

BLACK MONDAY

Issue 13, December 2013

Newsletter

Citizen action against theft of our money without SHAME!

EDITORIAL

The Black Monday Movement one year down the road has been instrumental in exposing these extreme cases and promises more next year and years to come with a fully reloaded campaign, to rally more concerned citizens to raise up and take centre stage in demanding for transparency and accountability of public funds and the return of stolen taxpayers money.

In recent years, the government of Uganda has tried to be vocal about fighting corruption in the country. A series of laws, policies and specialized institutions aimed at reducing corruption are in place. These are backed by judicial structures that include the Anti-corruption Court despite controversy about its legality. However all this has not stopped the plundering of public funds as evidenced by the Audit General and the IGG reports. Glaring gaps in implementation of anti-corruption measures and laws have been cited leading to doubts about the seriousness and commitment of government to end graft. According to the Global Integrity Index 2011, Uganda scored 98% on legal framework, but scored a miserly 51% on actual implementation, giving it an implementation gap of 47%. A lot is still desired in terms of commitment by government to policy implementation.

For ordinary citizens, the debate on corruption – as expected – has been driven by the desire to punish and shame the named. The apparent collapse of the government's financial management system and the level of impunity among public officials is no longer acceptable to citizens.

This December issue captures those voices of concerned citizens nationwide that have through continuous intimidations and threats persisted in their noble duty of exposing the cancer of corruption.

Enjoy Your Reading!

— pwandera@tiuganda.org

Citizens as agents of change—Time to wake up



There is something really special about your first year anniversary. It can be similar to running in a big marathon and completing. Last year on 3rd December 2012 we officially launched the Black Monday Movement at the second annual national anti-corruption convention. The movement was instigated at a public action spearheaded by civil society in the wake of the massive revelations of corruption scandals in the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM) in October 2012 and other ministries, departments and agencies.

With all the revelations of the OPM scandals and other massive ones in other ministries, agencies and departments, it was easy for Ugandans to fall further deep into a state of despondency and wallow in effects of the temporary withdraws of aid assistance by development partners. It was now urgent

more than ever to realize that Enough is Enough. A number of civil society leaders and citizens chose to take a different path, one that previous Anti-Corruption activists have not treaded before. A path that sought to connect with citizens to take greater responsibility in the fight against theft of public resources. A resolve to undertake actions to create irreversible change and to ensure that the power fuelled by corruption harms society no more. At first sight, the tasks ahead seemed intimidating and insurmountable given the seemingly apathetic citizenry coupled with a shrinking operating environment for civic action.

Day after day, month after month, the Black Monday Movement mobilized citizens from civil society, the private and public sector and younger generations through

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NOT FOR SALE

One year down the road: Citizens speak out

KAMPALA >

"It's now a public secret perhaps the most widely unguarded secret, that in this country kickbacks and 'thank you's' are the fuel that drive the government machinery. This secret is as unguarded as our national funds,"
Alex Muwya.



"Corruption is a disease in this country that has eaten up every murrow of values. Black Monday Movement therefore provides a sharing platform with regard to corruption scandals and also mobilizing citizens to shun it and also bring the thieves to book." **Michael Aboneka.**

"Black Monday Movement has helped the local citizens by sensitizing masses about the corruption scandals and as well as reminding them of their right and duty to fight it and also demand for accountability"
Gertrude Namata.

"Black Monday to me is the elites, who would be comfortable behind their office desks, rising up to the occasion and realizing their crucial role in the fight against corruption. Honestly don't think so, the public has perceived it as an opposition tool and yet corruption is affecting everyone!"
William Kyeyune.



KABALE >



Margret Turyamushanga
Business woman
"Black Monday newsletter should be distributed every Monday of the month. It is good! Those belonging to NRM bias it as being anti-government."

Rev Fr. Gaetano Tibanyenda
Parish priest,
Kitanga Parish

"Black Monday Movement is a God given tool for sensitizing His people to see the light and be shine to other Ugandans and the world. The blind to see, the dumb to talk and the deaf to hear and then the day of liberation will come."

Twahirwa Antelli
Businessman & Chairman for the Elderly-NRM

"The Black Monday newsletter is trying to inform people about corruption, means of fighting corruption. Nobody is supporting corruption; even the government is committing its self to fight it. Distributing these newsletters monthly is enough in the mean time."

Ivan Atuheire
Manager Buhooro Hotel-Kigongi

"The Black Monday Movement is relevant in showing how government finances are being used for individual benefits. It is an eye-opener to the general public. The newsletter should be distributed on daily basis like newspapers."

"The only challenge is that it is not easily understood by the ordinary citizens who cannot read and write."

MASINDI LEADERS >

District Vice Chairman Masindi

"As a leader, my duty is to use my office to fight corruption by first of all living an exemplary life and also making sure that I have my personal property to act as a fall back or a cushion in case of any financial mishap. Then I have also tried as much as I can to educate people in my constituency whom I represent about the evils of corruption."

"I have no problem with Black Monday Movement because most of their revelations are facts which can't be easily challenged but I would appeal that instead of going for demonstrations, you should bring such revelations to those concerned so that there is

dialogue to find solutions on how they can be corrected. Otherwise, Black Monday itself has no problem, it is revealing facts"

Kyomuhendo Ronald
District Speaker Masindi district

"As a person, I really want to say that we should fight this vice called corruption so that we serve our people and they get the best services. I have no problem with Black Monday because the issues they raise are real. I am one person who reads Black Monday Newsletter once it comes out. The only problem I wouldn't be comfortable with is someone using it to undermine our role in government (NRM). I really have no problem with someone raising issues that are correct where mistakes have been found; people have stolen public funds and its public knowledge. Once court has found them guilty, then it's fine. I would only be uncomfortable with speculations. So let Black Monday continue as long as it has proof and it's not undermining government."

Musobya Kiganda
CAO Masindi District

"I have not heard anything about Black Monday myself...I would like to make an appeal to the public to ensure that they assist us in case they come across any issues related to corruption. Let them ensure that they report to help us make a follow up and take disciplinary action."

"I have no problem with Black Monday Movement because most of their revelations are facts which can't be easily challenged"

District Vice Chairman Masindi

Citizens as agents of change—Time to wake up

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public awareness, challenging them on the need to demand political action from the leadership and building up pressure for change.

The key actions that came to define the Black Monday Movement became wearing black every Monday, shunning the corrupt and their business establishments, and developing and printing a monthly newsletter that has covered a wide spectrum of issues across sectors from corruption in the police, health, education, agriculture and food security, labour and also special focus on youth, gender related aspects, land matters, tax and oil and gas all geared at making theft of public resources a risky business.

"When you shun the corrupt and their business establishment then people will realize that corruption is a risky venture," said Professor Augustus Nuwagaba, a University

Don.

The movement has also experienced some setbacks. We found that citizen engagement can lead to negative backlash from especially the security agencies. Throughout the year a number of activists were arrested and charged with trumped-up charges, fortunately some of the charges have since been dropped. It became apparent that the government mantra of zero tolerance to corruption was only true on paper. What is true though is that there were also individuals in government institutions that supported the activities.

Up until now, we had a citizenry that was largely apathetic. We can comfortably say the Black Monday Movement has cleared the rubber and laid the foundation for an active population. Stories abound in many circles and spaces of a reinvigorated sense that change is possible and individual citizens can make a difference exemplified by the many successes that citizen pressure has achieved in holding

government to account. Without a doubt the movement has been integral in changing the corruption landscape not only in Uganda but also in the rest of Africa and globally.

Across Africa and globally, the Black Monday Movement has inspired similar actions across in the fight against corruption specifically but also a model for people power actions. For instance in Nigeria a group of children organized a march to protest the theft public funds meant for the education sector through the "Reclaim Niger campaign". In Malawi civil society has already started the Black Monday Movement where they are already calling upon key government officials implicated in corruption to resign. Other countries like Gabon and Burundi are also organizing to start such initiatives.

As we transit to the second year of the Black Monday Movement, it is important that we also shine a light on individuals and stories of public servants that are discharging

their duties with integrity. In this regard identifying and celebrating those ordinary men and women that have served in public offices without abusing that trust will form the future of the focus in the coming year.

Further the fight against theft of public resources will only succeed if each individual is committed and brings ingenuity to the struggle. "Fighting corruption starts with all of us," said Fr. Gaetano, a religious leader from Western Uganda.

Finally, the great French novelist, Victor Hugo, once wrote that "greater than the tread of mighty armies is an idea whose time has come" At moments such as these, when Black Monday Movement marks one year, it provides an opportunity to once again renew our resolve to end this insidious disease of corruption.

— e.musiime@ngoforum.or.ug

Make theft risky and integrity attractive – Bishop Zac Niringiye

Retired Kampala Diocese **Bishop Dr. David Zac Niringiye** has been instrumental in spreading in the fight against corruption in Uganda. We bring you his views about the Black Monday Movement and what role citizens have to play.

It has been one year since the Black Monday Movement was launched; what have been your high and low moments?

My first high moment was the launch of the campaign itself... phenomenal! The second is the amazing demand for the Black Monday Newsletter and of course the interest the state has picked in this campaign shown through the attempts to crash it.

My low moment has been meeting some of our colleagues in the civil society fraternity who have failed to make connections of this campaign with their work. It is very disappointing to find the people who work in the service delivery sector who say that they agree with what we are saying but disagree with the methods. You see, we can't agree to do everything and anything to fight corruption because there are some people who are using corruption to fight corruption; both the ends and means must show the commitment to fight graft.

Several anti-corruption activists have been arrested for distributing Black Monday Newsletters of which police stated that they were inciting violence and spreading harmful propaganda. How has this impacted on the campaign?

I actually think that those arrests have been good for the campaign on several fronts. They have tested the resolve of the activists in the fight against graft but they have also clearly shown that the government is afraid of people's movement in the fight against graft. To me, this is good; government should fear the citizen power. Again it says something about our government and how it has accepted cor-

ruption as part of its systems of governance. We now know what our government stands for. It surely confirms what our president said that there are thieves in government. So those thieves have to fight anticorruption activists to survive.

In your own view, how does this campaign relate to the current political environment of Uganda?

Very sadly, as I have indicated, the manner in which the state has fought the campaign confirms this regime's stand on corruption. The massive corruption scandals we see, the sacks of money, lots of money used in elections are confirmations of a regime that survives by corruption. Therefore, there must be a deliberate discussion amongst the citizens about the politics of corruption that is at the heart of this regime.

Therefore, Ugandans need to realize that we are doomed since the state has people who sit and design mechanisms of stealing public funds. People sit and plan for a design of a project and how much they will reap from it and this goes on from constructing a road to planning for a district infrastructure. To prove right, refer to the former IGG, Raphael Baku, when he said that corruption is hard to fight in this country because of syndicate

corruption. That's how corruption successfully influences the political environment of this country.

Since the campaign started in December 2012, you (anti-corruption activists) have been demanding that the thieves return the stolen funds which we don't see happening after one year. What more can Ugandans engage in to ensure that their funds are returned?

Frankly speaking, this campaign hasn't yet mobilized such a critical mass of citizens who make corruption such a risky venture. We still have a citizenry that believes and supports government in "tribalising" corruption. For every time someone in government is held for theft, you find tribe mates going to beg the president to forgive their son/daughter. There is still need for the ordinary citizen to make a connection with the appalling state of their livelihoods with the high

corruption trends. Therefore, those of us who are promoting this should endeavor to help the teachers, doctors, farmers to realize that it is in their interest to fight corruption because theft is robbing them of a better remuneration and other working conditions. And thus Ugandans everywhere must start their own way of rejecting the thieves.

So do you feel that the campaign is achieving its set objectives?

No question about that, we are getting there. All we need is to get more believers and this should be a life's calling for those who want to see a better Uganda. This campaign connects more

with securing a dignity for all Ugandans as you know that corruption is a massive security issue for our country.

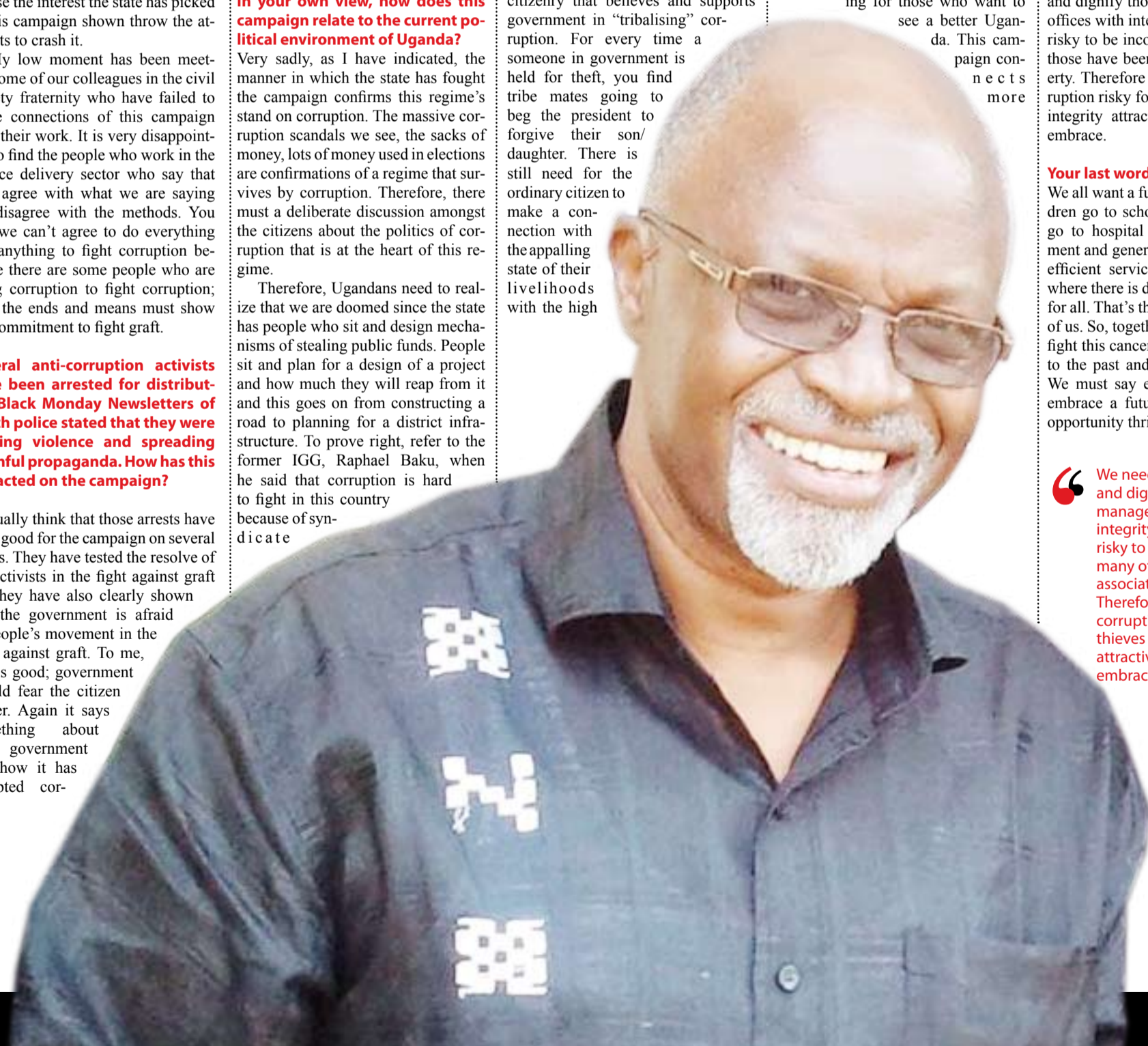
What will it take for the campaign to keep this momentum and what should Ugandans expect from the Black Monday Movement in the year 2014?

What I hope for is that this will continue to be a citizens' campaign. Fighting corruption must be everyone's business. In that regard, we must continue to make corruption such a risky behavior. We also need to acknowledge and dignify those who manage public offices with integrity. Right know it is risky to be incorruptible and many of those have been associated with poverty. Therefore we need to make corruption risky for the thieves and make integrity attractive for Ugandans to embrace.

Your last words to Ugandans?

We all want a future in which our children go to school and learn, mothers go to hospital and get proper treatment and generally citizens to receive efficient service delivery. A country where there is dignity and opportunity for all. That's the future required of all of us. So, together, we must resolve to fight this cancer that could consign us to the past and people are suffering. We must say enough is enough and embrace a future where dignity and opportunity thrive for all of us.

“ We need to acknowledge and dignify those who manage public offices with integrity. Right know it is risky to be incorruptible and many of those have been associated with poverty. Therefore we need to make corruption risky for the thieves and make integrity attractive for Ugandans to embrace.



Towards the Promised Land of a theft-free Uganda: Bunyoro

In a bid to contribute to ending the institutionalized Recreation for Development and Peace (RDP)-Uganda subscribed and joined the Black Monday Movement from the inception. The movement was and remains in line with our work, focusing at achieving good governance and end of theft in Uganda.

RDP-Uganda committed to popularizing the Black Monday Movement every Monday, the newsletter and shunning businesses owned by corrupt personalities. With support from our partners Uganda National NGO Forum, ActionAid, Uganda Debt Network (UDN), Uganda Youth Network (UYONET), Anti-Corruption Coalition Uganda (ACCU) and Human Rights Network (HURINET), we have

extensively popularized the movement through distributing 350 newsletters every month; we agreed to wear black every Monday - which has become part of our culture; sensitize other non-state actors and private business owners to appreciate and join the movement. We have continued to shun businesses of corrupt government officials including **Kings Broadcasting services (KBS)** in Masindi; the Radio station owned by **Hon Kabakumba Matsiko Abwooli, MP Bujenje constituency**. She was implicated of stealing radio masts from **Uganda Broadcasting Corporation (UBC)** in Kampala for private use at her own station while serving as the Minister for Information and National Guidance.

We have succeeded in some in-

stances, where some members of the community, especially in urban centers, have adopted and appreciated the culture of putting on black every Monday thus portraying annoyance and anger at the Government failure to curb corruption. The Black Monday newsletter has been such a darling to many, especially town dwellers, and they are always asking for them from offices and wherever they meet a representative of RDP-Uganda. Staffs of micro-finance institutions, NGOs, health institution's and banks have joined the struggle. Amongst our activities we have delivered copies of the newsletter to their offices; talked to their staff one on one, attended radio talk shows, inviting people for our activities and visiting their offices to talk about corruption. The

question remains whether they read the newsletter or not?

Among the challenges encountered is the fact that the Black Monday Movement has not been well perceived and received by some Government officials who term it as hostile to government.

"We have different categories of NGOs in the district, while others are real allies some like Black Monday are indeed a co-wife to government" asserted the RDC Masindi during one of the council meetings. They also claim that the movement is illegal and that they question the source of its funding.

The grassroots community has not yet connected with appreciated the movement which poses a big challenge and shows disparity between rural and urban people. We still lack informa-

tion about the businesses owned by the culprits of corruption in the district.

Therefore, there is need for all of us to come together and reflect on our results. A lot of support is needed from national partners in terms of legal backing, radio talk shows and technical support. The lower local governments should be well sensitized about the intentions of Black Monday so that they can be able to appreciate the issue, which nobody can disagree is crucial for the country.

RDP Uganda is continuously committed to the fight and shall always do and together we shall reach the Promised Land of a corruption free Uganda.

— aneuruokwai@yahoo.co.uk

Black Monday Movement in Soroti – Police gives way

The Uganda police made an unsuccessful attempt to stop activities marking the Black Monday in Teso sub region. In accordance with the national theme, the activities revolved around the health sector and the activists chose to have their activities conducted in the compound of a health center III in Gweri Sub County, Soroti District. The activists from Teso Anti-corruption Movement steered by Teso Anti-Corruption Coalition (TAC) started their activities with a guided tour of the health center premises. The tour reflected grave inadequacies which included: low staffing levels; absence of electricity to effectively run the institution; charging of illegal user fees; limited supply of essential drugs owing to the "push system"; and theft of property from the health center by unknown individuals.

Given the attitude of the police to always crack down on Black Monday events and the fact that the president would be visiting Teso for a fundraising activity, the activist decided to plan for a clandestine Black Monday "operation" in Gweri Sub County. Numerous trips were made to the health center and to the trading Center on Saturday and Sunday. Clandestine mobilization was done with the support of the members of the Grassroots Accountability Committee of TAC. This was done in way to beat surveillance by the security agencies.

On the D-day, the activists arrived at Gweri Sub County in a hired public van, made a stop-over at the trading center, disem-



Citizens discuss with police after being intercepted during the distribution process.

barked from the van before walking through the trading center to the health center a few meters away. While at the center, a few copies of the previous editions of the Black Monday newsletter were distributed and this caused a lot of excitement in the center. The community joined the activists as they all walked to the health center and congregated under a mango tree. It was at this point that the woman Member of Parliament, Hon. Angelline Ossege, a resident of the area joined to participate in the event as a patriotic citizen. The

Black Monday newsletter was in high demand because the community had been hearing about it in the media but had never had an opportunity to see or read the

“The community joined the activists as they all walked to the health center and congregated under a mango tree... the woman MP, Angelline Ossege, a resident of the area joined to participate in the event as a patriotic citizen.

publication.

After the inspection of the health center, the team returned to the venue to a rapturous welcome by the community. They sang a popular Ateso song which when literally interpreted means **"Jesus' army will not be scared"** The excitement attracted the attention of the police. At the time, Gweri police post had only two officers and the officers were unable to contain the growing crowd. The police were frantically making phone calls, and they were consulting Soroti Central Police Station. The OC

Julius Eswaggu called the LC III Chairperson inquiring whether we had secured permission to be at the premises to which he answered in the affirmative. After further calls the Chairman Gweri Sub County was called aside and connected to the District Police Commander Mr. Wabwire on phone who declared the meeting illegal and that they would take action. This was around 2pm and the Black Monday events were drawing to a close.

After, community members confronted the OC police post demanding for an explanation

why he attempted to interfere with the meeting. There was a bitter exchange between the Woman MP and the OC Gweri police post. *The MP stated that "this country belongs to all of us and as such you should not terrorize the citizens because they pay your salaries"*. The OC stated that whereas what the activists were doing was right, they should have informed the police about the activity. The OC informed the activists that he had given the number plates of the vehicle that were being used to the police at Soroti Central Police Station and that the activists would be intercepted by the police on their way back to Soroti. The activists set off from Gweri Sub County and indeed mid-way to Soroti, the activists saw a police van fast approaching them at break neck speed with police in full anti-riot gear hanging precariously on the vehicle.

While it was expected that the police would intercept the activist van, the police just whizzed past the activists van which was fully draped in the Teso Anticorruption Coalition regalia. The activists cheered and instructed the driver to drive much faster in the hope that the police would recognize the activists and turn to trail them. The activists cheered on in triumph as they had beaten the police at their own game and sped off to Soroti town and assembled at the TAC to debrief and celebrate the patriotic mission successfully accomplished.

— sarimon@tacteso.org

Black Monday Movement goes global: The Malawi experience

The Black Monday Movement has gone a long way in influencing the international spaces in motivating fellow CSOs to mobilise citizens to say enough is enough to theft of public resources. Below we bring you one of the articles in the Nyasa Times about the way government has responded to the campaign.

JB warns Malawi CSOs against 'coup' protests, rues aid freeze

Malawi President Joyce Banda has accused the Civil Society Organisation (CSOs) advocating for 'Black Monday' anti-government protests, accusing them of plotting to topple her government. Thirteen high-profile civil society organisations (CSOs) operating under the Grand Coalition are planning to hold street demonstrations and vigils against Banda's rule following the cash-gate corruption scandal. But President Banda speaking during a political rally held at Kalambo primary school ground at Area 25 in the Lilongwe on Saturday said the protests should not go on as they were seeking for regime change. President Banda warned those planning to hold protests against her administration at her resident, saying it is tantamount to a coup.

"If anything you should remove me through a ballot in 2014 elections," said President Banda.



Anti-corruption activists in Malawi protest the high levels of corruption on a Black Monday

Black Monday

The CSOs are advocating for 'Black Monday' when Malawians will dress in black every Monday to symbolise the death of the public purse after being looted by thieves. The Grand Coalition wants to seek a vote of no confidence in President Banda's administration and push for an interim government if the State does not address their concerns over the way it is handling the massive looting of public resources.

Minister of Information and Civic Education Brown Mpinganjira, who is the official government spokesperson, on Monday, was quoted in print media saying that the statement by the

CSOs was treasonous. But law experts argued that there is nothing treasonous in a statement issued by the CSOs.

"Government must be number one to provide this political space where citizens can freely express themselves how the affairs of the State must be run. Free speech in a democracy is fundamental and citizens must never be threatened with treason for exercising that right," Dean of law at the University of Malawi's Chancellor College in Zomba, Dr Mwiza Nkhata was quoted saying.

Lawyer Justin Dzonzi, executive director of Justice Link also argued that CSO's planned actions are not to remove the President by force, but to hold peace-

ful demonstrations.

Aid freeze

During the Saturday's rally, President Banda in an indirect reference to the donor aid freeze over corruption scandal, she said it is unfortunate that her government is now been penalised for fighting deep looted corruption which has long been in the country.

"Since I came into power I have been saying that one of my major tasks was to root out corruption in the country. And I repeated the same during the Ecama (Economic Association of Malawi) meeting in Mangochi whose fruits were the arrest of those involved in cashgate scan-

dal," said Banda.

She said: "I want to remind all Malawians that the beginning of the arrests on Capital Hill plunder was initiated by the steps I took prior to the crackdown.

"When I took over power I emphasized on the need for thorough scrutiny of our financial management system and on September 7, 2013, I emphasized on the same in Mangochi and this resulted in the first arrests on September 12, 2013, and subsequent arrests which have now added up to 68."

Malawi depends on donors to bankroll up to 40 percent of its development budget.

Donors under the Common Approach to Budgetary Support (CABS) have said they will not disburse pledged aid until February after an International Monetary Fund review. They have also warned that the next aid tranche depends on government efforts to fight the rampant corruption.

"We will not be able to resume support through government systems until we have a clear assurance, independently verified, that our resources are all being used for their intended purpose," said Sara Sanyahumbi, a British diplomat who heads the donor grouping which includes European countries, the European Union and the World Bank.

— By Harry Chibwe,
Nyasa Times
Posted Nov. 23, 2013

Newsletter distribution with the RDC's blessing - Kaberamido

On 23rd May, 2013 as usual for Kaberamaido District Network (KADINGOF) business, we picked Black Monday newsletters on our way to Ocheru Sub County for community sensitization on women's rights.

After a distance of 10 km we received a call asking for more newsletters from a taxi guide in town. We sent more. There was certainly short supply of the copies and some who had started selling at a cost of 2000/= . One of the buyers was the RDC.

When we reached Ocheru; the LC III Chairperson declined to join us because of a media report he had seen on NTV indicating how the activists were being man-handled by police.

On the start of the distribution of the magazine in the district, many district leaders had different

perceptions on the information. Some persons in the organization explained that there is saying we are fighting the government, but that information is false and that we want to contest for some political positions and not interfering with the peace, as alleged.

Two days later, RDC Kaberamaido made a warning during a burial of one of the community members in Otuboi sub -county that citizens should not receive this newsletter and those distributing it would be arrested. On the following day the DISO ganged up with the ones from the neighboring district.

We immediately sent messages to members in the region to stand with us in case any action was taken against us. Many sent in advice on how to approach the situation which we followed. Teso

Anticorruption Coalition (TAC) then mobilized a team including one of the lawyers, Chairperson TAC, one staff, and joined members of KADINGOF Board, staff and Quality Assurance Mechanism (QuAM) committee to meet the RDC.

In the meeting, the RDC complained that we would started distribution from her office but ended up buying the magazine at a cost and also feared that this information was of national level, not community oriented which would fuel the unemployed desperate youth.

On the inquiry as to the banning of the newsletter in Kaberamaido district, the RDC said that she had not received any express directive from her superiors. She therefore advised that prior to any distribution, KADINGOF should

first remit the newsletters to her office upon which the distribution modalities shall then be discussed. She emphasized that for purposes of accountability, the distribution point and the responsible persons should be known to her office. She noted with concern as to why she had to buy a copy of the same at 2,000/= and yet the newsletter is free.

In her final submission, the RDC reminded the members that she is on record as an anti-corruption activist and was one of the original founders of Teso Anticorruption Coalition and a member of the Uganda Debt Network. She stated that on matters of transparency and accountability the members of the CSOs must not only treat her as an ally but also count on her. "I want this team to go with a clear picture

that nothing should be concealed from the people.....and that what is contained in this magazine is the truth, absolutely the truth" she emphasized with a reminder that "sensitive information dissemination" is a requirement of good patriots.

We agreed as a way forward that for issue of the Black Monday newsletter, we will start with RDC's office, which we are doing now and the business continued to date. The newsletter has continued to attract attention of the locals who book the copies in advance. In response to the messages; the members of the public and some politicians bring reports to KADINGOF to help follow some projects on areas they think are not being implemented as planned.

— roselindaoyuu@gmail.com

