

PN-ABX-529



**International Foundation for Electoral Systems**

1620 I STREET, N.W. • SUITE 611 • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006 • (202) 828-8507 • FAX (202) 452-0804

**MEMORANDUM**

DATE: June 6, 1994

TO: Richard Soudriette, Director  
Jeffrey Fischer, Chief of Staff

CC: Norman Olsen, USAID Uganda  
Patrick Fn'Pierre, A.I.D G/DG  
Gary Ouellet, IFES Ethiopia  
Théo Noël, Consultant

FROM: Keith Klein   
Director of Programs, Africa and the Near East

SUBJECT: Trip Report on Uganda Election Evaluation Workshop

INTRODUCTION

From May 19-28, Théophane Noël and I traveled to Uganda to participate in and assist with the facilitation of a workshop to evaluate Uganda's Constituent Assembly elections. This workshop was sponsored by the Constituent Assembly Commission, with financial and organization assistance provided by USAID Uganda. Norman Olsen at USAID Uganda invited IFES to send two election specialists to act as technical resources and facilitators of the workshop.

Uganda held elections for 214 members of a Constituent Assembly (CA) on March 28, 1994. This marked an important step in the Uganda's progress toward democracy, a process which has included elections in 1989 and the drafting of a new constitution in 1992. The Constituent Assembly will meet for up to six months to review, revise, and eventually ratify Uganda's new Constitution. Parliamentary and presidential elections will then be held under the structure specified by the new Constitution, probably sometime in the first half of 1995.

The CA elections were the first competitive elections of this type to be held in Uganda since 1980. They were administered under the direction of the Constituent Assembly Commissioner, Steven Akabway, and his two deputies.

---

BOARD OF DIRECTORS	Charles T. Manatt Chairman	Patricia Hutar Secretary	Judy Fernald	Sonia Picado S	Randal C. Teague Counsel
		Joseph Napolitan Treasurer	Victor Kamber	Richard M. Scammon	
	David R. Jones Vice Chairman	James M. Cannon	Jean-Pierre Kingsley	William R. Sweeney, Jr.	Richard W. Soudriette Director

Trip Report  
Uganda Evaluation Workshop  
June 6, 1994

The Commissioner was assisted by a UNDP-coordinated team of advisors, headed by the Chief Technical Advisor, Robert Henderson. Most Ugandans and international observers agreed that the CA elections, while not without flaws, were generally free and fair and represented a solid step forward toward the establishment of a democratically elected government.

The election evaluation workshop was held on May 23-25 at a hotel in the town of Mbarara, about three hours west of Kampala. Approximately fifty people participated in the workshop. I believe that the workshop was successful in accomplishing its objectives of assessing the lessons learned from the Constituent Assembly election exercise, and making recommendations for the strengthening of Uganda's electoral system prior to the forthcoming parliamentary and presidential elections. The workshop format also shows promise for being replicable in other countries as a mechanism for participatory post-election evaluations.

## THE WORKSHOP REPORT

The draft report of the workshop is appended to this memo. Also attached to this memo is the agenda for the workshop, and a list of participants. The introduction to the report lists the categories of people who participated in the workshop and describes the workshop's objectives and design. These topics will therefore not be repeated here.

The bulk of the workshop report is devoted to the recommendations for improvement to the Ugandan electoral system on which workshop participants reached consensus. While there were some topics extensively discussed by the workshop on which a consensus was not reached, the recommendations on which there was wide agreement represent a nearly comprehensive analysis of steps to be taken to strengthen the Ugandan electoral system. Some of the recommendations will have implications for the draft constitution being discussed by the Constituent Assembly. Others should be reflected in the new electoral law. The executive summary of the report highlights the most important and urgent of the recommendations.

The attached report is only a draft version of the workshop's recommendations. It will undergo final revisions by a task force appointed by the CA Commissioner with the endorsement of the workshop participants. The task force is charged with putting the report in the final form in which it will be presented to the Government. The task force is also responsible for following up on the recommendations, to ensure that as many of them as possible are adopted.

## ACTIVITIES OF THE IFES TEAM

I arrived in Kampala (from Addis Ababa) on Thursday afternoon, May 19. That evening I met with Judith Geist, an American academic who has been working on contract for USAID Uganda for nearly a year as USAID's liaison to the CA Commission. She shared with me the draft agenda for the workshop which she had prepared. We discussed the status of preparations at that point for the workshop, and planned our program for the next day.

On May 20, I met with Judith Geist and Norman Olsen at the USAID mission. Norm Olsen has been closely involved in USAID's support to the CA election process for the past year. It was he who had suggested the election evaluation workshop to the CA Commissioner. The three of us met with Steven Akabway, the Commissioner, at the Commission's offices, to further clarify plans for the workshop. Mid-morning, Judith and I returned to our hotel where Théo Noël had arrived earlier in the morning. The three of us spent the rest of the day meeting with CA Commission senior staff members and in finalizing the workshop program. We met with Rob Henderson, the CTA of the UNDP team, and the four national consultants of that advisory team. We discussed with them their ideas and objectives for the workshop. We also met with David Byakutaga, personal assistant to the Commissioner, who had drafted his own version of a workshop agenda. By the end of the day, we had arrived at an agenda that met with everyone's agreement.

On Saturday afternoon, Théo, Judith and I drove to Mbarara to make sure that all necessary preparations had been made at the Lake View Hotel, where the workshop was to take place.

Most workshop participants arrived at the hotel in Mbarara on Sunday afternoon, on a bus provided by the hotel. No formal workshop activities took place that evening.

The workshop began on Monday morning, and continued through lunch on Wednesday. Most participants stayed at the hotel, and all meals were provided at the hotel. The hotel also provided a conference room comfortably seating the fifty participants around a square table, and areas where small group meetings could take place.

Théo and I assisted where ever we could in the organizational details of the

Trip Report  
Uganda Evaluation Workshop  
June 6, 1994

workshop. We also each facilitated workshop sessions on Monday and Tuesday in which small group tasks were assigned and clarified. We participated in small group sessions, providing comparative technical input when appropriate. On Tuesday evening, we consolidated and typed the recommendations of the small groups so that they could be reviewed by the workshop in plenary session on Wednesday morning.

We returned to Kampala on Wednesday afternoon. Thursday morning, Théo, Judith and I edited the recommendations based on the discussion of the last plenary session, and wrote an introduction to the workshop report. This report was presented to a gathering of donors convened by the UNDP Resident Representative on 3:00 Thursday afternoon. Théo and I both participated in that meeting.

Théo and I, along with Judith and Norm, briefed the U.S. Ambassador, John Carson, at the U.S. Embassy on Friday morning. We met with the USAID Director, Keith Sherper, on Friday afternoon. Also on Friday, we continued to revise and expand the report, drafting, among other things, an Executive Summary.

On Saturday morning, the four of us met with Steven Akabway, the CA Commissioner. We reviewed the status of the draft workshop report and discussed plans for putting the report into its final form and submitting it to the Government.

Théo and I departed for the airport in Entebbe mid-afternoon on Saturday.

## THOUGHTS ON REPLICABILITY

Workshop Location. The Uganda workshop took place in Mbarara, a town about three hours outside of the capital. A few of the participants lived in the Mbarara area, but for the most part, the participants had to travel to Mbarara and to stay in the hotel where the workshop took place. This added to the cost of the workshop, as the lodging and food expenses of the participants were paid by USAID. The location, however, was important to the success of the workshop, especially in its distance from the capital. Most participants arrived on the day before the workshop opened, and stayed until the end. Most participated in every session. This continuity of participation was important, especially since we tried to make the work of each day build on the accomplishments of the previous day. It would have been difficult to arrive in the middle of the workshop and still be

able to contribute productively to the sessions. In addition, the fact that most participants stayed in the hotel meant that there was a lot of informal interaction at mealtimes and in the evenings.

Length. The Mbarara workshop was two-and-a-half days long, beginning on Monday morning, and adjourning at about 2:00 on Wednesday afternoon. I believe that this was an appropriate length of time. It is conceivable that a similar set of objectives could be accomplished in two days, especially if the "ceremonial" opening and closing speeches were eliminated. Having part of a third day, however, was quite valuable, I believe. This meant that the second day, while productive and businesslike, was not overly time-pressured because we knew that we did not have to finish all business that day. It also provided for time for the recommendations of the Day 2 small groups to be typed so that they could be presented formally to a plenary session on the morning of the third day. This was a necessary step, given the objective of arriving at a set of recommendations that had the consensus of the entire group.

Ownership. If the goal of an evaluation workshop is to arrive at a set of recommendations made by host-country participants in an election, then it is crucial that the workshop be organized and run primarily by host country nationals. In Uganda, USAID played an important role as catalyst and funder for the workshop. As the CA Commissioner put it, USAID "sold" the idea to the Commission. The Commission then truly did "buy" the idea, and took ownership of the workshop. It would perhaps be more accurate to say that there was shared ownership between the Commission and USAID. With that shared ownership came some tension about who was in control and who had responsibility for various tasks. For the most part, however, the shared ownership worked well. USAID and IFES kept itself in the background as much as possible. Most sessions at the workshop were chaired by members of the Commission or others chosen by the Commission. The workshop report, while edited by USAID and IFES, will be produced in final form by the Commission.

Workshop Format. The agenda of the workshop offered an alternation between plenary sessions and small group sessions. There was variety in the plenary sessions as well: some featured speakers, others were panel presentations, and still others were large-group discussions. I believe it was good to have a variety of session formats. To the degree possible, discussions of substantive issues was confined to small groups with eight to ten members. The most difficult sessions of the workshop were plenary sessions that attempted to reach consensus on issues and recommendations. Some large group discussion was relatively unproductive, particularly at the end of the first and second days, following small group

presentations. Discussion at this point should be limited to clarification of points made by the small group presenters, and should not attempt to discuss questions to the point of resolution. In the plenary session on the third day, however, when the objective was to reach consensus on a set of recommendations, it was appropriate and necessary to allow discussion on points until an agreement was reached. Skilled chairpersons for these sessions are required, to keep the discussion focussed on the goals for each session. It was also helpful when the recommendations presented to the full workshop on the third day were already edited to reflect the discussions of the previous two days. This requires some hard work on the night between the second and third days to put the recommendations into as final form as possible.

The general sequence of the Mbarara workshop worked well and probably should be retained for other workshops using this model. The sequence was based on the two phases of any evaluation program: (1) looking backward to review a completed activity, assessing accomplishments, strengths and weaknesses; and (2) looking forward to apply lessons learned to future activities. At the Mbarara workshop, the first day focussed on the experiences of the participants in the CA elections, identifying key issues, strengths and weaknesses. The small groups were homogeneous, each made up one of the categories of people at the workshop (CA Commission staff, candidates, NGO representatives, etc.) On the second and third days, the focus shifted to the future. Using the key issues identified on the first day as a guide, small groups were assigned the task of formulating recommendations for improving the electoral system. This time, the small groups were heterogenous, mixing people from various categories, and each was assigned a topic area to focus on (civic education, candidates issues, logistics, permanent electoral commission and electoral timetable, and electoral procedures).

The small groups on the second day were given suggested discussion points within their topic area. These suggested discussion points were derived from the small group reports of the first day, and were typed up by workshop facilitators in the evening between the first and second days. These handouts were followed (perhaps too closely) by the second-day small groups, and were useful in setting an agenda for the two 2-hour periods in which the small groups met.

The second-day small groups were given a second handout, a reporting form for their recommendations. This reporting form asked the secretary of each group to record "Problems identified", "Recommended solutions", "Action by", "Implications for timetable" and "Cost implications." Some groups used these forms and some did not. Very few of the groups really discussed time and cost implications of their recommendations. This would have been useful, but was

perhaps asking too much of the groups with a limited period of time.

Size. About fifty people participated in the workshop. This felt like about the right number. It was large enough to be representative, but small enough so that discussions involving the full group, while difficult, were at least possible in instances where they were necessary.

Mix of Participants. It was commonly agreed among those who attended the workshop that the CA Commissioner did a good job in choosing the workshop participants. Most of the categories of people who were closely involved in the election process were represented (CA staff members, election field staff, NGO representatives, candidates and donors). One category that might have been added was representatives of the central government.

It was appropriate that the largest group was CA Commission senior staff members. It would have been useful to have a few more representatives of election field staff, namely returning officers and presiding officers. It also would have been useful to have more than one losing candidate, since losing candidates might have different issues to address than victorious ones.

Accenting the Positive. An attempt was made to keep the first day's assessment of the CA elections focussed on strengths as well as weaknesses of the process. This was important, not only to prevent the discussion from getting overly negative, but also to remind the participants that their recommendations for the future should look at ways to actively preserve and build on strengths as well as ways to correct flaws and weaknesses.

Outside Facilitators. Théo and I were brought in to the workshop as outside resource people and facilitators. Neither of us had been in Uganda for the election, so we were not there as full participants or as experts on Ugandan elections. Our outsider status allowed us to focus on organizational and logistical issues of the workshop, and also to offer some comparative electoral information and suggestions when appropriate. While our participation was probably not crucial to the success of the conference, I believe it was helpful to have a couple people who could (1) assist with organizational tasks, freeing others to be more productive participants in the workshop, and (2) provide a disinterested outside perspective on some of the electoral issues that came up for discussion.

DRAFT RECOMMENDATIONS

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ELECTION

EVALUATION WORKSHOP

MBARARA 25 MAY 1994

## CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY .....	1
INTRODUCTION .....	4
RATIONALE AND OBJECTIVES .....	4
WORKSHOP ORGANIZATION AND PARTICIPANTS .....	4
ELECTION OVERVIEW .....	5
STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES .....	6
VIEW FROM THE FIELD .....	6
TECHNICAL AND LOGISTICS CONTEXT .....	7
RECOMMENDATIONS .....	8
PERMANENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION .....	8
PUBLIC INFORMATION .....	9
CIVIC EDUCATION .....	10
ELECTION PLANNING, PROCUREMENT AND SECURITY .....	12
PERSONNEL RECRUITMENT, PROTECTION AND TRAINING .....	14
ELECTORAL PROCEDURES .....	15
CANDIDATES' ISSUES .....	18
ELECTORAL TIMETABLE .....	19
APPENDICES	
A. LIST OF WORKSHOP PARTICIPANTS	
B. WORKSHOP AGENDA	

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

An Election Evaluation Workshop was convened in Mbarara by the CA Commissioner on 23-25 May, 1994, to assess the Constituent Assembly electoral process. The purpose of the workshop was to draw lessons from the CA elections for the forthcoming parliamentary and presidential elections, as well as all future elections. The workshop was successful in reaching consensus on a wide-ranging set of recommendations on strengthening Uganda's electoral system and democratic institutions. This report enumerates the recommendations that were agreed upon by workshop participants.

### Participation and Design

The recommendations which follow derive their strength and legitimacy both from the frank and open discussions which accompanied their formulation and from the nature of the participants who gathered at Mbarara. The approximately fifty participants were all intimately involved in the CA elections and thus were able to comment credibly on the strengths and weaknesses of the recently completed election. The sectors represented at the workshop were senior staff members of the CA Commission, including the Commissioner and four national consultants (approximately 20 people); the election field staff, specifically returning officers and presiding officers (4); candidates in the CA elections, both winners and losers (12); NGOs and church groups involved in civic education and monitoring, namely UJCC and NOCEM (9); and the donor community (4). Each group had participated in the election process with a different role and from a different perspective. The participants held a variety of political views, which were also frankly shared. Despite this divergence of electoral and political perspectives, broad agreement was reached on ways and means of strengthening the democratic nature of the election process in Uganda.

The first day of the workshop was dedicated to a review of the strengths and weaknesses of the CA elections. Many strengths were identified which must be maintained and built upon for the forthcoming elections. Weaknesses and problem areas were also identified. The second day was primarily devoted to small group discussions of specific recommendations. Each group, comprised of individuals from a variety of sectors, addressed a single broad topic, such as civic education or electoral procedures, and developed recommendations to respond to the previous day's list of strengths and weaknesses. On the third day, workshop participants in plenary session reached general consensus on the substance and wording of many of the small groups' recommendations.

### Recommendations

Three broad areas of the workshop's recommendations deserve to be highlighted here, concerning the establishment of an Electoral Commission, the computerization of the voters registry, and the planning and scheduling of the forthcoming presidential and general elections.

Electoral Commission. It was univerrally agreed that one of the significant strengths of

the CA election process was the actual and perceived neutrality, integrity and effectiveness of the CA Commissioner and his staff. It was further agreed that the success of the forthcoming elections will also depend on leadership from an Electoral Commission which shares the same characteristics. The workshop has produced several detailed recommendations on how to endow the Electoral Commission with the independence from political forces that it will require to successfully guide the nation through the contentious process of general and presidential elections. An independent Electoral Commission should also be endowed with a permanence, so that it might take its place among the key institutions guaranteeing the permanence of democracy in Uganda.

Registration. One of the most discussed weaknesses of the CA election process was the area of voters registration. The registration system did not succeed in fully accomplishing its two key objectives, that is, identifying eligible voters and assigning voters their voting location. It was agreed that a solid voters registration system is critical to facilitating efficient voting and preventing fraud. Because of the importance of this element in the electoral system, the workshop participants agreed that Uganda should immediately undertake a project to computerize the voters register. While this effort will be time-consuming and costly in the short run, it will save both time and money as it becomes part of the permanent electoral system. It will also be a vital tool to the Electoral Commission in the enormous task of identifying all eligible voters and assigning them a voting location well before election day.

Planning and timing for forthcoming elections. In addressing the issue of planning for the forthcoming elections, workshop participants were very aware of the realities of time. The workshop recommended that several activities begin immediately, so that the country is prepared for presidential and general elections. The first activity, necessary for all others, is establishing a Planning Task Force, preferably within the current CA Commission, that has the staff, finances, and mandate required to focus on preparations for the forthcoming elections. This Task Force would turn over its duties to an interim Election Commission once the latter is established. Secondly, the computerization of the voters registry should begin as soon possible. This will require funding from the donors as well as a capacity on part of the CA Commission to oversee the implementation of the work. Thirdly, strategic planning for general and presidential elections should begin immediately, as a preliminary step to developing a comprehensive budget. Budgeting must precede the forwarding of requests for assistance to donors, and donors should receive those requests within the coming months.

In addition to the need to beginning preparatory work immediately, the workshop also was cognizant of the amount of time required to effectively organize elections. Based on the time needed to (1) computerize the registration system, (2) establish an interim Electoral Commission, (3) draft and promulgate an Electoral Law, (4) request and receive required assistance from donors, (5) review and revise the voters lists, (6) conduct a civic education campaign, (7) nominate parliamentary and presidential candidates, and (8) carry out candidates' campaigns, **the workshop recommended that an election preparation period of ten to twelve**

**months be anticipated.**

Beyond the three topics highlighted above, the workshop made many detailed recommendations on all aspects of the electoral process. Many of these are aimed at preserving the strengths of the CA election process. For instance, it was recommended that candidates meetings be retained as an important component of the campaign process, and that it be mandated by statute that all candidates must participate in the meetings. In addition, a Code of Conduct for candidates should be drafted and incorporated into the Electoral Law. Other recommendations focus on improving areas such as civic education and the flow of information from the Commission. A few areas were discussed extensively without a consensus being reached, such as the degree and type of assistance to be given to illiterate voters, and the type of fundraising permissible for candidates.

In summary, by the closing ceremony of the workshop, participants felt that they had taken part in a valuable exercise, one that has the potential of establishing a firm basis for free and fair general and presidential elections. In a final recommendation, the workshop strongly endorsed the establishment of a follow-up committee mandated to ensure that the recommendations included in this report receives the consideration of all relevant bodies in the Ugandan political system, in the hopes that many, if not all, of the recommendations will be accepted.

## INTRODUCTION

### RATIONALE AND OBJECTIVES

This workshop was convened as a election assessment of the Constituent Assembly electoral process with the purpose of drawing lessons for the forthcoming parliamentary and presidential elections, as well as all future elections. The focus was on both recommendations for improvement and the areas of strength which need to be maintained and built upon. The Commission wanted to capture as much of the electoral experience just completed as possible, and to review it from the perspective of all the categories of actors involved. The specific categories of participants are discussed more fully below; the general objective of obtaining a good cross-section of opinion was achieved.

Specific objectives of the workshop included the development of a consensus on: electoral procedures that should be retained or revised; type, scope and delivery methods for civic and voter education; the areas in which logistics need to be improved or specific methods of distribution or payment altered; and the models of training most suitable for various cadres of elections officials in order to increase the competence and consistency of field staff.

In addition, the cost and time implications of the various recommendations are a central focus for the Commission, since they will have major implications for the timing of the next round of elections. For example, the widely-agreed recommendation that the Voters' Register be computerized has significant implications for the realistic timetable which forthcoming elections will confront. In general, the Commission expected to develop from the workshop output a firm set of procedural recommendations which can now be translated into budgetary and scheduling terms, and the political authorities appropriately apprised.

This exercise served also as an "agenda setting" effort for the Commission in its next steps. From the workshop output the Commission can develop its near term work plan, with a clear sense of all of the priority areas in which immediate planning or action should be undertaken. In addition, it serves as a systematization of the needs likely to be the basis for requests to the donor community.

### WORKSHOP ORGANIZATION AND PARTICIPANTS

The workshop was held in Mbarara, at the Lake View Hotel, in order to afford participants an opportunity to interact over a three-day period in a pleasant setting conducive to concentration on the business at hand, and away from the distractions and burdens of the normal work environment. This was a relatively informal workshop, without many official presentations or papers, but concentrating on small group identifications of the key issues, discussion of recommendations, and finally plenary consideration of the output of the small groups.

To obtain a variety of views, the participants were drawn from the Commission itself, from the Commission's field staff, from the CA delegates recently elected or defeated, from the NGO civic education and monitoring groups, and from the donor community. Approximately 50 people were invited and deliberate efforts were made during the workshop to elicit a cross-fertilization of views.

Initially, the groups were constituted according to the categories of participants outlined above, and these groups were set the task of identifying -- as the "experts" in that particular field -- the major issues and problems that the workshop needed to consider in their specific areas. The workshop facilitation staff then extracted a set of five major topical areas, and constituted a second set of small groups on the principle of an optimal mixture of both expertise and outside perspectives in each group. For example, some candidates found themselves coming to grips with elections procedures issues, some civic educators/monitors found themselves dealing with issues relating to the logistics of election administration, and some donors found themselves reviewing the experience with candidates' meetings and campaigning.

Finally, plenary sessions dealt with the output of the small groups, raising additional points, clarifications, or objections, and developing a consensus wherever possible. In a few instances, consensus proved elusive, and these are clearly areas in which further review by the Commission and the relevant political authorities will need to be done. These few areas of "no consensus" are noted in the text of the recommendations. From the final plenary, a set of recommendations was adopted, and these are set out below.

A full list of participants is appended.

## ELECTION OVERVIEW

Uganda's CA elections, held on March 28, 1994, represented the culmination of a nine-month long period of planning for the final stage in the systematic process of constitution-making that Uganda embarked upon in late 1988. The election was viewed as a watershed by the Government and the electorate alike -- an opportunity to break from the disastrous series of election miscarriages which had plagued past governments, and an opportunity which, if missed, could plunge Uganda back into the unproductive and even violent controversies of recent decades.

In the event, the election was a successful one. It forms the basis for renewed faith in the capacity and integrity of the Government of Uganda to carry out the progressive democratisation that it has promised. While there were well-noted administrative flaws, the absence of manipulation and the transparency of the electoral procedures marked the beginning of an era of heightened expectations from both the electorate itself and the international community. The international observers by and large expressed their satisfaction with the conduct and outcome of the election. More to the point, the Ugandan electorate moved a vote

of confidence by virtue of the scarcity of the complaints voiced since the election. The participants were thus in the enviable position of addressing an electoral event adjudged a success, with notable strengths to build on.

The workshop began with an overview of the electoral process and the achievements and shortcomings, presented by the Commissioner from the point of view of the policy issues, the Chief Technical Adviser on the technical and logistics involved, and a representative of the donor community from the point of view of those friends of Uganda involved in providing material and moral support. Several themes from this election overview can be mentioned to convey the context within which detailed discussions and recommendations took place.

#### STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES.

A consistent theme was openness of the electoral process to evaluation, to constructive criticism, and at this juncture to evaluation. The areas toward which assessment might productively be directed were suggested by the Commissioner -- registration, the whole panoply of electoral procedures, the involvement of the donor community and its financing constraints, necessary technical assistance, civic and voter education, the role of the RCs, the Commission's own public relations and press relations. Indeed, one of the strengths of the process was the openness of the Commission to suggestion and offers of assistance from outside.

A representative of the donor community carried the discussion of strengths and weakness further, pinpointing the most successful elements of the election as the candidates' meetings, the local monitoring effort, the performance of the presiding officers, the transparency of the vote count, the extensive and reasonably unbiased reporting by the press, and the basic voter education which translated into high registration and turnout rates, and low levels of spoilt ballots.

On the side of weaknesses, the registration process, some of the aspects of the arrangement of the polling places and the way in which they to some degree compromised ballot secrecy, and the variance in methods of assisting illiterate voters, were pointed out. The broader issues of civic education also remain an unfulfilled need.

#### VIEW FROM THE FIELD.

The representative of the central government (CGR) further pinpointed the issues most needing consideration, among them the inadequate civic education and lack of seriousness of some civic educators, the initial exclusion of the RCs, inadequate security of election documents, bribery and buying of votes, unnecessary transport of voters from towns to other areas, and the lack of complete consistency in the decisions made at the last minute to address the errors in the registers vis-a-vis polling day.

TECHNICAL AND LOGISTICS CONTEXT.

The technical advisory staff to the Commission stressed the overriding issue of the numbers involved in the exercise -- huge numbers of materials, transport needs, difficulties in calculating needs due to data insufficiency, training needs, and issues in the movement of finance through the system and to the points at which it was needed on a timely basis.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

### **PERMANENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

Strong agreement was found among workshop participants on the need to establish a permanent and independent Electoral Commission. The Commission for the Constituent Assembly provides a real strength to build on, in the view of the participants. There was strong support for retaining much of the CA Commission's present mandate and staffing, with a view to maintaining the major progress made to date and the experience of senior Commission staff, including the Commissioner.

Participants further recognised that the credibility of forthcoming electoral events will continue to be a function in part of the perceived independence of the Electoral Commission. The discussion culminated in a strong argument for the drafting of the necessary substantive legislation to ensure the Commission's independence, both in terms of the projected interim Commission which will carry on the planning for the forthcoming elections prior to the adoption of the new Constitution, and the composition and legal framework relating to the permanent Commission in the Constitution itself.

Detailed recommendations were also made on the structure and staffing of a future Electoral Commission, and on securing sufficient resources for carrying out its mandate.

#### 1) A PERMANENT AND INDEPENDENT COMMISSION

- (a) An independent and permanent Electoral Commission should be established by act of Parliament. The Commission chairman and other commissioners should be selected by the Public Appointments Committee of Parliament, and the selection approved by the full Parliament.
- (b) Commission members should have a term of seven years, renewable once. Commission members may be removed from office only by act of Parliament. To initiate the removal of a Commission member, any member of the public may, through his/her member of Parliament, present a petition to the Public Appointments Committee, or any member of Parliament may present a petition to the Committee. The Committee should thereupon form itself into a tribunal to investigate the complaint. If the tribunal finds sufficient cause, the Committee will move a resolution in Parliament to have the member of the Commission removed. The Parliament will then act on the recommendation of the tribunal.

(2) STRUCTURE OF THE COMMISSION

- (a) The structure of the permanent Election Commission should be as stipulated in the draft Constitution. The Commission shall have a chairman and not less than two and not more than six other members who shall form a policy-making body.
- (b) The Chairman of the Commission shall not necessarily be a judge, but shall be given the same status as a judge. He/She shall have the following qualifications:
  - administrative experience
  - openness of mind and an ability to empty him/herself of bias
  - a university degree or equivalent
  - high moral character and proven integrity.
- (c) The Commission should be supported by a secretariat, headed by an executive secretary. There shall be established within the secretariat various departments, such as Register of Voters, Logistics, Civic Education and Training, etc.
- (d) The District Executive Secretaries (DES) should remain district returning officers, but permanent election officers should be named in each district to maintain the permanent electoral structures (registration lists, lists of trained election officials, etc.). The district electoral staff should be of a size appropriate to the district as determined by the Commission.

3. THE RESOURCES OF THE PERMANENT COMMISSION

- (a) Appropriate legislation should be made to ensure smooth transfer of the Constituent Assembly Commission's infrastructure to the interim and/or permanent Electoral Commission.
- (b) The permanent Commission should acquire a permanent home. The government should actively move forward and begin locating a building for the Commission so that donors can be encouraged to assist.
- (c) Financing for the Election Commission should be as stipulated in the draft Constitution:
  - i) The appointment of officers and employees of the Election Commission shall be made by the Commission acting in consultation with the Public Service Commission.
  - ii) Parliament shall ensure that reasonably adequate resources and facilities are provided to the Commission to enable it to perform its functions

effectively.

- iii) The Commission shall be a self-accounting institution and shall deal directly with the Ministry responsible for finance on matters relating to its finances.
- iv) The administrative expenses of the Commission including salaries, allowances and pensions payable to or in respect of persons serving with the Commission shall be charged on the Consolidated Fund.

### **PUBLIC INFORMATION**

A crucial responsibility of an Electoral Commission is to facilitate a flow of information between itself and the public, so that the Commission's actions are informed by the input of the public, particularly political actors, and so that the public is kept well informed of the actions of the Commission. This section lists the workshop's recommendations on the ways and means to ensure that adequate flow of information.

#### 1. FLOW OF INFORMATION FROM THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION TO THE PUBLIC

- (a) In order to prevent confusion among the electorate and candidates, the Electoral Commission should minimise the issuing of ad hoc rules, particularly during the final stages of the electoral process.
- (b) RCs and other local leaders should be used to disseminate information to the grassroots to the greatest extent possible.
- (c) It is the responsibility of the Electoral Commission to keep district-level officials, religious institutions, and other community leaders up to date with the activities of the Commission through the electoral period. The radio and local newspapers should be intensively used for purposes of keeping these groups and the general public informed of the Commission's proceedings and of the stages in the electoral process.
- (d) The permanent Election Commission should establish a strong public relations department. Two specialists should be employed for the purpose of handling the flow of information to the print and electronic media.

2. RELATIONS WITH THE MEDIA

- (a) The permanent Election Commission, particularly its chairman, is encouraged to meet with the press regularly.
- (b) While openness and free flow of information is encouraged, fair and responsible reporting should be expected from the press.
- (c) Training seminars for the candidates should be conducted to improve on their ability to use the media.
- (d) The accessibility to the media by the candidates should be improved. Ways and means should be provided to give equal coverage to the candidates.

**CIVIC EDUCATION**

Civic education in the Ugandan context refers to both the specific information that the electoral should receive regarding how, why and where to vote in an upcoming election as well as the broader program of educating the public on the rights and responsibilities of the citizen and the politician in a democracy. The workshop participants agreed that the Electoral Commission should have a lead role in both types of civic education, in collaboration with non-governmental organizations, including religious institutions. This section lists the workshop's recommendations on the contents, duration and implementation of an ongoing civic education program.

1. ROLE OF THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION AND NGOS IN CIVIC EDUCATION

- (a) A longterm and comprehensive civic education program should be developed by the permanent Electoral Commission in cooperation with other interested parties, such as the Government of Uganda, NGOs and religious institutions.
- (b) The Electoral Commission should coordinate all civic education activities throughout the country. The Electoral Commission should also develop standard training materials, in cooperation with NGOs and religious institutions, to be used by civic educators nationwide.

2. CONTENT OF THE MESSAGE TO BE DELIVERED

- (a) The ongoing civic education program should cover civil rights, duties and freedoms of citizens in Uganda. Emphasis should be put on unity of purpose and tolerance.

- (b) The message content of the civic education program should include:
  - (i) Topical issues in the Draft Constitution during the period of debate on that document. In the longer term, civic education should promote awareness of the important aspects of Uganda's Constitution, and foster a respect for the Constitution as the supreme law of the land.
  - (ii) A historical background on previous Constitutions.
  - (iii) Electoral procedures. The civic education program should cover the rights and obligations of voters in a democratic system, and should also foster a respect for the electoral law on the part of voters, candidates and political leaders.
- (c) Civic education materials should be developed and disseminated. In the period of debate on the draft Constitution, an abridged version of that document should be translated into more languages and disseminated widely. In the longer term, the same should be done with the ratified Constitution.

### 3. DURATION OF CIVIC EDUCATION PROGRAM

- (a) A program in civic education should be an on-going and permanent feature of formal and non-formal education in Uganda.
- (b) Civic education should be incorporated into the school curriculum at all levels. It should also be incorporated into adult education programs.
- (c) In preparing and educating the electorate prior to an election, there should be intensive civic and voter education efforts initiated as far in advance as practical prior to the beginning of the electoral process.

### 4. IDENTIFICATION AND QUALIFICATIONS OF THE CIVIC EDUCATORS

- (a) There should be a willingness on the part of an individual to take time off to do civic education.
- (b) NGOs and religious institutions should consult with local communities, particularly churches, schools, opinion leaders, women clubs, etc., when selecting civic educators at the local level. The acceptability of an individual by the local community should be an important criterion in the selection of a civic educator.

5. TRAINING OF CIVIC EDUCATORS

- (a) The Government of Uganda should support civic education training through the Independent Electoral Commission.
- (b) The Electoral Commission should prepare, and periodically update, a standard training manual for civic education in consultation with NGOs, religious institutions and other voluntary organizations.
- (c) NGOs, church groups and other voluntary organizations should be encouraged by the Electoral Commission to undertake programs for the training of civic educators. The training programs should be carefully designed so that the civic educators are well-prepared to disseminate information on democracy, the Constitution and elections effectively.
- (d) During the period of the Constituent Assembly debate on the Draft Constitution, CA Delegates should be encouraged to receive training in civic education, focussing on the important elements of the Draft Constitution. Those receiving the civic education training should be provided with materials, such as summaries of the Draft Constitution in local languages, and expected to conduct consultations with people in their constituencies regarding constitutional issues.

6. SPECIFIC TARGET GROUPS

Civic education should be made available to all the people of Uganda. Programs in civic education should also target specific groups in the population, to ensure that they are reached and their particular needs are met. These groups include women, youth, opinion leaders, and institutions of higher learning. The Electoral Commission should identify other target groups as it deems necessary.

7. ROLE OF RCS

RCs are an important target group to receive civic education training. In addition, civic educators should work with RCs and other local leaders to mobilise the people for civic education.

**ELECTION PLANNING, PROCUREMENT AND SECURITY**

The current CA Commission and the future Electoral Commission have the opportunity to build on the experience of the CA elections in carrying out the planning, budgeting and procurement for the upcoming general and presidential elections. The workshop recommended that this

planning process begin immediately within the structure of the current CA Commission. Recommendations on the mechanisms for procuring election materials and on ensuring their security were also made.

## 1. ELECTION PLANNING

- (a) To address the need for timely mobilization of funds for electoral exercises and for the timely delivery of materials to the field, the planning of electoral processes should begin as early as possible, bearing in mind the set timetable for each stage of electoral activity.
- (b) A Planning Task Force should be established within the current Constituent Assembly Commission to start planning for all future elections. This Task Force should be established and begin its work immediately.
- (c) The Task Force should immediately begin work on a contingency electoral plan, working under the assumption that general and presidential elections will be held prior to the expiry of the current Government's mandate on 25 January 1995.
- (d) The Task Force and the future Electoral Commission should adopt a "bottom up" method of collecting data. One of the Task Force's first activities should be the gathering of required data from the field. Much of the required knowledge and information about the number and location of the "end users" of the election process, i.e., the voters, has been acquired in the course of the recent CA elections. The Task Force should immediately begin efforts to centralize and systematize that information.
- (e) With the information gathered from the field (and from the CA Commission's experience), a comprehensive list of all the required materials for the next elections should be drawn up. These two steps should precede election budgeting.
- (f) Budgeting for the future election should begin as soon as possible by the Task Force. A comprehensive budget should be prepared before requests are made to donors for the procurement of election materials. Budgeting should be carried out in consultation with interested parties such as the Government and donors.

## 2. PROCUREMENT OF ELECTION MATERIALS

- (a) Whenever possible, donors should be encouraged to procure some of the election materials on behalf of the Electoral Commission, so as to reduce delays caused by red tape and bureaucracy.

- (b) Because the present procurement procedure is rather cumbersome, the future Electoral Commission should work out a Standard Procurement Procedure in consultation with donors and any other interested parties. The goal is to initiate procurement early enough so that items purchased will be delivered to the location where they are needed in time.
- (c) It will be useful for the Election Commission to make a distinction, in its budgeting and requests to donors, between capital items and consumables to be procured. This is in the light of the fact that a number of capital items such as ballot boxes and communication equipment are already in place and can only be improved upon where there is need.

### 3. SECURITY OF MATERIALS

- (a) Registration and election materials at the local level should be stored in as secure a location as possible.
- (b) Storage facilities at the national and district levels should be made available where they do not exist or improved upon where they exist.
- (c) At the local level, a strict inventory of items issued to election officials should be established and maintained. When election materials remain unused, they should immediately be collected from the villages/parishes and returned to the district headquarters for safe custody.

### 4. VEHICLES

While recognizing financial constraints of the Government, the Government should endeavour to provide vehicles or other appropriate modes of transportation (motorcycles, bicycles or boats) to the election officials. Other requirements such as funds for fuel and repair/maintenance should also be provided to election officials in the field.

### 5. PROVIDING FINANCING AT THE DISTRICT LEVEL

- (a) When allocating funds to the districts, special features peculiar to a particular district should be taken into consideration in determining the size of the allocation. The features to be taken into consideration include at a minimum the size of the district, terrain, and road conditions. The budget should also realistically take into consideration the length of the electoral exercise.
- (b) The Returning Officer should be provided with a detailed budget breakdown for his/her funds at the beginning of the electoral exercise.

- (c) The money for districts should be sent to the appropriate banks which have branches in that district.

## PERSONNEL RECRUITMENT, PROTECTION AND TRAINING

A major task of the Electoral Commission will be the recruitment and training of election personnel. Based on the experience of the CA elections, care must be taken in the selection of election officers, and mechanisms must be put in place to protect them from undue political pressure. The workshop addressed these issues and also made recommendations on the training of election officials at all levels.

### 1. RETURNING OFFICERS

- (a) District Executive Secretaries (DES) should be retained as District Returning Officers because they are already accounting officers and they have a well-established administrative system.
- b) Returning Officers (ROs) are vulnerable to political pressure from high-ranking government officers, CGRs, etc. In the future, ROs and other election officials should be legally protected.
- (c) The Chairman of the Election Commission should be accorded the status of a High Court Judge. The legal and moral authority of the Chairman should reach down to the Returning Officers, and to other election officials, and offer them adequate protection from undue pressure.

### 2. SUPERVISORS

A cadre of supervisors should be established by the Electoral Commission as a link between the ROs and the officers at the parish/village level.

### 3. RECRUITMENT OF ELECTION OFFICIALS

- (a) Registration officers, presiding officers for candidates' meetings, and presiding officers for elections should be recruited on merit. Applicants for these positions should be recruited through public advertising at the national and district levels. The applications should be reviewed and shortlisted at the district level by the RO and the District Service Committee. Interviews and appointments of candidates should be carried out by the RO and members of the District Service Committee.

25

- (b) Qualifications for each category of election official should be determined by the Election Commission according to their respective duties and responsibilities. For Registration Officers and Assistants, and Presiding Officers and Polling Assistants, the minimum qualification should be 'O' level. For Presiding Officers for the Candidates' Meetings, the minimum qualifications should be a university degree or equivalent and sufficient experience and maturity to command the respect of the candidates and the public.
- (c) The recruited officers should not be vetted by anyone. Any objection to a particular electoral officer should be addressed to the Chairman of the Election Commission and no one else.
- (d) The role of the RCs should be limited to assisting in mobilizing citizens to register and to vote.
- (e) As individuals, RC members may apply for positions as election officials.

#### 4. TERMS AND CONDITIONS OF SERVICE

- (a) Terms and conditions of service of election officials should be clearly spelled out at the beginning of the exercise, and should be uniform throughout the country.
- (b) Sanctions for non-performance of duties of local election officials should be left to the Returning Officers in each district.

#### 5. TRAINING OF ELECTION OFFICIALS

- (a) In the past, the quality of training has suffered from being passed through too many levels of trainers. In the future, the levels of training of election officials should be reduced to the minimum.
- (b) High training standards should also be maintained by providing standardized training materials to all trainees so that they can make reference to them when needed.
- (c) Adequate time should be given to the training of trainers and trainees.

### **ELECTORAL PROCEDURES**

The workshop participants considered electoral procedures for each of the main phases of the CA election, including demarcation of constituencies, registration of voters, nomination

26

of candidates, and polling day procedures. Consensus was reached on the following recommendations.

1. DEMARCATION OF CONSTITUENCIES

The Electoral Commission should be responsible for demarcating constituencies. It is recommended that it continue to take the County as a basic unit for a Constituency, only dividing counties with extraordinarily large populations.

2. REGISTRATION

- (a) Registration should be computerised for easy storage of information, to facilitate continuous updating, and to ease display. The capacity to print the register in several different formats will facilitate verification of voters rolls and the calculation of supplies needed overall and in each polling station.
- (b) The Computer Section in the Independent Electoral Commission will need adequate equipment, staffing and training. The funding for this should be taken as an immediate priority. Requests for assistance from donor community should be placed now.
- (c) Political authorities should consult the Commission before announcing the polling dates, in order to ensure that the revised registers have been completed and are satisfactory.
- (d) Revision of the Voters Register should be carried out at village level. The Voters Register should be in alphabetical order by village for purposes of register revision.
- (e) The staff of the Electoral Commission involved in revision of the registers should document all changes and maintain such documentation to ensure accountability for all alterations in the registers.
- (f) On staffing, there should be a Parish registration and revision clerk appointed by the Commission and accountable to the Electoral Commission, but working closely with the local authority for authenticating voters' credentials.
- (g) Registration officers should be appointed or recruited from the polling station areas because they know the people well.
- (h) To identify the eligibility of a voter in respect to age, the following may be used: Birth Certificates, Baptismal Cards, Marriage Certificates, poll tax tickets, or

otherwise any credible witnesses.

- (i) Citizenship is a constitutional issue. Local authorities should resolve citizenship where disputed.
- (j) A revised register should be published one month prior to elections and no more alterations should be made until after that election.
- (k) To ensure security of elections materials, used/unused documents should be strictly accounted for and promptly retrieved after registration or voting. Secure storage facilities should be established at appropriate and strategic places.

### 3. NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES

- (a) Proposers and voters to second a candidate must be brought in person on Nomination day with their Registration Certificates and poll tax tickets.
- (b) The nomination period should last three days.
- (c) Candidates should pay a fee that should be non-refundable; this fee should be directed to the Electoral Commission.
- (d) Candidates should be able to write and speak English, and interpret issues properly. Implementation of this recommendation will require modification to the Declaration of Qualifications for a candidate (Form DQ).

### 4. POLLING PROCEDURES

- (a) Candidates agents should witness the checking of election supplies/materials at the Sub-county level 24 hours before the polls open.
- (b) There should be three seals supplied with the election materials so that after checking in the presence of candidates agents the materials are returned to the box and the box resealed.
- (c) Security should be provided by the local authority and the Ugandan Police and the people should also be sensitized on providing security for the supplies.
- (d) Photographs of candidates on the ballots should be clear regardless of the colour of print.
- (e) Ballot design, particularly the use of candidates' symbols, pictures and names,

should be further reviewed.

- (f) Ballot papers should be stamped as they are handed to the voter, to prevent the introduction of fraudulent ballots.
- (g) Voting should continue to be done in the open for maximum transparency, but voting tables should have a short screen that will hide the voter's hands and ballots while s/he marks the ballot, to insure secrecy.
- (h) Civic education should be intensified to enable illiterate voters to vote without assistance.
- (i) Mobile voting stations should be used in areas where the electorate has extreme difficulties moving to the polls, such as in the Ssesse islands; a procedure for extending voting rights to Ugandans outside the country should also be devised.
- (j) The Electoral Commission should verify that the ink used is actually indelible, and should issue complete instructions and provide training on its proper use.
- (k) The polling officials should stamp the voter's registration certificate after voting.

#### 5. COUNTING, TALLYING AND ANNOUNCEMENT OF RESULTS

- (a) Under the final authority of the Presiding Officers, voters should continue to be involved in adjudicating spoiled ballots.
- (b) For transparency, the monitors should be present at tallying at all levels of the tallying procedure and at all elections.
- (c) The results should be released progressively as received and final results released as quickly as possible; to reduce tension the results should also be announced at the electoral area level immediately upon completion of the tally.

One issue remained contentious: the need to provide assistance to illiterate voters. The sub-committee dealing with the issue recommended the elimination of assistance to illiterates, because of the actual experience with abuse during the CA elections. In plenary discussion many participants felt that assistance to illiterates would realistically have to continue, although everyone agreed that the civic education efforts should be directed at equipping illiterate voters with the necessary skills to vote unassisted.

## CANDIDATES' ISSUES

The workshop discussed the issues of the campaign, the levelling of the playing field and the role of the political administration. They didn't consider the issues of relations with the Electoral Commission and the access to the media.

### 1. CAMPAIGN

- (a) A parish should be maintained as a meeting place for candidates meetings and these meetings should be conducted at intervals.
- (b) The electorate should be given enough time to exhaust their questions.
- (c) Candidates meetings should be retained and made mandatory and statutory and should be supplementary to the candidates' own meetings and rallies. (Note: CA Statute 29 prohibits public meetings other than candidates'. Without being debated thoroughly, it appeared that a majority of participants supported free campaigning. The delegates group on the first day of discussion also supported this view.)
- (d) No gifts or donations should be given by the candidate to groups or individuals in his/her constituency with the purpose of soliciting votes. The electorate should not expect such gifts or donations from the candidates.
- (e) A Code of Conduct for candidates' campaigns should be drafted and included in the Electoral Law, by which all candidates would agree to abide at the time of their nomination. The Code of Conduct should cover such issues as the use of abusive language and personality and sectarian politics. In its drafting and ratification by Parliament, the Code of Conduct should receive the broadest possible consensus among political actors.
- (f) The problem of vote buying should be addressed through legal sanctions and civic education. The civic education program should emphasize that people should not accept bribes for their votes and should not sell their votes.

The Electoral Commission should implement these recommendations once enacted. The Election Rules have to be amended for recommendations (c) and (e).

### 2. ROLE OF POLITICAL ADMINISTRATION

- (a) RCs should be involved in mobilizing citizens for registration, for identification of registrants, for consultation, for identifying polling stations and for reminding

people the day of voting. They inform people about candidates meetings, assist in mobilizing the voters and maintain law and order during the meetings. Copies of the Voters Registers should also be displayed at the RCs. (Note: it appeared that a line has to be drawn on where the involvement of the RCs in the political process starts and ends.)

The Parliament should be responsible to enact and implement these recommendations.

### 3. LEVELING THE PLAYING FIELD

The following recommendations were discussed by participants in the workshop. While these recommendations seemed to be favored by the majority of the participants, complete consensus was not reached. Political leaders and other interested parties are therefore encouraged to continue to discuss these issues so that they are resolved prior to the upcoming electoral exercise.

- (a) After nomination, civil servants and political appointees, including Ministers, should relinquish their offices and go on leave without pay. (Note: this issue will need further debate because the problem pointed out was in the enforcement of the instructions concerning the use of public facilities during campaigning by political appointees. Ministers have to administer the country even if they are candidates.)
- (b) Punitive action should be taken against public servants siding with individual candidates.
- (c) Candidates should be required to declare their personal wealth or financial resources at nomination.

These recommendations should be referred to the Parliament.

### **ELECTORAL TIMETABLE**

It was noted that a contradiction exists between the legal and political timetable for elections and a realistic timetable for preparations from an administrative point of view. The legal and political timetable is influenced by the fact that the mandate of the current government expires on January 25, 1995. Conservative estimates of the time required for thorough and rational administrative arrangements indicate that elections should be held no sooner than eleven months from the current date.

TIMETABLE FOR GENERAL AND PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

It is advisable that a date for the presidential and general elections be set taking into consideration the need for approximately six months to complete the computerization of the voters register, and the need for adequate time for (1) review and revision of the register, (2) civic education, (3) nomination of candidates, and (4) campaigning.

## APPENDIX A

### List of Participants

1. Mr. Stephen Akabway CA Commissioner
2. Mrs. Gladys M.K. Nduru CA Commission
3. Mr. Robert Henderson CTA/CA Commission
4. Mr. Justus B. Mugaju CA Commission
5. Mrs. Ruth Mugerwa CA Commission
6. Engineer Apolo Barozandiyo CA Commission
7. Mr. Lino Musana CA Commission
8. Mr. Z. Adolu-Otojoka CA Commission
9. Mr. Joshua Wamala CA Commission
10. Mr. David M. Byakutaga CA Commission
11. Mr. Alele Pedro Echel CA Commission
12. Mr. Mike Onzi CA Commission
13. Mr. Ngondwe Kayonga CA Commission
14. Mrs. Jovita Byamugisha CA Commission
15. Ms. Joy Muhereza CA Commission
16. Ms. Imelda Atai CA Commission
17. Ms. Macrina Birungi CA Commission
18. Ms. Bernadette Nambasa CA Commission
19. Prof. Semakula Kiwanuka School of Post-Graduate  
Studies, Makerere
20. Mr. Dick Nyai CA Delegate
21. Mr. David Onyok Etuko CA Delegate
22. Mr. Bamwende Toterebuka CA Delegate
23. Prof. Senteza-Kajubi CA Delegate
24. Hon. Dr. C.W.B. Kiyonga CA Delegate

25. Mr. Patrick Mwondha	CA Delegate
26. Eng. Winnie Byanyima	CA Delegate
27. Hajjat Janat Mukwaya	CA Delegate
28. Mrs. Esther Dhugira	CA Delegate
29. Mr. Charles Rwomushana	CA Delegate
30. Hon. David Pulkol	CA Delegate
31. Ms. Mary Salesa Ondoga	Presiding Officer
32. Mr. Andrew Muwonge	Returning Officer
33. Ms. Gladys Aserua	Returning Officer
34. Fr. John C. Maviiri	UJCC
35. Rev. James Ndyabahika	UJCC
36. Mr. Joseph Oneka	UJCC
37. Fr. Gerard Nsamba	UJCC, Mbarara
38. Mrs. Solomy Balungi Bossa	NOCEM
39. Mr. Geoffrey Onegi-Obel	NOCEM
40. Mr. J.K. Zirabamuzaale	NOCEM
41. Ms. Josephine Kalema	NOCEM
42. Mr. Wafula Ogutu	UNEP/Press
43. Mr. Sikubwabo Kyeyune	CGR Mbarara
44. Mr. A. Sabiiti	RC V Chairman, Mbarara
45. Mr. R. Rutehenda	Chairman, RC IV, Mbarara Town
46. Mr. Norman Olsen	USAID
47. Ms. Judith Geist	USAID
48. Mrs. Janet Beik	US Embassy
49. Ms. Grace Jaasi	US Embassy
50. Mr. A. Bossert	Konrad Adenauer Found.
51. Mr. Daniel S. Iga	DANIDA

52. Mr. Justus Muhanguzi

Journalist

53. Mr. Keith Klein

International Foundation  
for Electoral Systems  
(IFES), Washington D.C.

54. Mr. Theophane Noel

IFES

APPENDIX B  
WORKSHOP OBJECTIVES AND AGENDA

**CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ELECTION  
EVALUATION WORKSHOP**

**OBJECTIVES**

The objective of this workshop is to critically evaluate various aspects of the recently held Constituent Assembly elections with a view to drawing lessons that should be useful in the future. Specifically, the workshop will:

1. Permit functional groups to pursue a full airing of the problem areas and issues important to them (not all of which will necessarily be resolved during the workshop).
2. Produce a set of recommendations regarding the following:
  - Desirable alterations in election operations and procedures;
  - Establishment of a permanent voters' roll, methods of maintaining it, location, methods of establishing voter eligibility;
  - Establishment of a permanent Elections Commission, its budgetary and staffing needs;
  - Means of carrying out an effective civic education and voters education program prior to general elections;
  - The role of domestic monitors; international observers; external technical assistance.
3. Development of a tentative but realistic timeframe for the holding of general elections, based on the experience of organizing the Constituent Assembly Elections.

Participants have been selected from various sectors involved in the Constituent Assembly elections:

Representatives from Delegates and former Constituent Assembly candidates;

Representatives of donors;

Representatives of staff from Constituent Assembly Commission, including field staff;

Representatives from indigenous monitoring and civic education organizations.

31

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ELECTION  
EVALUATION WORKSHOP

AGENDA

Monday, 23 May.

9:00-11:00      **Welcome and Opening Remarks**

9:00            Central Government Representative  
9:30            CA Commissioner  
10:15          Norman Olsen, USAID

11:00-11:30    Tea

11:30-1:00     **Plenary Session**

11:30          Presentation by Rob Henderson: Overview  
                 and Assessment of the Election Process  
12:30          Discussion

1:00-2:30      Lunch

2:30-4:00      **Small Group Discussion**

Functional groups meet to define strengths and weaknesses of the electoral process: what worked well and areas where changes and improvements are needed.

Candidates  
Observers/monitors  
Field elections officials  
Commission staff  
Donors

4:00-4:30      Tea

4:30-6:30      **Plenary Session: Reports from Functional Groups on Key Issues to be Addressed**

Quick summary of major issues identified presented verbally to the plenary by each group, followed by brief discussion.

Following session, rapporteurs for discussion groups present written summaries to workshop facilitators.

7:30            Dinner



Tuesday, May 24.

9:00-10:30      **Panel Presentation: The Election Process from the Perspective of NGOs**

Representatives of NOCEM, UJCC and ????

10:30-11:00      Tea

11:00-1:00      **Small Group Discussion: Problem Areas and Recommendations**

Groups to be formed by Workshop facilitators. Issues to be addressed might include:

Registration  
Campaigning and Candidates Meetings  
Civic Education  
Communication and Public Information  
Polling Official Training  
Electoral Operations and Procedures  
Financing and Financial Management  
Domestic Monitoring  
Technical Assistance

1:00-2:00      Lunch

2:00-4:00      **Small Group Discussion**

Continuation of the morning's groups, finishing with summarizing of recommendations.

4:00-4:30      Tea

4:30-6:00      **Plenary Session**

Groups present recommendations (or additional problem identification) to plenary session.

6:00-7:30      Rapporteurial tasks -- group rapporteurs, conference facilitators draw up preliminary statement of recommendations.

7:00-8:30      Reception

8:30              Dinner

Wednesday, May 25.

9:00-10:30      **Plenary Session**

a.) Presentation of draft recommendations as synthesized by facilitators/rapporteurs

b.) Forward look at tentative schedule for general elections process

10:30-11:00	<b>Plenary</b> Discussion of above from plenary floor
11:00-11:30	Tea
11:30-1:00	<b>Official Closing: RC5 Chairman, Mbarara District</b>
1:00-2:30	Lunch
2:30-3:00	<b>Plenary: Any other business</b>
3:00	Departure for Kampala