent on who shall govern them and how they should be governed, through regular, free and fair elections of their representatives or through referenda'.

The Constitution also acknowledges the important role civic organisations play in galvanizing citizen agency in their governance and the democratization process. Article 38 (2) states that, '...every Ugandan has the right to participate in peaceful activities to influence the policies of government through civic organisations'. The citizens' manifesto process, therefore, aims to contribute to the process of preparing citizens to meaningfully exercise their fundamental rights and responsibilities. The leadership role-played by civil society organizations and, by extension, every individual working to ensure that the CM initiative is successful is equally supported by the Supreme Law of the land.

Further, the Constitution, under the National Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy de-fines critical duties expected of citizens as follows:

- a) To be patriotic and loyal to Uganda and to promote its wellbeing;
- b) To engage in gainful work for the good of the citizen, the family and the common good, and contribute to national development;
- c) To contribute to the wellbeing of the community where the citizen lives;
- d) To promote responsible parenthood;
- e) To foster national unity and live in harmony with others;
- f) Promote democracy and the rule of law;
- g) To acquaint him or herself with the provisions of the Constitution and to uphold and defend the constitution and the law

By adopting this citizen's manifesto and many others by regional and interest group citizen formations, we agree to all the duties prescribed by the constitution and commit to shaping the future of our country without fear or favour. We shall not relent and we join together in this important crusade for which we are called and bound to as citizens of the 'Pearl of Africa'.

