

THE UGANDA NATIONAL DIALOGUE PROCESS FRAMEWORK PAPER

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THEME

CONSOLIDATING PEACE, DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT TO PROMOTE
EQUAL OPPORTUNITY AND ACHIEVE SHARED PROSPERITY

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1. Introduction

The goal of the Uganda National Dialogue is to create a platform for Ugandans, in all our diversity, to agree on a shared transformative and development agenda that accelerates the consolidation of peace and justice, sustainable development and shared prosperity. The theme of the Dialogue is consolidation of peace, democracy, and development to achieve shared prosperity in Uganda. Peace, democracy and development acquire their true meaning when they create conditions for equal opportunity and shared prosperity. Achieving shared prosperity means that every Ugandan has equal opportunity to succeed and that our dreams are not limited by today's failures but by the possibilities of the future. The National Dialogue Process is therefore designed as a citizen owned and citizen led process seeking to build on the gains and progress made since Independence in order to strengthen our foundations for equal opportunity and shared prosperity for all Ugandans.

Uganda's tumultuous period following the attainment of independence is well documented. However, the progress attained over the last three decades is worth celebrating and represents a source of optimism about what we can achieve as a country if we pull together, work together and strengthen our sense of nationalism and patriotism towards our country. Indeed, H.E President Museveni has articulated a vision of a Uganda that moves steadily towards the attainment of middle-income status by 2020. President Museveni's unassailable record in shepherding the country over the last 30 years is a great asset that constitutes an enduring legacy but also or strong foundation upon which sustainable peace and shared prosperity can be built. The National Dialogue process provides a tremendous opportunity to protect and build on the positive aspects of our post-independence legacy. Most importantly, it is an important vehicle to mobilize Ugandans in all their diversity to move in unison in the continuing journey towards sustainable peace, consolidation of democracy and shared economic prosperity.

This Uganda National Dialogue Process Framework Paper sets out the rationale and modalities for convening the Uganda National Dialogue Process. The paper was developed through collaborative preparatory work by RCU, TEFU and the WSR. The paper is built on the foundations of the previous attempts at a national dialogue, including processes under the auspices of IPOD, NCF, civil society and previous efforts by IRCU and TEFU. The initial draft of the paper was subjected to intensive discussions at a series of meetings of leaders IRCU, TEFU and the WSR. An advance draft of the



paper was approved by a joint working session of the IRCU, TEFU and the WSR on November 21, 2016 and subsequently by the Convening Organization (Cos) on November 23, 2016.

The current draft will be subjected to a series of informal consultations among key stakeholder groups. In particular, the key stakeholder groups to be consulted during the informal consultation phases include:

- i) Top leadership of the major political parties (a political party is considered major if it has any parliamentary representatives).
- ii) Former presidential candidates who participated in the February 2016 elections.
- iii) Representatives of different segments of the youth in politics, civil society, business, and students.
- iv) Representatives of different segments of women in politics, civil society, business and academia.
- v) The Speaker and leadership of parliament of Uganda.
- vi) The Prime Minister in his capacity as the chair of the National Consultative Forum.
- vii) Leaders of selected professional bodies (lawyers, medical, engineers and others)
- viii) Selected leaders of civil society organizations involved in activities related to the themes of the Dialogue.
- ix) Representatives of cultural leaders and cultural institutions.
- x) Selected representatives of the business community.
- xi) Rotary and Rotract Clubs

The rationale for these informal consultations is to enlist the views and inputs of these strategic constituency groups, generate consensus on the core agenda and process of the National Dialogue Process and generate momentum towards the official launching of the Dialogue. Once adopted, it will provide the overall framework and guidance for the management of the entire National Dialogue Process.

2. Background

The National Dialogue process provides Ugandans an opportunity to adaptively address root causes of conflict and issues caused by failures of the previous constitutions to provide a basis for an inclusive social contract, and for satisfying the needs of the citizens. For example, since independence in 1962, Uganda has had many false starts but also made many steps forward. Over the last half a century of independence, Uganda has attained relative levels of security and peace, the pillars of democracy have



been built, and the foundations for sustainable development and prosperity have been put in place. Under the leadership of President Museveni, Uganda has established itself as a leader in regional, continental and global politics, economics and international security.

However, recent elections have to a great extent demonstrated that there are differences emerging within the Ugandan polity that may undermine the process of consolidating the security and economic gains that have been made to date. Many of these differences are largely based on the perceptions and different realities of the many different stakeholders that constitute the Ugandan society. Indeed, internal and external factors can threaten national security, peace, and democracy that have been achieved and undermine over half a century of protracted work and struggles by different Ugandan generations. The National Dialogue Process will provide an enduring nation building platform that keeps together different blocks - diversities that make Uganda a nation that it aspires to be. This platform shall also provide a unique space for inclusive voices focused not on positions – but rather on principles that serve common good and interests of “we the people”.

3. Fostering a culture of consensus: Towards principled national dialogue

A variety of different forms of dialogues and consensus building characterize Uganda's post-independence history. Most of these dialogue processes were triggered by extraordinary situations including the struggle for independence (the Lancaster Conference), conventional war (Moshi Conference), military coups (Nairobi Peace Process) armed rebellions (Northern Uganda peace process) or most recently contested elections. No matter the imperfections of these processes, they enabled our country to overcome numerous challenges and continue on the painful path towards peace and stability.

Fortunately, the Uganda National Dialogue Process is taking place at a time when the country is relatively peaceful and on a sustainable path towards development and transformation. While previous dialogue processes were about solving crises, the Uganda National Dialogue Process is about forging a future together. Through this dialogue process, we seek to face our past not to apportion blame or explain our failures but rather, to draw lessons that enable us build a future defined by peace, equal opportunity and shared prosperity. Indeed, experiences from previous dialogue processes can provide important lessons for the Uganda National Dialogue Process. While not seeking to provide a catalogue of these previous processes, a number of lessons can be drawn to inform the current process.



3.1. The dialogue process leading to independence

Most of the pre-independence struggles that helped create pressure for independence culminated into the now famous Uganda Constitutional Conference on the Constitution for an Independent Uganda, which took place at Lancaster House in London in 1961. The conference was attended by delegations representing the Government of Uganda, Uganda's political parties, the government of the United Kingdom, representatives of Buganda Kingdom, representatives of the 13 district councils¹ and the 2 urban centres of Kampala and Jinja. The most important outcome of the Conference was that the parties agreed that Uganda would attain full independence on October 9, 1962.

3.2. The Moshi Conference

Any account of Uganda's continuing struggle to achieve consensus is not complete without reference to what is popularly referred to as the "Moshi Conference". The Moshi Conference, which was held in the Northern Tanzanian town of Moshi on March 24-26, 1979, brought together mainly Ugandan exiles who sought to forge a consensus in their effort to end the dictatorship of former president Idi Amin (1971-1979). While the conference brought together over 28 groups of Ugandan exiles, most accounts indicate that the most influential groups at the Conference were: Kikos Maalum, Fronasa, Save Uganda Movement and Uganda Freedom Union.² The Moshi Conference led to the formation of a political alliance called Uganda National liberation Front (UNLF) and the Uganda National Liberation Army (UNLA) as its military wing.

Both the Moshi consensus and the "Moshi spirit" that had brought together competing political groups under a common purpose of ending the Amin dictatorship and establishing stability in the country did not live longer as short-lived governments characterized the immediate post-Amin period. Yusufu Lule was overthrown³ after only 68 days in office and replaced by Godfrey Lukongwa Binaisa. Binaisa was overthrown⁴ in May 1980 and replaced by the Military Council headed by Paul Muwanga.

¹ West Nile, Karamoja, Toro, Kigezi, Ankole, Bukedi, Bunyoro, Madi, Bugisu, Busoga, Teso, Acholi, Lango.

² See for example, Balam Nyeko (1987). The background to the political instability in Uganda. *Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies*, 15(13).

³ Yusufu Lule was president of Uganda from April 13, 1979 to June 20, 1979 and was overthrown in a bloodless coup on June 20, 1979.

⁴ Godfrey L. Binaisa was President for the period June 20, 1979 – May 12, 1980.



There are at least four important lessons to learn from the Moshi Conference experience. First, like the dialogue processes leading to independence, the Moshi Conference took place outside Uganda, with Tanzania playing a key convening role. Secondly, the Conference took place at the peak of the war against Idi Amin. The Conference therefore focused considerable effort on how to craft a working consensus towards the war effort and the architecture of governance in the immediate post-Idi Amin period. Thirdly and most importantly, the Conference was more of an anti-Amin coalition bringing together largely Ugandan anti-Amin opposition formations in exile. There is no record of other Ugandan citizen formation participating in the conference. Finally, Ugandans who convened at Moshi literally had no time to broaden their anti-Amin coalition by involving other anti-Amin forces and other citizens' formations within Uganda. Amin's government crumbled so fast and Amin was overthrown on April 9, 1979.

3.3. The Nairobi Peace Talks

The Nairobi Peace Talks provide further insights into Uganda's long history of national dialogue and negotiating political consensus and settlement. The Nairobi Peace Talks followed the overthrow of the Obote Government by the Uganda National Liberation Army (UNLA) on January 27, 1985. Upon swearing in as the new president, Gen. Tito Okello Lutwa offered the possibility of a negotiated political settlement with all hitherto fighting groups. The peace talks were subsequently held in Nairobi (August 26 – December 17, 1985) under the chairmanship of former Kenyan President, Daniel Arap Moi.

The final peace agreement was signed between President Tito Okello representing Government of Uganda and Yoweri Museveni representing the National Resistance Movement. Among other things, the Nairobi Peace Agreement called for a cease-fire, demilitarization of Kampala, integration of the NRA and government forces and absorption of the NRA leadership into the Military Council. Article 17(c) of the agreement committed the parties to establish a commission of inquiry into human rights violations in Uganda since independence. Article 7 of the agreement prescribed a national army not exceeding 8,500 in terms of personnel strength.⁵

The Nairobi Peace Agreement was never implemented as the fighting escalated and the National Resistance Army overthrew Toto Okello's government on January 27, 1986.

⁵ For a detailed discussion of the Nairobi Peace Agreement, see "Reaching the 1985 Nairobi Peace Agreement", Bethuel Kiplagat, in Lucima, et al., 2002.



However, numerous accounts by different scholars suggest a number of reasons that explain why the Nairobi Peace Agreement failed. Like the Moshi Conference, the Nairobi peace process occurred in the midst of fighting among the main protagonists. Such an environment created mutual suspicions among the parties. Secondly, the processes excluded relevant Ugandan organizations. For example, political parties and other representative citizens' organizations were never part of the peace talks and the resulting peace agreement. Equally important, there was absence of third party guarantors for the process to help the parties focus on the implementation of the agreed commitments.

Like the 1979 Moshi Conference, the Nairobi Peace Talks were pursued as a political settlement focusing largely on the existing political impasse and its consequences such as abuse of human rights. The timing of these processes and the inherent limitations imposed by the obtaining conditions in the country did not make it possible to extend transactional political negotiations towards a more encompassing agenda setting national dialogue.

3.4. The 1995 Constitution Making Process (1997-1995): Beyond a political settlement

Besides the 1979 Moshi Conference and the Nairobi Peace Talks, another noteworthy national dialogue process is the constitutional making process (1987-1995) that culminated into the promulgation of the 1995 Constitution. The Constitutional making process commenced in 1987 and reached its climax with the promulgation of a new national constitution in 1995. There are at least three important aspects of this process that provide important lessons for the Uganda National Dialogue Process.

First, the constitution making process had no protagonists. The National Resistance Movement Government had largely co-opted most of the traditional opposition groups and restricted political party activities. The incumbent government superintended over the process but was not a negotiating party. On the contrary, the process proceeded as a neutral platform for citizens to present their views on their aspirations for the country. As the process shifted into the Constituent Assembly [Dates], it became a platform for negotiating a national consensus, including securing constitutional protection for a wide range of stakeholder interests.

Secondly, unlike the previous processes which focused on resolving the obtaining political stalemate, the Uganda constitution making process sought to address the



broad range of issues: political, economic, social, environment, etc, that affect Ugandans in their day-to-day lives.

Thirdly, the constitution making process was conducted in the form of a commission of inquiry with commissioners traversing the country seeking views and inputs from all Ugandans in their different diversities and configurations. Besides conducting a series of events in the form of public hearings, workshops and other forms of stakeholder consultations, the Uganda Constitutional Commission also invited and received written submissions from all interest groups.

It is therefore not an overstatement to suggest that the constitutional making process represents the first ever attempt by Ugandans to generate an overarching consensus on their shared national aspirations for the country. Indeed, the Uganda National Dialogue Process can draw inspiration from the constitutional making process by ensuring that the process is inclusive and citizen driven.

3.5. The post 1986 peace settlements

Following the capture of state power in 1986, the National Resistance Movement Government was confronted by the emergence of numerous fighting groups of different sizes and with different fighting capabilities. Most of these fighting groups are documented in *Protracted conflict, elusive peace: initiatives to end violence in Northern Uganda* published since 2002.⁶ Over the years, Government was able to neutralize many of these groups either by defeating them militarily, granting them amnesty or through peace negotiations.

A key important lesson to learn from the post 1986 negotiated peace settlements between the NRM and the fighting rebel groups is that they are largely based on transactional arrangements. By abandoning armed rebellion, the fighting groups secure unspecified privileges, including the possibility of joining government. The settlement is largely between the government and the rebel groups or their leaders. Ugandan citizens do not have access to any information regarding what is contained in the negotiated settlements. Consequently, one of the challenges of the Uganda National Dialogue Process is to diminish the transactional nature of such a process and shift it to more principled negotiations and dialogue.

3.6. The pre-2016 dialogue process

⁶ See Okello Lucima, et al., (2002). *Protracted conflict, elusive peace: initiatives to end violence in Northern Uganda*. Conciliation Resources, 2002, London.



Most actors in the country have long recognized the need for a national dialogue. However, the most overt calls for a national dialogue process can be traced way back in 2006 following party primaries and general elections, which were characterized by unprecedented violence. Since then, major political parties including the Forum for Democratic Change (FDC), Uganda Peoples Congress (UPC), the Democratic Party (DP) have continued to call for a national dialogue as a way of addressing the challenge facing democratic consolidation and development in Uganda. Similar calls at convening a national dialogue process have been made by other segments of the Ugandan society including religious leaders and civil society leaders.

It is therefore important to reflect on the efforts that have been made to date in order to draw lessons for the proposed national dialogue process:

Efforts towards the convening of national dialogue process in the post-2006 period have been pursued along three distinct tracks: political, religious and civil society.

3.6.1. The political negotiations track

This track brought together mainly political actors based on political party representations. The narrower version of this track involved negotiations among the political parties that have representation in parliament operating under the auspices of the Inter-Party Organizations for Dialogue (IPOD). The IPOD process was established in 2010 as an exclusively interparty dialogue process. The Uganda chapter of the National Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD) facilitates the IPOD process. For the time it has been in existence, IPOD provided a platform for continued political engagement among the political parties with representation in parliament. IPOD has been at the forefront of advocating for electoral reforms to strengthen Uganda's electoral system.

The more inclusive version of the political dialogue track is pursued under the National Consultative Forum for Political Parties and Organizations (hereinafter referred to as NCF) – a forum that brings together all Ugandan registered political parties and political organizations. The NCF is established under section 20 of the Political Parties and Organizations Act 2005. Its mandate is to encourage dialogue and communication among political parties as well as key election governance agencies such as the Electoral Commission (see section 20(4)). Although the contribution of the NCF to the national dialogue process requires more specific and methodologically rigorous evaluation, there is no doubt that the forum provides a valuable platform for ensuring a



continuous political dialogue in the country. By its very nature and mandate, the Forum is designed as a platform exclusively reserved for registered political parties.

3.6.2. The civil society dialogue track

Another important national dialogue track has been promoted by civil society organizations; particularly the governance and accountability oriented Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). For the last decade, NGOs launched and pursued a variety of issues on the national governance and policy agenda. Three dialogue processes can be highlighted to demonstrate the commitment of Ugandan NGOs towards a national dialogue process. First, the Black Monday Movement (BMM) sought to mobilize and united Ugandans in a struggle against the cancer of corruption. Secondly, since 2012, the citizens Manifesto process provided a platform for citizens to develop and shape the priorities of political parties. Based on this process, various citizen interest groups including youth and women develop interest group manifestos and engage with political parties to make their concerns part of the election agenda.

However, the most comprehensive of the NGOs led national dialogue process is the National Campaign for Free and Fair Elections. The campaign was largely focused on mobilizing citizens to discuss and agree on the nature of reforms necessary to ensure the conduct of free and fair elections in Uganda. The campaign involved nation-wide consultations and brought together all citizens' stakeholders including political parties, civil society, religious leaders, cultural leaders, businessmen and women, professional and workers organizations, workers, and many others in a National Consultation on Free and Fair Elections convened in November 2014. The participants at the National Consultation adopted the Citizens Compact on Free and Fair Elections outlining a series of political, constitutional and electoral reforms necessary to create conditions for conducting free and fair elections in Uganda. Its only shortcoming is that the leadership of the National Resistance Movement declined from participating in the National Consultation on Free and Fair Elections.

3.6.3. The elders dialogue track

Religious leaders under the auspices of the Inter-Religious Council of Uganda (IRCU) and the Elders Forum of Uganda (TEFU) have championed another important track of the national dialogue process. IRCU and TEFU brings together prominent members of the clergy and senior citizens of Uganda respectively. In the run up to the February 2016 elections, the two institutions invested heavily in creating a dialogue among Ugandan citizens and the presidential candidates. They convened the first ever-



presidential debate, which provided a platform for Ugandans to engage with the candidates. Since the end of the elections and following the impasse over the outcomes, IRCU and TEFU were joined by the Women Situation Room to engage in shuttle diplomacy aimed at diffusing the combusive situation that obtained following the elections.

4. Confronting the Challenge: From negotiation to dialogue

One of the most important challenges to some of the processes described above is that they were inherently organized as negotiation process, often with the narrow focus of achieving a political consensus of settlement. In most of the cases, the negotiations were pursued among key political protagonists, which inevitably exclude the majority of the Ugandan society from shaping the process of the negotiations as well as the outcomes of the process. One of the most important challenges of the Uganda National Dialogue Process is to ensure that the process is conducted as a dialogue among Ugandans and not just politically or economically organized groups jostling for political or economic power. The process is our opportunity to harness our collective will, energy and diversity and deploy them towards the continuing process of national building and democratic consolidation.

Secondly,

the dialogue allows for the maintenance of mutual enrichment as well as a widening and deepening of public space. A national dialogue stands for more than just a process of negotiation with the expectations of a pre-set outcome remaining open, a fluid and also a creative process of communication. The dialogue process therefore provides us the opportunity to ask ourselves the hard questions and to challenge ourselves to confront the sometimes-inconvenient truth by addressing the following questions:

- i) How do we develop a shared agenda that consolidates the security, stability and development that has been attained over the last half a century of independence, and more so, over the last 30 years under the leadership of President Museveni?
- ii) How do we use our diversity (ethnic, cultural, gender, demographic, etc.) as a resource to accelerate our socio-economic transformation agenda?
- iii) How do we create an environment that harnesses the ingenuity of our young people and confront the challenge of youth unemployment and put our youth at the heart of the economic and democratic consolidation project.



- iv) How do we enable, honor and reward works of women in national development and the broader transformation agenda?
- v) How do we address the security of our neighbors and continue to play an active and supportive role in the economic development and security of the region?
- vi) How do we honor, recognize and reward our national and local leaders who have made significant contributions to the process of establishing national security, peace, democracy and development?
- vii) How do we build an intrinsic value system that consolidates our consistent effort to fight corruption, abuse of public resources and impunity?
- viii) How do we create an enduring process of reconciliation as a foundation for justice and sustainable peace?
- ix) How do we sustain the ongoing process of building a capable developmental state to pursue and deliver a national transformative agenda for sustainable peace, an enduring democratic dispensation and shared prosperity?

Addressing these questions requires a systematic national dialogue process. Most importantly, it requires that such a national dialogue process be as inclusive as possible in order to bring together as many segments of the Ugandan society as possible. To bring together all the key stakeholders, it is important that the credibility of the national dialogue process as a Ugandan owned and Uganda led process be protected at all times.

5. Setting the agenda for the National Dialogue process

In consideration of the questions articulated above, and based on an in-depth review of the ongoing processes, the agenda for the National Dialogue shall be organized around the following themes:

5.1. A national values consensus

As a people, we should engage to forge a consensus on what constitutes our national values as a country. The question of values consistently comes up in many discussions in a variety of forms. Indeed, a people that do not have shared values have no basis for building a shared culture for being each other's keeper. A National Dialogue is an opportunity to resolve this unending debate whereby we can adopt a set of values that define who we are and that can bind each one of us in a sense of justice and dignity.

A number of questions shall guide discussions on national values;

1. What does it mean to be Ugandan?



2. What are the basic Ugandan values and beliefs?
3. What are the distinguishing norms that define one as Ugandan?
4. What do values like God fearing, freedom, democracy, patriotism, and national unity mean for diverse Ugandans?
5. Is there a shared understanding of values such as human dignity, equity, volunteerism, social justice, non-discrimination and protection of marginalized in Uganda?
6. What do values such as integrity, transparency and accountability mean for Ugandans in public sector, private sector and other facets of life?
7. Is the value of sustainable development embedded, interpreted and applied in Uganda's transformation agenda?
8. What is the place of achievement, efficiency, material comfort, nationalism, equality and the supremacy of faith, science and reason in Uganda's value system?

5.2. A political consensus

The promise of a prosperous and stable future must be building upon a political system and culture that enables citizens to exercise their power as proclaimed in Article 1 of the Constitution. Citizens must exercise sovereignty over political leaders and the institutions of state while at the same time paying allegiance to God, the country and our constitution.

A conversation on political consensus shall be guided by the following questions;

1. Do the current political parties represent interests of all Ugandans?
2. Is the current structure and composition of electoral commission capable of delivering a free and fair election?
3. Is the current pathway to cabinet and its composition representative of all Ugandans?
4. Is the current devolution of power through local governments working to effectively and equitably deliver local governance dividends and public services?
5. Is the role of the army in Uganda's politics resolved?
6. Is the role of cultural and traditional institutions in Uganda's politics resolved?
7. Is the current Constitution capable of guaranteeing, independence of State institutions, separation of powers and peaceful transition?



5.3. A diversity consensus

Often times, our diversity – ethnic, religious, culture, gender, etc is exploited to our disadvantage. A diversity consensus can be a powerful building block for harnessing our diversity for national development. A national dialogue is a great opportunity for a frank and mutually beneficial discussion on harnessing our diversity towards building a prosperous nation with happy people.

The hereunder questions shall guide discussion on the issue of Diversity?

1. What is diversity in Uganda's context?
2. Do our laws and practice treat all Ugandans equally?
3. Are all shades of Ugandans equally celebrated and reflected in branding and other promotional images of Uganda?
4. Do recruitments in public and private services reflect diversity of all Ugandans?
5. Is there total freedom to celebrate diversity – e.g. religious diversity, gender diversity etc.?
6. Do policies in Uganda encourage citizens to honor the uniqueness of each individual and do current institutions provide for mechanisms to challenge stereotypes?
7. How can Uganda benefit from positive attributes of diversity such as language, culture and philosophy?

5.4. The quality service delivery consensus

In spite of all the best endeavors by government, our country faces an ever-deepening service delivery crisis. After 50 years of independence, we have failed to transform our curriculum that offers our children a colonial modeled education to an education that growth our Nation's children into productive and dignified beings. Every single day, the mothers of our nation come face to face with a largely imperfect health care system. There must be a way that we can build a partnership between the government and citizens that delivers quality public services to our people, holds each one of us accountable to do the right things, and sanctions those who unable to deliver their part of the gain.

The issue of service delivery shall be guided by hereunder questions;



1. How can we close the gap between providers of public services and beneficiaries?
2. What kind and quality of institutions do we need to deliver efficient public services?
3. What is the role of citizens in monitoring and reporting on execution of public services?
4. What is needed to make misuse and diversion of money in service delivery risky?
5. What are key actions and reforms necessary to make basic services in health and education work?
6. What kind of services should be strictly delivered by public sector?
7. What are public service reforms needed to transform culture, attitudes ethics of public workers?
8. What are key reforms needed to increase motivation of public workers?

5.5. An economy that works for everybody

Without a doubt, official statistics tell us that our economy is growing. However, many people are not feeling this growth. Their incomes have either gone down or flattened. The economy is not becoming inclusive. Worse still, it is not creating jobs fast enough to provide opportunity for a burgeoning youth population. Growing the economy in a manner that makes it more inclusive and create jobs for our young people is our collective business as a people. We need to build a new consensus on how a new economic architecture that achieves the multiple objectives of inclusive growth, creating jobs for our young people and accelerating the structural transformation of our people can be built by all of us.

The issue of inclusive economy shall be guided by the following questions;

1. How can we structure an economy that creates rewarding jobs for Uganda's burgeoning youth?
2. What kind of education system does Uganda need to build skills necessary to push Uganda into a knowledge economy and First World?
3. How should the public budget be structured to facilitative equitable taxation and expenditure into productive sectors where majority citizens are employed?
4. How can we build an economy that exports more and imports less?
5. How can we build an economy that is less dependent on foreign aid?
6. How should Uganda deal with the question of burgeoning public debt?



7. How should the issue of local governments power over revenue (fiscal power) be addressed?
8. How should binding constraints to the economy e.g. cost of money (high interest rates), access and cost of energy etc be addressed?
9. How should Uganda solve the land question to guarantee development of public services while guaranteeing ownership and user rights by citizens?
10. How should Uganda respond to expanding negative effects of climate change that are threatening very basis of economic livelihoods?
11. How can Uganda move quickly to create a favorable doing business environment to boost domestic and foreign investments – and expand competitiveness of the economy?

5.6. Eliminating the cancer of corruption

Over the last two decades, Government has invested tremendous efforts to confront the cancer of corruption. Our country has some of the most elaborate policies, laws and programmes setting our mechanisms and rules to confront the cancer of corruption. An impressive array of anti-corruption institutions ranging from policy, judicial, administrative to constitutional and parliamentary oversight institutions have been put in place. However, the cancer of corruption continues unabated and government continues to be deprived of critical financial resources and public assets needed to effectively provide public services to the people. By failing to eliminate the cancer of corruption, our generation is stealing from our Nation's young people and our children.

Evidence of a consensus on an all out war against corruption exists. Religious leaders continue to speak out against the vice. Across the country, civil society has been engaged in mobilizing against the vice through the Black Monday Movement and other anti-corruption campaigns. Since 2006, all the major political parties declared a zero-tolerance to corruption policy in their campaign manifestos. Government in general and President Museveni in particular have embraced the zero-tolerance to corruption policy.

The issues of dealing with corruption shall be guided by the following questions;

1. What are the actions and institutions that Uganda needs to prevent and deter corruption?
2. What are the structures and mechanisms necessary to detect and curtail corruption before it happens?



3. What are reforms needed to deliver both fair and efficient investigations and prosecution of corruption cases?
4. What are the mechanisms Uganda needs to recover taxpayers' money lost to corruption?

5.7. Implementation modalities

The dialogue will constitute a thematic working group whose mandate will be to develop and propose practical modalities for ensuring that all responsible organizations, government and public sector agencies, political parties and individual leaders implement the outcomes of the dialogue. The thematic working group will also provide clear mechanisms for holding those responsible accountable as well as the range of possible sanctions to be applied against those who renege on their commitments.

6. Building on a culture of engagement: pillars and principles for a successful national dialogue

It is important to take note for starters that complex socio-political environments are not solved through once-off dialogue events, but rather through ongoing, multifaceted and multilevel dialogue processes that sum up into a national dialogue that delivers enduring consensus. The foregoing therefore means that the conduct of national dialogue process calls for long-term investments in the capacities of the actors involved.

One place to start is to focus on the objective principles and fundamentals that should underpin this national dialogue process. Foremost among them is that this process must be African led and should enjoy broad participation, based on the recognition that all facets of Ugandan society have a right to participate in the process. Equally important will be detailed preparations for the dialogue process and reaching a broad consensus on the agenda, scope and authority of the process before it starts. This will take time, possibly a year or more, but is essential.

For the national dialogue process to be on point, central questions will need to be addressed: Does the dialogue establish principles on which a follow-up political process proceeds? Or does the process itself draft a new constitution? How are the results integrated into law and policy and ultimately implemented? What mechanisms can be put in place to ensure transparency, credibility and to build trust that leaders are making decisions for Uganda, not just for their own self-



interest? How will citizens be informed of and consulted on dialogue topics and decisions that are made?

The key elements to consider during the national dialogue processes include: the mandate of the mechanisms by all relevant and legitimate stakeholders; the constitutional links to mechanisms for implementation, constitutional change and adoption of its agreements; criteria for participation; decision-making processes and procedures; framing, structuring and deciding on the agenda; management and support structures; and public participation mechanisms.

Indeed, the above expose shows that the idea of a national dialogue as a mechanism for addressing potential challenges that stand on our way to consolidating peace, development and shared prosperity is widely accepted. This idea and desire for a national dialogue is not only reflected in informal multiple efforts by citizens but also the formal processes such as the National Consultative Forum. The engagements described above provides us a strong foundation for learning and strengthening our foundations for a peace, building an enduring consensus to perfect our democracy, and creating the conditions for shared prosperity.

The successes and failures of the previous dialogue efforts clearly show that a successful national dialogue process should be founded on the following pillars and principles.

6.1. Principle #1: Citizen ownership

The proposed national dialogue process is a Ugandan owned and Ugandan led process. The interests of Ugandan citizens ought to be the defining features that shape the conduct and outcome of the dialogue. There are two important ways in which citizen ownership will be achieved. First, the dialogue will create opportunities for the widest participation of citizens in their numerous formations and organizations. While using a representation approach, the stakeholder categorization is intended to ensure that as many citizens as diverse as possible should find an opportunity to engage in different aspects of the process. The national dialogue process will also use multiple platforms including: structured consultation sessions; open dialogue forum; live TV and radio broadcasts; and social media platforms to enlist the widest citizen participation possible. The element of citizen leadership will be reflected in the governance structures of the processes as described in section [xxx] of this working paper.

6.2. Principle #2: Principled dialogue versus positional negotiations



As already alluded to, most previous dialogue processes took a transaction approach and were driven by the interests of the parties engaged in the dialogue. For example, the post-1986 peace settlements with armed rebel groups were pursued and achieved without the involvement of citizens. Nothing is known about what was agreed between these groups and government. The proposed national dialogue process will be pursued with the focus of shifting the approach from transactional negotiations among contending parties towards principled negotiations where the citizens and the country are central to the dialogue process.

Principled dialogue means that decisions on issues are based on merit rather than through the haggling process focused on what side says it will do or won't do. Clearly, it means that parties look for mutual gains whenever possible and that where interests conflict, there should be a strong insistence that the result be based on some fair standards independent of the will of either side. Concretely, principled dialogue is hard on the merits and soft on people. Principled dialogue employs no tricks and no posturing. Principled dialogue enables the process and parties to be fair, obtain what they are entitled to and still be decent. A principled dialogue must position people at the center and be able to separate people from the problem (this means substantive issues need to be disentangled from relationship and process issues). Finally, a principled dialogue process advance core interests of people and not positions. The problem with positional dialoguing is that the goal is not agreement – but rather victory. The 'Victory' syndrome may in ways explain why Uganda has not had fully successful national dialogue in the past.

6.3. Principle #3: Beyond political dialogue

The Uganda national dialogue process is more than a political dialogue. It is conceived as a national conversation to generate consensus by agreeing on a wide range of actions we need to undertake to consolidate the peace, stability and development that have been attained to date. Consequently, the agenda for the dialogue must go beyond the traditional limits of a political dialogue and hence deal with unresolved national questions such as diversity, service delivery, corruption and the agenda for socio-economic transformation and shared prosperity.

6.4. Principle #4: Separating people from the problem

To facilitate a more meaningful dialogue, separating people from the problem will be a cardinal principle of the dialogue. There are at least three types of people problems that more than often stand in the way of arriving at a consensus: perception, emotion and



communication. The process will be pursued and conducted in such a way that dominant perceptions are diminished, emotions are managed positively and ensuring that channels of communication are open all the time to enable participants engage each other on the overall themes and agenda of the dialogue.

6.5. Principle #5: Always keep all the channels of communication open

Without communication, there is no dialogue. Essentially, dialogue is the process of communicating back and forth for the purpose of reaching a joint decision. Communication is never an easy thing, even between people who have enormous backgrounds of shared values and experience. There are three big problems in communication that dialogue initiators and parties should be aware of; First, some parties may not be talking to each other or at least in such a way to be understood. Secondly, some parties may have given up on each other and no longer attempt any serious communication with it – instead they talk merely to impress third parties or their own constituency. Rather than try to engage in genuine dialogue with participating partner(s) towards a mutually agreeable outcome, they try to maneuver to self-advantage. Rather than try genuine dialogue with their partners into a more constructive step, they try to talk to spectators into taking sides – effective communication between parties is all but impossible if each plays to the gallery.

Dialogue facilitators, moderators and resource persons must therefore be keen to navigate this communication challenge landscape by making sure that parties to the dialogue are hearing each other, are not misunderstanding and misinterpreting each other, are listening actively and acknowledging each other- and are mostly rely feedback to broader citizenry – we the people. From the foregoing, it is clear that a communication strategy for the dialogue process will need to be developed with concrete principles and guidelines to facilitate inter and intra stakeholder communication.

6.6. Principle #6: Agree on principles regarding the participation of external actors

External actors can play an important role in furthering the goal of a national dialogue process. They can provide critically needed resources such as funding, human resources, communication infrastructure and a wide range of support roles for the process. External actors can also bring into the process experiences from other countries. In other cases, external actors may be interested in participating in processes of this nature for purposes of learning or documentation. In the case of Uganda, external actors such as sister states of the East African Community, the African Union



or international development partners may have direct interests in the direction and success of a national dialogue process. Other external actors who may be interested, particularly in observer capacity, may include international NGOs and students.

While participation of such actors should be welcomed and encouraged, it is important that such participation be managed in order to diminish its unnecessary influence on the process. During the informal consultation process, the stakeholders should give their views on external actors they believe add value and therefore should be invited to play a role in the process. Besides this category of external actors who will be invited at the inception of the process, the Convening Organizations may receive and, on a case-by-case basis determine whether to accept requests from other external actors who may be interested in participation in the process.

In all cases where there is need to consider the participation of external actors, such consideration must be tested against the principle of citizen ownership and leadership of the process. No decision that undermines that principle would be considered to be consistent with the goal and framework of the National Dialogue Process outlined in this Protocol.

7. Putting the Nation's Young People at the Centre of the National Dialogue Process

Uganda can generally be characterized as a Nation of young people. According to the State of Uganda Population Report 2012, Uganda has one of the youngest populations in the world. More than 52% of the total population (approximately 18 million) is below 15 years. An estimated 39.3% of all Ugandans (approx. 13 million) are within the age range of 19 and 59 years. It is further estimated that there are 6.5 million young people in the age group of 18-30 years (approx. 21.3% of the total population) and that the same age group is projected to grow to 7.7 million people by 2015. The percentage of the population below the age of 18 years has continued to increase from 51.4% in 1969 to 53.8% in 1991 and reaching 56.1% (approx. 19 million people) in 2012. Most recent UNFPA estimates suggest that 78 percent of the population is below 30 years.⁷

According to the National Development plan (2015-2020), the youth constitute 21.3 percent of the total population and 57 percent (4.4 million) of the labor force. An estimated 80 percent of Uganda's youth are employed in non-wage employment as of

⁷ UNFPA, (2014). The Power of 1.8 billion: Adolescents, youth and the transformation of the future. State of the World Population 2014 Report.



2011. More importantly, 79 percent of the youth population lives in rural areas where poverty levels are high and the major economic activity is low productivity low output subsistence agriculture. The youth unemployment rate is currently estimated at 78 percent of the labor force population.

Uganda's current demographic landscape therefore presents a compelling reason for ensuring that the youth are at the heart of any discourse that shapes Uganda's political and economic future. This should be the spirit of the Uganda National Dialogue Process. Consequently, the process will ensure that appropriate mechanisms are put in place to ensure effective participation of the youth in all the three dimensions of the process; the dialogue governance architecture; the dialogue process; and the implementation process.

8. The governance architecture of the national dialogue process

The governance structure of the Uganda National Dialogue Process is designed to ensure conformity to the principles outlined in this protocol. It is also designed to ensure a clear delineation of responsibilities, promote mutual accountability and enhanced opportunities for implementation of the outcomes of the Dialogue. The National Dialogue Process governance structure is divided into two aspects: process administration and decision-making.

8.1. Administration of the Dialogue

The following structures will be responsible for the administration of the process:

8.1.1. Process overseers

The three institutions: IRCU, TEFU and WSR who are the initiators of the National Dialogue Process will play the role of overseers. These institutions will nominate a team of [15]⁸ senior citizens or elder statesmen and women of high repute in the Ugandan society who will discharge this function. The mandate of the seven elders is to:

- Oversee the conduct of National Dialogue Process;
- Be responsible for engaging in quiet diplomacy in mediating emerging conflicts or misunderstanding among the parties;
- Advise the process facilitators, moderators and resource persons on any emerging or controversial issues that may arise.

⁸ COU-2/Catholics-2/Moslems-2/Pentecostals-2/Advenstists-1/WSR-2/Orthodox-1/TEFU-3



- Work behind the scenes to broker agreements and consensus consistent with the principles of the dialogue process outlined in this protocol.

As part of the pre-dialogue consultation process, IRCU, TEFU and the WSR will provide the list of the 7 elders so that stakeholders provide feedback on their acceptability for this role.

8.1.2. Convening Organizations

The Convening Organizations are a group of selected Ugandan institutions brought together because of their convening mandates as well as representing selected stakeholder interests. The Convening Organizations shoulder the primary responsibility for the Dialogue convening process. Consequently, this structure is comprised of the three Process Overseer organizations and the following 8 institutions.

- i) National Consultative Forum (NCF) – a forum that has been at the frontline of facilitating political dialogue among Uganda’s registered political parties. NCF also includes political parties, which have representation in parliament that convene under the framework of the Inter-Party Organizations for Dialogue (IPOD).
- ii) Uganda Law Society (ULS) – bringing on board legal and intellectual capital;
- iii) Uganda National NGO Forum – is Uganda’s official NGO platform. The NGO Forum is known for its convening capabilities and would be resourceful in coordination citizens’ engagement in the National Dialogue process.
- iv) Human Rights and Peace Centre (HURIPEC) – The centre is based at the Law School, Makerere University. With its faculty and university affiliation, HURIPEC brings into the convening process both intellectual and international capital.
- v) Women’s Democracy Group (WDG)– bringing on board the women constituency;
- vi) Kampala City Trades Association (KACITA) – while there are several associations such as the Private Sector Foundation (PSF), the Uganda Manufacturers Association (UMA) or the Uganda National Chamber of Commerce and Industry (UNCCI) and many others; KACITA represents the heart and pulse of the business community in the Nation’s capital. KACITA will therefore be the entry point for ensuring the effective mobilization of Uganda’s business community to shape the agenda and support the implementation of the outcomes of the Uganda National Dialogue Process.
- vii) Uganda Youth Network (UYONET) – provides a framework for ensuring that Uganda’s young people are engaged in shaping the process of dialogue and



the interests of our Nation's young people are at the centre of the process. In addition to two members who may be staff, 2 other youth will be selected from known youth leadership platforms such as the UYONET Youth Leadership Academy and the Mandela Fellows Alumni group. The IRCU youth network will nominate an additional two representatives.

- viii) National Union for the Disabled Persons of Uganda (NUDIPU) provides a platform for ensuring that the people with disabilities are fully engaged in the dialogue process.
- ix) Forum for traditional and cultural institutions.

It is important to recognize that selecting Convening Organizations is not based on representation. The question of representation is dealt with in detail in selecting the stakeholder categories to be engaged in the formal convening of the Dialogue. The Process Overseers will extend written invitations to the aforementioned organizations. It is expected acceptance to be part of the Convening Organizations will be communicated to the National Dialogue Secretariat in writing.

The Convening Organizations will constitute a National Dialogue Technical Working Group (ND-TWG) whose mandate will be to advise on all technical and intellectual aspects of the National Dialogue Process. The ND-TWG will be the intellectual unit of the dialogue reporting directly to the convening organizations. To the extent possible, the fundamental consideration for a person to be considered for the membership of the ND-TWG is that they have the requisite professional competencies and are considered to have the capacity to act or be seen to act in a non-partisan manner. The ND-TWG will be comprised of eminent scholars, practitioners, and other Ugandans of repute. The ND-TWG is responsible for generating ideas on all strategic issues regarding the convening of the dialogue as well as managing the intellectual and quality assurance aspects of the dialogue. The ND-TWG shall report directly to the Convening Organizations.

The convening organizations shall have the following mandate:

- i) Ensuring that all relevant parties are consulted and provided the opportunity to engage in the process.
- ii) Ensuring that outcomes of the process are based on consensus and mutual understanding.
- iii) Ensuring effective governance and administration of the dialogue process.



- iv) Mobilizing financial, material, logistical and human resources to support the process and ensuring that such resources are managed and utilized in a transparent manner.
- v) Providing directions and guidance regarding the operations of the National Dialogue Process Secretariat.
- vi) Ensuring that the documentation for the process and all outcome documents are prepared in a professional manner and meet the highest quality standards.

8.1.3 National Dialogue Secretariat

There shall be a National Dialogue Secretariat, which shall be hosted by the Inter-Religious Council of Uganda. The Convening Organizations shall provide the overall oversight over the operations of the National Dialogue Secretariat. The National Dialogue Coordinator shall be the head of the Secretariat and accounting officer of the National Dialogue Process reporting directly to the Convening Organizations.

8.2. Decision-making structures of the National Dialogue

There are two main decision-making organs of the National Dialogue Process:

8.2.1. The National Dialogue Plenary

The National Dialogue Plenary is comprised of the representatives of the citizens' formations and stakeholder interest groups described in section xxx of this protocol. Once accredited, the selected members will be designated as members of the National Dialogue Plenary until the adoption of the consensus documents to be presented at the National Conference. Unless the delegating stakeholder group recalls a delegate who is a member of the National Dialogue Plenary, all members of the National Dialogue Plenary will be also members of the National Conference. The National Dialogue Plenary will discharge the following mandates:

- i) Consider and adopt this working paper as the guiding protocol for the process.
- ii) Individual delegates will, to the extent possible, participate in the consultation processes.
- iii) Consider and adopt the reports of the Thematic Working Groups.
- iv) Advise on the modalities for representation and convening of the National Conference.
- v) Adopt the final consensus documents to be presented to the National Conference for adoption.



The National Dialogue Plenary will be dissolved upon constituting the National Conference.

8.2.2. National Dialogue Thematic Working Groups

At its first session, the National Dialogue Plenary will constitute the National Dialogue Thematic Working Groups. The Thematic Working Groups are the forums of the National Dialogue Process where detailed discussions and proposals will be developed, discussed and adopted to be presented to the plenary. The main output of a thematic group is a draft working paper containing the emerging consensus and divergent views regarding the particular thematic area.

The Convening Organizations shall designate two co-chairs and a rapporteur for each Thematic Working Group.

8.2.3. The National Conference

The National Conference is the supreme decision-making organ of the National Dialogue Process. The Conference will be comprised of the members of the National Dialogue Plenary and such other members as the National Dialogue Plenary will prescribe. The National Dialogue Plenary will ensure that the National Conference has the widest representation and citizens' participation as possible.

The National Conference has two specific mandates:

- i) To consider and adopt the national consensus document presented to it by the National Dialogue Plenary.
- ii) To consider and adopt the modalities for the implementation of the outcomes of the National Dialogue Process.

8.3. Facilitation of the National Dialogue Process

8.3.1. Dialogue facilitators

The Convening Organizations shall identify and develop consensus on at least two eminent Africans who shall be the Facilitators of the National Dialogue Process. The stakeholder groups shall agree upon the final names of the Facilitators during the informal consultations.

Once agreed upon, the Facilitators shall preside over both the National Dialogue Plenary and the National Conference.



8.3.2. Dialogue Moderators

Each of the National Dialogue Thematic Working Group shall have two moderators designated by the Convening Organizations in consultation with the Dialogue Facilitators. The moderators shall be Ugandans of high repute with proven moderation experience and capable of acting or being seen to act in a non-partisan manner. The moderators will have the mandate to moderate discussions in the Thematic Working Groups and helping participants discuss contentious, controversial and difficult issues in a frank, open and non-partisan manner.

8.3.3. Dialogue Resource Persons

This designation is given to persons who will be selected to preside over consultation sessions or acting recording the proceedings at various consultation sessions. The Dialogue Resource Persons will be identified and designated by the Convening Organizations.

9. Participation and inclusiveness through representation

The cardinal principle governing participation in the national dialogue process is to ensure that as many segments of the Ugandan society as possible are represented in the different aspects of the process. The design of the national dialogue process is premised on the fundamental belief that our diversity is an asset rather than a problem. Consequently, representation must reflect our gender, ethnic, demographic and other forms of diversity that characterize our society.

Secondly, for practical purposes, representation must take into account the administration aspects of the process. This implies that each of the identified segments will be represented in selected foras of the dialogue process by a pre-determined number of delegates or representatives. Where participation is by representation, the selected representatives are not participating primarily to defend the entrenched positions of their segments or interest groups, but rather to ensure that the dialogue process generates a national consensus that reflects our collective national interests and aspirations. Arriving at a consensus will therefore be facilitated by summoning the best in ourselves to respect our collective interests and aspirations, where necessary subjecting our self or group interests to the common good of our nation and our future.

Where any aspect of the dialogue is conducted in an open forum, specific and open invitations will be sent out to all the segments of populations outlined. Where the



participation is by invitation and accreditation, the following formulae will be used to achieve equity in representation and participation.

9.1. Citizens' open forums

The dialogue process may involve organizing open forums where public invitations are sent out to all citizens who may wish to attend in a particular area of the country. When this form of citizens' engagement is chosen, the public announcements will emphasize that the consultations are open to all citizens and interest groups.

9.2. Participation by representation

Participation in the Regional Dialogue Sessions, the National Dialogue and the National Conference shall be by representation. The Convening Organizations will determine the number of delegates to be invited to each of these dialogue segments. Representation at the Regional Dialogue Series will be based on a pre-determined base number plus an additional number of delegates allocated to the respective segment. The "base" number is intended to ensure that all citizens in their diverse categories are represented in each of the dialogue segments. The additional delegates are to create room for working towards achieving equity in representation. For example, while the representation of civic organizations may just be effectively achieved by being allocated a base number, achieving equity may require that political organizations be allocated an additional number of delegates since they have to ensure that diversity within their membership is also addressed in selecting their delegates.

It is proposed that representation be based on the following categorizations:

- i) Political organizations (common but differentiated interests)
- ii) Religious organization
- iii) Civic organization
- iv) Cultural institutions
- v) Professional organizations
- vi) Business community
- vii) Informal business associations (Boda Bodas, Market Vendors)
- viii) Workers organizations
- ix) Special interest groups
 - a. Women
 - b. Youth
 - c. People with disabilities



- d. Veterans
- x) Development partners
- xi) Regional participation (CSOs, political parties, EAC, legislatures, etc)
- xii) Selected state and government agencies
 - a. Parliament
 - b. Judiciary
 - c. Presidency
 - d. Uganda Peoples Defense Force
 - e. Uganda Police Force
 - f. Uganda Prisons Services
 - g. Internal Security Organization
 - h. External Security Organization
 - i. Electoral Commission
 - j. Inspectorate of Government
 - k. Auditor General
 - l. Directorate of Public Prosecutions
 - m. Office of the Attorney General
- xiii) Uganda Local Government Association
- xiv) Uganda Urban Authorities Association
- xv) The Diaspora
- xvi) The media

10. Funding modalities and other resources for the process

A National dialogue process can be a resource intensive process. It requires substantial resources in terms of personnel, funding, information & communication technology, and outreach. Yet, the source of these resources can have significant implications for the integrity and credibility of the process itself.

To the extent possible, the convening organizations will ensure that funding for the process is mobilized from local funding sources or external sources that cannot seek to exercise direct influence on the process. To be specific, sourced funds to facilitate the dialogue process shall be managed and expended in accordance with financial policies and procedures of the institution selected to host the Secretariat of the National Dialogue. Ugandan think tanks, government agencies and civil society shall be requested to provide quality human resources to support the process. The following principles shall govern the funding for the process.



- i) The rules governing funding for this National Dialogue Process relate to funding that is provided by governments, foundations or private funders provided that such funds are channeled through the host institution of the Secretariat for the National Dialogue.
- ii) Funds for the National Dialogue Process shall be channeled through the institution designated to host the Secretariat of the Dialogue or other institutions determined by the Convening Organizations.
- iii) The National Dialogue Process may receive funding the Government of Uganda provided such funding is appropriated by Parliament through the formal budget process. In the circumstances where the budget has already been approved, it is envisaged that such appropriation may be done through a supplementary budget or [virement] by a motion of parliament.
- iv) The National Dialogue Process shall not accept funding from sources that require the funder to engage in direct spending or undertaking procurement on behalf of the Process or on behalf of the institution(s) designated to receive funding for the Process.
- v) Funds secured by stakeholders such as NGOs, political parties, professional bodies, etc to facilitate their participation in the National Dialogue Process are not considered funding for the process in the context of this Protocol.

11. Political will and confidence building measures

The pursuit of the national dialogue process will be enhanced by a clear demonstration of political will and adoption of a series of confidence building measures on the part of key stakeholder groups including government, political parties, convening organizations and other stakeholder groups.

This section of the framework work provides indicative actions and processes that demonstrate political will or constitute confidence-building measures on the part of selected stakeholder groups.

11.1. Process Initiators (IRCU/TEFU/WSR)

- i) Maintaining institutional neutrality throughout the dialogue
- ii) Deploying the existing institutional infrastructure to support the process whenever necessary.
- iii) Encouraging structures to raise awareness and public support for the process.

11.2 Convening organizations



- i) Ensuring that the highest leadership of the organization participates in the planning meetings of the Convening Organizations.
- ii) Committing time to ensure full participation in the dialogue process, especially planning meetings.
- iii) Committing financial, material and human resources towards supporting the process.

11.3. Government of Uganda

- i) Enacting appropriate legislation to give force to the outcomes of the national dialogue process.
- ii) Appropriating public funds for the dialogue process through parliamentary appropriations procedure.
- iii) Public statements (written or oral) in support of the process.
- iv) Ensuring that the designated government or public sector agencies fully participate in all aspects of the national dialogue process.
- v) Staying any processes or actions that have the apparent effect of undermining the consensus that can be achieved through the national dialogue process.

11.4. Political parties

- i) Ensuring the highest level of party leadership participate in the informal consultation process to generate consensus on the National Dialogue Process Framework Paper.
- ii) Public statements (written or oral) from senior political leaders in support of the process.
- iii) Deploying party structures and networks to raise awareness and mobilize support for the process among the citizens.
- iv) Committing their legislators to support the enactment of appropriate legislation or appropriation of funds for the national dialogue process.
- v) Ensuring that the top-most leadership represents the political party.

12. Implementation Modalities

One of the important lessons learnt from the previous negotiations or dialogues where the future of our country has been at stake is the ability to reach consensus which is then ignored by all the parties. For example, the consensus achieved at the Nairobi Peace Talks collapsed immediately as all the parties either reneged on the



commitments or simply intensified the fighting. Most recently, we witness the parties in the IPOD process reach consensus on a wide range of electoral reforms but lacked the will to pursue them through the parliamentary legislative process.

To avoid such set backs, a specific thematic group on implementation modalities will be constituted to ensure a focused discussion and consultation on how best to guarantee the implementation of the outcomes. There are two important principles that will underpin the work of the thematic group on implementation modalities: citizen responsibility and African solidarity.

The principle of citizen responsibility is rooted in Article 1 of the 1995 Constitution, which declares that power belongs to the people. Consequently, the thematic group will discuss and propose practical ways in which citizens become the primary guarantors of the outcomes of the Uganda National Dialogue Process. The report of the thematic working group on implementation modalities will provide a succinct proposal on responsibility centres, financing modalities, sanctions for non-compliance and remedial actions for those affected by inaction by the responsible parties or agencies.

The principle of African solidarity is rooted in the now generally accepted philosophy of African solutions for African problems. Consistent with this philosophy, the convening organizations will consider requesting the Africa Forum, and organization that brings together former African heads of state to be the secondary guarantors for Uganda's National Dialogue Process.



Annex: Activities of the National Dialogue Convening Process

At a special retreat convened by the Inter-Religious Council of Uganda (IRCU), The Elders Forum (TEFU) and the Women Situation Room (WSR), important decisions were made outlining the key steps in the convening of the National Dialogue. Accordingly, the process is envisaged to roll out in four phases:

Phase 1: Pre-dialogue consultations and framing the dialogue agenda

Since 2011, there were numerous efforts to facilitate a variety of processes that reflect the elements of what would constitute a national dialogue. The outstanding ones include: the IRCU/TEFU led process; Inter-Parties Organization for Dialogue (IPOD); the National Consultative Forum (NCF) process and the civil society-led National Consultation for Free and Fair Elections. Most of these processes focused more on a political dialogue or in the case of civil society, the campaign for reform of electoral laws leading up to the February 2016 general elections.

In the aftermath of the February 2016 general elections, these processes continued and were completed by the emergence of the Women Situation Room process. The National Dialogue process will consolidate these efforts into a unified process built on the concept of principles dialogue rather than positional negotiations. Consequently, phase 1 of the process, which is currently ongoing, will involve the following activities:

- 1.1. Meetings of the Initiators (oversers) – a series of meetings IRCU/TEFU/WSR leaders will be necessary to facilitate decision-making and build consensus on the content of the National Dialogue Working Paper.
- 1.2. Retreat for the National Dialogue Technical Committee – a two days retreat for the members of the National Dialogue Technical Committee steering will be convened to orient the members on their mandate and tasks. Selected members the initiators will also attend the retreat.
- 1.3. Pre-dialogue informal consultations – as part of the consensus building process on the National Dialogue Working Paper, a series of informal consultations will be organized. It is envisaged that informal consultations will be held with the following actors:
 - Major political parties (considered as those that are represented in parliament;
 - Civil society – a meeting convened under the auspices of the NGO Forum;



- The business sector – this meeting will involve leaders of the Private Sector Foundation, Uganda Manufacturers Association and Kampala City Traders Association.
- Cultural leaders – this will involve an informal consultation with selected leaders of cultural institutions organized under the auspices of the association of cultural leaders.
- Academia – it is envisaged that an informal consultation will be organized with selected members of academia drawn from both public and private universities and other tertiary institutions.
- Youth – under the auspices of the Uganda Youth Network, an informal consultation will be organized with selected youth leaders drawn from civil society, business and the student movement. It is envisaged that youth leaders in political parties will participate in the informal consultations with the political parties.
- Development partners – an informal briefing session will be organized for development partners.

The objective of these informal consultations is to generate consensus on the scope of the National Dialogue Working Paper (process, content, stakeholders, citizen engagement process, implementation of the outcomes of the consultation, facilitators, guarantors, etc). It is envisaged that consensus will be generated so that at the launching of the formal National Dialogue Process, the stakeholders will adopt the Working Paper as the primary guidance document for the process.

- 1.4. Completion of the National Dialogue Working Paper – the resource persons preparing the National Dialogue Working Paper will participate in all the informal consultations, compile and analyze all the emerging issues, and produce a final working paper. The final paper will be reviewed by the National Dialogue Technical Committee and approved by the convening organizations.
- 1.5. Developing a communication/ media strategy and constituting a media strategy team – strategic communication is one of the key resources needed for the National Dialogue process to succeed. During this phase, it is planned that a communication strategy will be developed, reviewed by the technical committee and approved by the convening organizations. A communications team will be constituted to ensure effective and appropriate messaging for the process.
- 1.6. Launching of the formal National Dialogue Process – Based on the stakeholder categorizations agreed upon in the National Dialogue Working Paper and the prescribed modalities for representation of these stakeholder constituencies, the



formal National Dialogue process will be launched with the first formal convening of the representatives of stakeholder categories. At the launch of the dialogue, the main business of the dialogue will include:

- Adopting of the National Dialogue Working Paper
- Constituting the thematic National Dialogue Working Groups –based on the agreed agenda issues.
- Mandating the process of citizen consultations – the consultations will be pursued on a two-track basis i) regional citizens’ dialogues conducted in all the regions of the country ii) consultations with special interest groups at the national level, such as: professional bodies; the business sector; cultural leaders; political parties; national women leaders; national youth leaders; workers; etc.

Phase 2: National Dialogue Consultations

There are three tracks of consultations envisaged to make the National Dialogue Process truly inclusive.

- 2.1. Regional consultations – this consultation track involves the convening of at least [17] regional dialogues across the country. Representation at the dialogue will be based on the stakeholder interest groups as described in the National Dialogue Working Paper.
- 2.2. Consultations with special interest groups at the national level – this activity involves consultations with representatives of interests groups at the national level.
- 2.3. Working sessions of the thematic working groups – throughout the consultations process, representatives of the thematic working groups will participate in the consultations and continue holding working sessions on the agreed agendas. The full modalities for the working groups will be outlined in the National Dialogue Working Paper.
- 2.4. Continuing informal consultations - this activity involves continuing informal consultations with key interest groups whose actions could promote or undermine the dialogue conversations. These informal consultations will mainly be pursued by the Overseer organizations and/or the convening organizations for the process.

Phase 3: Reconvening of the National Dialogue



Upon the completion of the consultations process, all the representatives of the interest groups will be reconvened to engage in the final deliberations on the consensus documents presented by the thematic groups. This phase of the National Dialogue will conclude focus on concluding the national consensus document and agreeing on the modalities for the National Conference.

Phase 4: The National Conference

The National Conference will be the forum where the National Consensus Document and the associated implementation modalities will be adopted.

Phase 5: Implementation

This phase will focus on ensuring that agreed consensus and commitments are fully implemented by all the designated stakeholders and relevant agencies of state, government and other actors.