

Nico Schoonderwoerd



RIGGED

An investigation into Violence, Intimidation,
Bribery, Ballot box stuffing and Fraud
during the Ugandan 2021 elections.

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DR NICO SCHOONDERWOERD
UVote team leader
nico@klup.nl

Acknowledgment is made to Bruce I. Afran, Counsel for Robert Kyagulanyi and National Unity Platform for inclusion of his analysis of the human rights abuses and election irregularities originally published March 17, 2021.

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For those abducted, raped, tortured or killed.

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ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS

Nico Schoonderwoerd has a Ph.D. in theoretical physics and works in the financial industry and in software development. He is team leader of UVote, a team made up almost entirely of the Ugandan diaspora which build an Android app to monitor the Ugandan presidential elections and led the analysis to uncover the fraud.

Acknowledgment is made to Bruce I. Afran, Counsel for Robert Kyagulanyi and National Unity Platform for inclusion of his analysis of the human rights abuses and election irregularities originally published March 17, 2021¹.

Where most of the data analysis comes from Schoonderwoerd and the UVote team, most of the parts about human right violations are based on Afrans reports.

This report would not have been possible without the help of UVote volunteers George, Jeremiah, Hadijah, Rebecca, Carolyn, Margaret, Susan, Geoffrey, Paul, David, Salongo, Alice, Bruce, Dorcas, Peter, Milly, Isaac, Safina, Jeniffer, Gerald, Harriet, Imran, B., Patricia, Eric, Thimaud. For safety reasons only first names are used.

All work found in this report was done without payment.

¹ <https://s3-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/s3.sourceafrica.net/documents/120896/Report-on-Governmental-Abuse-Violations-and.pdf>

INTRODUCTION TO RIGGING

In May 2021, High Snobiety interviewed Robert Kyagulanyi:

Perhaps we'll never know the true results of Uganda's January 2021 elections, but when I agreed to interview singer, actor and now politician Bobi Wine, it was with the knowledge that this was most likely the man the people of Uganda voted to lead their country. Instead, President of 35 years Yoweri Museveni renewed his lease on the East African country through an alleged rigged election.²

It is the question “Were the elections rigged?” that we are answering in this report and we will support the affirmative answer to this question with convincing proof consisting of dozens of videos, hundreds of newspaper articles, 127 affidavits collected by National Unity Platform and an analysis of the election forms (DoRs) that have been published by the Ugandan government.

It can easily be proven that Museveni could not have won the elections with the percentages of 58.38% versus 35.08% for Kyagulanyi because the results announced by Electoral Commission include 409 polling stations with a 100% voter turnout.³

The more complicated question to answer is whether the level of rigging was so high that it influenced the outcome of the elections. Again, our answer to that is ‘Yes’. It means that the swearing in of Museveni on 12 May was unconstitutional, as the constitution clearly states that all power belongs to the people of Uganda and they shall express their will through free and fair elections.

Chapter One The Constitution.

1. Sovereignty of the people.

(1) All power belongs to the people who shall exercise their sovereignty in accordance with this Constitution.

(2) Without limiting the effect of clause (1) of this article, all authority in the State emanates from the people of Uganda; and the people shall be governed through their will and consent.

(3) All power and authority of Government and its organs derive from this Constitution, which in turn derives its authority from the people who consent to be governed in accordance with this Constitution.

(4) The people shall express their will and consent on who shall govern them and how they should be governed, through regular, free and fair elections of their representatives or through referenda.

Not just this report, but the US senate, the European parliament. internationally renowned political scientists, factcheck organisations and pro-democracy NGOs come to the same conclusion; the elections were not free and fair.⁴

² <https://www.highsnobiety.com/p/bobi-wine-interview/>

³ <https://ugandaradionetwork.com/story/409-polling-stations-had-100-voter-turnout-giving-museveni-95-8>

⁴ <https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-uganda-election-idUSKBN29M04E>

The United States and an African election monitoring group complained of election irregularities.

Britain said it was concerned by a national internet shutdown that began the day before the vote, and that it said constrained freedoms and “clearly limited the transparency of the elections”. In a statement, British Minister for Africa James Duddridge also called for concerns about the election process to be investigated.

Nic Cheeseman, author of the book “How to rig an election”⁵ tweeted:



Prof Nic Cheeseman @Fromagehomme · Dec 23, 2020

While we are on the topic of authoritarian aid darlings, Museveni's regime in **Uganda** is on full authoritarian tilt. The upcoming election is a sham and widespread human rights abuses are undermining his governments achievements. **Free** @nickopiyo #FreeNicholasOpiyo #FreeNickOpiyo

After EU Ambassador to Uganda Attilio Pacifici allegedly told the Daily Monitor he was impressed with the Ugandan poll, the EU was forced to come with a correction.⁶



EU in Uganda @EUinUG

Today's @dailymonitor headline, based on remarks by Amb @APacificiEU taken out of context, give a misleading view. The EU has not deployed an Electoral Observation Mission to Uganda and has not made an assessment of the way the polling day has been run.

3:32 PM · Jan 16, 2021 · Twitter Web App

445 Retweets 120 Quote Tweets 1,041 Likes

Other Ugandan opposition parties also stated support for Kyagulanyi. On NBS TV a distressed Gregory Muntu said that even as Museveni warms up to swear himself in on Wednesday, deep at heart he knows he has gone against the will of the Ugandan electorate.⁷

The V-Dem institute, an independent research institute from Sweden, gives the 2021 election a very bad score and is critical of the international community⁸:

The international community's expressions of surprise over 2021 Ugandan abuses demonstrate an amnesia for the 35 years of the Museveni presidency and the character of his five prior presidential re-elections.

⁵ Nic Cheeseman & Brian Klaas. “How to rig an election” Yale University Press (2019)

⁶ <https://twitter.com/EUinUG/status/1350450772643885058>

⁷ <https://ekyooto.co.uk/2021/05/10/gen-muntu-admits-that-bobi-wine-won-2021-polls/>

⁸ <https://www.v-dem.net/en/news/35-years-museveni-ugandas-2021-election-no-break-character/>

Factcheck organization Pesacheck analysed the elections of 1996, 2001, 2006, 2011, 2016 and 2021 and concluded that Uganda has not had fair and transparent election in 30 years.⁹

The conclusions about the 2016 elections are the same as the EU observer mission, although written down in a more political way. Mr. Eduard Kukan who led the mission says:

The 2016 elections took place in a challenging political environment, exposing significant division between the state apparatus and large parts of the population.

The EU observer mission was also unhappy about the lack of independence of the Electoral Commission.

It is paramount to establish an inclusive and transparent selection, appointment and removal mechanism for the EC commissioners. The EC's integrity should be further strengthened by engaging civil society in the selection and subjecting proposed candidates to public scrutiny.

None of the 30 recommendations by the EU mission have been implemented ahead of the 2021 elections.

If the Ugandan government had wished to hold free & fair elections they would have allowed position candidates to campaign freely through the country, the government would have allowed election observers as they did in 2016¹⁰, they would not have expelled NGOs and election experts from the country, they would have allowed opposition parties to have agents at the 35.000 polling stations, they would not have been hunting NUP officials to confiscate Declaration of Results (DoR) forms and they would not have been kidnapping opposition members, torturing them and killing them.

All of this was not done by the Museveni government for 'fun', because organising and rigging election not only costed the Ugandan government millions of dollars¹¹ but has hurt its relationship with donor countries. The reason is that the Museveni government had no choice if it wanted to stay in power.

So what is the 'will' of the Ugandan people and how do you measure it? Ahead of the elections several scientific election surveys have been held. They have been analysed in our Chapter on Election Surveys. The largest sample was used by Joel Isabirye¹² and his Market Intelligence Group.

⁹ <https://pesacheck.org/is-it-true-that-uganda-has-not-held-a-fair-and-transparent-election-in-over-30-years-5d8548d42059>

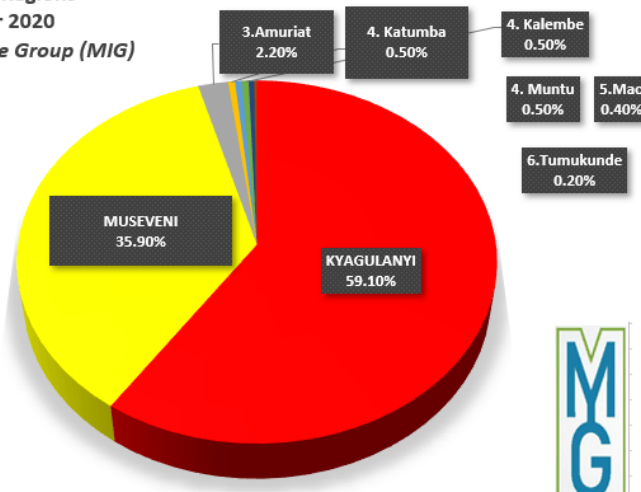
¹⁰ <https://ec.europa.eu/info/strategy/relations-non-eu-countries/types-relations-and-partnerships/election-observation/mission-recommendations-repository/missions/33>

¹¹ <https://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/articles/29376/after-uganda-elections-will-the-u-s-still-back-museveni-s-brutal-regime>

¹² Joel Isabirye is a lecturer at Kampala International University and worked for Ipsos in the past. He's not personally affiliated with any of the candidates. <https://kiu.ac.ug/staff.php?i=667&sn=joel-isabirye>

National Electoral Survey Uganda

Total of Sub-Regions
November 2020
Market Intelligence Group (MIG)



The results are contrary to the officially announced results by the Electoral Commission, but they are in line with a Freedom Uganda survey that was done by the author of this report.¹³

On 9th of March Kyagulanyi organised a press conference and announced he had won the elections by 54.19%.¹⁴ His team choose to calculate the percentage based on the 25,035 Declaration of Results form (DoRs) that are in the possession of the National Unity Platform in Kampala. The NUP does not have access to approximately 9000 DoRs because they were confiscated or because NUP agents were not allowed at those polling stations, in violation of the Ugandan constitution. The UVote team was not able to verify or falsify the percentage of 54.19%, but it seems plausible that if 9000 polling stations are excluded where NUP did not have agents (in many cases no election took place at all) one would find a percentage very close to this.

This report will not conclude that the elections gave Kyagulanyi 54.19% (Kyagulanyi team) or 59.10% (Market Intelligence Group) or 35.08% (Electoral Commission) because we will prove that in large parts of Uganda no election took place at all. However, from those areas in Uganda where the gravest form of rigging (ballot-box stuffing) was absent and based on the surveys that were held nationwide we conclude that Kyagulanyi would have won the elections if they were free & fair. The Electoral Commission announcement of 16 January has been fraudulent.

What are the main components of election rigging on voting day?

1. Voter intimidation

The objective of voter intimidation is to make them fearful of voting for everyone but the incumbent, or to make them stay home. Voter intimidation leads to a lower turnout. 23 affidavits in our possession describe voter intimidation.

2. Bribery

¹³ https://freedomuganda.com/?page_id=279

¹⁴ <https://nilepost.co.ug/2021/03/09/bobi-wine-parades-dr-forms-before-supporters-insists-he-won-elections-with-54-19/>

Bribery is a preferable for the cheater over voter intimidation but only works if the person is open to it. Bribes were given ranging from 5.000 shilling to 200.000 shilling based on the influence of the voter. Furthermore, bribes were offered to opposition officials to frustrate their campaign.

3. Ballot box stuffing

When ballot box stuffing is applied, the turnout is suspiciously high. Ballot box stuffing was epidemic across the country.

4. Post-DoR fraud

After the counting of the votes is completed and the Declaration of Results forms are filled out, there are still possibilities to include different results in the Tally Sheet.

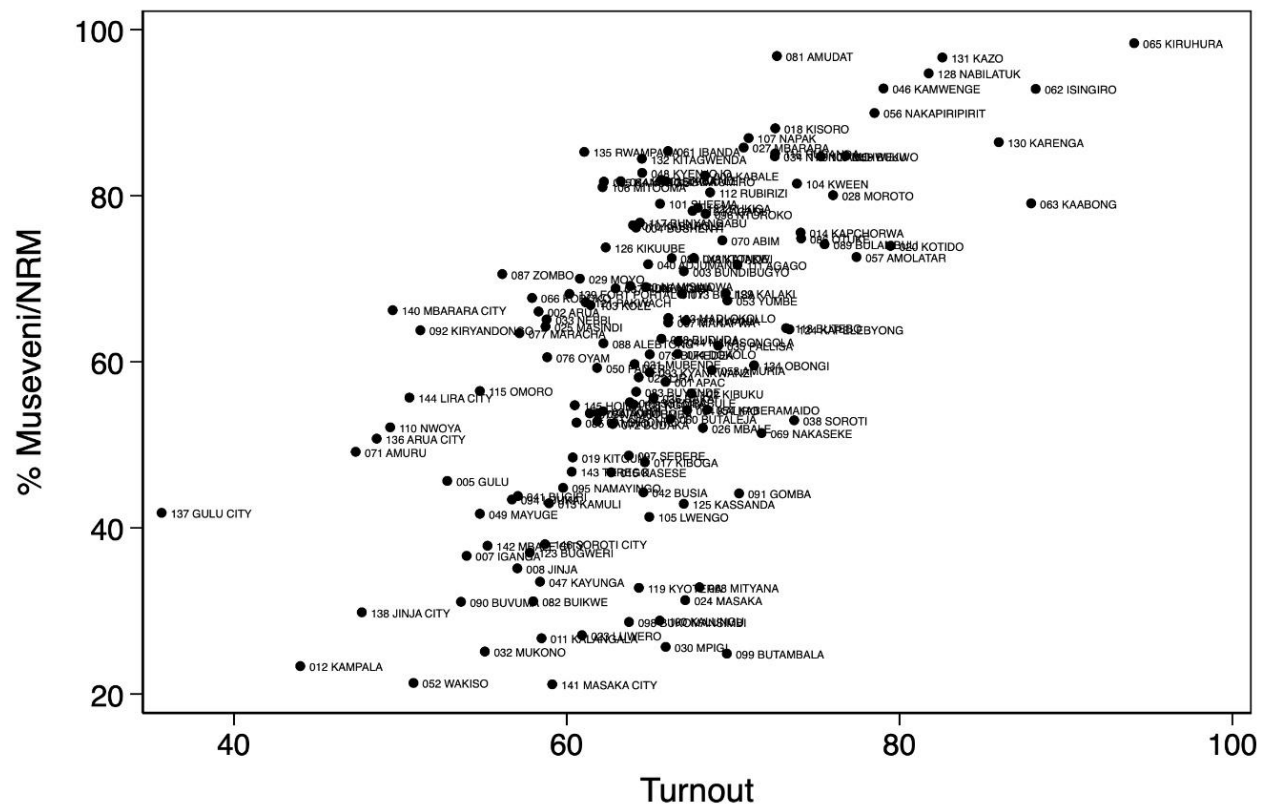
In the various regions we see the different types of rigging being applied in a different way.

| Region | Voter intimidation | Bribery | Ballot box stuffing | Post-Dor Fraud |
|---------------|---------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| Central | Heavily | Limited | Limited districts | Average |
| Eastern | Heavily | Heavily | Average | Average |
| Western | Heavily | Heavily | Massively, in all districts | Average |
| Northern | Enormously | Heavily | Average | Average |

In most cities it was difficult to stuff the ballot-boxes, so the effect of voter intimidation becomes more clear. Gulu City shows how enormous the intimidation was up north, as is supported by the statements in our Chapter on the North.

Ballot box stuffing is indicated by high turnout & high percentage of Museveni votes. In the top right of the diagram (courtesy Melina Platas¹⁵) we do not only see Western districts, but also Northern districts such as Amudat.

¹⁵ <https://twitter.com/melinaplatas/status/1354767349312860161>



More details about ballot box stuffing & post-DoR Fraud can be found in the respective chapters about these subjects.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Uganda's presidential election was held January 14, 2021 preceded by weeks of government-sponsored violence; the arrest of opposition candidates; the kidnapping of party and campaign staff held at undisclosed military locations; the repeated arrest of opposition leader Robert Kyagulanyi (a/k/a/ Bobi Wine) in particular;¹⁶ the killing by the military of at least 54 protestors and bystanders between November 18-20, 2020 and the wounding and mutilation of hundreds; (children, in particular, were targeted as shown in this report). Such violence was accompanied by the arrest and detention of lawyers working for opposition candidates. Two days before the election, the military fanned out throughout Uganda's towns and cities, giving rise to an atmosphere of terror and coercion that compelled many, perhaps most, voters to stay home.

Extensive evidence of election tampering, pre-marking of ballots for General Museveni, ballot-stuffing, coercion of voters by the military, shutdown of all communications prior to the election, arrest of campaign staff and candidates, the lack of voter privacy, illegal casting of votes before voters arrived at polling stations, reports of 100%, 99% and 98% vote for Museveni at large numbers of polling sites, entire districts reporting 100% vote for Museveni, and other fraudulent acts and irregularities, are addressed at Part III "Rigging of the January 14 Elections".

In the week prior to the election, the Electoral Commission banned campaigning in most of Kampala and other towns. The pretextual purpose of such ban was to prevent gatherings due to COVID-19 but the regulation was applied only to urban strongholds of Bobi Wine or his National Unity Platform (NUP)¹⁷. The Economist noted that the purpose of such regulations was to burden the Wine campaign.¹⁸

The election itself was held in an atmosphere of repression and coercion. Military personnel and police fanned out throughout Uganda beginning the day before the election. Trains of armed personnel carriers and other military vehicles snaked through Kampala and other towns and cities, as seen on a Youtube video.¹⁹ The purpose of such deployment was to coerce Ugandans by a show of force from engaging in protest following the election and to fear turning out to vote. Soldiers routinely beat civilians who supported Bobi Wine or carried opposition signs, as seen in this video taken in Kampala in which two uniformed men repeatedly beat a man with batons who was wearing NUP red; as the video shows, he had committed no illegal act or wrongdoing.²⁰

¹⁶ Mr. Wine's given name is Robert Kyagulanyi. At certain points his given name and professional name are occasionally used interchangeably.

¹⁷ <https://www.ec.or.ug/news/ec-suspends-campaign-meetings-specified-districts>.

¹⁸ <https://www.economist.com/middle-east-and-africa/2021/01/02/after-34-years-ugandas-president-has-no-intention-of-retiring>

¹⁹ https://youtu.be/ZQ8_8GyFOKA

²⁰ <https://twitter.com/PatriqKanyomozi/status/1348963681065971717?s=20>.



Kanyomozi District @PatriqKanyomozi · Jan 12

Why treat a fellow human being like this just because they support @HEBobiwine? Where do such creatures get all this anger from?



In a typical example of the government's brutal treatment of the opposition, on December 27, 2020 a Bobi Wine campaign aide was chased by soldiers and severely beaten by four soldiers with batons, as seen in this video.²¹ Soldiers, armed or with batons, patrolled nearly all polling places; in many cases large groups of soldiers voted en masse at polling places though they normally would vote at their barracks, the purpose being to maintain a military presence at civilian voting stations. For example, at one polling station four soldiers drag an elections agent for NUP out of the polling premises.²²

The election failed all norms of voting privacy. Voting frequently took place in the presence of government officials and often police and soldiers who, surrounding a voter, told them who to vote.

²¹ <https://www.dropbox.com/s/5vg31gfvkuorqll/VIDEO%20Man%20Beaten%20by%20Soldiers%20-2020%20-12-28-10.mp4?dl=0>

²² <https://youtu.be/mZGHJaFRqzY>



Bobi Wine is met Manish Kumar en Shubham Nimbalkar. ...

18 januari · 🌐

At most polling stations in Western Uganda, there was no voting! Like you see in this video, people were ordered to vote in the presence of everyone and this was being supervised by the military. At several polling stations, the military raided polling stations, chased everyone away and stuffed ballot papers at will. At other stations in Isingiro and other districts, people reached polling stations only to be told that they could only vote for MPs as the president had already been voted for. So many witnesses are willing to come out, others recorded these on video although for many, attempting to record attracted severe beatings and torture.

[#thefraudmusevenididntwantyoutosee](#)

[#WeAreRemovingADictator](#)



Officials often closed polling places early, directed voters to vote only for parliament members or handed voters ballots pre-ticked for General Museveni, the incumbent whose name conveniently was last on the column to facilitate easy and rapid check-off en masse, as shared by Bobi Wine on his Facebook page²³.

²³ <https://www.facebook.com/www.bobiwine.ug/videos/477864099873168/>



Bobi Wine

19 januari · 🌐

This particular video was sent to us by a member of the UPDF who was disgusted by what they were commanded to do! He told us they spent days pre-ticking ballot papers in favor of Museveni because they knew there was no way they could beat us in a free contest! Up to now, it is difficult to believe that a one time prized revolutionary is going down as one of the world's most despised despots! Did he claim to have gone to the bush because of a rigged election? How despicable! Keep the evidence coming in comrades.

#WeAreRemovingADictator

#TheFraudMuseveniDidntWantYouToSee

Blank ballots were randomly distributed and, in many cases large pads, of ballots were freely available to officials to pre-tick. Ballot boxes were not locked and secured. Instead, they contained removable lids and large openings to facilitate ballot stuffing, as shown on some videos. An example of these abuses can be seen from the Bulambuli polling station where dozens of ballots are shown being pre-ticked for Museveni.²⁴ These abuses are documented in Part III of this Report at page 40.²⁵

Cameras and phones were banned officially from polling places, depriving citizens in most cases of the capacity to document abuses. As a result, a limited amount of videos have been smuggled out of Uganda via the internet and the election largely took place in darkness. Uganda's normal practice of allowing citizens to witness the counting of votes at the nationwide 4 PM close of voting was banned by order of the Electoral Commission²⁶. National Unity Platform (NUP) party agents and poll watchers, along with other staff were taken into custody by the military immediately before the election or chased away. The NUP is the party formed by Hon. Kyagulanyi, who emerged as the leading opposition candidate. Those NUP staff and leadership detained have not been and have not been brought before Uganda's courts within 48 hours as the Constitution of Uganda requires. Instead, they have been transferred to military custody to avoid civil process.

Prior to the election vast numbers of Uganda registered NGO's were decertified or delisted by government order, the purpose being to prevent poll watching organizations from obtaining funds to manage and finance ballot supervision²⁷. NGO's, voters and party observers were unable to observe the vote count and identify abuses. Such civil liberties

²⁴ <https://youtu.be/TggSh1kUvTo>

²⁵ If only one hundred ballots were pre-marked in this manner at each of Uganda's 34,000 polling stations, this would mean an additional 3.4 million votes for Museveni. This would more than make up the difference between the Electoral Commission's claim that Museveni received 6,042,898 votes to Kyagulanyi's 3,631,437 votes. <https://www.ec.or.ug/news/publishing-final-results-presidential-elections-2021>. In other words, the extensive evidence of pre-marking of ballots for Museveni demonstrates that the election result lacks validity and should be overturned.

²⁶ <https://www.independent.co.ug/voters-will-not-be-allowed-to-witness-vote-counting-ec/>

²⁷ <https://www.independent.co.ug/ngo-bureau-suspends-operations-of-national-election-watch-uganda/>

abuses have been noted in the international community by e.g. Civicus International²⁸ and Human Rights Watch²⁹.

Compounding the absence of observers, Uganda ordered its telecommunications authority to close all social media apps and platforms immediately prior to the election³⁰, eventually extending such closure to the entire internet, shutting all internet service in Uganda from Wednesday, January 13, 2021 through at least Monday, January 18, 2021. Such strategy was intended to prevent citizens from documenting voting abuses on the internet and to prevent campaigns from moving poll watchers to voting stations and to prevent candidates from motivating their supporters to vote. The UVote app, announced by National Unity Platform on 2 January to monitor the elections³¹, was prevented in its distribution by blocking the Google Play Store in Uganda³². When NUP made the app available through a direct download on its website, the website was targeted by a Distributed Denial of Service (DDOS) attack. However the government was not able to prevent that approximately 100.000 people downloaded the UVote app and registered.

A nation of 45 million people lost all modern communications the day before the election, continuing for nearly a week after the election. Government-controlled broadcast media was not impeded. A letter ordering closure from the Uganda Communications Commission (UCC) gave no reason for the shutdown.³³

In exercise of its functions under section 5(1) and 56 of the Uganda Communications Act of 2013, Uganda Communications Commission hereby directs you to implement a temporary suspension of the operation of all your Internet Gateways and associated access points. This suspension should take effect at 7pm this day of 13th January 2021 and continue until otherwise directed.

The internet shutdown was arbitrary and did not come about through any factfinding or rule making procedure on public notice or with hearings. The UN Special Rapporteur has noted the internet shutdown's impact on the election process³⁴.

I am receiving worrying allegations of internet shutdown & blocking of access to social media platforms ahead of tomorrow's general elections in #Uganda. Access to information & communication tools is critical for fair, transparent & peaceful elections @DefendDefenders @accessnow

Loss of the internet shutdown prevented private media from covering the election and its aftermath. As the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) noted³⁵, private websites such as Uganda's Observer stopped publishing news and tweets, while state-owned Uganda Broadcasting Corporation (UBC) was able to continue updating its websites.

²⁸ <https://www.civicus.org/index.php/media-resources/news/4817-uganda-egregious-measures-threaten-free-and-fair-elections>

²⁹ <https://www.hrw.org/news/2021/01/21/uganda-elections-marred-violence>

³⁰ <https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSL1N2JN0SH>

³¹ <https://www.monitor.co.ug/uganda/news/national/bobi-launches-app-to-monitor-election-result-3246052>

³² <https://ekyooto.co.uk/2021/01/09/museveni-blocks-bobis-u-vote-app-on-mobile-play-store/>

³³ <https://twitter.com/nbstv/status/1349404534536351744>

³⁴ <https://twitter.com/cvoule/status/1349308270058614784>

³⁵ <https://cpj.org/2021/01/internet-access-cut-social-media-banned-during-uganda-elections/>

The internet shutdown interfered with the prompt collating of voting results. Ordinarily, Uganda uses an internet-based system for collecting and forwarding voting responses but could not due to the Internet shutdown. No evidence has been presented as to how the vote tally was conducted in the absence of the internet. The Electoral Commission claimed “We are not using local internet to transmit our results, we are using our own system” but did not identify any other voting transmission system or method in operation³⁶, nor has any been identified in the Commission’s regulations. The lack of internet access also prevented use of biometric scanning machines to identify voters, further delaying voting³⁷, a process that discouraged voter turnout, prejudicing the opposition.

Of the approximately 35,000 polling stations where voting took place there were 409 where the voter turnout was 100%. Museveni got 95.8% at these polling stations³⁸.

An analysis of the Declaration of Results (DoR) forms of Isingiro shows massive fraud in the Polling Stations there. Of the 508 DoR forms, an analysis found that on 47 of them the number of ballot papers submitted was higher than the number of registered voters. For 119 polling stations the number of female voters was higher than the number of registered women. For 97 polling stations the number of male voters was higher than the number of registered men. For about 42% of the polling stations the officials have not been able to conceal the fraud. The other 58% of the DoRs are also doctored. The accumulated evidence of videos, DoR analysis and testimonies leave no other conclusion than that in Isingiro no presidential elections took place. (See page 60-61)

The Electoral Commission disclosed that at least 1,200 polling stations were not counted because the Commission claimed it had a 48-hour period to report a result and could not obtain such information in time from these polling stations. These uncounted stations were situated in Kampala and other communities where Bobi Wine was otherwise polling 75% of the returns that were counted³⁹. As to the 1,200 stations, the Electoral Commission conceded their exclusion only when confronted by the Daily Monitor news organization; it is unclear how many other polling stations in NUP strongholds were ignored by the Electoral Commission and not counted. According to an affidavit by Betty Namboze, vote tallying in Mukono had not ended when the EC made its announcement, so those votes couldn’t have been included.

Following the election, a reign of terror has descended upon Uganda’s opposition, primarily the NUP and Bobi Wine. NUP staff and officials have been hunted down throughout the nation, including its Assistant General Secretary who was arrested; the party’s General Secretary escaped custody but a laptop containing Declaration Returns (DR’s), the duplicate of voting data provided to each campaign that allows a cross-reference between the number of persons registered and those voting, was taken by security forces and not returned to the NUP. Security forces raided the NUP’s party headquarters on January 15, 2021, arrested its remaining personnel, confiscated all files and locked the facility. The purpose of such raids and arrests was to obtain the DoRs that

³⁶ <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-uganda-election-idUSKBN29K0Q5>,

³⁷ <https://findbiometrics.com/biometric-voter-machines-fail-after-ugandan-president-shuts-down-internet-during-election-011407/>

³⁸ <https://ugandaradionetwork.com/story/409-polling-stations-had-100-voter-turnout-giving-museveni-95-8>

³⁹ <https://www.monitor.co.ug/uganda/special-reports/ec-excludes-results-from-over-1-200-polling-stations-3260542>

were in the lawful possession of the NUP and that could identify election abuses throughout the country.

The NUP and the Wine campaign could not completely document excess votes at polling stations above the registered voters because the government raids resulted in the loss of such data. However the collection of DoRs by UVote team and the publication of DoRs on the Electoral Commission website has made it possible to present the fraud in this report.

In the most notorious post-election act, after voting on Thursday, January 14 Mr. and Mrs. Kyagulanyi, along with their gardener and a single remaining campaign aide, and their 18-month old niece, were placed on house arrest, their compound surrounded by hundreds of soldiers and at least a dozen military vehicles. For 11 days (until January 26, 2021) no visitors were permitted except lawyers on a single occasion (and only after the Kyagulanyis' food supply had run out). Soldiers and police patrolled inside the perimeter of their compound. The Kyagulanyis were forcibly brought back into their home each time they have attempted to leave. Barbara Kyagulanyi was manhandled and hauled back into the house by soldiers after she attempted to bring in food from their garden. See Part III of this Report .

In sum leading opposition candidate and a member of parliament and his family were kept in custody and isolation for 11 days after the election, a critical time for any political party to be able to reach supporters, lawyers and researchers. Even the U.S. Ambassador Natalie E. Brown was barred from entering⁴⁰. The military even prohibited the father of Barbara Kyagulanyi's 18-month old niece (who had been staying with them) from picking up his baby daughter. She, too, was held in house arrest. The Uganda government claims it took such action to prevent rioting. Despite this brutal treatment, no charges were lodged against them. On January 25, 2021, the Uganda court ordered the military to stand down⁴¹.

⁴⁰ <https://www.voanews.com/africa/uganda-accuses-us-meddling-after-ambassador-tries-visit-opposition-candidate>

⁴¹ <https://www.voanews.com/africa/uganda-court-orders-opposition-leader-released-house-arrest>

PART I: VIOLENCE AND COERCIVE MEASURES PRECEDING THE UGANDA ELECTION

Beginning November 18, 2020 the Uganda government initiated a pattern of violence and abuses designed to intimidate voters and opposition parties, particularly Bobi Wine and the NUP. On this date Bobi Wine was arrested by Uganda security forces for allegedly violating anti-COVID regulations for appearing at a political rally and was charged with spreading a communicable disease.

From November 18, 2020 to November 20, 2020, when he was released on bail, at least 54 protestors demanding Bobi Wine's release were shot and killed by the Uganda military and police who acted under "shoot to kill" orders from Uganda Security Minister Elly Tumwine. Hundreds of others were grievously wounded, including persons mutilated by bullets and tear gas canisters fired wildly into crowds or who were run over by military or campaign vehicles.

These actions interfered with a neutral and civil election process, to impose an atmosphere of terror upon the electorate before the election and to create an appearance of danger for those who engage in political participation to favor the ruling party and General Museveni, in particular. These are addressed below.

"SHOOT TO KILL" ORDERS ISSUED BY SECURITY MINISTER TUMWINE

Uganda Security Minister Tumwine issued the "shoot to kill" orders directed against civilian demonstrators. Widespread use of shoot to kill, beatings and other violence have been practiced by the Uganda police and military since 2018 and, in particular, since the November 18, 2020 arrest of Bobi Wine at a campaign event.

Security Minister Tumwine stated broadly and generally that "police have a right to shoot you and kill you if you reach a certain level of violence" without defining the point at which police could use deadly force. Tumwine stated:

Can I repeat? Police have a right to shoot you and you die for nothing....do it at your own risk.⁴²

No guidelines or regulations were released by Tumwine or any agency under his authority governing or restraining the "shoot to kill" authority.

On November 20, 2020 Tumwine directly threatened political protestors:

"We can act in a very short time...those who think they can cause a disruption even if you take us by surprise as was on the 18th, when we organize we shall put you in your place." NTV Video, 11-20-20.

Minister Tumwine's "shoot to kill" instructions are part of a regularized pattern and practice of the Uganda government. In late 2019, Colonel Felix Abucha, the deputy commander of the Local Defense Units [LDU] in Kampala publicly stated that shoot to kill orders would be applied even to non-violent offenses such as "stealing":

⁴² <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-55016519>

“We want a very free Kampala, we want our people to enjoy peace throughout and for us we are not like the police sincerely speaking; **we fire to kill**, if you want to steal, you will die; sincerely speaking we shall kill you. We are here, **we shall kill you**. Whether you are our friend, whether you are with us in uniform but we get you stealing, **we shall not spare your life**, we shall take your life and that’s the order; people should know that.”

“We have started and you have seen on television. **For us we shoot to kill**. We are not breaking people’s legs. We shall shoot to kill; **the head and the chest are our target**. If you play around with our Ugandans, we shall kill you. If you prepare to come and steal at night, you will lay down in your blood...”

Colonel Abucha’s statement was first aired on BBS Terefayina, a Buganda kingdom-owned television station in the Buganda subdivision of Uganda, and reported on January 1, 2020 in The Observer, a Uganda based media outlet⁴³. See].

INCITEMENT BY GENERAL YOWERI MUSEVENI

The violence directed at protestors beginning in or about November 18, 2020 is also the product of incitement by General Museveni.

On August 18, 2020 in a speech given at an on-line conference of Museveni’s National Resistance Movement, his political party, the General stated that opposition protestors would “be crushed”. He stated: “You will see what NRM means. We are going to crush those criminals.”⁴⁴

Museveni’s Endorsement of Police Beatings of Bobi Wine

At a graduation ceremony on August 21, 2020 for 4,809 new police recruits Museveni told the recruits that the August 2018 beating of Bobi Wine was correct and appropriate, a direct act of incitement to violence against a sitting member of the Uganda Parliament and candidate for president. On this occasion Museveni directly endorsed beatings and violence upon Bobi Wine:

“The other day there was a fracas in West Nile where our young friend Bobi Wine was ... fighting with security people and I think they beat him a bit... And then they came and said, oh, a member of parliament was beaten. Well, I said, OK let me study how he was beaten. Now when I studied I found the men had beaten properly, in the right way.” [Laughter and applause are heard at this point, and others, on the tape].

Museveni’s comments, in full, describing his validation of the beating of at the Hon. Kyagulanyi, a member of Uganda’s parliament have been publicly recorded at the graduation ceremony and a video file is available⁴⁵.

Museveni: “Nobody has more guns than us.”

⁴³ <https://observer.ug/news/headlines/63062-army-gives-ldus-shoot-to-kill-orders> [emphasis added]

⁴⁴ <https://youtu.be/UY12LQegDu4>

⁴⁵ <https://youtu.be/vMTAwsHC-TU>

On November 2, 2020 while he was accepting his National Resistance Movement's nomination, Museveni stated openly that his government would use force against political opponents and protestors:

*"They are planning all sorts of stupid things to disrupt the election process. The ones who want to disturb our peace, don't try because we shall deal with you. Whoever tries will regret. Nobody should be intimidated by these crooks. I am already president and want to come back. The ruling party fought to bring peace in this country. **Nobody has more guns than us.**"⁴⁶*

The Associated Press reported identical comments⁴⁷.

Museveni's November 19, 2020 threat to opposition parties

On November 19, 2020 Museveni threatened protestors again, this time describing them as being the work of foreigners who do not like "our stability. . . but they will discover what they are looking for. . .they will soon lose that appetite...whoever started it will regret...". In this same speech, Museveni describes the Bobi Wine campaign as financed by foreigners, and, in particular, foreign "homosexuals", appealing to a latent prejudice in Uganda as a further means of inciting violence against NUP and its supporters. Museveni's statements are recorded in the following video⁴⁸, see also here⁴⁹.

Museveni calls opposition parties "criminal gangs" Cites Biblical threat of death to sinners November 30, 2020

In a November 30, 2020 speech, following the violence that left 54 civilians dead and hundreds wounded, many mutilated for life, Museveni condemned all opposing political parties, calling them "criminal gangs". He made the following statement relative to the use of force on civilians participating in the political process:

In the book of Romans Chapter One, Verse 32, it says, 'Who, knowing the righteous judgement of God, that those who practice such things are deserving of death, not only do the same, but also approve of those who practice them.'⁵⁰

In giving this address, Museveni directly threatened the civilian population with military reprisals if it voted to support the opposition. He delivered the speech wearing a military flack jacket. Such statement was designed to enhance an atmosphere of fear and terror to influence the election against the opposition candidates and to validate the use of violence by the military and police.

PRE-ELECTION VIOLENCE DIRECTED AT BOBI WINE

These threats of violence are not abstract but have been carried out by the government of Uganda during the election campaign. Bobi Wine, in particular, has been subject to

⁴⁶ <https://pearlradio.co.ke/2020/11/04/uganda-opposition-candidate-arrested-after-presidential-nomination/>

⁴⁷ <https://apnews.com/article/yoweri-museveni-elections-bobi-wine-arrests-uganda-cbbbe0c26dfca3485f0a99b5f35296b6>

⁴⁸ <https://youtu.be/A0MAf0znaec>

⁴⁹ <https://www.matookerepublic.com/2020/11/20/those-attacking-nrm-people-in-riots-will-soon-lose-appetite-we-area-fighters-and-they-are-entering-an-are-we-understand-museveni/>

⁵⁰ <https://www.voanews.com/africa/uganda-president-quotes-bible-ominous-message-opposition>

multiple arrests, beatings and attempted murder in connection with his campaign for the presidency of Uganda. The affidavit by Saasi Marvin at the end of this report also describes the chain of events.

THE NOVEMBER 3, 2020 ARREST OF BOBI WINE AND CANDIDATE PATRICK AMURIAT

On November 3, 2020, Bobi Wine was arrested, detained and tortured for several hours after he filed his papers for candidacy at the Election Commission in Kampala.

He was pulled out of his vehicle and forced into a police van where he was beaten and physically abused. Mr. Wine was eventually driven to his home while police remained heavily deployed in the neighborhood. Wine has made the following public statement concerning the arrest and abuse:

"The torture, the beating took place in the police vehicle where I was detained for close to three hours.

"They sprayed me with tear gas... hot metal was placed in my hands, I have scars all over, my whole body hurts."

These comments were reported by Agent France Presse (AFP)⁵¹.

Also arrested when attempting to register was Patrick Amuriat of the opposition Forum for Democratic Change, another leading opposition candidate. Mr. Amuriat has been arrested nine times since his nomination, all under the pretext of traffic violations. On one occasions while campaigning he was arrested for "riding on top of a vehicle contrary to the Road Safety and Traffic Act", a pretextual charge against a campaigning politician⁵².

The police justified such arrests on the ground that they "feared" the candidates had "plans of holding illegal processions," as reported by the Associated Press⁵³.

THE NOVEMBER 18, 2020 ARREST OF BOBI WINE GOVERNMENT SHOOTINGS OF PROTESTERS AND BYSTANDERS

Video released on 11-19-20 by AFP shows Bobi Wine being forcibly arrested and forced into a personnel carrier. .

Following Wine's arrest, the AFP video depicts military figures patrolling Kampala; one is seen loading a machine gun and others are seen firing randomly towards civilians.

The AFP video depicts multiple instances of military figures firing upon civilians. None of the civilians are shown to be armed⁵⁴.

BBC DOCUMENTARY 'THREE KILLINGS IN KAMPALA'

⁵¹ <https://www.barrons.com/news/uganda-s-bobi-wine-detained-after-filing-presidential-candidacy-01604410207>

⁵² <https://www.monitor.co.ug/uganda/news/national/police-detain-amuriat-four-days-to-election-3252776>

⁵³ <https://apnews.com/article/yoweri-museveni-elections-bobi-wine-arrests-uganda-cbbbe0c26dfca3485f0a99b5f35296b6>

⁵⁴ <https://youtu.be/DTPGBwre4Ow>

On 30 May, BBC Africa Eye aired the bombshell documentary 'Three killings in Kampala'. It contains three stories. The first story documents a killing spree on Kampala Road, and shows damning evidence that Ugandan security forces, firing from the back of police truck 17, shot at least seven unarmed people⁵⁵.



Above: Police truck 17. Below: The 7 casualties on Kampala Road.



⁵⁵ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g7d2AvLEPyA>

The second story is about sisters Shakira and Shamin on Jinja Road. As Security Forces passed by, they shot at the crowd and hit the sisters. Both survived, but Shamin lost her unborn triplet.

The third story is about 15-year old Segawa Amos who was shot in the mouth by a passing police car. He died upon arrival in the hospital. After the BBC publication, the Ugandan government refused to start an investigation. Instead, the editor of the Daily Monitor who reported about the killings was interrogated for 4 hours by Ugandan police. The documentary has been ignored by most of the Ugandan press.

INDISCRIMINATE FIRING AT CIVILIANS ON NOVEMBER 24, 2020

A CNN Video Report, released November 24, 2020 states that police and military fired at populated crowds to force their dispersion⁵⁶:

Witnesses described a chaotic scene with police, the military and plainclothes gunmen firing rifles in heavily populated areas to try and disperse the protestors.

A police spokesman whose face was masked at a press event at the government-owned Uganda Media Center confirmed abusive and excess use of force against civilians, stating,

“That there were quite a number of incidents where the officers “allegedly conducted themselves unprofessionally”.

A typical example of indiscriminate firing appears in this video⁵⁷ in which plainclothes officers fired randomly and indiscriminately into the air in civilian areas.

UGANDA GOVERNMENT REFUSES TO RELEASE RECORDS OF CIVILIAN CASUALTIES

Hundreds of civilians are believed to have been shot or beaten by police and military personnel from November 18-20 but the exact number is not known as records have not been released by Uganda. Dr. Joyce Kaducu, State Minister for Primary Health Care reported that at Mulago Hospital in Kampala 48 gunshot victims were admitted to this single facility on November 18, 2020, the date of Mr. Wine's arrest, with 14 more victims admitted the following morning⁵⁸. It is believed that several hundred persons were injured between November 18 and 20, 2020 but the government has not released figures for other hospitals. As the photographic and video evidence below shows, victims of grievous and mutilating wounds were left unattended in the streets. On January 4th the Daily Monitor published an overview^{59 60} of all the lives lost.

⁵⁶ <https://youtu.be/VOIJOZYRhJM>

⁵⁷ <https://twitter.com/observerug/status/1329335187126280193>.

⁵⁸ <https://youtu.be/ULFsoVR5Vfs>

⁵⁹ <https://www.monitor.co.ug/uganda/special-reports/lives-we-lost-dream-of-escaping-poverty-cut-short-by-bullet-3247144>

⁶⁰ <https://www.monitor.co.ug/uganda/special-reports/many-protest-victims-were-below-30-years-says-survey-3246742>

Sports

Ruthless Arsenal silence Big Sam
Arsenal turned up at The Hawthorns in style, ruthlessly thrashing Sam Allardyce's West Bromwich Albion 4-0. **P30**



Emotional Cranes reunion for Micho
Former Cranes coach Micho Sredojevic has lavished praises on midfielder Tony Mawejje ahead of Uganda-Zambia clash in Chan mini-tourney today. **P35**

SPORTS SUMMARY



Caf: Mutebi back, and raring to go

With at least \$25,000 (shillings) in sight if KCCA squares it to the Caf Confederation group stage, Mike Mutebi has vowed to win his players back while trying to overturn Aki Kipkute's 2-0 advantage in the Caf Confederation Cup first round on Wednesday. **P32**



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DAILY MONITOR

UGANDA
CASES: 35,712
RECOVERED: 12,897
DEATHS: 274

Covid-19
Mak, ministry trade blame over ventilators ... **P.7**

Healthy Living
How culture and religion affect mental health **P.16**

ELECTION COUNTDOWN
10 DAYS TO GO

November riots: The lives we lost

CUTSHORT: In a new series beginning today, we chronicle how bullets prematurely shattered the blooming dreams of dozens during two days of madness last November. Grieving families and friends share the triumphs, travails and final moments of relatives in a way that offers insights into the victims' lives beyond death statistics. Stories and photos on Pages 3,4,5



54
Dead: The number of victims of the protests

Deadly fire: Military men attempt to put out a fire during the November 18, 2020 protests in Kampala.



ELECTIONS PLATFORM IT'S YOUR DUTY TO REMOVE NRM PARTY FROM POWER, AMUKIAT TELLS LUWERO VOTERS **P.6**

ARREST AND BEATING OF GHETTO TV JOURNALIST ASHRAF KASI RYE

During the November 18, 2020 arrest of Mr. Wine, Ghetto TV journalist Ashraf Kasi rye was left unconscious after being pepper sprayed by police officers during Bobi Wine's arrest in Luuka District. A photograph depicting the arrest of Mr. Kasi rye in which he is manhandled by three uniformed soldiers appears below⁶¹:



Daily Monitor also describes how journalists such as Moses Waiswa were brutally beaten⁶². As set forth below, Mr. Kasi rye was shot in the head at another campaign event on December 27, 2020.

⁶¹ On 20 May 2021 the African Institute for Investigative Journalism released the video "Targeted". It shows clear footage of how the security forces abused Ashraf Kasi rye <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qFvccY8dcpE>

⁶² <https://www.monitor.co.ug/uganda/news/national/police-beat-up-journalists-covering-bobi-wine-campaign-trail-3226432>

ATTEMPTED MURDER OF BOBI WINE AND FRANCIS ZAAKE ON DECEMBER 1, 2020

On December 1, 2020 Bobi Wine and his close political associate, Uganda MP Francis Zaake, were fired upon by the military in the vicinity of Kayunga while driving toward Jinja, a campaign destination. MP Zaake is a leading member of Uganda's parliamentary opposition.

Police fired into the windshield, narrowly missing Mr. Zaake and Mr. Wine's driver who were in the front seat of the passenger vehicle.

In these photographs, Mr. Wine can be seen pointing to the bullet entry points on the



windshield.

The second image in the set depicts the bullet entry in the windshield immediately to the side of MP Zaake while he is positioned in the front passenger seat; the entry point demonstrates the military's intent to kill the occupants of the car.

Multiple shots were fired at the campaign vehicle. For instance, the lower left hand image depicts a second bullet entry on what appears to be the wheel frame. The lower right-hand image depicts a destroyed passenger side front tire from a bullet.

As the windshield images plainly depict, the bullet was fired in a manner intended to cause the death of M.P. Zaake and comprises attempted murder of Zaake, the driver and/or Robert Kyagulanyi.

BEATING OF SIX JOURNALISTS BY SECURITY FORCES December 11, 2020

On December 11, in Lira, Uganda government security personnel violently beat a group of six or more journalists covering MP Kyagulanyi's campaign.

Busoga One FM reporter Moses Waiswa; BBS Terefayina reporter/anchor Ssesanga Batte; NTV Uganda reporter John Cliff Wamala; Bukedde TV Reporter David Tamale; Pearl of Africa Radio Atusingwize Jonan; Ghetto Media reporter Ronald Mugenyi were among the journalists beaten by security personnel.

Accordingly to reports and statements by the journalists, they were beaten with the butts of guns and batons. The reporters suffered head injuries, broken bones, brain injuries, and lacerations and bruising throughout their bodies.

The beatings were covered by multiple media organizations including Daily Monitor⁶³, Human Rights Network for Journalists (HRN)⁶⁴ and Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ)⁶⁵.

Moses Waiswa, a reporter for Busoga 1-FM, was severely beaten in the head and rushed to hospital in critical condition and hospitalized for two days as a result of the severity of his head injuries. He, too, was beaten while covering the Wine campaign outside Lira; according to reports he still suffers from headaches and complications of the beatings. In this photograph showing his head and facial injuries, Mr. Waiswa's press pass identifying him as a reporter for Bosugo 1-FM is plainly visible:



⁶³ <https://www.monitor.co.ug/uganda/news/national/police-beat-up-journalists-covering-bobi-wine-campaign-trail-3226432>

⁶⁴ <https://www.hrnjuganda.org/journalists-covering-presidential-candidate-kyagulanyi-brutally-attacked-by-security-forces/>

⁶⁵ <https://cpj.org/2021/01/police-beat-detain-journalists-covering-opposition-candidates-ahead-of-uganda-elections/>

Photographs showing journalist Waiswa's injuries while receiving triage appear below:



These experiences have been common to many journalists covering the campaign⁶⁶. The regime has used a practice and policy of abuse of journalists to discourage coverage of opposition candidates' campaigns, especially Bobi Wine.

The movie "Targeted" by the African Institute for Investigative Journalism explains well the campaign by Ugandan government against journalists.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ <https://www.monitor.co.ug/uganda/special-reports/elections/monitor-journalists-share-their-experiences-on-campaign-trail-3257874>

⁶⁷ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qFvccY8dcpE&t=1s>

ATTACK BY UGANDAN MILITARY POLICE December 27, 2020

On December 27, 2020, during a peaceful campaign rally, Mr. Kyagulani's bodyguard Francis Senteza, was murdered by Military Police in central Uganda during a campaign stop.

According to reports and witness statements, Mr. Senteza died from wounds sustained after being crushed and run over by a Military Police truck. Reports confirm Senteza was attempting to aid Ashraf Kasirye, the journalist, who sustained a serious head injury after MP's shot him in the head with a tear gas canister. Bobi Wine announced the killing of Senteza and identified the number plate of the military vehicle that killed him:

I regret to announce the murder of my security team member Francis Senteza Kalibala aka Frank. He was deliberately run over by military-police truck, No. H4DF 2382, which blocked us in Busega on our way to Rubaga to get Kasirye Ashraf emergency medical attention."

Source: Reuters, December 27, 2020⁶⁸

On the same occasion, Bobi Wine's media consultant and also journalist Ashiraf Kasirye were shot in the head, as per the photograph of Kasirye below:



In a Whatsapp interview⁶⁹ that the author had on 18 July with Ashraf he declared that the bullet that hit him was shot by Enock Abaine, Assistant Commissioner of Police.

⁶⁸ <https://ca.news.yahoo.com/ugandas-bobi-wine-says-bodyguard-170638095.html>

⁶⁹ <https://diaspora.nup-uganda.com/?p=313>

A video depicting the injury to Mr. Kasirye and the efforts by NUP security to bring him to an ambulance can be accessed on Youtube⁷⁰: .

During this same incident, Ali Mivule, a journalist from television station NTV, was struck by a tear gas canister fired on civilians and journalists by Ugandan Military Police. Mr. Mivule survived the incident. See Rodney Mhumuza, Associated Press, December 27, 2020.^{71 72}

ARREST, DETENTION AND ATTACK ON KALANGALA ISLAND December 30, 2020

As a prelude to destabilizing the campaign, on December 30, 2020, while on a routine campaign stop in Kalangala Island, Lake Victoria, Uganda, Bobi Wine was arrested along with his campaign staff and transported via helicopter to Kampala where he was released with no charges filed.

All 124 campaign staff members were arrested, separated from M.P. Kyagulanyi (Bobi Wine) and detained at an unknown location for an indeterminate period. A court ordered bail for 85 staff members but none have been released. Most of them have been transferred to Kitalya prison.

On January 8, 2021, 49 of the campaign staff arrested in Kalangala were produced in a military court and charged with possessing Ugandan army weapons, as reported by Human Rights Watch⁷³. The remainder of the 124 campaign staff have not been seen or produced by the government.

After being separated from his staff, Kyagulanyi was forcibly escorted to his home by helicopter by at least ten soldiers; his home was then surrounded by the Ugandan military. Once they had removed Kyagulanyi, the Ugandan Police fired tear gas into civilians who had gathered for the campaign event on Kalangala Island.

These events occurred during a peaceful campaign rally in which the only violence was perpetrated by Ugandan Police on unarmed civilians, as reported by Reuters⁷⁴ and Voice of America⁷⁵.

As reported in the Daily Monitor, January 9, 2021, many of the arrested campaign staff showed signs of abuse and torture when they appeared in court:

“When they appeared in court after five days of detention, dozens of them appeared to be limping as they hopped out of the prison truck at Masaka Magistrate’s Court. They later displayed wounds on various parts of their bodies before the court as they pleaded for mercy, saying they had been tortured.”

⁷⁰ <https://youtu.be/zwRHFprM4DE>

⁷¹ <https://apnews.com/article/kampala-coronavirus-pandemic-uganda-bobi-wine-6d9d870f0da33e44dbb108863144301e>

⁷² See also <https://www.pmldaily.com/news/2020/12/bobi-wine-visits-frail-ghetto-media-journalist-ashiraf-kasirye-in-hospital.html>; Rodney Mhumuza, Associated Press, December 27, 2020, <https://apnews.com/article/kampala-coronavirus-pandemic-uganda-bobi-wine-6d9d870f0da33e44dbb108863144301e>.

⁷³ <https://www.hrw.org/news/2021/01/21/uganda-elections-marred-violence>

⁷⁴ <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-uganda-politics/uganda-opposition-candidate-bobi-wine-arrested-police-fire-tear-gas-at-protesters-idUSKBN29419V>

⁷⁵ <https://www.voanews.com/africa/uganda-authorities-arrest-bobi-wine-during-campaign-stop>

The attack and arrest on Kalangala were a premeditated and planned assault on the campaign. Police were observed bringing vans and personnel onto the island's ferry ahead of the rally, as the Economist's correspondent reported⁷⁶.

ARRESTS OF OTHER POLITICAL FIGURES ON CHARGES OF TREASON

Former Olympic boxer Justin Juuko was arrested on December 12, 2020 and detained for 19 days in army custody on charges of treason⁷⁷.

Mr. Juuko was arrested with a colleague, Mr Garrypaul Mayanja; both were supporters of the Forum for Democratic Change that, along with Mr. Wine's party, opposes the Museveni regime.

They had been arrested by the Chieftaincy of Military Intelligence (CMI) on charges of treachery under Section 129(C) of the Uganda People's Defence Force (UPDF) Act and illegal possession of firearms, the same charges ultimately used to continue the detention of Mr. Wine's staff.

The two were accused of allegedly training and mobilising youth from Kyengera, Kamnengo, Lukaya, Masaka, Kyabakusa and Lyantonde *"on how to use martial arts, small arms (pistol and SMG) and catapults against Ugandans after the January 14, 2021 elections."*

No apparent basis existed for these charges and none was offered in court and their detention appears to have arisen from their role in a political opposition party.

Mr. Juuko and Mr. Mayanja were released after 19 days without charges being lodged against them.

ASSAULT AND TEAR GASSING OF BOBI WINE BY UGANDAN POLICE DURING INTERNATIONAL PRESS CONFERENCE

January 7, 2021

On January 7, 2020 MP Kyagulanyi convened a press conference with most of the world's major media via video conference to announce the filing of a Criminal Complaint with the International Criminal Court against President Yoweri Museveni and other officials relative to human rights abuses, violence, unlawful arrests, torture, political oppression and killings. An international event, it was attended by the Associated Press, Reuters, The Wall Street Journal, CNN, The New York Times, Vice News, Al Jazeera and The Guardian, among others, along with representatives of NGO's.

During the press conference, conducted from Mr. Kyagulanyi's campaign vehicle, Ugandan Military Police with their nameplates and badges removed, pulled a troop transport alongside Mr. Kyagulanyi's vehicle and followed at a close range.

Multiple times during the press conference this military vehicle fired tear gas canisters at and into Mr. Kyagulanyi's vehicle and fired bullets in the air over and in front of the campaign vehicle.

⁷⁶ <https://www.economist.com/middle-east-and-africa/2021/01/02/after-34-years-ugandas-president-has-no-intention-of-retiring>

⁷⁷ <https://www.monitor.co.ug/uganda/news/national/former-boxer-justin-juuko-released-3244322>

At one occasion, Mr. Kyagulanyi's vehicle stopped on the roadside, and Ugandan police approached demanding the vehicle be moved from its parked location. After refusing to move the car (that was on a rural road and not obstructing traffic), Ugandan Police, with badges and nameplates removed, forced entry into Mr. Kyagulanyi's vehicle and dragged him by the head and neck onto the roadside onto his knees. Police proceeded to tear gas and assault Hon. Kyagulanyi, and then fired dozed of bullets into the air and ground as he was held down on the roadside.

After approximately five (5) minutes, MP Kyagulanyi returned to his vehicle, where he resumed his press conference with video before global media. This event was widely reported on by Reuters⁷⁸, Vice⁷⁹, the Associated Press⁸⁰ and others.

Video footage of the press conference in which Kyagulanyi is forcibly dragged out of the vehicle and repeatedly fired upon appears can be found on Vanguard Facebook page⁸¹.

This incident occurred during a private, press conference held via video conference from Mr. Kyagulanyi's vehicle. No crowds were present. Mr. Kyagulanyi and his staff were peacefully driving through villages in the surrounding areas of Kampala when they were violently attacked.

During the press conference, Mr. Kyagulanyi stated that earlier on the same day, January 7, 2021, his campaign and vehicles were stopped by Ugandan Police and twenty-three (23) of his staff were unlawfully arrested, with no provocation or illegal activities.

This incident demonstrates the repeated pattern of unlawful violence, arrest and individuation undertaken by the Museveni Regime against his electoral opponent, Mr. Kyagulani, a sitting Member of Parliament.

⁷⁸ <https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-uganda-election-bobi-wine/ugandas-bobi-wine-asks-icc-to-investigate-rights-abuses-idUSKBN29C2JI>

⁷⁹ <https://www.vice.com/en/article/k7an9z/ugandan-opposition-leader-bobi-wine-tear-gassed-during-zoom-call>

⁸⁰ <https://apnews.com/article/bobi-wine-yoweri-museveni-courts-elections-east-africa-f558e3f678c47f0e6a26a97bc015d5ab>

⁸¹ https://m.facebook.com/story.php?story_fbid=4100400283304725&id=1059157787460669

PART II: SHOOTINGS, MUTILATIONS AND BEATINGS OF UGANDAN CIVILIANS BEGINNING NOVEMBER 18, 2020

In the eight weeks preceding the election, following the “shoot to kill” orders described above and with the intention to maintain an atmosphere of terror during the campaign, the Ugandan police and military fired indiscriminately at protestors and bystanders. This occurred at protests beginning November 18, 2020 following Bobi Wine’s arrest on that date. This atmosphere of violence and intimidation was designed to create a sense of coercion and fear to suppress opposition political activity and set the stage for suppression of political protest after the January 14, 2021 election. Four representative cases follow:

DEATH OF AMOS SESEGAWA, HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT

Amos Sesegawa, a senior in Lubiri High School, Buloba, was home from school due to closing for COVID 19 and was aiding his mother in her Kampala shop. At 11 AM on November 19, 2020 his mother closed the shop and walked with her son to Cornerstone Plaza on the way to their transport home. Gunshots were heard, Amos was struck and fell to the ground. No ambulance appeared. No police or military officials rendered aid to Amos who was bleeding heavily and was left unattended. A nearby journalist placed him on a motor scooter to be driven to hospital where he later died. NTV released a video on November 24, 2020⁸². The killing of Amos is included in the BBC documentary “Three killing in Kampala” (page 23-24).

BEATING OF CIVILIANS FORCED OUT OF A LOCKER BY SMOKE GRENADE

A video⁸³ depicts two unarmed male protestors, seeking protection by removing themselves to a large metal locker, closing the door behind and closing a switch plate that would prevent viewing of the interior.

Seconds later, a soldier in uniform opens the switch plate from the outside and drops a tear gas or smoke grenade into the locker. Three seconds later there is an explosion and smoke shoots out of the locker.

The soldier then reappears as approximately six occupants emerge while smoke continues to emit from the locker. All of the occupants are unarmed civilians. They walk out of the locker with their hands in the air or outspread but the video depicts the soldier repeatedly beating two of the individuals with a wooden object ***as they sit on the ground***.

After this initial beating, the soldier resumes beating the individuals. The civilians had placed their arms in the air to demonstrate surrender at the time of the beatings.

MURDER OF KAMIYAT NANGOBI AS SHE SERVED FOOD TO CUSTOMERS

Kamiyat Nangobi, one of the first reported deaths, was a waitress shot in the head while she was serving customers food. A witness reported⁸⁴ that Ms. Nangobi “was shot by soldiers on a police patrol truck which was driving in a zig-zag way up and down Kampala Road. There were three policemen and three soldiers on the truck.” Two other people were shot next door, at Little Bee Restaurant, but they survived. The BBC documentary

⁸² <https://youtu.be/aBECRHzvcE>

⁸³ <https://mobile.twitter.com/kizzabesigye1/status/1330440056209895425?s=24>

⁸⁴ <https://www.monitor.co.ug/uganda/special-reports/dreams-cut-short-by-bullets-3250006>

“Three killings in Kampala” (page 23-24) showed that in a couple of minutes 7 innocent civilians were shot by Police truck 17.

Woman Attacked by Museveni Campaign Vehicle on November 18, 2020

What follows is a photograph of a woman at the scene of the protest with her left foot and ankle approximately 90 percent detached after an attack by a yellow Museveni campaign vehicle. The campaign vehicle drove intentionally through a group of protesters and onlookers at the side of the road in Kampala. She is lying in a central square. The first video⁸⁵ shows the wreck of the campaign vehicle and that she is moving and attempting to cover the destroyed limb.

The video of 18 November shows that no assistance from police or other officials was provided; the woman lays alone with her severed limb in a pool of blood. She later died. A second video⁸⁶ shows the Museveni campaign vehicle running deliberately off the road and through the crowd..



⁸⁵ <https://www.dropbox.com/s/ilpb4sfx75nmel8/VIDEO%20Woman%20With%20Severed%20Limb%20-2020-11-18.mp4?dl=0>

⁸⁶ <https://youtu.be/unHwqlk4KD4>

INSTITUTIONALIZED PATTERN OF DELIBERATE HEAD, EYE AND OTHER WOUNDS INFLECTED BY MILITARY ON CIVILIANS

Injuries sustained by the wounded all depict the use of blunt instruments on the head, neck, arms, hands and torso or gunshots, typically presenting with a severe injury on the head above either the left or right eye. These are demonstrative of an institutional police practice of using batons to the victims' head. The following images and videos are typical of the beatings and violence inflicted on hundreds of Uganda civilians by police and military beginning November 18, 2020.

The first photograph below depicts a young man with severe head trauma and injuries incurred at the protests following Bobi Wine's November 18, 2020 arrest:



The following photograph depicts a young woman severely beaten on November 18, 2020 on the head, face and the left arm and hand:



The next photograph is an image of a middle-aged man with a severe wound to the head above the right eye being escorted for medical help; Bobi Wine is in the image escorting the individual along with other campaign officials:



This is a severely beaten man lying, apparently dead, in the street at the protest of November 18, 2020:



Following is an image of a young man with gunshot wounds on the face, eye and head, lying prone in the street, apparently dead; the head trauma is consistent with the institutionalized practice of the Uganda military and police in striking above and on the eye.



Below is a photograph of a young man, probably below the age of 15, killed with gunshot entry to the chest and severe gash on the left side of his head, lying in a pool of blood, killed at the November 18 protests:



On December 12, 2020 Emmanuel Bwambale, Amuru District Police Commander ordered local police to fire tear gas canisters and live ammunition at crowds supporting Mr. Wine in Elegu, Amuru District.

Ms Yasiin Zubeda, 26, a resident of Lorikowo Village, Elegu Sub-county, Amuru District, lost her left leg when a tear gas canister fired by police landed on her leg as she was waving at Bobi Wine's convoy. Ismail Buga, her husband, has said that doctors told him that the leg, seen dangling, had to be amputated:



(PHOTO/DAVID LUBOWA, Daily Monitor⁸⁷)

Each of these individuals were killed, beaten or mutilated as part of the shoot to kill orders issued by General Museveni and his subordinate officials prior to the election, including General Tumwine, Police Chief Achola and Colonel Abucha, among others, as discussed above. As General Museveni himself made clear, the purpose of the indiscriminate shooting was to create an understanding that force would be used following the election

⁸⁷ <https://www.monitor.co.ug/uganda/news/national/woman-loses-left-leg-as-police-block-bobi-wine-rally-in-elegu-3225930>

and that the government regarded the opposition parties as, in Museveni's words, "criminal gangs" to be extirpated. Museveni's statement to this effect appears at VOA news⁸⁸.

A series of articles by the Daily Monitor outlines some of the lives lost in by the actions of the police and military during the period November 18-20, 2020. They were mechanic⁸⁹, fruit seller⁹⁰, truck offloader Ssendagire⁹¹, shot in the eye⁹², 27-year old mam⁹³, Kagaali⁹⁴, 17-year old Peter Mwanje⁹⁵, herdsman⁹⁶, sales women⁹⁷, father-of-nine⁹⁸, moter biker⁹⁹, 25-year old Faisal¹⁰⁰, Ssekyanzi¹⁰¹, Tonny Masiko¹⁰², boda boda rider¹⁰³ or a 14-year old NUP supporter¹⁰⁴.

⁸⁸ <https://www.voanews.com/africa/uganda-president-quotes-bible-ominous-message-opposition>

⁸⁹ <https://www.monitor.co.ug/uganda/news/national/november-protests-mechanic-shot-while-buying-food-3251308>

⁹⁰ <https://www.monitor.co.ug/uganda/special-reports/lives-we-lost-fruit-seller-hit-while-entering-store-3251032>

⁹¹ <https://www.monitor.co.ug/uganda/special-reports/was-the-guinness-bottle-ssendagire-s-achilles-heel-3248966>

⁹² <https://www.monitor.co.ug/uganda/special-reports/lives-we-lost-bullet-hit-eye-of-people-power-fan-3247954>

⁹³ <https://www.monitor.co.ug/uganda/special-reports/lives-we-lost-27-year-old-lived-for-her-daughter-3248756>

⁹⁴ <https://www.monitor.co.ug/uganda/special-reports/lives-we-lost-dream-of-escaping-poverty-cut-short-by-bullet-3247144>

⁹⁵ <https://www.monitor.co.ug/uganda/special-reports/lives-we-lost-killed-on-fifth-day-of-his-new-job-3247940>

⁹⁶ <https://www.monitor.co.ug/uganda/special-reports/lives-we-lost-herdsman-shot-during-riots-3251104>

⁹⁷ <https://www.monitor.co.ug/uganda/special-reports/lives-we-lost-she-died-protecting-her-merchandise-3248990>

⁹⁸ <https://www.monitor.co.ug/uganda/special-reports/lives-we-lost-father-of-nine-died-after-bullet-tore-his-stomach-3251118>

⁹⁹ <https://www.monitor.co.ug/uganda/special-reports/lives-we-lost-shot-in-the-back-on-his-motorbike-3251018>

¹⁰⁰ <https://www.monitor.co.ug/uganda/special-reports/lives-we-lost-25-year-old-loses-life-after-prayers-3251120>

¹⁰¹ <https://www.monitor.co.ug/uganda/special-reports/lives-we-lost-ssekyanzi-was-an-inspiration-to-the-youth-back-home-3249012>

¹⁰² <https://www.monitor.co.ug/uganda/special-reports/lives-we-lost-shot-on-way-home-3248930>

¹⁰³ <https://www.monitor.co.ug/uganda/special-reports/lives-we-lost-he-was-a-committed-boda-boda-rider--3249020>

¹⁰⁴ <https://www.monitor.co.ug/uganda/news/national/he-was-targeted-for-wearing-a-red-jersey-3251356>

PART III: RIGGING OF THE JANUARY 14, 2021 ELECTION

On January 8, 2021, as part of a campaign to intimidate independent news coverage of Uganda's election, Uganda's Police Chief Martin Okoth Ochola warned that journalists who sought to cover election or campaign matters would be beaten: *"You are insisting you must go where there is danger. Yes, we shall beat you for your own sake to help you understand that you do not go there. Yes, we shall use reasonable force to ensure that you don't go where there is a risk. Actually, I have no apology,"* he said. His comments were reported by Reuters¹⁰⁵.

Beginning January 9, 2021, the Uganda government began a series of arrests, detentions, media shutdowns, imposition of military presence at all towns and cities, closure of the internet, intimidation of political party staff and other acts designed to impede a fair election, including detention of opposition aides and staff and inhibiting campaign communications. These acts were designed to create an atmosphere of fear to discourage voters and to prevent opposition parties and voters from documenting election abuse and fraud. In their totality, these acts destroyed the semblance of a fair and neutral election process.

PRE-ELECTION ARREST OF REMAINING WINE CAMPAIGN STAFF January 9, 2021

On January 7, 2021, police arrested the last remaining members of Bobi Wine's campaign staff still at liberty following the December 20, 2020 arrests on Kalangala Island¹⁰⁶.

"These 17 remaining staff members had escaped prior capture and were arrested at Kakoli Village in Budaka District, handcuffed and taken to Mbale Central Police Station.

A week ago, police had waylaid and arrested 126 Bobi Wine supporters in the islands of Kalangala District. When they appeared in court after five days of detention, dozens of them appeared to be limping as they hopped out of the prison truck at Masaka Magistrate's Court. They later displayed wounds on various parts of their bodies before the court as they pleaded for mercy, saying they had been tortured."

ASSAULT AND RAID ON KYAGULANYI HOME AND COMPOUND January 12, 2021

On January 12, 2021, Bobi Wine reported that his long-time private security service was ordered by the government to stand down and he remained without protection two days prior

¹⁰⁵ <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-uganda-election/ugandas-police-chief-beating-of-reporters-for-their-own-good-idUSKBN29D17V>

¹⁰⁶ <https://www.monitor.co.ug/uganda/special-reports/elections/bobi-wine-s-lonely-walk-to-election-day-3251966>

to the election¹⁰⁷. Later this same day, the military raided his home and removed his two remaining guards who were beaten and arrested¹⁰⁸.

The raid on January 12, 2021 is significant as this date was designated by the Uganda Electoral Commission as the final day for campaigning prior to the election on January 14, 2021.

According to reports and statements given by Mr. Kyagulanyi, the Ugandan military assaulted and severely beat his personal bodyguard; two gardeners on the premises were arrested and kidnapped during the raid; for months their status and whereabouts were unknown¹⁰⁹.

These actions were a prelude to the house arrest and encirclement of his home by the military that went into effect after Kyagulanyi and his wife Barbara returned to their home after voting on January 14, 2021.

ARREST OF NUP PARTY OFFICIALS IMMEDIATELY PRIOR TO ELECTION DAY January 12, 2021

Also on January 12, 2021, a NUP party official, Herman Ainebyona, was arrested and removed to an unknown location. A clandestine video depicts his abduction and arrest and the accompanying physical abuse¹¹⁰. Mr. Ainebyona was the NUP Diaspora Coordinator who was tasked with organizing support for the Wine campaign and the NUP candidates from Ugandans abroad; he had arrived in Uganda only 24 hours before his arrest.

On January 12, 2021, NUP official Luke David Bwanika was arrested during a raid at his home in Magere. He was a close associate of Bobi Wine in the music industry and in the NUP and has not been heard from for more than two weeks. A report of his disappearance can be found at Opera News¹¹¹, a professional website for musicians in Uganda, and in The InformerUG¹¹².

GOVERNMENT SHUTDOWN OF ALL SOCIAL MEDIA PLATFORMS January 12, 2021

On January 12, 2021, all social media applications were ordered closed by the Uganda Communications Commission, as noted by the Hon. Clement Voule, UN Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Association and Peaceful Assembly, who stated¹¹³:

¹⁰⁷ <https://mobile.twitter.com/mmusimaimane/status/1349039011503898625?prefetchtimestamp=1611531394386>

¹⁰⁸ <https://metrowatchonline.com/ugandan-army-raids-home-of-musevenis-main-challenger-bobi-wine-2-days-to-election/>

¹⁰⁹ <https://www.voanews.com/africa/ugandas-bobi-wine-reports-police-raid-home-two-days-presidential-election>

¹¹⁰ <https://m.facebook.com/100009330734014/posts/2847455412242122/?d=n>

¹¹¹ <https://ke.opera.news/tags/lule-david-bwanika>

¹¹² <https://theinformerug.com/bobi-wine-pens-down-an-emotional-letter-to-his-muko-selector-davie/>

¹¹³ <https://twitter.com/cvoule/status/1349308270058614784>



UN Special Rapporteur Freedom of Association
@cvoule

...

I am receiving worrying allegations of internet shutdown & blocking of access to social media platforms ahead of tomorrow's general elections in [#Uganda](#). Access to information & communication tools is critical for fair, transparent & peaceful elections
[@DefendDefenders](#) [@accessnow](#)

11:52 AM · Jan 13, 2021 · Twitter for iPhone

Rapporteur Voule's statement followed the Uganda Communications Commission order of January 12, 2021 directing all social media providers to close all internet. Notably, no administrative findings were made to support the UCC order. No statement of reasons accompanied the order.



UGANDA
COMMUNICATIONS
COMMISSION

UCC House
Plot 42-44 Spring Road
Bugolobi
P.O. Box 7376
Kampala, Uganda

Our Ref.: C

12th January 2021

Dear Sir,

SUSPENSION OF THE OPERATION OF SOCIAL MEDIA

In exercise of its functions under section 5(1) of the Uganda Communications Act of 2013, Uganda Communications Commission hereby directs you to immediately suspend any access and use, direct or otherwise, of **ALL** social media platforms and online messaging applications over your network until further notice.

Thank you for your cooperation

Yours faithfully

Irene Kaggwa Sewankambo
AG. EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

UGANDAN GOVERNMENT DENIAL OF AMERICAN, INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC ELECTION OBSERVERS January 13, 2021

Compromising the election even further, the Ugandan Electoral Commission refused to accept American elections observers, denying all but 15 permits without reason or explanation. On January 13, 2021, the United States cancelled its election observers after the Government of Uganda and the Electoral Commission had denied the accreditation of nearly all U.S., international and nongovernmental observers.

U.S. Ambassador to Uganda, Natalie E. Brown, issued the following statement¹¹⁴ on the cancellation of the U.S. observer mission:

"It is with profound disappointment that I announce U.S. Mission in Uganda's decision to cancel our diplomatic observation of Uganda's January 14 elections due to the decision by the Electoral Commission of Uganda to deny more than 75 percent of the U.S. election observer accreditations requested. With only 15 accreditations approved, it is not possible for the United States to meaningfully observe the conduct of Uganda's elections at polling sites across the country.

Despite multiple requests, the Electoral Commission provided no explanation for its decision, which it communicated mere days before the elections. The purpose of a diplomatic observation of elections is to demonstrate our interest in a free, fair, peaceful, and inclusive electoral process. Diplomatic observers are not participants or advisors in the electoral process. Rather, they informally observe the conduct of elections, following strict standards of impartiality, non-interference, and compliance with local laws. The Government of Uganda has supported such U.S. observer efforts in multiple previous Ugandan elections. This makes the decision now to deny accreditation to all but a small, randomly selected handful of our observers all the more troubling.

As we have stated previously, the United States takes no side in Uganda's upcoming elections. We support a free, fair, peaceful, and inclusive electoral process. For Uganda's 2016 elections, the U.S. Mission dispatched 88 diplomatic election observers. For the January 14 election, the U.S. Mission complied with all Electoral Commission accreditation requirements, as we had in previous elections in Uganda, but the vast majority of our requests for 2021 were not approved."

Of the 1,900 NGO and Ugandan applications for elections observers, only ten (10) were granted according to Reuters. Considering that Uganda has 34,344 polling stations,¹¹⁵ the government's grant of ten permits was a palpable effort to avoid independent observers and allowed full scope for election abuses. In addition, the European Union and the United Nations have issued statements condemning the use of violence and the infringement on basic freedom leading up to the election and the veracity of the election results as a result of categorical denial of non-partisan observers. As is well-known, the

¹¹⁴ <https://ug.usembassy.gov/statement-by-u-s-ambassador-natalie-e-brown-on-cancellation-of-u-s-diplomatic-observer-mission-of-ugandas-elections/>

¹¹⁵ As reported by the Uganda Electoral Commission; <https://www.ec.or.ug/electoral-commission-statistics>.

EU was also unhappy about the Uganda government failing to implement reforms the EU observers had recommended after the 2016 election.

GOVERNMENT-ORDERED NATIONWIDE INTERNET SHUTDOWN

January 14, 2021

The ban on social media platforms was immediately followed on Election Day, January 14, 2021, by a complete shutdown of the entire Internet in Uganda, an order that paralyzed all communication in the country and was not lifted until Monday, January 18, 2021 when sporadic service was restored. The Internet shutdown was widely reported internationally¹¹⁶. The intent of the Internet shutdown, as well as the military presence in all towns and cities and the arrest and detention of opposition staff and aides, was to prevent opposition figures from reporting elections law violations and to interfere with evidence gathering as to election fraud. At this same time NUP staff were rounded up and arrested, further interfering with the gathering of evidence for a judicial challenge.

1200 POLLING STATIONS NOT COUNTED BY ELECTORAL COMMISSION IN AREAS OF STRONG SUPPORT FOR BOBI WINE

When confronted by the Daily Monitor, the Electoral Commission acknowledged that votes from more than 1200 polling stations were not counted. These were from urban areas such as Kampala where Bobi Wine polled more than 75% of the vote in those districts that were counted. The Electoral Commission claimed that the uncounted districts would not change the result and that it was seeking to declare a winner within 48 hours. It is not clear how many other polling stations were left out of the count; the Commission conceded the uncounted districts only when confronted by the Daily Monitor. The districts most affected by the undercount were Kampala and Wakiso with the first and second highest number of registered voters in the country. The newspaper reported that only districts where Bobi Wine was ahead were excluded from the vote count¹¹⁷.

¹¹⁶ <https://www.reuters.com/article/uganda-internet-rights/corrected-100-hours-in-the-dark-how-an-election-internet-blackout-hit-poor-ugandans-idUSL4N2JU2YQ>

¹¹⁷ <https://www.monitor.co.ug/uganda/special-reports/ec-excludes-results-from-over-1-200-polling-stations-3260542>

“NATIONAL ELECTION WATCH UGANDA” BANNED PRIOR TO ELECTION

A consortium of 61 poll watching groups, National Election Watch Uganda, was banned from operating in Uganda beginning in October 2020 and continuing through the January 14, 2021 election. As noted above, almost the entire U.S. observer mission was denied admission to Uganda forcing the U.S. embassy to cancel the program. Patrick Onen Ezaga, the senior communications officer of Uganda’s NGO Bureau claimed the operations of National Election Watch Uganda were illegal because it is not registered in the country; no other reason was given¹¹⁸. As a result of these combined actions by the Ugandan government, there were no independent poll watchers for more than 34,000 polling stations in this heavily contested and controversial election.

¹¹⁸ <https://www.independent.co.ug/ngo-bureau-suspends-operations-of-national-election-watch-uganda/>

PROOF OF THE RIGGING OF THE ELECTIONS

The proof that has been gathered can be split up in the following categories

1. Video proof showing electoral offenses being committed
2. Testimonies by witnesses, to be divided in
 - a) Affidavits collected by NUP (later refused by Supreme court)
 - b) Reporting done through the UVote system
 - c) Communication through Whatsapp chat & audio & video calls
 - d) Tweets and Facebook posts. Since the identity of the authors could not always be established, these messages are only used to illustrate the story, rather than proof.
 - e) Eyewitness reports given to journalists and published on news websites.
3. Scientific analysis of the DoRs supplied to NUP agents and/or published on the Electoral Commission website.

VIDEOS REPRESENTATIVE OF BALLOT AND ELECTION FRAUD

Despite the severe disabilities imposed by the internet and social media shutdown, as well as the banning of phones and cameras at polling stations and other acts of coercion, a limited number of videos (some produced by dissenting police and military officers) have emerged from Uganda demonstrating voting fraud, the illegal pre-marking of ballots, ballot box stuffing, multiple voting by single voters and related irregularities.

Among other violations, the videos show that polling places were typically non-private with voters are surrounded by elections officials, in many cases soldiers, who direct how they should vote. It is partly for this reason — i.e., the coercion at the point of voting — that the returns in much of Uganda show virtually unanimous (100%, 99% or 98%) vote for Museveni. It is undoubtedly for these same reasons, that the Uganda Electoral Commission rejected virtually all permits for domestic and international observers.

In the first video, voters come to a table and are given a ballot. They are asked to dip their finger in ink and officials then point to a place on the ballot where they are to mark their vote. In this video, the officials plainly point to the bottom of the ballot where General Museveni's name appears as the last candidate. The video can be accessed on Facebook¹¹⁹.

In this next video, the privacy bin — an open plastic bin used to allow the voter to mark their ballot — is also in direct view of elections officials. Soldiers actually watch the voter mark his ballot. This is a typical practice in much of Uganda and violates norms for fair and neutral elections. Here, a gentleman bends over the bin in full view of a soldier who examines the marked ballot before it is turned into a ballot box. The voter's choice of candidate is clearly visible to the soldier who actually picks up and inspects the ballot¹²⁰.

¹¹⁹ <https://www.facebook.com/www.bobiwine.ug/posts/10160595683603012>

¹²⁰ https://m.facebook.com/story.php?story_fbid=443882076767451&id=130737598011

A video¹²¹ sent to the NUP by a member of the Uganda Police Defense Forces (UPDF) depicts the pre-ticking of ballots by police. The video depicts a stack of pre-printed presidential ballots bound together, all checked for Museveni, whose name appears as the last in the column to facilitate rapid pre-checking. Bobi Wine has tweeted that the informant has said he and others were directed to pre-mark the ballots by their commanding officers.^{122 123}

Next we see an example of military domination of the polling places. In this video¹²⁴ four soldiers physically drag a man, against his will, from a polling place while he protests that he is an “elections agent”. In this instance, the man was an agent for Mr. Wine’s party, NUP, who was to be present to observe and report irregularities. This practice took place through Uganda and, as a result, virtually no independent officials (not employed by the government) were present at polling places.

In the next video exhibit¹²⁵, a police officer is depicted at a polling station in Ksoro, Western Uganda, stuffing ballots into a ballot box. An official stands next to her, supervising. Visible under her left arm is a black bag from which she is withdrawing ballots to force into the opening of the ballot box. The officer is shown having difficulty forcing the ballots into the box that is already stuffed.

Elections officials in this video¹²⁶ are shown pre-ticking ballots. A woman and man (in purple toned shirt) then bring the ballots to the ballot box station where, despite protest by bystanders, the man opens the box and throws in multiple pre-marked ballots. It appears that several dozen marked ballots were thrown in together. The video not only demonstrates pervasive, illegal marking of ballots but also shows that there is no elections security in Uganda as the man is free to simply go to the ballot box, open it and throw in dozens of votes.

In Kazo District, a video¹²⁷ depicts a woman being presented by election officials with multiple ballots and she then proceeds towards the ballot box to the right of the screen. It appears that she was given upwards of ten or 12 individual ballots that were then combined together. She is sent by an election official towards the ballot box.

Such practices appear to be common throughout the Uganda elections system. For example, in Isingiro, where Museveni is reported to have a 100% vote, a clandestine video depicts a voting station. At approximately 15 seconds into the video¹²⁸ a man emerges

¹²¹ <https://www.facebook.com/www.bobiwine.ug/videos/477864099873168/>

¹²² Readers are advised that where the video link is sent via Mr. Wine’s campaign Facebook account, a request to join the public page appears; please click “Not Now” and the screen will return immediately to the video that will play upon a mouse click. It has not been possible to redact the campaign reference.

¹²³ <https://www.facebook.com/www.bobiwine.ug/posts/10160598781843012>

¹²⁴ <https://youtu.be/mZGHJaFRqzY>

¹²⁵ <https://www.facebook.com/222499281227781/videos/418312356146125/>

¹²⁶ <https://www.facebook.com/jbmuwonge/videos/other-tactics-m7-used-to-rig-the-votes-this-wasnt-an-election-no-way-rigging-rig/869193073649446/>

¹²⁷ <https://youtu.be/2Exd-zFrU90>

¹²⁸ <https://twitter.com/KalyowaRashid/status/1351219390344257539>

from a building with multiple ballots that he proceeds to insert in one group into the ballot box. No effort is made to hide the distribution of multiple ballots.

The following video¹²⁹ depicts elections staff under supervision of an armed soldier pre-ticking dozens of ballots. A man is situated on the ground with stacks of printed ballots and is rapidly checking off ballot after ballot. A second man, standing, is folding each ballot as if it were folded by the voter. He then hands the folded ballots to a third man seated to the left. A man with a grey suit jacket and black slacks holding a folder enters the video from the right, replenishes the ballots and directs the seated man where to mark the ballots. In this frame, there appear to be approximately 200 printed ballots on the ground and held by the various individuals. An armed soldier patrols in the foreground.

Pre-marking of ballots was common throughout Uganda. In this video¹³⁰ at a polling station in Bulambuli, the head city of Bulambuli District, a man in a bright yellow shirt, the colors of the Museveni campaign, is seen marking ballot after ballot for General Museveni. The man is seen repeatedly checking off the last place on the ballot sheet, the place for Museveni. The Uganda ballot is plainly visible. Notably, he is accompanied by at least six other people supplying him with new blank ballots to mark. All of this activity takes place in the open on top of the ballot boxes that are apparently unprotected and unsecured by any election official.

At a ballot location reported as Teyabbye, Uganda by BMTV Africa, a video¹³¹ clandestinely taken through the grill of the polling station, depicts a poll worker (wearing the yellow shoulder vest worn by Uganda poll workers) seated in the center of the frame. She is rapidly pre-marking ballots. As the video advances she marks dozens of ballots and when finished with one group, places it down, picks up another ballot bundle and begins marking again.

As these videos show, this was a pervasive practice. If an average of 100 ballots were illegally pre-marked at each of the 34,440 polling stations, as is seen in these videos, then a minimum of 3.4 million ballots would be illegally cast for Museveni, far more than his margin of victory over Kyagulanyi. This practice of pre-marking, as documented, in itself is sufficient to require a new election with international observers.

In Isingiro District, a video¹³² documents a man (in red jacket) seen marking ballots in a bundle at he stands next to a polling station. He is seen rapidly checking off ballot after ballot in the presence of at least six other individuals who appear to be operating the election station. At the speed at which he is marking ballots, hundreds could be pre-marked in a short time. The video can be accessed at:

In the following video, dozens of marked ballots remain discarded at a polling station. As the video focuses in the ballot is plainly marked with a check next to candidate Robert

¹²⁹ <https://youtu.be/-UZdqF5pp3Q>

¹³⁰ <https://youtu.be/TggSh1kUvTo>

¹³¹ <https://www.facebook.com/bmtvafrica/videos/747572676171101/>

¹³² <https://youtu.be/Ghbr0waqRrE>

Kyagulanyi (Bobi Wine). Dozens of discarded ballots from this polling station are shown abandoned and not included in the sealed ballot boxes. It is a universal irregularity for ballots to be discarded and not included in the sealed box or accounted for as unused ballots.¹³³

In the appendices on the Rigging in various districts additional video material is presented.

Affidavits

In preparation for a case in the Supreme Court of Uganda which Kyagulanyi brought to contest the election result, National Unity Platform collected over a hundred affidavits. These have been shared with the author of this report. Unfortunately the Ugandan government is actively kidnapping those people that give testimonies & have published affidavits. One such person told us on the phone

My brother, My heart is melting. I've seen many thing, I'm going through hell, I'm just hiding , the place I am in I don't know the language, except English. I'm just running here and there. Not even my parents know where I am. Not even my family knows where i am. Just because they were tormented every time I appeared the security forces go there and forced them out. It's unfortunate this is the kind of people we are affronting with. That's not genuine. Cause I tried my best to give out for the struggle.

For this reason we will not be linking to the affidavits that contain a lot of personal data. Most of the information from the affidavits will be provided in a form that cannot be related to people that are on the run, although the authors are known to us. A practical problem with the affidavits is also that they span over 600 pages. For both reasons we have condensed the affidavits in a more readable form for the reader.

In the below overview we describe per affidavit which electoral offense and which district is involved. The first 6 affidavits are displayed below, an overview of all 127 can be found in the appendix. The affidavits are numbered 1 to 127. Part of the overview also displays a short summary of the testimony.

| District | Election related | | | | | | | | | | | | Voting related | | | | | | | | | | | | Escalation | | | | Agent related | | | | |
|-------------|------------------|----|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|---|---|----------------|---|---|---|---|---|----|---|---|---|----|---|------------|---|---|----|---------------|---|----|---|----|
| | 56 | 25 | 9 | 17 | 10 | 13 | 38 | 13 | 28 | 5 | 2 | 8 | 12 | 2 | 7 | 9 | 7 | 6 | 16 | 5 | 6 | 9 | 29 | 3 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 11 | 33 | 4 | 16 | 5 | 12 |
| 1 Kapchorwa | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 Kamwenge | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | X | | | | X | | | | | | X |
| 3 Kapchorwa | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | X | X | X | | | | | |
| 4 Ngora | | | | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5 Ngora | X | X | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 6 Kween | X | | X | | | | | X | | | | | | | X | | | X | | | | | X | | X | | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |

¹³³ <https://www.dropbox.com/s/xve0c6vwbo8a226/hcDO91hqkDd7OlqjKayunga.mp4?dl=0>

| | |
|---|--|
| 1 | Bribery 5500 youth, 300k per village distributed by NRM chair Sande Abdu K |
| 2 | Agents were denied. At 7.30 RDC Mucugunzi Godfrey ordered remaing ballots to be M7. |
| 3 | Agent tells biometric was not working, which was abused for double voting. Wozei Charles voted double. PresOff told agent to keep quiet. |
| 4 | EC assistants were given 20k by RISO Kamayire Edmund. LC3 William Balaza gave 5/10k to vote M7. |
| 5 | Intimidation by radio stations & low flying UPDF fighter planes. |
| 6 | Taking appointment letters, chasing agents |

- The first category are election violence related.

In 56 affidavits Agent Intimidation is found, where 25 mention Voter Intimidation. 9 affidavits concern campaign obstruction and 17 mention bribery. In 10 cases abductions take place and for 13 of the authors their home or hotel got raided. In 38 cases there are false arrests, in 13 affidavits there are threads of violence where 28 actually describe physical violence. 5 affidavits mention disappearances of people that the author (usually) encountered in prison. There are 2 cases of murder, 8 cases of inhuman detention, 12 cases of torture, in 1 case a child was being killed while in another case the security forces tried to kidnap a child to be able to get the mother. This brings us to a total of 253 crimes.

5. That the Police on orders of the RDC went searched my home looking for me and my laptop and arrested two of my relatives, two tenants and beat up my cousin [REDACTED] all for refusing to disclose where I was hiding.
6. That the Police took the book where I had noted the names, contacts and personal details of our agents for [REDACTED] District and started calling them with threats for them not to appear on polling stations.
7. That the RDC ordered the Police Officers to take my 8 months old baby with them to coerce me to come out of hiding but my nephew [REDACTED] over heard them discussing the matter and whisked away my baby.

- The second category is voting related.

In 9 affidavits double voting by the same person is observed, in 7 cases people that are not eligible to vote are voting. In 6 cases it's not possible to cast a private ballot. In 16 cases we find eye witness reports of ballot box stuffing, while 5 authors were not allowed to vote although they met the voting requirements. There are 6 affidavits that imply that dead people voted, in other words, the polling station had a 100% voter turnout although some of the registered voters had already passed away. 9 Testimonies state that no voting took place at a polling station. In 29 cases pre-ticking of ballot papers is described. In 3 affidavits it's described how seals on voting material were broken. This brings us to a total of 96 electoral offenses.

Multiple electoral offenses are described in this affidavit from Lyantonde district.

4. **THAT** in Muzeiri primary school Polling station I found that a one Twine Kyamuzikita had taken over the work of the presiding officer and was commanding everything therein. I also found out that he had chased all agents away from the polling station. The OC Kashagama police station, Niwashaba was also present at the said polling station.
5. **THAT** I saw the OC Kashagama police station together with Twine call people to come and vote yet they had already finished voting as their fingers had already been dipped in the ink provided by the 2nd Respondent.
6. **THAT** Agaba Ssemanda, the subcounty councilor of Kashagama of the National Resistance Movement was also present at the said polling station and he was in possession of ballot papers that he went on giving to everyone in the polling and telling them to vote for the National Resistance Movement. These people never registered or had their fingers marked. After this Twine left to another place, I followed him there.
7. **THAT** Twine went next to Buyanja Polling station, when he reached there, he told the presiding officer that the remaining ballot papers were now for the 1st Respondent and then made an order that all the voting should therefore stop forthwith so that the remaining ballot papers would be ticked for the 1st Respondent.
8. **THAT** I then proceeded to Kilindimula polling station to give the agents therein lunch. However, when I reached there I found that the agents of the petitioner there had been chased away. No sooner had I reached there than Twine came too, he then chased me away and stopped voting at the polling station too and said that the votes should be counted and if the petitioner had more votes, the 1st Respondent was to be given more votes before making the declaration of result forms.

- The third category is how escalation of the offense or crime was prevented.

In 5 affidavits it's described how taking of pictures was prohibited or phones were taken, in order to conceal the offenses and crimes that were committed. In 6 cases it's explicitly mentioned that an NRM agent was involved, in 5 cases the presiding officer was involved in the crime or offense. In Masindi it was reported:

6. **THAT** later, Byamukama Allan came to the polling station and he started taking photographs just like some of the other residents present did. When they saw people taking photos, police officers started grabbing their phones. Journalists then also arrived at the polling station and the suspicious group immediately ran out of the line.

- The fourth category concerns agents

In 33 affidavits it's described how agents were refused, or were chased away from the polling station. In 4 cases the agent was forced, sometimes at gunpoint, to sign the DoR. In 16 affidavits the agent was refused the copy to which he is entitled according to the constitution, or it was confiscated from him. 5 affidavits mention electoral offenses at tally centers, while in 12 affidavits we find that 1 or more appointment letter was taken to prevent an agent from fulfilling election monitoring.

In Lyantonde:

3. **THAT** out of the said car came two men, one in military fatigue and the other in civilian clothes and asked us what we were doing in Lyantonde District and we told him that we were supervisors for the National Unity Platform tasked with helping our agents at the District.

4. **THAT** one of member, Michael Ssegayi was holding our appointment letters though some letters had been divided.

5. **THAT** I got to know that the plain clothed man was called Major Musolini who told Ssegayi to give him the appointment letters. When he refused, the said Musolin got a gun out of his belly and pointed it at him, which prompted him to give the said appointment letters to Musolin.

A full overview of the affidavits can be found in the appendix on page 82.

Bribery

In our affidavits we find 17 cases of bribery, mostly in the west and the east. Two examples from Kapchorwa:

2. That on the days preceding elections, UGX. 300.000/= was being distributed by the NRM Chairperson of Kaseren sub county Mr. Sande Abdu K to each village chairperson LC1 and telling them it was money that came from Museveni so that they vote for him.
 3. That the youth of Kaseren were given UGX. 5500/= each by the Youth Chairperson Kapchorwa district Mr. Salim Mansur to vote for Museveni on the position of the president.
-
3. That on 10th January 2021, there was a meeting held at Kapchorwa municipality tally center which I attended where we were given UGX. 20, 000/= by Mr. Kamanyire Edmund, the RISO per person to change the vote in favor of candidate Museveni.
 4. That this meeting has Sanjay Tana as the main facilitator who spoke to us but the meeting was convened by the RISO of Kaochworwa.
 5. That when the time for giving out money reached, it was the RISO who was handing out money to us who were in attendance.
 7. That on the 14th of January, at the polling station called London Bridge Corner in Kawowo ward, there was a man whose name is William Balaza the chairperson of LC3 of one of the area who was giving out money to people and told them to go and vote for Museveni.
 8. That this man was giving each person UGX 5000/= and UGX.10, 000/= after each person showing him the voter slip or National Identity Card.
 9. That he kept on emphasizing that no one should votes for any other person and party except Yoweri Museveni and NRM respectively.

One affidavit from Kween:

5. That area LCs of most villages in Kween district were distributing money on that day of the elections to people so that they could vote for his candidate Museveni.

Bribery and voter intimidation are connected like a carrot and stick. If bribery doesn't work, the authorities use violence. This is a testimony we received through Whatsapp voice message.

On the day before voting kaveras of money moved around the villages, from NRM incumbent MP, giving everyone, and assuring the people they had to vote incumbent president.

But people ate this money and were not willing to do so. So my grandmother in one of the villages in the East, voted for her choice which was Bobi Wine. She didn't even know his name, she asked me who? I told her umbrella, and she confirmed 'Bobi Wine!'. Something of a sort.

This was found out, she was beaten very much and there was no way we could intervene because soldiers were the ones doing this, army men in uniform.

Most of the NUP officials were offered bribes. Lina Zedriga told Blackstar News:

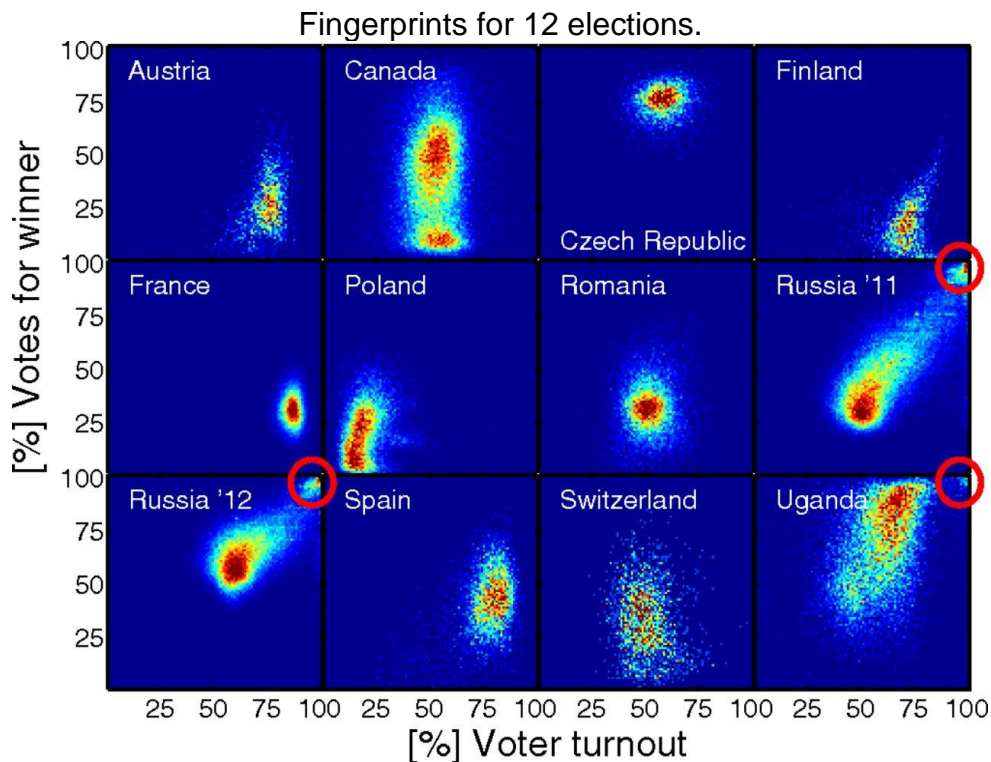
About the buying by the way. At first I was offered 5 billion Ugandan shilling (1.3 million dollar), so that I would abandon NUP, that was in August. When I declined the broker, who was a lawyer, warned me I would be abducted, indeed I was abducted, I would be brutalized, indeed I was brutalized. I was arrested my military, put on the back of a pickup, in Kole, Indeed I was taken to a police cell, incarcerated with man, in police cell with men, there were a whole barrack around the station to prevent me from being rescued by our team. This is intimidation of highest form. During arrest I said "I'm a judicial officer I'm a woman why am i arrested by men" and I said "What is my crime?" The leader told me "Keep quiet, we hate you so much, actually we are here to ensure you to keep quiet (..) we can do anything with you what we like.

Ballot box stuffing

In his book "How to Rig An Election" Nic Cheeseman describes ballot box stuffing as the last resort for an incumbent that tries to steal an election. It's dangerous because it's prone to detection. Secondly, leaders do not always know how many votes to stuff to win the elections. We will show that in many places 'overstuffing' took place, which means that so many ballot papers were stuffed, that they exceeded the number of registered voters. Cheeseman explains that the most effective authoritarian regimes therefore do not rely on ballot box stuffing, in countries such as Kazakhstan and Rwanda, the elections have been rigged already before polling day.

Another problem of ballot box stuffing is that it leaves a statistical pattern as described by Peter Klimek, Yuri Yegorov, Rudolf Hanel, and Stefan Thurner.¹³⁴

¹³⁴ Peter Klimek, Yuri Yegorov, Rudolf Hanel, and Stefan Thurner "Statistical detection of systematic election irregularities" PNAS <https://www.pnas.org/content/109/41/16469> (2012)



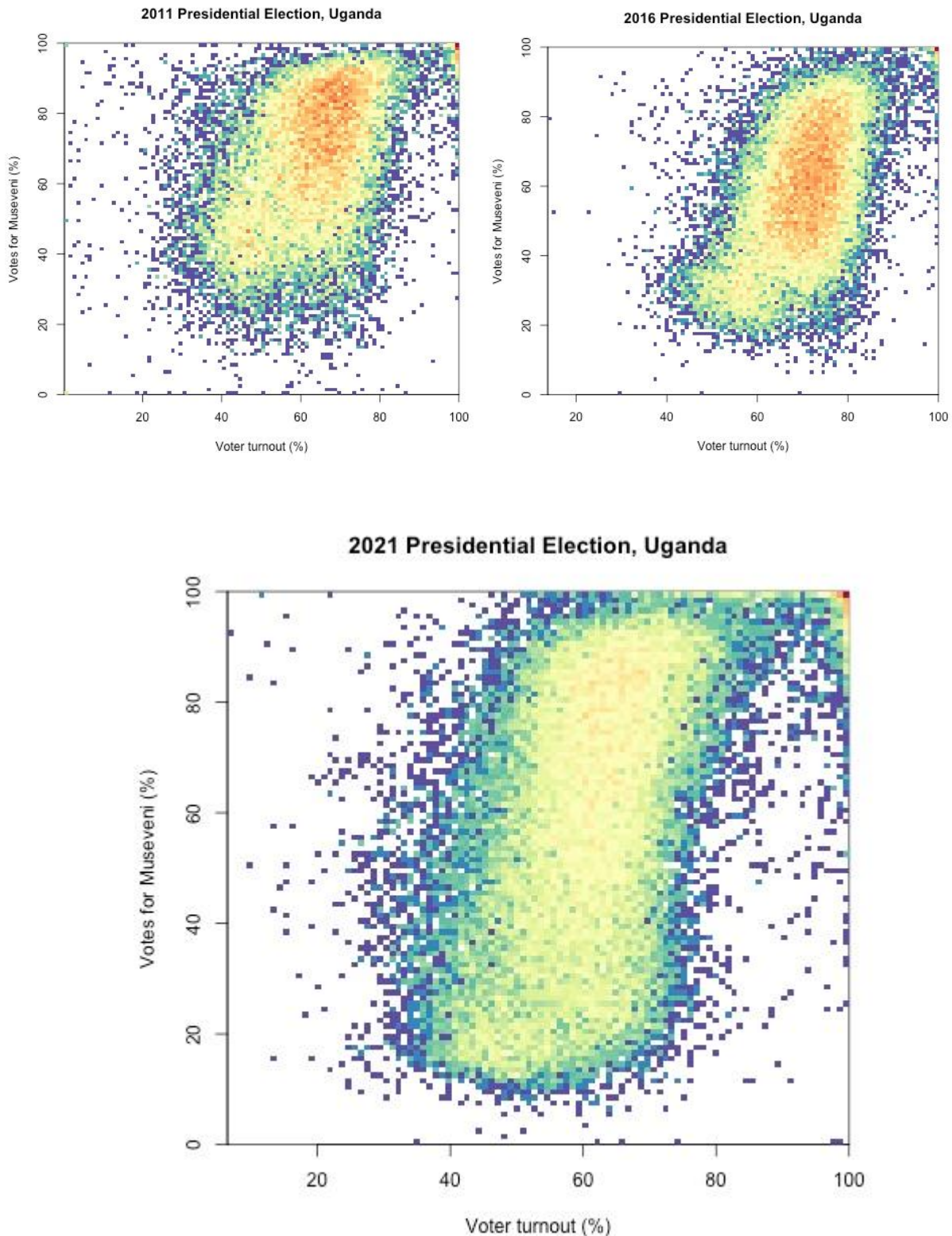
The images shows two-dimensional histograms of the number of units for a given voter turnout (x axis) and the percentage of votes (y axis) for the winning party (or candidate) in recent elections from different countries (Austria, Canada, Czech Republic, Finland, France, Poland, Romania, Russia 2011, Russia 2012, Spain, Switzerland, and Uganda) are shown. Color represents the number of units with corresponding vote and turnout numbers. The units usually cluster around a given turnout and vote percentage level. In Uganda and Russia, these clusters are smeared out to the upper right region of the plots, reaching a second peak at a 100% turnout and 100% of votes (red circles). In Canada, there are clusters around two different vote values, corresponding to the Québécois and English Canada. In Finland, the main cluster is smeared out into two directions (indicative of voter mobilization because of controversies surrounding the True Finns).

In regular elections without fraud there is little correlation between percentage voter turnout and the percentage of the winner. However, the Russian election of 2011 & 2012 and the Ugandan election of 2011 show such correlation and also show a large concentration at 100-100 (right-top corner). The authors conclude the article with:

In conclusion, it can be said with almost certainty that an election does not represent the will of the people if a substantial fraction (f_e) of units reports a 100% turnout with almost all votes for a single party and/or if any significant deviations from the sigmoid form in the cumulative distribution of votes vs. turnout are observed.

Melina Platas, Assistant Professor of Political Science at New York University has constructed these diagrams for the last 3 elections in Uganda¹³⁵.

¹³⁵ <https://twitter.com/melinaplatas/status/1355498127705468931>



Since the 'election fingerprint' of these 3 elections is similar to the fingerprints identified as fraudulent by Peter Klimek et al we can apply their conclusion that the Ugandan elections results of 2011, 2016 and 2021 do not represent the will of the people.

When the authors designed these fingerprints they assumed that the numbers would always be between 0 and 100. However, in fraud every number is possible. Although the tally sheets do not show any turnouts of over 100% (it's prevented by the software), an inspection of the Declaration of Results (DoR) forms show that in many cases of ballot box

stuffing 'overstuffing' took place and the DoR form shows more ballots casted than registered voters.

For Isingiro district, we looked at 508 Declaration of Results forms that have been published by the Electoral Commission on their website:

https://www.ec.or.ug/drforms/2021/DR_062_ISINGIRO.pdf

For 47 DoRs we found that the number of ballots cast is higher than the number of registered voters. Below are the 47 polling stations in Isingiro, with the number of registered voters compared against the number of ballots counted, with the discrepancies calculated:

| Polling station | Registered Voters | Ballots counted | Excess | Polling station | Registered Voters | Ballots counted | Excess | Polling station | Registered Voters | Ballots counted | Excess |
|--------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------|-----------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------|--------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------|
| KIYENJE PRI SCH A | 571 | 651 | 80 | RWENTURAGARA PLAYC | 567 | 600 | 33 | KASHENYI PRI SCH | 482 | 500 | 18 |
| KYAKABINDI PARENTS SCH | 500 | 550 | 50 | NYABUGANDO PRI SCH | 368 | 400 | 32 | Rukiri Catholic Church A | 583 | 600 | 17 |
| KIKUNYU PLAYGROUND | 401 | 450 | 49 | RYABOONA PENTECOST | 218 | 250 | 32 | KYENJOJO C.O.U | 184 | 200 | 16 |
| KEIKOBE MOSQUE GROUN | 752 | 800 | 48 | KASHENYI PRI SCH | 369 | 400 | 31 | KAGAAGA PRI SCH | 586 | 600 | 14 |
| RUBOROGOTA PRI SCH B | 205 | 250 | 45 | KABAGARAME MARKET | 464 | 494 | 30 | RWAMBAGA PRI SCH | 837 | 850 | 13 |
| MBAARE II C.O.U | 355 | 400 | 45 | BWEZA PRI SCH | 321 | 350 | 29 | Katooma Church Sch | 431 | 441 | 10 |
| RUTOOMA HEALTH CENTRE | 256 | 300 | 44 | RUKINGA NURSERY SCH | 418 | 445 | 27 | KYABAHESI PRI SCH | 626 | 635 | 9 |
| RUKOMA C.O.U II | 350 | 391 | 41 | KYEIRUMBA MARKET B | 473 | 500 | 27 | KYEIRUMBA MARKET A | 492 | 500 | 8 |
| AKAKIRI TRADING CENTRE | 262 | 303 | 41 | KAGONGI C.O.U | 425 | 450 | 25 | NGARAMA C.O.U PRI SC | 642 | 647 | 5 |
| KITEZO TRADING CENTRE (I | 810 | 850 | 40 | NYARUBUNGO I | 625 | 650 | 25 | KAKINGA PUBLIC GROU | 624 | 626 | 2 |
| KIBENGO MIRACLE CENTRE | 612 | 650 | 38 | AKAFUNDA | 225 | 250 | 25 | NYAKABUNGO C.O.U I | 343 | 345 | 2 |
| MUREMA HEALTH CENTRE | 762 | 800 | 38 | RUBIRA TRADING CENT | 226 | 250 | 24 | NYAKIGYERA PRI SCH | 469 | 470 | 1 |
| KYARUBAMBURA II | 414 | 450 | 36 | ST THOMAS SEN SEC SCI | 228 | 250 | 22 | NYARUBUNGO II | 599 | 600 | 1 |
| KYAMBURARA CATHOLIC C | 161 | 196 | 35 | KYAMUTURA | 381 | 400 | 19 | MABONA III | 673 | 674 | 1 |
| MUSLIM PRI SCH/KAMURI I | 615 | 650 | 35 | NTUURA | 408 | 427 | 19 | RWENSHEBASHEBE PAR | 290 | 291 | 1 |
| MABONA I (N-Z) | 315 | 349 | 34 | KAARO PENTECOSTAL C | 462 | 480 | 18 | | | | |

A good example is Ruborogota Pri Sch B listed in the first column. The DoR below is the official DoR from the Electoral Commission website. There are 205 registered voters, 109 females and 96 males. 250 ballots were provided to this polling station and at first they wrote 233 Museveni votes, 6 Kyagulanyi votes, 3 other votes and 8 invalid votes on the DoR, with a total of 250 ballot papers counted. When it was realized that this is 45 more than the registered number of voters, an intervention took place and the 233 Museveni votes were changed to 133 Museveni votes. The 242 number of valid votes cast for candidates was changed to 142.

District: **ISINGIRO** Code: **062**
 Constituency: **ISINGIRO WEST COUNTY** Code: **325**
 Sub County/Town/Municipal Division: **RUBOROGOTA** Code: **004**
 Parish/Ward: **KYAMUSONI** Code: **002**
 Polling Station: **RUBOROGOTA PRI SCH B** Code: **06**

| Name of Candidates Contesting | Political Party / Independent | Number of valid votes polled per candidate | |
|---|-------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|
| | | In Figures | In Words |
| AMURIAT OBOI PATRICK | FDC | 00 | zero only |
| KABULETA KIIZA JOSEPH | INDEPENDENT | 00 | zero vote only |
| KALEMBE NANCY LINDA | INDEPENDENT | 01 | One vote only |
| KATUMBA JOHN | INDEPENDENT | 00 | zero vote only |
| KYAGULANYI SSENTAMU ROBERT | NUP | 06 | six votes only. |
| MAO NORBERT | DP | 00 | zero vote only |
| MAYAMBALA WILLY | INDEPENDENT | 00 | zero vote only |
| MUGISHA MUNTU GREGG | ANT | 00 | zero vote only |
| MWESIGYE FRED | INDEPENDENT | 01 | One vote only |
| TUMUKUNDE HENRY KAKURUGU | INDEPENDENT | 01 | One vote only |
| YOWERI MUSEVENI TIBUHABURWA KAGUTA | NRM | 133 | One hundred thirty three votes only |
| Total Number of Valid Votes Cast for Candidates | | 142 | One hundred forty two votes only |
| Total Number of Rejected (Invalid) votes | | 008 | Eight votes only |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Counted | | 250 | Two hundred fifty ballot papers |
| Total Number of Spoilt Ballot Papers | | 00 | Zero spoilt ballot papers. |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Issued to Polling Station | | 250 | Two hundred fifty ballot papers |
| Total Number of Unused Ballot Papers | | 00 | Zero unused ballot papers |

Note: The Presiding Officer should ensure that **ALL** information is duly filled and signed.

Total Number of Females who voted 117 voters
 Total Number of Males who voted 133 voters.

For 119 Isingiro polling stations we found that the number of female voters exceeded the number of registered females, as shown below:

| Polling station | Registered | Voting | Excess | Polling station | Registered | Voting | Excess | Polling station | Registered | Voting | Excess |
|--------------------------|------------|--------|--------|--------------------|------------|--------|--------|-----------------------|------------|--------|--------|
| RUBOROGOTA PRI SCH A | 338 | 620 | 282 | KABURA PRI SCH | 372 | 402 | 30 | KIKOKWA | 156 | 162 | 6 |
| Rwakakwenda Parish HQRT | 386 | 568 | 182 | KAGONGI C.O.U | 233 | 262 | 29 | KASHENYI PRI SCH | 196 | 201 | 5 |
| KYENYANGI CHURCH SCHO | 293 | 472 | 179 | BUHUNGA PRI SCH | 174 | 202 | 28 | NYAKIGYERA PRI SCH | 240 | 245 | 5 |
| RWAMBAGA PRI SCH | 277 | 430 | 153 | RUTEETE I | 297 | 325 | 28 | KATARAKA HEALTH CENT | 150 | 155 | 5 |
| KYAJUNGU PRI SCH | 447 | 547 | 100 | MBAARE II C.O.U | 191 | 217 | 26 | KAMATARISI I | 255 | 259 | 4 |
| KASHUMBA INTERGRATED | 443 | 540 | 97 | KABATAMBA CATHC | 176 | 200 | 24 | TEACHERS INTEGRATED P | 143 | 147 | 4 |
| Rukiri Catholic Church A | 298 | 390 | 92 | MIKONOIGANA GRC | 153 | 177 | 24 | BUJUBWE | 182 | 186 | 4 |
| KIKAGATE PLAYGROUND I | 453 | 545 | 92 | KYENJOJO C.O.U | 92 | 114 | 22 | KAARO PRI SCH | 393 | 396 | 3 |
| KABAARE TRADING CENTRE | 110 | 200 | 90 | KAKUUTO TRADING | 379 | 400 | 21 | KYAMPANGO PARISH HQT | 266 | 269 | 3 |
| IRYANGO PRI SCH | 569 | 656 | 87 | KAHIRIMBI PRI SCH | 294 | 315 | 21 | KASHUMBA SUB COUNTY | 269 | 272 | 3 |
| KYARUBAMBURA II | 208 | 290 | 82 | KIKUNYU PLAYGROL | 220 | 240 | 20 | BURUNGAMO C.O.U | 330 | 333 | 3 |
| KASHENYI PRI SCH | 269 | 350 | 81 | RYABOONA C.O.U | 180 | 199 | 19 | BUGANGO CATHOLIC CHU | 78 | 81 | 3 |
| KATUNGAMO COMMUNITY | 341 | 422 | 81 | KIIKO | 256 | 275 | 19 | KIBATE/MBAARE III | 49 | 52 | 3 |
| KATOKYE BOREHOLE | 121 | 192 | 71 | RYABOONA PENTEC | 118 | 136 | 18 | Busheka Pri Sch | 249 | 251 | 2 |
| RUKOMA C.O.U II | 181 | 250 | 69 | KAGABAGABA PRI SI | 290 | 307 | 17 | NYAKAGO C.O.U | 160 | 162 | 2 |
| BWEZA PRI SCH | 158 | 220 | 62 | RWANTAHA I | 300 | 317 | 17 | KIGARAGARA HEALTH CEI | 205 | 207 | 2 |
| KAMAAYA CHURCH OF NATI | 271 | 333 | 62 | RUGARAMA CATHO | 264 | 281 | 17 | OBUBAARE | 253 | 255 | 2 |
| KYANYANDA GROUND | 284 | 344 | 60 | KIBENGO MIRACLE (| 334 | 350 | 16 | KIGYENDWA PARISH HQT | 213 | 215 | 2 |
| KACUNUZI CATHOLIC CHUR | 290 | 350 | 60 | RWETANGO PRI SCH | 212 | 228 | 16 | KIGYENDWA COFFEE FACT | 288 | 290 | 2 |
| KABAGARAME MARKET | 228 | 286 | 58 | KATANGA TRADING | 340 | 354 | 14 | KYERA FARM | 177 | 179 | 2 |
| KABUYANDA SUB COUNTY F | 219 | 275 | 56 | NYABUGANDO PRI S | 174 | 187 | 13 | AKAFUNDA | 218 | 220 | 2 |
| KAPEN'S CHURCH | 296 | 350 | 54 | KAMUTINDA TRADII | 122 | 135 | 13 | NKONGOORO CHURCH | 209 | 211 | 2 |
| KIKAGATE BOARDER | 317 | 370 | 53 | AKAFUNDA | 125 | 138 | 13 | BURIGI CHURCH | 287 | 289 | 2 |
| RWANGABO I | 368 | 420 | 52 | RWEMBWERA C.O.U | 237 | 249 | 12 | KABUMBA CATHOLIC CHU | 169 | 170 | 1 |
| KORANORYA TRADING CEN | 267 | 318 | 51 | RUTUNGA PRI SCH | 253 | 265 | 12 | RUBOROGOTA PARISH HC | 389 | 390 | 1 |
| BUGANGO BRIGHT FUTURE | 346 | 397 | 51 | ISHOZI ROCK TANK | 156 | 168 | 12 | NYABUGANDO TRADING I | 264 | 265 | 1 |
| KASHESHE CATHOLIC CHUR | 323 | 373 | 50 | LUKA MEMORIAL PF | 188 | 200 | 12 | KAKUUTO PRI SCH | 140 | 141 | 1 |
| KABEREBERE C.O.U | 315 | 365 | 50 | KAHUNGYE PRI SCH | 311 | 322 | 11 | KAGANGO PRI SCH | 99 | 100 | 1 |
| KYAKABINDI KYESHERERO | 251 | 300 | 49 | KYAMBURARA CAT | 92 | 102 | 10 | RWOBUYAGAZA (RUKIRI) | 184 | 185 | 1 |
| KYABUTOOTO MUSLIM PRI | 246 | 290 | 44 | BUGARIKA C.O.U | 200 | 209 | 9 | KAYENJE I PRI SCH | 272 | 273 | 1 |
| RWANGUNGA CATHOLIC CH | 309 | 350 | 41 | ST THOMAS SEN SEC | 137 | 146 | 9 | KAGAAGA PRI SCH | 320 | 321 | 1 |
| Katooma Church Sch | 236 | 273 | 37 | KANKINGI | 237 | 246 | 9 | KISHARIRA PRI SCH | 161 | 162 | 1 |
| BUGANGO CATHOLIC CHUR | 449 | 486 | 37 | RUKUREIJO MARKET | 337 | 345 | 8 | KAKINGA PUBLIC GROUND | 325 | 326 | 1 |
| RWANKAKIRI PLAYGROUND | 371 | 407 | 36 | RUBOROGOTA PRI S | 109 | 117 | 8 | RUBWIJANA C.O.U | 226 | 227 | 1 |
| KABAZANA PRI SCH | 273 | 307 | 34 | BURIGI CATHOLIC CI | 286 | 294 | 8 | KISHURO PRI SCH | 181 | 182 | 1 |
| Rwakakwenda COU | 238 | 271 | 33 | JURU | 404 | 411 | 7 | KYARUGAJU HEALTH CENT | 99 | 100 | 1 |
| KYAMUSOONI HEALTH CEN | 255 | 288 | 33 | NYAMARUNGI PRI S | 393 | 400 | 7 | KAGOGO PRI SCH | 284 | 285 | 1 |
| Rukiri Catholic Church B | 188 | 220 | 32 | KAKAMBA HEALTH C | 347 | 353 | 6 | KIGYENDE PRI SCH | 267 | 268 | 1 |
| AKAKIRI TRADING CENTRE | 146 | 178 | 32 | BUYOJWA | 215 | 221 | 6 | RWABAHINDA SHALLOW | 158 | 159 | 1 |
| NYAMARUNGI B PLAYGROL | 219 | 251 | 32 | KATOJO CHURCH | 335 | 341 | 6 | | | | |

There were 97 Isingiro polling stations where the number of males that voted exceeded the number of registered males. In total we have detected excessive ballot box stuffing fraud in 215 polling stations, 43% of the total. In the other 57% ballot box stuffing also took place, but it didn't exceed the number of registered voters, of registered females or registered males.

The reason that the number of excessive ballot box stuffing for females or males is much higher than the general ballot box stuffing cases, is because the persons committing the fraud were aware that registered voters is a number that can be used to detect fraud. Since number of male voters of females voters has never received any attention in the press, there were many fraudsters that didn't bother to make this verification.

| Polling station | Registered | Voting | Excess | Polling station | Registered | Voting | Excess | Polling station | Registered | Voting | Excess |
|-------------------------|------------|--------|--------|-----------------------|------------|--------|--------|----------------------|------------|--------|--------|
| KYAMUTURA | 171 | 300 | 129 | NYABUGANDO PRI SCH | 194 | 213 | 19 | RWENTURAGARA HILLS | 338 | 342 | 4 |
| KIBAARE CHURCH SCHOOL | 255 | 370 | 115 | MBAARE II C.O.U | 164 | 183 | 19 | RUMEYA C.O.U | 141 | 145 | 4 |
| RWANGUNGA CATHOLIC C | 293 | 399 | 106 | NYAKAMURI I PRI SCH | 182 | 200 | 18 | KYAKAZOoba PLAYGR | 166 | 170 | 4 |
| KITOOHA PRI SCH | 186 | 292 | 106 | KYABAHESI PRI SCH | 282 | 300 | 18 | NYAKABUNGO C.O.U I | 168 | 172 | 4 |
| MPAMBAZI PRI SCH | 189 | 290 | 101 | MUREMA PRI SCH | 224 | 241 | 17 | OMUKAGANDO | 206 | 210 | 4 |
| KIGARAGARA PRI SCH | 212 | 300 | 88 | RUKONJE PRI SCH | 224 | 240 | 16 | KYEIRUMBA HEALTH CE | 247 | 251 | 4 |
| KISYORO PRI SCH | 373 | 447 | 74 | Rwakakwenda COU | 205 | 220 | 15 | KAMAAYA PRI SCH | 114 | 118 | 4 |
| BIJURA C.O.U | 232 | 303 | 71 | RYABOONA PENTECOSTA | 100 | 114 | 14 | RWANJOGYERA SUB CC | 319 | 323 | 4 |
| KYAMUSOONI PRI SCH | 340 | 400 | 60 | NYAMUYANJA MARKET | 194 | 208 | 14 | EKIGAVU | 84 | 88 | 4 |
| KATOKYE BOREHOLE | 94 | 150 | 56 | ST THOMAS SEN SEC SCH | 91 | 104 | 13 | RWENYANGA C.O.U | 238 | 241 | 3 |
| KIKAGATE PRI SCH | 209 | 264 | 55 | KAGAAGA PRI SCH | 266 | 279 | 13 | KAYONZA | 156 | 159 | 3 |
| TOWN COUNCIL OFFICES | 143 | 198 | 55 | NYAKARAMBI PARISH HC | 260 | 272 | 12 | MATARA C.O.U | 176 | 179 | 3 |
| KYAKABINDI PARENTS SCH | 223 | 275 | 52 | AKAFUNDA | 100 | 112 | 12 | KIHANDA I | 300 | 303 | 3 |
| KITEZO TRADING CENTRE (| 358 | 410 | 52 | KIJU GROUND | 192 | 203 | 11 | BUGAAGA NURS & PR | 133 | 136 | 3 |
| NYAKAKONI ROADSIDE HIL | 198 | 250 | 52 | RUHOKO PRI SCH A | 193 | 204 | 11 | KASHESHE CATHOLIC CI | 126 | 128 | 2 |
| KAHUNGYE C.O.U | 214 | 266 | 52 | BURUMBA PRI SCH | 203 | 214 | 11 | RWANYAKIHANGA | 110 | 112 | 2 |
| KEIKOBE MOSQUE GROUN | 343 | 392 | 49 | MUREMA HEALTH CENTR | 339 | 350 | 11 | KIHANDA SEC SCH | 201 | 203 | 2 |
| RWETANGO HEALTH CENTI | 159 | 200 | 41 | KARUNGA CATHOLIC CHL | 261 | 271 | 10 | KAROKARUNGI | 252 | 253 | 1 |
| KABUMBA CATHOLIC CHUF | 142 | 180 | 38 | KYOOGA | 87 | 97 | 10 | NYARUHUZI | 250 | 251 | 1 |
| RUBOROGOTA PRI SCH B | 96 | 133 | 37 | KABEREBERE COMMUNIT | 261 | 271 | 10 | NTENGA C.O.U | 239 | 240 | 1 |
| BURURUMA PRI SCH | 239 | 275 | 36 | NYAKIGYERA DAM | 191 | 200 | 9 | KITYAZA | 130 | 131 | 1 |
| KIINAMI PLAYGROUND | 204 | 237 | 33 | KAKUNYU JUNIOR SCHOC | 319 | 328 | 9 | KIRETWA NURSERY SCH | 324 | 325 | 1 |
| RWAKAHUNDE II PRI SCH | 172 | 204 | 32 | AKAKIRI TRADING CENTR | 116 | 125 | 9 | KYAMUGURUMA NAZA | 92 | 93 | 1 |
| KIBOONA GIRLS PRI SCH | 209 | 241 | 32 | KASHESHE PRI SCH A | 134 | 142 | 8 | KAKINGA PUBLIC GROU | 299 | 300 | 1 |
| MBAARE PRI SCH | 446 | 478 | 32 | KAYONZA PUBLIC LAND | 224 | 232 | 8 | NYAMUYANJA HEALTH | 284 | 285 | 1 |
| KIKUNYU PLAYGROUND | 181 | 210 | 29 | RWEKUBO DISPENSARY | 285 | 293 | 8 | NYAKABUNGO C.O.U II | 108 | 109 | 1 |
| RUSHASHA C.O.U | 205 | 234 | 29 | KYANZA | 233 | 241 | 8 | RUBEHO | 161 | 162 | 1 |
| KARUBANDA NURSERY SCH | 416 | 445 | 29 | KASHASHA PLAYGROUN | 259 | 266 | 7 | KAKYEKA C.O.U | 109 | 110 | 1 |
| KASHENYI PRI SCH | 173 | 199 | 26 | KIKUNYU CHURCH GROU | 230 | 236 | 6 | ISHUNGA PENTECOSTA | 82 | 83 | 1 |
| KYAMBURARA CATHOLIC C | 69 | 94 | 25 | RUTSYA PRI SCH | 223 | 229 | 6 | BUBAREBWERA CHURC | 183 | 184 | 1 |
| KAMUTIGANZI PRI SCH | 263 | 287 | 24 | IBINJA PRI SCH | 176 | 181 | 5 | RUMURI C.O.U | 234 | 235 | 1 |
| MABONA III | 298 | 322 | 24 | LUKA MEMORIAL PRI SCH | 147 | 152 | 5 | | | | |
| KAKUUTO | 182 | 205 | 23 | MPOMA PRI SCH | 126 | 130 | 4 | | | | |

The volunteer that made this analysis reported for 20 DoRs that no number of females and males was given. In the chapter on Isingiro more cases can be found.

If we look at Ballot box stuffing across the country we see that Western Uganda dominates. In the table below we have indicated the number of polling stations, the number of polling stations with normal turnouts (0-70), the number of polling stations with suspicious turnout (70-90) and the number of polling stations with impossible turnout (90-100) per district.

| districtName | pollingStations | 0-70 | 70-90 | 90-100 ▼ |
|--------------|-----------------|------|-------|----------|
| ISINGIRO | 509 | 122 | 55 | 331 |
| KIRUHURA | 189 | 17 | 24 | 148 |
| NTUNGAMO | 481 | 286 | 66 | 129 |
| KAMWENGE | 250 | 103 | 45 | 102 |
| KAZO | 206 | 57 | 48 | 101 |
| NAKASEKE | 253 | 166 | 34 | 53 |
| BULAMBULI | 245 | 116 | 82 | 47 |
| MBARARA | 159 | 106 | 18 | 35 |
| SSEMBABULE | 286 | 199 | 40 | 32 |
| GOMBA | 208 | 134 | 47 | 26 |
| YUMBE | 335 | 259 | 51 | 25 |
| KYANKWANZI | 255 | 204 | 28 | 22 |
| TORORO | 481 | 421 | 42 | 18 |
| BUDUDA | 208 | 159 | 34 | 15 |
| NTOROKO | 84 | 50 | 20 | 14 |
| MAYUGE | 437 | 409 | 16 | 12 |
| MBALE | 240 | 185 | 43 | 12 |
| BUTEBO | 119 | 59 | 46 | 12 |
| BUTALEJA | 204 | 166 | 27 | 11 |
| BUYENDE | 281 | 248 | 24 | 9 |
| LYANTONDE | 112 | 77 | 25 | 9 |
| KISORO | 320 | 129 | 181 | 9 |
| KASESE | 684 | 542 | 117 | 8 |
| AMUDAT | 120 | 37 | 74 | 8 |
| MUBENDE | 383 | 340 | 36 | 7 |

If we look nationwide we find:

| Voter Turnout | Number of polling stations | Qualification |
|---------------|----------------------------|--|
| 100% | 409 | Impossible, even if all people alive vote. |
| 90-99.9% | 924 | Impossible with natural voting. |
| 70-90% | 5363 | Unlikely |
| 0-70% | 27842 | Normal |
| Total | 34669 | |

According to election experts, voter turnout above 90% is impossible for normal democracies. A voter turnout of 100% is even impossible if all people that are alive vote. The voter register is set approximately a year before the elections, the chance that no one has died for an average polling station is 0.01%. In the Isingiro parish of Rwenshebashebe

there are 1669 registered voters. According to the tally sheets they were all alive one year later, the probability of that being true is 0.00000000000002%. (0.98^{1669}).

In some cases the NRM was very honest about their intentions to stuff the ballot box. NRM Chief Whip Ruth Nankabirwa told her audience she wants a 120% win in Kiboga.

*Ruth: Here I need 120% votes, even if the cows vote, let them vote.
It's the richest thing we have [cows], don't say you didn't hear.
Even if the cows vote they do what?*

People: They vote

Ruth: I don't want to hear anybody saying you didn't hear.

The "Let the cows vote" video is available on dropbox¹³⁶.

Presidential vs Parliamentary

Other proof for ballot box stuffing can be found by comparing the turnout for Woman MP elections versus presidential elections. It is greatly expected that the number of votes cast for candidates at different levels should be correlated, the voting locations are next to each other. If you vote in one election, you will likely vote for the other election as well.

| DISTRICT | REGISTERED VOTERS | CANDIDATES | PARTY | VOTES FOR CANDIDATES | VALID VOTES FOR WOMAN MPS | VALID VOTES FOR PRESIDENTS | INVALID | DIFFERENCE | PERCENTAGE INCREASE |
|----------|-------------------|-----------------------------|-------------|----------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|---------|------------|---------------------|
| ISINGIRO | 233099 | MUGUMYA CLARE | NRM | 105,244 | 178,649 | 200720 | 2410 | 22,071 | 12.4 |
| | | AYEBAZIBWE JASTINE | INDEPENDENT | 73,405 | | | | - | |
| KAMPALA | 1280409 | MALENDE SHAMIM | NUP | 314,865 | 505,199 | 537980 | 12624 | 32,781 | 6.5 |
| | | NAMBI FARIDAH | NRM | 94,870 | | | | - | |
| | | NYAMZI STELLA | FDC | 61,190 | | | | - | |
| | | NABUNJE SUMAYIYAH MUWONGE | DP | 16,512 | | | | - | |
| | | NAMUGWANYA REBECCA ROBINAH | INDEPENDENT | 5,680 | | | | - | |
| | | KASIRI EVELYN KENT | INDEPENDENT | 3,880 | | | | - | |
| | | MUBIRU FATUMAH | JEEMA | 2,921 | | | | - | |
| | | NABASIYE AISHAH | ANT | 2,710 | | | | - | |
| | | NANFUMA SHAMIM | INDEPENDENT | 2,571 | | | | - | |
| KAMWENGE | 117486 | BAHIREIRA TUMWEKWASE SYLWIA | INDEPENDENT | 38,309 | 74,910 | 90662 | 1087 | 15,752 | 21.0 |
| | | AZAIRWE DOROTHY KABARAITSYA | NRM | 36,601 | | | | - | |
| KAZO | 92843 | MUHEESI ABAHO JENIFER | NRM | 20,405 | 53,601 | 74503 | 1078 | 20,902 | 39.0 |
| | | NAWE MOLLY KAMUKAMA | INDEPENDENT | 17,215 | | | | - | |
| | | KEMIEMBE RONAH | INDEPENDENT | 15,742 | | | | - | |
| | | TUMWEBAZE PATIENCE | INDEPENDENT | 158 | | | | - | |

¹³⁶ <https://www.dropbox.com/s/26tzpa71yx45qwn/Luwer0LetTheCowsVote.mp4?dl=0>

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--------|-----------------------------------|-------------|---------|---------|--------|------|--------|------|
| | | AYEBAZIBWE IRENE | ANT | 81 | | | | - | |
| KIRUHURA | 81891 | TWINOBUSINGYE JOVANICE | NRM | 35,319 | 51,889 | 76432 | 311 | 24,543 | 47.3 |
| | | KABAIJE SHEILA MWINE | INDEPENDENT | 15,105 | | | | - | |
| | | KABARANGIRA ROSEMARY | ANT | 1,465 | | | | - | |
| MBARARA | 84209 | AYEBARE MARGARET | NRM | 36,638 | 48,241 | 56636 | 1419 | 8,395 | 17.4 |
| | | ATUHAIRE JULIET KICONCO KAMUSHANA | INDEPENDENT | 11,603 | | | | - | |
| NGORA | 72976 | APOLOT STELLA ISODO | FDC | 22,671 | 39,662 | 43174 | 1769 | 3,512 | 8.9 |
| | | AMONGIN JACQUILINE | NRM | 16,596 | | | | - | |
| | | NAMUSANA FAITH | DP | 225 | | | | - | |
| | | ANGENYO ANNET | ANT | 170 | | | | - | |
| NTOROKO | 38098 | TUMWINE ANNE MARY | NRM | 9,787 | 21,742 | 24526 | 756 | 2,784 | 12.8 |
| | | MUJUNGU JENNIFER K | INDEPENDENT | 9,679 | | | | - | |
| | | KARUNGI MONICA | INDEPENDENT | 2,276 | | | | - | |
| NTUNGAMO | 268541 | KAMATENETI JOSYLINE | NRM | 156,022 | 174,627 | 186849 | 3921 | 12,222 | 7.0 |
| | | NAMARA CATHERINE MASIKO | INDEPENDENT | 9,175 | | | | - | |
| | | NAMARA DEBORAH | FDC | 4,789 | | | | - | |
| | | SAYUNI CRANIMH | ANT | 4,641 | | | | - | |
| AVERAGE PERCENTAGE INCREASE IN VALID VOTES | | | | | | | | | 19.1 |

In Kampala we see a small difference of 6.5% of turnout between Woman MP and presidential. In Isingiro this has already increased to 12.4%. In Kiruhura and Kazo the difference is 47.3% versus 39.0%, a clear indication of the scale of ballot box stuffing that took place in those districts.

DoR & post-DoR fraud

At the end of the voting-day the votes are counted under the supervision of the presiding officer. Every party is allowed to have an agent present during the voting and the counting process, after which the Declaration of Results (DoR) form is filled out. Every agent gets a copy of the DoR.

According to a popular legend, Stalin said about voting: "The people who cast the votes don't decide an election, the people who count the votes do."

In the Ugandan context this legend has a lot of value, as an incumbent president responsible for keeping the elections has never lost the election.

The DoR is one of the most important pillars of the voting process. The UVote app was built to make sure that once the DoR has been determined and copies have been given to the agents of the parties, the results cannot be altered. After the DoRs are uploaded into the UVote database, the system allowed us to run a 'differences report'. Such a report contains all the polling stations where there's a difference between the Electoral Commission tally sheet and the DoR uploaded to UVote.

To inform Ugandan citizens and other interested parties that a number of DoRs flagged as 'different', we posted them through the @nup_diaspora Twitter account (https://twitter.com/nup_diaspora). In this way several frauds for Mbarara, Ntungamo, Kasese, Isingiro, Kiruhura, Mbale and Nebbi were reported.

To the surprise of the UVote team one DoR received a reaction from the Electoral Commission. They stated that the DoR published by NUP was false, and published the DoR that they considered genuine. However, the 'genuine' DoR didn't add up and the whole world witnessed how DoR fraud was exposed. It is discussed in detail in the Chapter on Nebbi.

The 145+ differences that we found between DoRs and the Electoral Commission tallysheet and other frauds can be found in the Appendix. The approximately 200 Isingiro excess voting frauds have not been included in this list. The DoRs to which they correspond can be found in the various Appendices of this report and in this pdf.¹³⁷

From this overview we conclude that the fraud in Nebbi was not isolated. There is a pattern of DoR fraud across the country.

It is likely that DoR frauds are necessary for the government to bridge the gap with the results they announced. The 16th January announcement of the Electoral Commission came when not all districts were tallied. Betty Namboozee, MP for Mukono Municipality, declares in her affidavit:

14. THAT the Final results announced by the 2nd Respondent on 16th January 2021 at or before 4pm did not include the results from Mukono District as at the time, the District Tally Centre was still tallying results.

If final results are announced without the tally being complete these results must be based on some estimates made, likely in an alternative tally center. The estimates will always have some deviations from the DoRs. To conceal that an alternative tally center has been used, the DoRs need to be altered. This explains why not all changes in the DoRs are at the advantage of Museveni. Sometimes his votes have been underestimated in the announced tally sheets and this can be fixed by lowering his votes or nullifying certain polling stations.

Rigging in Central

In The Observer¹³⁸ we found:

“In a stunning wave of results, all the 13 cabinet ministers from Buganda were defeated by opposition candidates, in particular those from Kyagulanyi’s National Unity Platform (NUP)”

Talking anonymously, four different NRM ministers were honest to the Observer. Three explicitly admitted that there was no free campaign and that they were punished for the brutality against Bobi Wine supporters.

*“The worst thing to happen was holding the election in the middle of the Covid-19 pandemic and then create a scientific campaign, every time I turned on television, **there was brutality and torture of Bobi Wine supporters.** Kyagulanyi being a Muganda, people became sentimental and turned against me because they believed I justified the brutality. **If Bobi Wine had been allowed to campaign***

¹³⁷ https://www.dropbox.com/s/bqxxd9b6beftxt/VOLUME6_DR_FORMS_ONLY.pdf?dl=0

¹³⁸ <https://observer.ug/news/headlines/68206-brutality-on-bobi-cost-us-in-buganda-defeated-ministers>

freely, I have no doubt I would have remained in parliament because people would have voted ideas, not personality as it turned out.”

*“The people didn’t vote me because I was a nonperformer. I have brought a lot of development and created jobs for my electorate. However, the timing couldn’t have been any worse to be a minister **after all the chaos and deaths witnessed** in the campaign season. The voters were simply casting a protest vote against NRM and that did not play into my hands. “*

*“Matters were not helped by what they used to see on social media every day, **especially the brutality against Bobi Wine and Patrick Amuriat**. In my constituency, they buried three people who died during the riots. This turned the wave against me. Just look at the person who defeated me...he was a nobody but the anger people had tipped the scale against me.”*

This open confusions from NRM ministers confirms the efforts of the Museveni government to rig the elections and could not be omitted.

In a number of Chapters we will focus on the rigging in certain districts in Central Region.

Rigging in Kampala

Kampala showed limited rigging but a lot of violence and intimidation.

Rigging in Rakai

We tell the story of the people of Kyanica who objected against the ballot box stuffing and revolted.

Rigging in Gomba

In this chapter we will show the important role of UPDF spokesperson Flavia Byekwaso, Museveni friend Wamala (real name Kisakyamukama Yiga) and Mugenyi Vincent.

Rigging in Ssembabule

Theodore Ssekikubo is an NRM candidate who violently tried to get access to the polling station.

Rigging in the North

The National Unity Platform in the North is led by Dr Lina Zedriga, Vice-president of the National Unity Platform. Talking to Blackstar news, she described the violence during the campaign and elections, and the rigging¹³⁹.

Her Election management officer Gerald Oyeki explains very well how much rigging took place:

My name is Oyeki Gerald, a twenty seven year old Ugandan Male Roman Catholic. I’m a Publisher and an undergraduate student. I am single with no offspring. I’m a social

¹³⁹ <https://wbai.org/archive/program/episode/?id=21491&s=08>

movement conceptualist, and a pro-change political activist currently aligned to the National Unity Platform political formation where I'm the Election Management officer in charge of Northern Uganda. I also belonged to the Uganda Young Democrats, a robust socio-political youth formation grounded in Makerere University, and the Acholi Students Movement, a socio-cultural forum of students belonging to the Acholi ethnicity in higher institutions of learning across Uganda where I served as Speaker. I also volunteered as a digital Communications Assistant for the Leader of Opposition, Betty Aol Ocan from 2017 to April 2020.

As an Election Management Officer, my roles include candidate identification, recruitment, election Management Structure which involves voter civic education, recruitment of polling volunteers, as well as Election Day coordination and supervision to ensure a transparent, free and fair participation in the voting processes of the country. I also have the responsibility of documenting incidences of human rights violations for further action by law implementing organs and other relevant actors within Northern Uganda. I also actively contributed to the development of the U-Vote Mobile Application used by the National Unity Platform to capture the 2021 Presidential elections digitally, whose lead developer is based in Netherlands.

EVENTS

On 3rd September, 2020 myself and four other colleague were arrested and detained at Patongo Central Police Station, Agago District PS on charges of 'unlawful assembly,' while I had gone to train the candidates for Local Government elections. While there, the Officer in Charge of the Station attempted to grab the red beret off my head while remarking 'You are the people bringing lugezigezi here,' to mean 'you are the people bringing trouble here.' I wrestled him away with a question, 'Under what designation are you putting us in- as the Police or as an NRM Mobiliser?' He backed off and let me be. We were later released on police bond after more than 48 hours in captivity¹⁴⁰.

On 19th September, 2020, while traveling to Lira District from Arua District with three other colleagues for a candidate's training exercise, a plain clothed operative trailed us from Kamdini trading Centre in Oyam District till Lira. He tried to slow us down from a dark spot at about 7pm. It was raining heavily. Our instincts told us otherwise. We decided to speed up and branch off at a fuel station with light and human presence. The man claimed that we were over speeding and caused a stone to hit his windscreen from our hind tyre. There was clearly no visible crack on his windscreen. We continuously begged for pardon. He spewed several complaints at us, threatening that 'You are the reasons why the Kanyamunyu's shoot people dead. They tell you to stop and you refuse to do so,' despite us explaining to him that there was no way we could have stopped at such a dark spot for our own safe. He wasn't shy to show off the AK47 that lay at the hind seat of his premio as numbers started building up around the car, prompting him to stand down on his guard and 'forgive us.'

On 10th October 2020, I was intercepted together with the Deputy President and some members of the local team as we moved to supervise the readiness of the venue for the Kyagulanyi Campaign. This was by a group of about 30 bamboo wielding military and plain clothed men. While in detention, an officer stated that 'we are arresting you to save your lives.' We were charged in court for contravening COVID-19 guidelines and released on bail. We later learnt that the arrest was ordered by the Regional Police Commander, a one

¹⁴⁰ <https://www.facebook.com/oyeki.gerald.7/posts/1273444509668260>

Nkore with the intention to sabotage mobilization activity for the Kyagulanyi through the campaign period¹⁴¹

On Saturday 17th October, 2020 at about 11am, individuals whom we now highly suspect to belong to both the Security space and are allied to the NRM Candidate for Gulu East, Nancy Atimango attacked the NUP regional office and destroyed the banner belonging to H.E Kyagulanyi Ssentamu Robert. They shamelessly tore down all posters belonging to our NUP Candidates within the City and replaced them with those of Tibaharura and Nancy Atimango. A similar event happened in Moroto District campaign materials branded with NUP were torn apart without justification.

On the morning of 5th November, 2020 the police and military raided the Karamoja Regional National Unity Platform Office, caused havoc and beat up party supporters. They went as far as searching candidates' homes, and vandalizing any NUP paraphernalia. Related to this, on the 13th of November, 2020 during his campaign trail, the security ordered that a radio talk show be postponed to a later time than scheduled, a proof of the State's continued interference of NUP media engagements within the Region.

On 7th December 2020, the National Unity Platform Northern Region Offices in Gulu were attacked and vandalized while colleagues and I were in office at about 11:00am. I was brutalized and my gadgets stolen in the process. We lost several party items in the process. The police remained reluctant to follow up the incidence after the attack¹⁴².

On 10th December, 2020 while Kyagulanyi made way to campaign in the Elegu border town of Amuru District, the police brutality blocked him from proceeding, pelting teargas, bullets and all sorts of brutality onto the procession. A young woman's leg was shattered and later amputated as an impact of the canisters from the security. This is only one of the incidences caught on camera of NUP leaning supporters bearing the brunt of the security forces in the Acholi subregion. While Kyagulanyi campaigned in Nwoya district, his one of our coordinators there was targeted. His nephew's left eye was shattered by a teargas canister that was directed at him.

Two weeks later, on December 26th, 2020, the Lango subregional office was raided by youth whom we later learnt were under the instruction of the National Assembly Deputy Speaker, Jacob Oulanya. They burnt party materials in front of the office, and made away with key party materials like party cards, only to be convened later by Jacob Oulanya whose comments suggested satisfaction with the vandalism (Attack on Bobi Wine's National Unity Platform - Daily Monitor)

On 3rd January 2021, I was assigned to Acholi East in the Districts of Pader, Lamwo, Agago and Kitgum for the purpose of vote protection across 770 polling stations.

There were 6000 polling station across the region. We were able to identify agents for majority of the polling stations few days to polling. It was enormous, logistically tiring being a movement that had to rely on donations of well-wishers, no monthly contributors, neither did we have contributions from the Interparty Dialogue.

It was all commitment from people. I think we were well able to identify volunteers to execute those tasks. Unfortunately, a few days before polling the long hand of state took

¹⁴¹ https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=10160404511618012&id=130737598011

¹⁴² <https://www.independent.co.ug/nups-office-in-gulu-attacked/>

course many of our agents were threatened and we were frustrated in distributing polling material.

The state assigned the military to manage the process. It was not an election, this was a military operation from the state. Northern Uganda had the most ruthless of them; General Salim Saleh was stationed in Acholi-west, in Gulu City at the Military Barracks General Gutti, the chairperson of the General Court Marshall was stationed in Karamoja. Gutti is responsible for sending most of NUP supporters to Kitalya Minimax prison. There was General Jackson Kayunga for West-Nile and Col. Sam Engola in Lango sub region. Their specific assignment was that vote protection was sabotaged, and that the votes were rigged for General Museveni, but also to ensure that if voting process took place, the voting material would be confiscated, in particular the DoRs for NUP agents.

A number of our technical supervisors in Karamoja were either compromised or detained. That was all under the command of General Gutti. A meeting was held few days to voting at the home of general Gutti, we had an informer that provided this information. First there were instructions that NUP supporters where either detained or shot, however this faced resistance from local NRM parliamentary candidates who said they couldn't shoot our own people. That's why there were not that many worrying election violence incidences from Karamoja but there was a lot of rigging. Karamoja had the highest rigging machinery beacuse on polling day, we didn't have agents at majority of the polling stations. They were intimidated or being arrested.

For the other sub regions, most rigging was done at the technical level, at the results transmission level. A case in point is Chua West in Kitgum where our registrar reported to me directly that a polling station at Mucwini, he was followed to his home by state agents on voting night, his house was broken into, and the DoR form was taken among other properties of his. The results were rigged at the level of transmission of the district tally center. There was another vote doctoring unit within the state structure that relayed results to the National Electoral Tally Centre. For example the results for Omoro distrit were declared before the collection of DoR forms was complete by Electoral Commission. At the time the results were being counted in Omoro, they were announced at the national tally center. They were predetermined results that were being read.

With respect to our results from Northern-Uganda. Most results were doctored with the intention of covering up for the losses in Buganda/Busoga sub-region by the regime. It's not by coincident that such errors are uploaded. There's no way there is a one-side system error, so it was intentional. We do not know exactly how many of our polling agents were rounded up. We do have information some have been killed or have disappeared. Confirming this information has been challenging since many are on the run.

Initially, the state did not appreciate our organizational capacity. On polling day I was supervising 770 in Acholi-East, in districts of Pader, Lamwo, Agago and Kitgum. We had a challenge with Lamwo District where Hillary Onek, a minister within the government intimidated or compromised a significant proportion of our polling agents.

In the course of vote protection through to 15th January, 2021, I kept switching locations because of suspected monitoring by the State. I left Kitgum on the evening of 16th January 2021, with at least 70% of the Presidential DoR Forms, and made way to Kampala to deliver them to the headquarters.

Prior to setting off for Kampala, majority of these forms were snapshot for backup to be uploaded onto the UVote app. I was intercepted on the morning of Sunday 17 January by

plain clothed security operatives, abducted, and the forms were confiscated. I suspect that my telecom line was being monitored and that's how I was intercepted. Earlier on, prior to polling day, another colleague with whom I was supervising the region was arrested a few days before election and he was asked how the transmission of the UVote app worked and where the servers were located. He was released from detention on condition that he would immediately vacate his duty station and never return there.

I was intercepted at about 8:00am with 503 declaration of results (DoR) forms for presidential candidate Robert Kyagulanyi Sentamu, a security team of over 30 rounded up my hotel room and bundled me and two other colleagues who were accompanying me into a 'drone' van. A drone is the van used for the recent kidnaps and abductions of opposition leaning strategists, tactician and supporters in Uganda. This was a combination of both plain clothed and police uniformed mean looking gun-wielding personnel that confiscated the forms and ordered us into the drone. They claimed that we were operating an illegal tally center. We were driven to a place that I wasn't familiar with; a unfinished building with a larger number of plain clothed individuals wielding guns. While, there, we were separately interrogated. I was interrogated on the election, the DoR Forms and my knowledge of the plan to 'remove the dictator,' as most of our campaign had postulated. While in detention, my full identification was captured into the abductors' database. They kept emphasizing that I must immediately cease what I'm doing and that their eyes are on me.

On the same day, I was transferred to Wandegaya police station at about 4:00pm and temporarily held there. A file was opened up against me (falsification of results, case ref: gef.002/2021), and released at about 9:30pm upon filing the charge against me. I spent the night at the Gaddafi mosque for fear of my life where we were escorted at about 10:15pm.

In the following days, I kept receiving mysterious phone calls without clear caller identification. The callers would sometimes use parody names as though to capture my attention. These similar phone calls have been made prior to the disappearance of a number of colleagues as a mechanism of tracking their exact locations.

For fear of my life, I fled to safety on 31st January, 2021.

Rigging in Gulu & Gulu city

Gulu saw so much intimidation that only 35% of the people showed up at the polls.

Rigging in Nebbi

The DoR fraud in Anyang polling station where 84 votes for Kyagulanyi changed into 8 became known worldwide. The agents explain that Museveni shouldn't even have won this polling station.

Rigging in the East

A NUP coordinator told us:

In some areas we didn't have much influence because those guys really overpowered us, during campaigns they used to arrest of them . There was a lot of intimidation by the RDC, by District Commanders, in some far areas like Teso, Kalaki, areas of Buyende Kamuli, there was a lot of intimidation, we didn't make much impact these guys could do what they wanted: ballot box stuffing , our

candidates contested but obviously they couldn't resist a lot. But in towns like in Luuka we had a lot of support so there was resistance and Iganga we had a lot of support areas like Mayuge. You heard what happened in Jinja and woman MP of parliament the mayor of Jinja City, there was a lot of resistance, it took them days to declare the mayor. That was generally the situation.

They ended buying some of our members, like recently Wetaka Abassi who was signed for the flagbearer, that was the guy who was bought. They know them, in my city police came to see if I'm around, but I wasn't, if you willingly agree with them they pay you, if not they torture you and they abduct. Most of our members are still in hiding. It's still there but there is little we can do. One strong supporter is still in hiding! It was too much intimidation, They are still looking for everyone, they need help, but you cannot help much.

Rigging in Iganga

For one polling station the results were copy-pasted onto another polling station.

Rigging in Mbale

Mbale saw lots of violence during the campaign, ballot box stuffing, stolen ballot boxes & bribery.

Rigging in the West

Although the regime tries to frame Western Uganda as the region where everyone supports Museveni, opinion polls and the scale of intimidation and violence show a different story. NUP Vice-president Jolie Mugisha reported:

21 That when I drove to Isingiro I encountered violence and teargas right from Kaberebere and was forced to run away.

22 That several reports from Isingiro reported the same story.

23 That I am swearing this affidavit to confirm that the presidential election in Mbarara, Isingiro and Kashari was a sham because the ballot papers were largely pre-ticked in favour of Candidate Museveni and others were not allowed to vote.

Rigging in the West mainly came from Ballot box stuffing, as explained earlier in this report.

Rigging in Isingiro

This chapter describes the enormous amount of ballot box stuffing and intimidation in Isingiro. Many videos of ballot box stuffing were shared. Some of them show the involvement of Fred Rwakaizi, the agent of Stephen Kangwagye.

Rigging in Kiruhura

Rigging in Kiruhura, Kaaro high school

Kaaro High School is the polling station for Museveni. Not only did they stuff the ballot boxes, they put in even more ballots than registered voters.

Rigging in Ntungamo**Rigging in Kamwenge**

In this district Minister Frank Tumwebaze was responsible for chasing away opposition agents at the polling stations.

PART IV: POST-ELECTION ARRESTS OF NUP AND CAMPAIGN PERSONNEL

UNLAWFUL ARREST OF HUNDREDS OF NUP STAFF January 16 - 18, 2021

Two days after the election, on or about January 16, 2021, the Ugandan Military raided and laid siege to the NUP party headquarters located in Kamwokya District.

NUP offices were raided and surrounded by the Ugandan Military; the offices were then closed, locked and staff members attempting to re-enter were prevented by soldiers.

Over 110 members of Mr. Kyagulanyi's staff were arrested in the days following the January 14th election¹⁴³. As of this date, approximately 600 NUP associates have been arrested and others, including the party's General Secretary, have been forced into hiding; at least 2,000 staff members are missing. A list of missing high NUP officials is annexed to this Report.

The purpose of these attacks and arrests has been to disrupt the operation of the NUP and to prevent coordination and gathering of evidence of election irregularities.

MILITARY OCCUPATION OF ROBERT KYAGULANI'S HOME January 15, 2021 - January 26, 2021

On election day, January 14, 2021, Mr. Kyagulanyi's home was overrun and occupied by Ugandan military and security forces. Mr. Kyagulanyi's personal security force was beaten and assaulted, and forced to disperse.

For 11 days, Mr. Kyagulanyi was held in his home with his wife, a single staff-member and an eighteen (18) month old infant, his niece, surrounded by hundreds of troops, military vehicles and overhead helicopters.

Mr. Kyagulanyi repeatedly attempted to speak with the occupying troops and issued a statement on Twitter that none would say a word to him or his family.

On one occasion Mr. Kyagulanyi's wife attempted to collect food from the garden and was beaten by security forces. The military repeatedly threatened the family at gunpoint¹⁴⁴.

Mr. Kyagulanyi's cell phone was shut off by the Ugandan Communications Commission, and he remained a political prisoner with no charges against him through January 26, 2021.

Mr. Kyagulanyi's home had run out of food approximately four days into the eleven day siege and military forces would not allow him to receive food or aid from the outside.

U.S. Ambassador Natalie E. Brown attempted to enter the premises of Mr. Kyagulanyi's home to deliver food and aid and was denied entry by Ugandan forces¹⁴⁵. By this time, Mr. Kyagulanyi and his wife had been captive for five (5) days, and had run out of provisions.

¹⁴³ <https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-uganda-election/ugandan-opposition-says-troops-raid-its-offices-amid-election-challenge-idUSKBN29N13X>

¹⁴⁴ <https://youtu.be/cpu2Rz43sK8>

¹⁴⁵ <https://www.facebook.com/U.S.EmbassyKampala/posts/3628148443901304>

Military forces would not permit him and his family to receive food or outside aid of any kind.

The military presence at the Kyagulanyi home ultimately terminated after the Uganda Court ordered his release on January 25, 2021.

The purpose of such encirclement was to prevent Kyagulanyi from communicating with party and campaign staff, from instructing counsel in connection with legal challenges to the election, and from speaking with the Ugandan people following the election. The government offered no explanation as to his detention except the claim that it was seeking to protect him¹⁴⁶.

At no time were any charges lodged against him nor was he informed of any violation of law to support the home detention. A report from Sky News demonstrates the encirclement at the compound when his lawyers attempted to reach him through a military gauntlet¹⁴⁷.

Amnesty International¹⁴⁸ noted that MP Kyagulanyi and his wife and staff were being held illegally for political purposes.

BEATING OF FRANCIS ZAAKE, MP January 18, 2021

On Saturday January 17, 2021 MP Francis Zaake attempted to visit Mr. Kyagunalani's home which was under illegal military occupation and while Mr. Kyagunlani was held without charges by military forces, as described above.

MP Zaake attempted to enter Mr. Kyagulani's home and was viciously beaten by military forces, and was then arrested by the Kampala Metropolitan Police.

NTV Uganda journalist Cliff Wamala was also denied access to Mr. Kyagulani's home and arrested.

MP Zaake was taken to the Kasangati Police Station, where he was released and then admitted into in Rubaga Hospital, Kampala as a result of the severity of his injuries sustained in the beating by Ugandan authorities¹⁴⁹.

The sole basis for the attack on Mr. Zaake was his political association with Robert Kyagulanyi.

POST-ELECTION ARREST OF MORE THAN 3,000 NUP SUPPORTERS AND KYAGULANYI STAFF VIA UNMARKED VEHICLE

Since the election the government of Uganda has hunted down and arrested at least 3,000 NUP staff and campaign staff. Ugandans report frequent break-ins and arrests by plain clothes agents using unmarked white vehicles, known to the populace as "drones". Hon. Kyagulanyi reports that at least 3,000 staff have disappeared, none have been brought to court, and they are apparently being held at undisclosed locations throughout Uganda.

¹⁴⁶ <https://www.monitor.co.ug/uganda/news/national/opondo-slams-us-envoy-over-attempted-visit-to-bobi-wine-3262292>

¹⁴⁷ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i44OMLrh8zE>

¹⁴⁸ <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2021/01/uganda-end-politically-motivated-detention-of-robert-kyagulanyi-and-his-wife/>

¹⁴⁹ <https://www.ntv.co.ug/ug/news/national/mp-zaake-arrested-as-bobi-wine-can-t-leave-his-home-3259318>

NUP Secretary General David Lewis Rubongoya told Reuters wire service that people had begun to disappear on Nov. 18, the start of two days of protests: The state started conducting operations across the country, picking people and taking them away” he said.¹⁵⁰.

Uganda’s police have confirmed the practice of using unmarked white Toyotas to arrest individuals and that at least 1,100 people were arrested between Nov. 18-20, 2020. On January 5, 2021 Police spokesperson Fred Enanga confirmed that the police had been using unmarked vehicles with number plates concealed and that the arrests violated arrest and detention standards¹⁵¹.

The purpose of such mass arrests is to depopulate the opposition’s professional staff and eliminate and neutralize its ability to mount public protest and legal challenge to the January 14, 2021 election certification.

MILITARY COURT APPEARANCE OF KYANGULANYI CAMPAIGN STAFF FEBRUARY 1, 2021

After weeks in detention, Mr. Kyagulanyi learned on February 2, 2021 that his campaign staff, were brought to a military court for a bail hearing. This violates Uganda law under which defendants are to be brought within 48 hours to a civilian court for bail and other procedural matters. Mr. Kyagulanyi reports that the bail hearing was then deferred for another eight (8) days, keeping his staff in military custody without any civil charge. Photographs by the Daily Monitor annexed to the Tweet show detained persons being carried due to apparent ill health while in military custody¹⁵². The kidnappings have continued through the date of this Report.

Approximately 3000 NUP staff and aides are missing, have not been produced in civilian courts and have not been heard from, in many cases since mid-November. The purpose of such attacks has been to demoralize and destabilize the opposition, to prevent public protest, to prevent development of a legal strategy to challenge the election results and to prevent Bobi Wine, in particular, from reaching out to the international media and sympathetic foreign governments.

From a source within Kitalya prison we have been informed that most of the inmates are there for charges as “Military attire” or “Curfew violation” that are used to arrest opposition members.

FDC supporter Kakwenza Rukirabashaija describes in his book “Banana Republic, where writing is treasonous”¹⁵³ how bad the situation inside of prisons is, how he was tortured and forced to eat his poop. Because of the international attention for his case, he came out of prison hell again relatively quick. However, he also accounts how some people rot away without ever hearing what they are charged for.

¹⁵⁰ <https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-uganda-election-idUSKBN2A222P>

¹⁵¹ <https://www.monitor.co.ug/uganda/news/national/gen-lokech-issues-new-orders-on-arrests--3247658>

¹⁵² <https://pbs.twimg.com/media/EtJmtRQXUAIa3x?format=jpg&name=900x900>

¹⁵³ Banana Republic, where writing is treasonous. (2020) <https://nilepost.co.ug/2021/04/09/book-review-banana-republic-a-tale-of-torture/>

CONCLUSION

In Part I & II we have clearly explained that rather than free elections, it was a military operation that took place with the objective of announcing general Museveni as the winner. To achieve this goal the population of Uganda had to be intimidated, the campaign of opposition parties had to be frustrated, media access for opposition had to be denied, NGOs had to be expelled and election observation prevented.

In 2021 Museveni was confronted with a challenger, Robert Kyagulanyi, from a new generation that had quickly gained popularity. Separate surveys done in November 2020 by Market Intelligence Group and Freedom Uganda show that Kyagulanyi had the support of about 60% of the population, where Museveni's popularity dropped to 35%.

After rigging the 2011 and 2016 elections the Museveni regime was experienced enough to rig these elections even more. EU observers that wrote a critical report in 2016 were no longer invited. After being in power for 35 years all the members of the Electoral Commission and the Supreme Court had been appointed by Museveni himself and selected for their loyalty to the dictator.

To prevent the opposition from coordinating and documenting the election fraud the Museveni regime blocked the internet, although this meant that some of the Electoral Commission systems were not properly functioning. This was no problem since it was already decided which results had to be announced.

The main contributor to the rigging of these elections was ballot box stuffing. 409 polling stations across Uganda saw a 100% voter turnout, which is impossible give that the voter register is fixed 10 months before the elections. A total of 1333 polling stations had a voter turnout of 90% and according to election experts that is not possible under free & fair elections. Scientific research is presented in the form of election fingerprints that show that the correlation of high voter turnout and high Museveni scores is typical for rigged elections such as in Uganda and Russia. Even NRM Chief Whip Ruth Nankabirwa was honest about the ballot box stuffing "*I need 120% votes, even if the cows vote, let them vote.*" (Chapter ballot box stuffing)

To be able to stuff the ballot boxes the regime had to make sure that no opposition agents were around. They were either bribed or chased away, as is evidenced by many affidavits and testimonies.

Also towards voters the regime used the carrot & stick methodology. Bribes to voters were offered in the range from 1000 shillings to 100.000 shillings. A grandmother that took the bribe but still voted Kyagulanyi was beaten up. In cities like Gulu the voter intimidation was so intense that less than 40% turned up.

An analysis of the DoRs in the district of Isingiro shows that the rigging was very sloppy. For 47 DoRs the reported number of ballots counted was larger than the number of

registered voters. For 119 polling stations the number of women that voted exceeded the number of registered females, and for 97 polling stations the number of man that voted exceeded the number of registered males.

This confirms multiple statements that in Western Uganda hardly any presidential election took place; many polling stations already closed in the morning.

A nationwide comparison of DoRs collected by UVote and official tally results show over 120 polling stations where the DoRs were illegally changed or fraudulent. One such DoR for the Nebbi Anyang polling station received international attention after the Electoral Commission denied that 84 Kyagulanyi votes were changed into 8 Kyagulanyi votes. When scientists pointed out the fraud, the EC no longer was willing to comment; more in the 'Rigging in Nebbi' chapter.

The Electoral Commission continuously showed their loyalty to the president: they cooperated with the rigging and did not investigate complaints that were brought forward. Only in some rare cases where they were caught by cameras they pretended to take actions against fraud (chapter Mbale). The Supreme Court showed its loyalty to the dictator by not accepting the more than 100 affidavits that testify about the intimidation, bribery, violence, ballot box stuffing and fraud. In this report these affidavits are presented in a way that clearly displays the magnitude and diversity of the crimes that have been submitted, while protecting the identity of the witnesses. Many of these witnesses still have to fear for their lives and are on the run.

It's very clear that Museveni knew what was going on and was in control of the rigging. His own polling station at Kaaro High School (chapter Kiruhura Kaaro) was ballot box stuffed and the journalist that tweeted about it disappeared for more than a day and deleted all his tweets without explanation. In the polling station of his wife Janet in Ntungamo the ballot boxes were stuffed, even in Kampala the polling station Nakasero [A-L] next to the state house was rigged.

In our chapters about rigging in various districts we show how family, friends and ministers of Museveni were leading the rigging. In Isingiro it was cousin Stephen Kangwakye and his agent Fred Rwakiaza (caught on 2 videos). In Luuka it was his minister Esther Mbayo that ordered soldiers to repeatedly vote. In Gomba it was his friend Wamala and former NRM flagbearer Mubenyi. In Kamwenge it was his minister Frank Tumwebaze. Rigging in northern Ugandan was led by Saleh. Gutti took care of Gulu & Karamoja, Jackson Kayanga of West-Nile and Sam Engola of Lango.

In our chapter 'Rigging in Central' three of Museveni's own ministers talking anonymously with the Observer admit that there was no free campaign and that they were punished for the brutality against Bobi Wine supporters.

The conclusion of this report is clear: The 2021 elections were not free & fair and they were rigged by general Museveni. He knew what two surveys have shown; Kyagulanyi has the support of the majority of Ugandans.

LIST OF DETAINED NUP MEMBERS

List of 133 NUP Members or Supporters detained in the run up to the 2021 Ugandan Elections (constructed March 2021).¹⁵⁴ More NUP & other opposition members have been detained after. Some have been released.

Members of Hon. Kyagulanyi's Campaign Team arrested in Kalangala District on 30th December 2020.

1. Ali Buken, aka Nubian Li (Bobi Wine's singing partner and close aide)
2. Daniel Oyerwot (Bobi Wine's music producer and close aide)
3. Edward Ssebuufu, aka Eddie Mutwe (Bobi Wine's personal bodyguard)
4. Hadija Nalubega
5. Joy Namuyimba
6. James Mubiru¹⁵⁵ Councillor-elect arrested for wearing red baret.
7. Monica Tushemereirwe
8. Oliver Lutaya¹⁵⁶
9. Maureen Nabukeera
10. Maria Tracy Nakimuli
11. Tasha Nakalema
12. Charles Mpangi
13. Patrick Nsereko
14. Moshin Kakande
15. John Bosco Sande
16. John Lukyamuzi
17. Regan Lule
18. Ivan Kigundu
19. William Muteeba
20. Faisal Kigongo
21. Musa Mulimira
22. Bashir Mulisa
23. Abubaker Nsubuga
24. Nelson Dyasiima
25. Sam Mutumba
26. Richard Kalema
27. Julius Mwanje
28. Muzafalu Mwanga
29. Ismail Kaddu Nyanzi
30. Stanley Kafuko
31. Achileo Kivumbi
32. Geoffrey Onzima
33. Anthony Agaba
34. Robert Kivumbi
35. Bonny Obicho
36. Samson Ssebiranda
37. Shakira Namboozo
38. Sulait Bukenya
39. Deo Mugambe

¹⁵⁴ This list does not include the up to 600 NUP staff that have been detained since the election and whose location and condition are unknown.

¹⁵⁵ <https://observer.ug/news/headlines/68963-falsely-declared-dead-councillor-elect-mubiru-charged-in-army-court>

¹⁵⁶ <https://observer.ug/news/headlines/68389-army-court-releases-13-nup-supporters-denies-release-of-36-others>

40. Lawrence Sserwanja
41. Henry Martin Ssekiswa
42. Richard Ntambi
43. Vincent Kiggo
44. Geoffrey Ssempijja
45. Abudallah Kawuki
46. Ismail Mugaga
47. Ivan Mubiru
48. Samuel Matovu
49. Ibrahim Tamale
50. Kazore Elijah Bikubi
51. Mutwalibi Ssempijja
52. Hussein Mukisa
53. Brian Semanda
54. Hassan Katumba
55. Sharif Najja
56. Sam Okanya
57. Ibrahim Kizza
58. Enos Tuhame
59. Sam Ssenyimba
60. John Kabengwa
61. Charles Mumbere Mariro
62. Peter Sentuma
63. Peter Kiwanuka
64. Robert Katumba
65. Enock Muwanguzi
66. Fred Mukose
67. Hajalah Kalidi Nakyinda
68. Racheal Akiiki
69. Saphina Nansove
70. Jamila Kalyango Mwanje
71. Rihanah Kemigisha
72. Shamira Nabukalu
73. Lamech / **Lameka** Ssentamu
74. Swaliki Zafa Ssegirinya
75. Paddy Kalungi
76. Chris Zzali
77. Kennedy Kyalimpa
78. Robinson Ntambi Mudde
79. Lukman Kampala Mwijukye
80. Hassan Kasaga
81. Muhammad Nsubuga
82. William Nsubuga
83. Adam Matovu
84. Muhamad Mugerwa
85. Patrick Muwanula
86. Henry Sseunkuma
87. Abdallah Katumba
88. Hajjara Karid
89. Tusiime Rachael Akiki
90. Kalyango Jamirah Namwanje
91. Dema Kemigisha
92. Hassan Ssemakula
93. Ivan Bukenya
94. Johnson Katende

95. Dorothy Nalumansi
96. Katende Maddi
97. John Miir
98. Nabiru Mukibi
99. Fahad Tamale
100. Yesu Kya Kyuma Ntege
101. Geoffrey Mugalya
102. Bossa Musa
103. Juliet Nakayiza
104. Sasha Musagala
105. Kalyango Baker
106. Joyce Namuyimbwa
107. Abdul Muhammad Kawooya
108. Fatuma Namubiru

NUP Polling Day Volunteers arrested in advanced of Election Day

109. Ashraf Lukwago
110. Lawrence Kiryow
111. Martin Ntambi
112. Said Yeka
113. DK Ratib I'did
114. Juma Tella
115. Nyolima Jurugo
116. Innocent Nyanda
117. Ainebyona Herman

List of Further NUP detainees recorded on Uganda Court Production Warrant, 21 Jan 2021

118. Yasin Waswa Kawooya
119. Ronny Ssekabira
120. Hakim Nsubuga
121. Vicent Mayombwe
122. Nuru Abudu Kabuya
123. Gadafi Mugumia
124. Fred Munyakwa
125. Paul Kafeero
126. Ramthan Kabenge
127. Muhammed Kyazze
128. Steven Sserunjogi
129. Kakulu Muwonge
130. Sharon Mutesi
131. Derrick Okello
132. Alex Kayiwa
133. Martin Magembe

It's estimated that thousands of opposition supporters are still in jail.
As of August 2021 we are working on compiling a full actualized list of those detained.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁷ The list will be published at this link <https://uvote.nup-uganda.com/rigged/politicalprisoners.pdf>

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Short Summary of Affidavit

| | |
|----|---|
| 1 | Bribery 5500 youth, 300k per village distributed by NRM chair Sande Abdu K |
| 2 | Agents were denied. At 7.30 RDC Mucugunzi Godfrey ordered remaing ballots to be M7. |
| 3 | Agent tells biometric was not working, which was abused for double voting. Wozei Charles voted double. PresOff told agent to keep quiet. |
| 4 | EC assistants were given 20k by RISO Kamayire Edmund. LC3 William Balaza gave 5/10k to vote M7. |
| 5 | Intimidation by radio stations & low flying UPDF fighter planes. |
| 6 | Taking appointment letters, chasing agents |
| 7 | Police/UPDF told ppl to vote M7 if they don't want war. In St.Kizito PresOff allowed ppl to double vote. |
| 8 | Kichwamba supervisor saw RDC & 4UPDF arriving and trying to arrest NUP agents. Then they stuffed BB with pre-ticket ballots. |
| 9 | Army came by to tick 3 ballot booklets at Nyamukale. Everywhere in this region the same thing happened. |
| 10 | During campaigns UPF, UPDF, LDU & SFC continuously raided Mukono. BW supporters kidnapped. Police refuses to investigate. |
| 11 | Supervisor reports UPDF get BPs and arresting agents. |
| 12 | Supervisor found agents refused. "We don't want any BW supports at the PS". He saw people checking ballot books. |
| 13 | Army was trailing & intimidating agents. Stuffing in areas Kyatereera, Mabaale, Mpeefu. DRO refused to enter DoRs into system. |
| 14 | On 27 December police shot Ashraf. Then beaten. Francis Ssentenza was then run over by vehicle H4DF 2383 and died. Abducted by CMI for 10 days. |
| 15 | During campaigns UPF, UPDF, LDU & SFC continuously raided Mukono. BW supporters kidnapped. He was tortured and dumped in Mpigi. |
| 16 | At Katoke Police beat up people. Voting ended a 11am. Agents were refused copies of DoRs. 300 AppLet + 170k UGX stolen. Raided his house. |
| 17 | Coordinator arrested with app letters. |
| 18 | She was a supervisor in Rubirizi. Police raided her house to get campaign info. To force her out of hiding they tried to kidnap her 8m old baby. |
| 19 | Testifies her mother died on 10th November 2020 but still her PS saw a 100% turnout. |
| 20 | The house of Masibo Robniah Nadunga, Woman MP candidate, was raided. |
| 21 | Reports campaign violence & obstruction, was arrested in Mbale, saw Ariho Norbert in detention |
| 22 | Election material was not properly handled, then she was arrested. She tells about Kyanika revolt and arrest of NUP agents |
| 23 | Agent was told to leave when counting started, he saw 2 UPDF soldiers ticking BPs. He made video. |
| 24 | Supervisor explains that all agents were intimidated and he was prevented from delivering applet. UPDF took BB and dumped them in the water. |
| 25 | Agents and voters were intimidated. |
| 26 | Every village received 300k to vote for M7. Agents chased away from multiple stations: Rusa PS, Kataraka COU and Kataraka PS. Some severely beaten. |
| 28 | Witnessed that at Katooma cell all remaining BP were ticked for M7 at 3.45PM. |
| 29 | He and colleague Alex were arrested on 13 January and released on 15 Jan. All app letters and registers were confiscated. |
| 30 | Agent was chased. At kantaganya TC ballot papers were ticked for those who didn't come. Non M7- BW votes were given to M7 in counting. |
| 33 | App Letter of agent torn into pieces. When voting he was given a pre-ticked M7 ballot. At counting 41 votes for BW were announced but 0 recorded. |
| 36 | In Toroma money was distributed at stations, also by NRM-agent Oleng Charles. |
| 37 | NUP agents were threatened. Mobile money had been blocked so no airtime could be bought. Also not allowed at tallying. |
| 38 | On 13 Jan police tried to arrest NUP supervisor. He was chased from stations upon counting and also refused at tally center. |
| 39 | Jolly Mugisha: A lot of fraud (appendix Mbarara page 169). All Isingiro agents were arrested and BPs pre-ticked. |
| 40 | Kidnapped on voting day and beaten up. NRM-agents gave voters 50k to vote m7. Home was raided, family intimidate, and NUP apparel taken. |
| 41 | Was threatened. At Rusa station goons came to take ballot booklets, tick them and stuff ballot box. During counting too many ballots. Other PS too. |
| 42 | Arrested on voting day and appLets burnt. Phone stolen. Tortured. |
| 43 | Supervisor refused at PS. Motorcycle would be burnt if he continued to supervise. |
| 44 | Agents chased away. PresOff & assistants ticked ballots for M7. At Kabambeija TC the BW votes where token out & reduced. |
| 45 | Pre-ticket ballots given |
| 46 | Voters were told to vote outside the bassin on a table in the open. NUP agents chased away & voters intimidated. |
| 47 | Ahead of voting police&UPDF were intimidating people with war threads if they vote BW. Kids came to vote for dead people. Unknown ppl voted. |
| 48 | Supervisor saw at Sooko that all remaining BPs were ticked M7. PresOff Fred Ruganintwari confirmed on the phone. |
| 49 | Eight agents were arrested and detained. In some stations no DoR was given. |
| 50 | BW supporters were forced to vote in the open while being threatred. Complaint was ignored. Counting a farce. |
| 51 | NUP mobilizer Omuliengu Patrick was arrested and beaten up. |
| 52 | Many UPDF. Soldier confiscated appLetter and told him to go. At 4 16 votes announced, 1 recorded. LC3 said max 3 BW votes allowed per PS. |
| 53 | Agents chased away. |
| 54 | GISO invited him to get money if they stepped down as agent. Refused access to PS and then detained for 3 days. Therefore couldn't observe. |
| 55 | Beaten up at Morukakise Summit View B. Hands cuts with pangas. Phone destroyed. Couldn't observe. |
| 56 | |

Differences Report DoRs

| Polling stations name | District | Uvote | | Electoral Com | | Description |
|------------------------------------|------------|-------|-----|---------------|-----|-------------------------------------|
| | | KY | M7 | KY | M7 | |
| 1 ST. JAMES CHURCH (A-M) | KAMPALA | 400 | 125 | 360 | 176 | Bobi Reduced M7 Increased |
| 2 MENTALLY HANDICAPPED | KAMPALA | 485 | 43 | 129 | 45 | Bobi Reduced |
| 3 ST. FRANCIS NURSERY SCH. (A-M) | KAMPALA | 462 | 65 | 202 | 153 | Bobi Reduced |
| 4 NYAMARUNDA PRIMARY SCHOOL | KIBAALE | 43 | 335 | 12 | 83 | Both Candidate Results reduced |
| 5 KABAGYENDA PLAYGROUND | NTUNGAMO | 41 | 435 | 16 | 189 | Both Candidate Results reduced |
| 6 NAKIFUMA EAST [NAN-Z] | MUKONO | 258 | 51 | 0 | 51 | BW votes moved to Katumba |
| 7 BUKASA (NAC-ND) -AT ST. JAMES C. | WAKISO | 259 | 140 | 1 | 140 | Bobi Reduced |
| 8 NAKYESANJA (O-Z) TAKIRAMBUDD | WAKISO | 256 | 47 | 0 | 47 | Bobi Reduced |
| 9 RWAKINGI CATH. CHURCH | KASESE | 82 | 371 | 20 | 182 | Both Candidate Results reduced |
| 10 KIKUGI T CENTRE | WAKISO | 299 | 240 | 207 | 130 | Both Candidate Results reduced |
| 11 BUNDIBUGYO TOWN COUNCIL OFF | BUNDIBUGYO | 109 | 305 | 82 | 135 | Both Candidate Results reduced |
| 12 BUHIGA | NTUNGAMO | 24 | 791 | 24 | 600 | M7 Results reduced |
| 13 KEMIHOKO CATHOLIC CHURCH | KASESE | 48 | 84 | 37 | 233 | M7 Increased |
| 14 BUNDIMULINGA PRIMARY SCHOOL | BUNDIBUGYO | 8 | 351 | 80 | 264 | M7 Results reduced |
| 15 KAMULI PRI. SCH. | WAKISO | 421 | 188 | 295 | 169 | Both Candidate Results reduced |
| 16 MWERA CHRISTIAN PRI. SCH. (A-M) | WAKISO | 237 | 56 | 310 | 124 | Both Candidate Results increased |
| 17 KITANDA PRIMARY SCHOOL | WAKISO | 119 | 57 | 222 | 90 | Both Candidate Results increased |
| 18 MUHOKYA C.O.U | KASESE | 24 | 137 | 0 | 137 | Bobi Reduced |
| 19 KISENYI [L-M] | MBARARA | | | 87 | 206 | #1 Bobi votes to Tumukunde |
| 20 KIYANJA [K-M] | MBARARA | | | | | #2 Bobi votes to Tumukunde |
| 21 Nyaminyobwa Pri Sch | MBARARA | | | 20 | 583 | #3 BW 40->4->20 |
| 22 Agempiri T/C | MBARARA | | | 6 | 154 | 184 is more than registered |
| 23 Rubindi Health Center | MBARARA | | | 51 | 178 | |
| 24 Akita Valley Dam | KIRUHURA | | | 0 | 279 | #1 in Appendix Kiruhura |
| 25 Rwebitambo Catholice Pri Sch | KIRUHURA | | | 16 | 336 | #2 in Appendix Kiruhura |
| 26 Huguku Pri School | KIRUHURA | | | 0 | 297 | #3 in Appendix Kiruhura |
| 27 Kasharara TC | KIRUHURA | | | ? | ? | #4 in Appendix Kiruhura |
| 28 Mt. Olives | KIRUHURA | | | 3 | 454 | #5 in Appendix Kiruhura |
| 29 Byanamira C.O.U. | KIRUHURA | | | 9 | 801 | #6 in Appendix Kiruhura |
| 30 Mooya Pri Sch | KIRUHURA | | | 33 | 350 | #7 in Appendix Kiruhura |
| 31 Akareere Trading Centre | KIRUHURA | | | 34 | 725 | #8 in Appendix Kiruhura |
| 32 Kyabagyenyi Catholic Pri Sch | KIRUHURA | | | 0 | 364 | #9 in Appendix Kiruhura |
| 33 Kyeibuza Primary school | KIRUHURA | | | 0 | 801 | #10 in Appendix Kiruhura |
| 34 Hospital Parking Yard | KIRUHURA | | | 9 | 579 | #11 in Appendix Kiruhura |
| 35 Katarku | NTUNGAMO | | | 20 | 707 | Appendix Ntungamo |
| 36 Kataraka Pri School | NTUNGAMO | | | 24 | 565 | Appendix Ntungamo |
| 37 Rusa Pri School | NTUNGAMO | | | 8 | 452 | Appendix Ntungamo |
| 38 Mwerasandu | NTUNGAMO | | | 22 | 448 | Video shows no free vote |
| 39 Ntonwa Pri Sch [A-K] | KAMWENGE | | | | | |
| 40 ALL SAINTS KITHUTI C.O.U | KASESE | 159 | 251 | 159 | 293 | |
| 41 Malobi Pri Sch [N-Z] | IGANGA | 113 | 86 | 217 | 137 | Results Malobi [A-M] copied to [N- |
| 42 Nyakasojo COU | KASESE | 135 | 209 | 0 | 209 | Votes tally sheet moved over to Ka |
| 43 Muhundi C.O.U. | Kaseese | 82 | 127 | 82 | 167 | |
| 44 Hamukungu Playground | Kaseese | 60 | 691 | 60 | 691 | Only 317 reg. females, 373 reporte |
| 45 KOTIDO GIRLS PRIMARY SCHOOL | Kotido | 61 | 296 | 1 | 296 | Official DoR also states 61 BW vote |
| 46 Kapkoloswo | Bukwo | 49 | 610 | 49 | 610 | Only 345 reg females but 409 repo |
| 47 Kitezo trading center | | 21 | 818 | 2 | 800 | |

| | | | | | | |
|---|-----------|-----|-----|-----|-----|------------------------|
| 48 St. Andrew P/Schoo-Luga(L-NAKAS) | WAKISO | 343 | 76 | 359 | 96 | |
| 49 Chebirbei | | 116 | 319 | 13 | 73 | |
| 50 St.Mark C.O.U. | | 30 | 281 | 0 | 0 | |
| 51 Mpererwe Pri School (A-K) | | 377 | 96 | 0 | 0 | |
| 52 Katereke Prison Ditch (N-Z) | WAKISO | 308 | 69 | 256 | 51 | |
| 53 Maganjo B C/U (NANO-NZ) | | 333 | 61 | 280 | 53 | |
| 54 Nakibulul Old Court (N-Z) | | 106 | 110 | 127 | 138 | |
| 55 Nayrundier Playground | | 36 | 246 | | | |
| 56 Renturagara Plauground | ISINGIRO | 28 | 558 | 20 | 530 | |
| 57 Open Gate Trading Center | BUSIA | 193 | 173 | 205 | 239 | |
| 58 Rubira Trading Center | ISINGIRO | 19 | 217 | 9 | 207 | 10 votes moved to Bobi |
| 59 3133 Infront of Vicotirous Pri Sch P | KAMPALA | 279 | 118 | 180 | 52 | |
| 60 base camp /lower market [A-L] | KASESE | 190 | 143 | 0 | 0 | nullified |
| 61 base camp /lower market | KASESE | 171 | 120 | 0 | 0 | nullified |
| 62 Kamaiba | | 159 | 154 | 0 | 0 | nullified |
| 63 bbanda pri sch | | 418 | 501 | 0 | 0 | nullified |
| 64 Kampungu Pri.Sch | | 370 | 4 | 0 | 0 | nullified |
| 65 Goshen land (NAK-Z) | MUKONO | 293 | 77 | 0 | 0 | nullified |
| 66 Kabuumbka-Kitawuluzi | | 334 | 150 | 0 | 0 | nullified |
| 67 Namwandu Knoyoyo's home | KAMPALA | 412 | 63 | 0 | 0 | nullified |
| 68 Serina Pr School (A-K) | | 426 | 72 | 0 | 0 | nullified |
| 69 Kitalosalo (Kit-Muge) | KAMPALA | 344 | 169 | 0 | 0 | nullified |
| 70 Kyebando Progressive PS (N-NAM) | KAMPALA | 255 | 51 | 0 | 0 | nullified |
| 71 Kidoodo A [A-J] | KASESE | 292 | 116 | 0 | 0 | nullified |
| 72 Kikonzo [A-L] | KASESE | 266 | 156 | 0 | 0 | nullified |
| 73 Kidoodo C | KASESE | 320 | 146 | 0 | 0 | nullified |
| 74 Kidoodo C [N-Z] | KASESE | 78 | 77 | 0 | 0 | nullified |
| 75 Base camp/Binyoni [A-L] | KASESE | 192 | 109 | 0 | 0 | nullified |
| 76 Base camp/Binyoni [M-Z] | KASESE | 176 | 111 | 0 | 0 | nullified |
| 77 Kirembe Quarters Plaguround [A-L] | KASESE | 151 | 221 | 0 | 0 | nullified |
| 78 Kilembe Quarters Playground [M-Z] | KASESE | 125 | 173 | 0 | 0 | nullified |
| 79 Mulongoto Pri Sch | KASESE | 314 | 166 | 0 | 0 | nullified |
| 80 Kyanzuki | KASESE | 138 | 125 | 0 | 0 | nullified |
| 81 Karukadongo | KOTIDO | 8 | 102 | 0 | 0 | nullified |
| 82 Bungwanyu C/U | | 98 | 90 | 0 | 0 | nullified |
| 83 Kebiri-Mango tree | ARUA CITY | 150 | 132 | 150 | 132 | DrFormPartiallyFilled |
| 84 Kayrwakya Pri Sch | | 59 | 296 | 58 | 296 | DrFormPartiallyFilled |
| 85 Aputolwar | | 55 | 0 | 55 | 132 | DrFormPartiallyFilled |
| 86 Miridri COU | | | | | | DrFormPartiallyFilled |
| 87 Kafureka's compound | | 85 | 226 | 85 | 226 | KY given less, M7 more |
| 88 Rwantaha 1 | ISINGIRO | 15 | 479 | 15 | 479 | KY given less, M7 more |
| 89 Otuboi Pri Sch | KALAKI | 44 | 182 | 24 | 202 | KY given less, M7 more |
| 90 Opilitok A Pri Sch | | 48 | 269 | 38 | 279 | KY given less, M7 more |
| 91 Otuboi Township Pri Sch | KALAKI | 48 | 194 | 26 | 214 | KY given less, M7 more |
| 92 Abineni Mango Tree | KALAKI | 88 | 320 | 48 | 360 | KY given less, M7 more |
| 93 Kachilo Pir Sch | KALAKI | 47 | 108 | 27 | 128 | KY given less, M7 more |
| 94 Omodoi Pri Sch | KALAKI | 48 | 174 | 28 | 194 | KY given less, M7 more |
| 95 Sangai PAG Chruch | KALAKI | 52 | 265 | 22 | 295 | KY given less, M7 more |
| 96 Kalaki Pri Sch | KALAKI | 68 | 247 | 28 | 287 | KY given less, M7 more |
| 97 Ipenet | KALAKI | 88 | 245 | 48 | 285 | KY given less, M7 more |
| 98 Bweza Pri Sch | ISINGIRO | 13 | 303 | 0 | 320 | KY given less, M7 more |
| 99 Kibanyi Coop Store | | 238 | 132 | 226 | 306 | KY given less, M7 more |

| | | | | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------------|------------|-----|-----|------|-----|------------------------------|
| 100 | Kabira - Katiti (Kalasa SSS) B | | 210 | 81 | 348 | 125 | KY given less, M7 more |
| 101 | Mivule Pri Sch | | 113 | 23 | 31 | 197 | KY given less, M7 more |
| 102 | Kagaaga Pri Sch | ISINGIRO | 2 | 599 | 0 | 580 | KY given less, M7 more |
| 103 | Sekanyoni Cath ch | | 130 | 76 | 100 | 118 | KY given less, M7 more |
| 104 | Rushoroza PS | | 50 | 323 | 50 | 373 | KY given less, M7 more |
| 105 | Olep East | KALAKI | 189 | 318 | 89 | 418 | KY given less, M7 more |
| 106 | Jerusalem Worship Center | KALAKI | 72 | 314 | 22 | 364 | KY given less, M7 more |
| 107 | Kakisim Cath Ch | KALAKI | 73 | 363 | 23 | 413 | KY given less, M7 more |
| 108 | Ogolai Pri School | KALAKI | 62 | 268 | 2 | 329 | KY given less, M7 more |
| 109 | Calvario Catholic Church | KALAKI | 77 | 253 | 7 | 313 | KY given less, M7 more |
| 110 | Opungure Pri Sch | KALAKI | 90 | 265 | 40 | 315 | KY given less, M7 more |
| 111 | Ntimba P/S | | 176 | 96 | 76 | 196 | KY given less, M7 more |
| 112 | Kaylunodo PS | LUWEERO | 282 | 75 | 280 | 75 | KY given less, M7 more |
| 113 | Mulatsi SS | | 161 | 180 | 1010 | 180 | KY given less, M7 identical. |
| 114 | Congo-Under Mango Tree | | 6 | 159 | 0 | 159 | KY given less, M7 identical. |
| 115 | Society | | 26 | 85 | 28 | 85 | KY given less, M7 identical. |
| 116 | Agwata Catholic Church | | 107 | 222 | 15 | 222 | KY given less, M7 identical. |
| 117 | Bisanje Pri Sch | | 254 | 181 | 250 | 181 | KY given less, M7 identical. |
| 118 | Kasozi PS | LUUKA | 191 | 177 | 171 | 177 | KY given less, M7 identical. |
| 119 | Kiyana | | 366 | 123 | 266 | 123 | KY given less, M7 identical. |
| 120 | Katuntu PS | RAKAI | 68 | 239 | 8 | 239 | KY given less, M7 identical. |
| 121 | Kikunda | | 10 | 243 | 9 | 243 | KY given less, M7 identical. |
| 122 | Nyanga Pri Sch | RWAMPARA | 6 | 601 | 0 | 601 | KY given less, M7 identical. |
| 123 | Rukuzi Market | | 61 | 159 | 16 | 159 | KY given less, M7 identical. |
| 124 | Nakuwadde [KAM-KYI] | WAKISO | 476 | 90 | 473 | 90 | KY given less, M7 identical. |
| 125 | Bukasa (NAC-ND) | | 259 | 140 | 3 | 140 | KY given less, M7 identical. |
| 126 | Sebitoli A | | 20 | 70 | 0 | 70 | KY given less, M7 identical. |
| 127 | Nyakasozi COU | | 41 | 271 | 4 | 271 | KY given less, M7 identical. |
| 128 | Byumba Pri Sch | KANUNGU | 27 | 394 | 21 | 394 | KY given less, M7 identical. |
| 129 | Anyang | NEBBI | 84 | 198 | 8 | 198 | KY given less, M7 identical. |
| 130 | Kiinami Playground | ISINGIRO | 9 | 391 | 0 | 391 | KY given less, M7 identical. |
| 131 | Rwangunga | BUSIA | 2 | 600 | 0 | 600 | KY given less, M7 identical. |
| 132 | Rock of ages | | 156 | 132 | 155 | 132 | KY given less, M7 identical. |
| 133 | Kitabo | KIRUHURA | 10 | 505 | 1 | 505 | KY given less, M7 identical. |
| 134 | Busungere Primary School (A-M) | KAYUNGA | 198 | 102 | 98 | 102 | KY given less, M7 identical. |
| 135 | Kiretei Open Grounds | | 29 | 196 | 2 | 196 | KY given less, M7 identical. |
| 136 | Zanna (A-K) | WAKISO | 289 | 77 | 290 | 77 | KY given less, M7 identical. |
| 137 | Kitebe Namaliga | MUKONO | 142 | 62 | 143 | 62 | KY given less, M7 identical. |
| 138 | Nakifuma East | MUKONO | 258 | 51 | 0 | 51 | KY votes given to Katumba |
| 139 | Nakyesanja (O-Z) Takirambudde Ground | | 256 | 47 | 0 | 47 | KY votes given to Katumba |
| 140 | Maya PS | | 283 | 87 | 0 | 87 | KY votes given to Katumba |
| 141 | Tabongo Trading Centre | BUSIA | 205 | 180 | 205 | 181 | M7 given less, KY maintained |
| 142 | Kiryaburo Catholic Church | ISINGIRO | 48 | 541 | 48 | 482 | M7 given less, KY maintained |
| 143 | Gangu SDA Church | | 55 | 38 | 55 | 58 | M7 given more, KY maintained |
| 144 | Kela Primary Sch | KOBOKO | 22 | 161 | 22 | 165 | M7 given more, KY maintained |
| 145 | Wakhaba Lower Petrol Station | MBALE CITY | 223 | 149 | 223 | 159 | M7 given more, KY maintained |

Election Surveys

Election surveys are important. They provide a benchmark for the official count but also assist the voter in strategic voting. The government is also aware of this and therefore they try to control surveys that are performed.

In the months and days ahead of the Presidential Elections a number of surveys were published, which we summarize below:

| | Museveni | Kyagulanyi | Margin of error | Issues | Difference BW with EC result |
|---------------------------|----------|------------|-----------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Afrobarometer | 69% | 23.6% | 2% | Possible government interference | -11.4% |
| Market Intelligence Group | 35.9% | 59.1% | 3.5% | Little. Predicted Kampala accurately. | +24.1% |
| Freedom Uganda | 27.4% | 63.0% | 4% | Whatsapp only, small sample size | +28.0% |
| Al Jazeera | 29.2% | 62.9% | unknown | Twitter only, non-random. | +27.9% |

The last column indicates the difference of each poll with the score for Kyagulanyi as declared by the Electoral Commission: 35.0% of the valid votes.

Afrobarometer

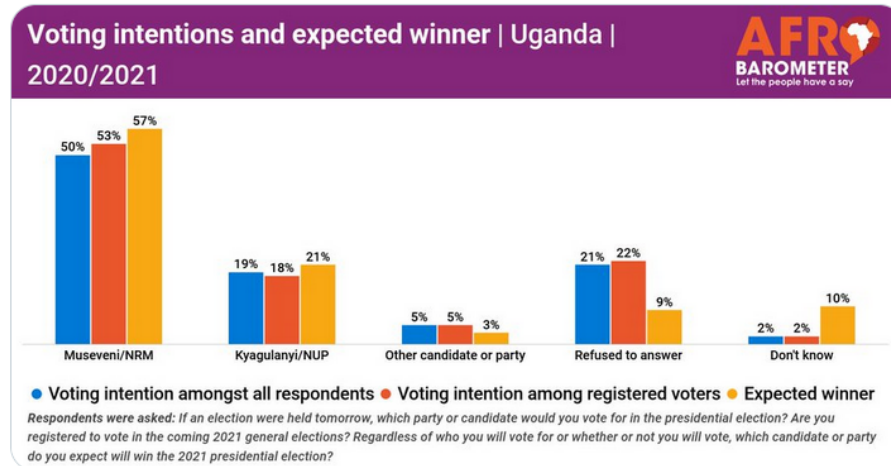
One of the most reputable companies doing survey across Africa is Afrobarometer.

The Afrobarometer poll²⁹⁰ suffered from a high non-response rate of 22% among registered voters. We have removed the non-response, just as they did in their tweet.

²⁹⁰ <https://afrobarometer.org/press/uganda-election-museveni-holds-clear-lead-many-dont-reveal-preferences>



Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni holds a nearly 3-to-1 lead over challenger Bobi Wine among registered voters willing to declare their voting intentions ahead of Thursday's election bit.ly/3nvVQyE
#UgandaDecides2021



As Helen Epstein has pointed out in her book “Another Fine Mess”²⁹¹, there are issues with these polls

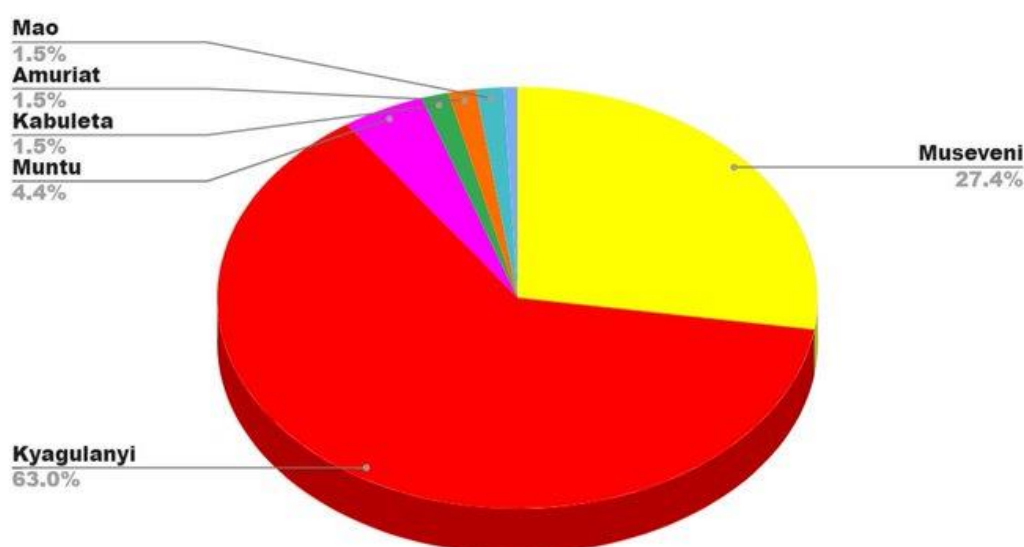
According to three opinion polls conducted in November and December 2015, Museveni was ahead with roughly 60 percent of the vote, while Besigye, his closest challenger, trailed with 24 percent. In Uganda, researchers intending to conduct political opinion polls must be licensed by the National Council for Science and Technology—or UNCST, a body in the President’s Office that reviews the questionnaire and sampling strategy. Because pollsters can’t interview everyone, they select a random sample of “Enumeration Areas”—clusters of 30–100 households roughly equivalent to a village—and interview a randomly selected handful of people—usually three to five—in each one. Government agents, with a natural interest in the outcome of any poll, should never be informed in advance of which villages pollsters are planning to visit because they could coach or bribe respondents to answer questions in the government’s favor. But when I called the UNCST in April 2016 pretending to be a researcher seeking instructions on how to obtain permission to conduct a political opinion poll, a police officer told me I must identify in advance the enumeration areas I intended to visit, and notify both her office and the police and local government officials in those areas before arrival. When one pollster neglected to do this, local officials refused to let the survey proceed. Patrick Wakida, whose company Research World International conducted one of the four preelection polls told me that “experience has taught us that if government people know in advance that pollsters are coming, there’s no way you can avoid contamination.” Wakida claims his firm obtained a government license before the new rules came into

²⁹¹ Helen Epstein “Another Fine Mess, America, Uganda, and the War on Terror” (2017)

effect and was not required to submit a list of enumeration areas to the UNCST. to the UNCST. However, half the respondents on his poll believed that the government, not RWI, was running the poll, and Wakida admits this would have skewed their answers in favor of Museveni. When I asked a representative from a second pollster whether she had submitted the names of enumeration areas in advance, the line broke off. Repeated callbacks and emails went unanswered. According to news reports, a third poll conducted by three British academics in December 2015 found Museveni leading with 66 percent of the intended vote. However, when I phoned one of the researchers, he denied to me that he had conducted a poll at all. A fourth poll was conducted by the reputable research group Afrobarometer, whose representatives also denied informing the government of where their researchers were going in advance. I had no way of verifying whether this was true, but this poll was conducted in May 2015, before Besigye had declared his candidacy. At the time, he was under constant military surveillance, followed everywhere by truckloads of heavily armed soldiers and forbidden from holding public gatherings. So it is possible the poll was accurate.

Freedom Uganda

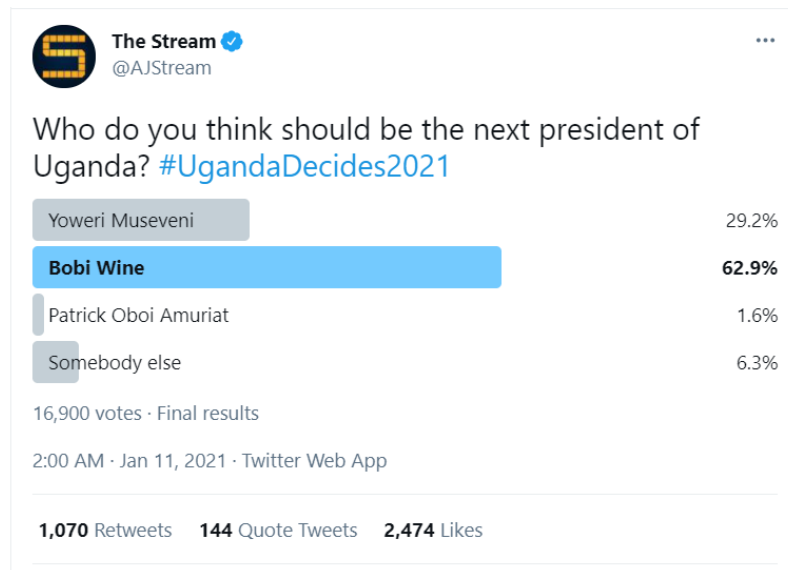
The Freedom Uganda polls²⁹² are performed by the author of this report: Dr Nico Schoonderwoerd. It uses randomly selected Whatsapp numbers to get an unbiased sample. The statistical error is 4% for the Kyagulanyi and Museveni score.



Al Jazeera Poll

Three days before the elections, Al Jazeera did a survey among its Twitter followers.

²⁹² <https://freedomuganda.com/?p=316>



The Al Jazeera poll²⁹³ does have a huge sample size of 16.900, but it is well-known that online polls can be manipulated. We did look for such signs, but we were not able to find any. Neither NUP nor NRM officials did push this poll. NRM fans main objection to the Al Jazeera poll was that pro-NRM accounts had been deleted.

Aubriana Emily Nansereko @lilimobeth · Jan 11
Replying to @AJStream
With Mr #BobiWine as the President, #Uganda will definitely return to the right path--social, economic and political reforms.

1 4 22

Mubangizi Matia @MubangiziMathia · Jan 11
Replying to @AJStream
This poll comes hours after @Facebook & @Twitter took down tens of thousands of social media accounts belonging to Ugandans deemed pro @NRMOnline ! The Ugandan voter will again surprise international biased media! What a parody! #StopTechcolonisation @UCC_Official @UgandaEC

51 20 64

Joshua Potel Mushwa @JoshMushwa · Jan 11
Replying to @AJStream
A few days ago, @Twitter & @Facebook suspended accounts of pro-government supporters & people who subscribed to NRM. This stifling of pro-NRM voices is simply unjust & unfair because the most abusive lot on social media is the pro-Bobi base but these companies never bat an eye.

30 9 39

Arthur D. Musinguzi @digitaldidan · Jan 11
Replying to @AJStream
Interesting how this is coming after blocking social media pro government accounts

²⁹³ <https://twitter.com/AJStream/status/1348434521373474816>

Because we take this poll seriously because of the enormous size, we will shortly investigate their criticism. Twitter announced they handled the deletion of suspicious accounts in cooperation with its peers, and Facebook said it had removed a network of accounts and pages that “used fake and duplicate accounts to manage pages, comment on other people’s content, impersonate users, re-share posts in groups to make them appear more popular than they were.” The network was linked to a government ministry²⁹⁴. In this report by the iLab team that is behind this research, we see that the number of accounts involved is some 200.²⁹⁵

Removing a network of fake and duplicate accounts should not be regarded as poll hijacking, so we think the outcome should be considered as a strong signal about the popularity of Ugandans with Twitter accounts.

Conclusion

The Afrobarometer poll has a high non-response rate. Since it estimates Kyagulanyi much lower than the official Electoral Commission result, we are afraid that the danger that was highlighted in Helen Epstein’s book has come true; the results of the Afrobarometer poll could have been contaminated by government interference. This issue has been pointed out by Helen Epstein and the author towards Afrobarometer.

The Market Intelligence Group has sent us a summary of their research. The maker Joel Isabirye tells us that the error per sub-region is 3.5%. In the next chapter you find a summary of the Market Intelligence Group survey.

The Freedom Uganda poll does publish a margin of error of 4%, but has a very low sample size. Since Freedom Uganda targeted Whatsapp users and Al Jazeera targeted Twitter users, their bias may be similar. The differences are within the margins of error that Freedom Uganda announced.

We have had lengthy discussions with Joel Isabirye about his survey. The results are very much in agreement with the Freedom Uganda survey.

After we concluded that the Market Intelligence Group results were very plausible (their forecast for Kampala was only 1% off, see Kampala chapter), we asked Afrobarometer if we could investigate how two such professional parties with a lengthy history of surveys can have survey outcomes that contradict so much. Director of Analysis Carolyn Logan told us they were not interested in further discussion.

There are three reasons why we think the Afrobarometer survey has to be discarded.

²⁹⁴ <https://abcnews.go.com/International/wireStory/ugandas-opposition-cites-untold-violence-election-75194353>

²⁹⁵ <https://medium.com/dfrlab/social-media-disinformation-campaign-targets-ugandan-presidential-election-b259dbbb1aa8>

1. Their survey cannot be reconciled with the outcome of the elections, unless you make the assumption that 1. there was no fraud and 2. that every non-respondent in the Afrobarometer poll would vote Kyagulanyi. The first assumption is not true given wide-spread ballot box stuffing and the second assumption basically means that whole research was not reliable because respondents didn't trust the poll.
2. Helen Epstein and myself investigated the Afrobarometer methodology and didn't find any fraud prevention measures, even after asking by email.
3. Afrobarometer states they have total trust in their local partner 'Hatchile Consult' but have not provided information how they verify the results of their local partners. We find it worrying that they are not willing to have a discussion about this.

In the next chapter you will find a summary of the Market Intelligence Group survey.

National Electoral Survey Uganda November 2021

Market Intelligence Group

Kampala Uganda

Summary of Results

Prepared

For

Dr. Nico Schoonderwoerd, PhD

By

Dr. Joel Isabirye, PhD

26th April 2021

Market Intelligence
Plot 23 Bulabira Road, Najjera, Kampala/Wakiso,
P.O. Box 29077, Kampala Uganda
Tel: +256772949437
joel@joelisabirye.com

Methodology

- Design: *Cross-Sectional*
- Method: *Survey*
- Tools of Data Collection: *Questionnaires*

Scope:

- Geographical: *16 subregions of Uganda (Acholi, Ankole, Buganda, Bukedi, Bunyoro, Busoga, Elgon (Bugisu), Kampala, Karamoja, Kigezi, Lango, Rwenzururu, Sebei, Teso, Tooro, West Nile)*
- Field work Period: *2nd November 2020- 30th November, 2020*

Margin of Error

- +/-5% margin of error at a 95% confidence level*

Sample

- Inclusion criteria: registered voters*
- 112 districts*
- 900 respondents per subregion= 16 x 900 = 14,400*
- Weighting: equal weighting for gender (male and female); 70:30 weighting for age (18-29: 30+)*

Limitations

- Climate of fear in some regions. In Mukono, and Masaka in the Buganda Subregion and Arua in West Nile Subregion, some respondents were reluctant to respond to requests for questionnaire administration.*
- Terrain in Sebei was difficult to pass through and delayed data collection from that area.*

Ethical Consideration

- Confidentiality*
- Informed consent*

Key Findings

-Out of 11 presidential candidates, namely: Yoweri Kaguta Tibuhaburwa Museveni, Nobert Mao, Kyagulanyi Robert Sentamu, Mugisha Muntu, Patrick Oboi Amuriat, Nancy Rose Kalembe, Henry Tumukunde, John Katumba, Willy Mayambala, Fred Mwesigye and Joseph Kabuleta, only 8 were listed by voters. Willy Mayambala, Fred Mwesigye and Joseph Kabuleta were not listed in any subregion.

-Kyagulanyi is the leading candidate with a highest score of 59.1% while Tumukunde has the lowest score of 0.2. Kyagulanyi also leads his closest challenger (Museveni) by 23.2% while he is ahead of the last candidate (Tumukunde) by 58.9%

-Kyagulanyi's best performance is in Elgon (Bugisu) subregion, and his worst in Ankole subregion. Museveni's best performance is Ankole subregion, and his worst in Buganda subregion. Amuriat's best performance is in Teso subregion and his worst is in Karamoja subregion. Katumba's best performance is in Buganda subregion and his worst performance is in

Acholi subregion and Ankole subregion. Muntu's best performance is in Kigezi subregion and Buganda subregion, and his worst performance is Ankole subregion. Kalembe's best performance is in Busoga subregion and her worst performance is Kampala subregion. Mao's best performance is in Acholi subregion and his worst performance is in Tooro subregion. Tumukunde's best performance is in Kampala subregion and his worst is in Busoga subregion.

-With the exception of Kyagulanyi and Museveni, the 6 other candidates are not listed in 7 sub-regions of Busoga, Bunyoro, Elgon (Bugisu), Lango, Rwenzururu, Sebei, and West Nile. This makes the contest a two-horse race between Kyagulanyi and Museveni.

-Kyagulanyi leads in 12 out of the 16 sub regions (namely Buganda, Bukedi, Bunyoro, Busoga, Elgon (Bugisu), Kampala, Karamoja, Kigezi, Lango, , Tooro, Rwenzururu, West Nile) while his closest challenger Museveni leads in 4 out of the 16 sub regions (namely: Acholi, Ankole, Sebei, and Teso).

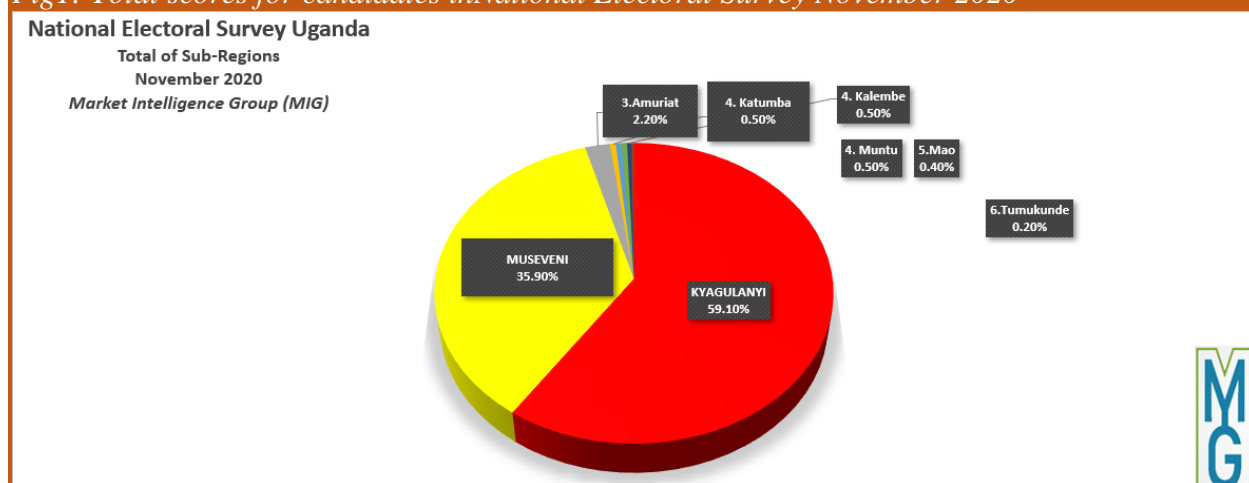
-Kyagulanyi leads amongst both age categories, i.e. 18-29 and 30+

-Kyagulanyi leads amongst both gender categories, i.e. male and female

-10 out of 16 sub-regions listed unemployment as the most pressing problem for Uganda today and which they want whoever wins the election to address. West Nile had the highest number of respondents pointing to unemployment. 5 out of the 16 sub-regions listed poor roads as the most pressing problem that should be addressed. By poor roads they mean roads within their communities and not the major highways. 1 out of the 16 subregions listed poor health facilities as the most pressing problem to be addressed.

1.National scores for presidential candidates

Fig1: Total scores for candidates inNational Electoral Survey November 2020



2.Comparative best and worst subregional scores for presidential candidates

Table1: Best and Worst scores for candidates

| Candidate | Best | Percent | Worst | Percent |
|------------|-----------------|---------|----------------|---------|
| Kyagulanyi | Elgon | 78.3 | Ankole | 24.1 |
| Museveni | Ankole | 73.3 | Buganda | 17.5 |
| Amuriat | Teso | 17.5 | Karamoja | 0.8 |
| Katumba | Buganda | 4.6 | Acholi, Ankole | 0.8 |
| Muntu | Kigezi, Buganda | 3.3 | Ankole | 1.7 |
| Kalembe | Busoga | 6.7 | Kampala | 0.3 |
| Mao | Acholi | 2.5 | Tooro | 0.8 |
| Tumukunde | Kampala | 2.3 | Busoga | 0.8 |

3.Subregional Scores for all candidates

Fig2: Acholi Subregion

National Electoral Survey Uganda
Acholi Sub-Region
November 2020
Market Intelligence Group (MIG)

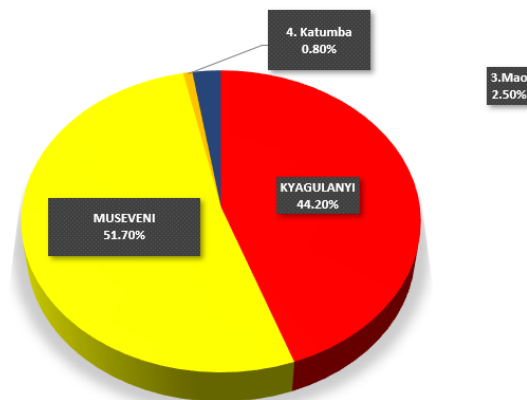


Fig3: Ankole Subregion

National Electoral Survey Uganda
Ankole Sub-Region
November 2020
Market Intelligence Group (MIG)

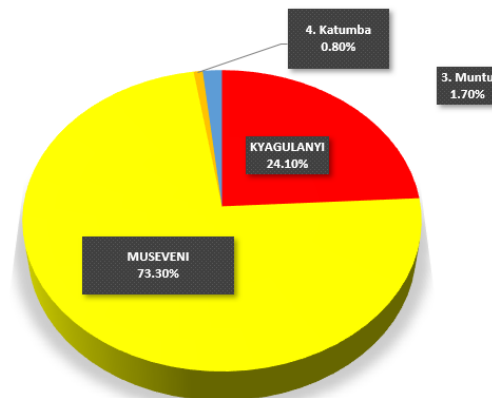


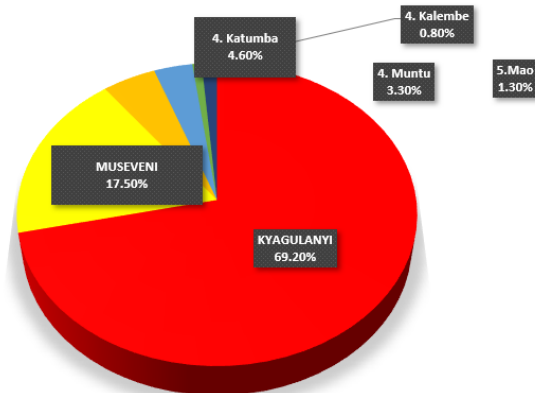
Fig4: Buganda Subregion

National Electoral Survey Uganda

Buganda Sub-Region

November 2020

Market Intelligence Group (MIG)



MIG

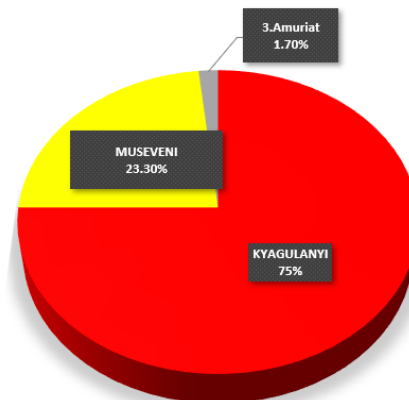
Fig5: Bukedi Subregion

National Electoral Survey Uganda

Bukedi Sub-Region

November 2020

Market Intelligence Group (MIG)



MIG

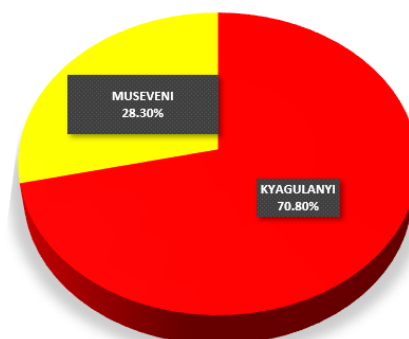
Fig6: Bunyoro Subregion

National Electoral Survey Uganda

Bunyoro Sub-Region

November 2020

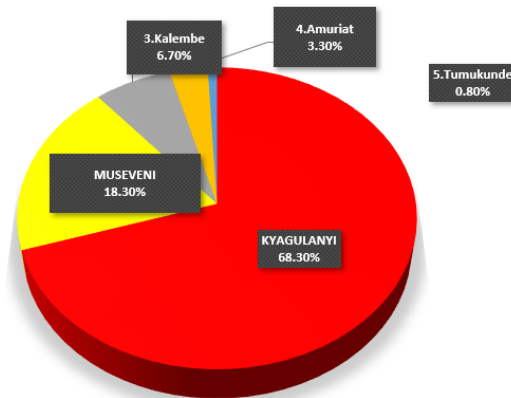
Market Intelligence Group (MIG)



MIG

Fig7: Busoga Subregion

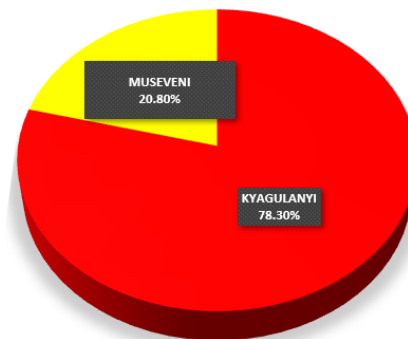
National Electoral Survey Uganda
 Busoga Sub-Region
 November 2020
 Market Intelligence Group (MIG)



MIG

Fig8: Elgon (Bugisu) Subregion

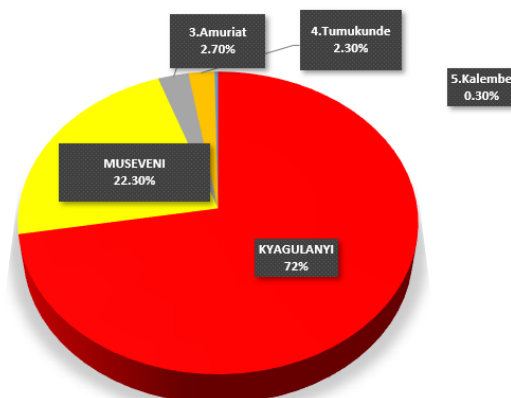
National Electoral Survey Uganda
 Elgon (Bugisu) Sub-Region
 November 2020
 Market Intelligence Group (MIG)



MIG

Fig9: Kampala City Subregion

National Electoral Survey Uganda
 Kampala Capital City Sub-Region
 November 2020
 Market Intelligence Group (MIG)



MIG

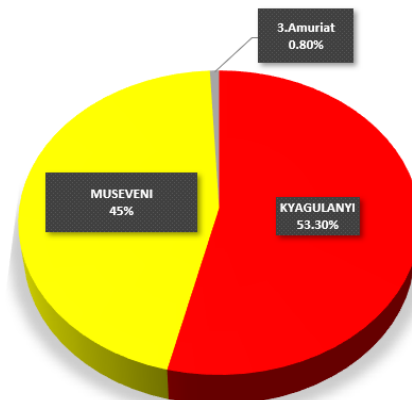
Fig10: Karamoja Subregion

National Electoral Survey Uganda

Karamoja Sub-Region

November 2020

Market Intelligence Group (MIG)



MIG

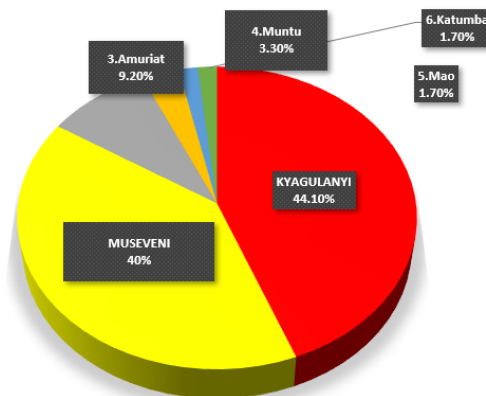
Fig11: Kigezi Subregion

National Electoral Survey Uganda

Kigezi Sub-Region

November 2020

Market Intelligence Group (MIG)



MIG

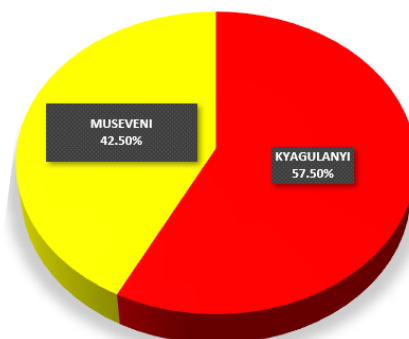
Fig12: Lango Subregion

National Electoral Survey Uganda

Lango Sub-Region

November 2020

Market Intelligence Group (MIG)



MIG

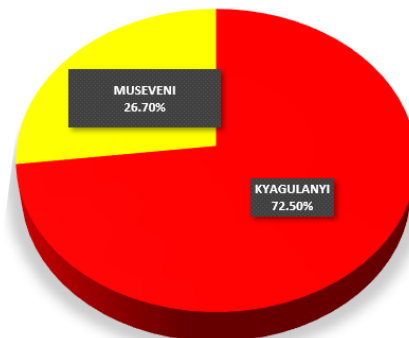
Fig13: Rwenzururu Subregion

National Electoral Survey Uganda

Rwenzururu Sub-Region

November 2020

Market Intelligence Group (MIG)



MIG

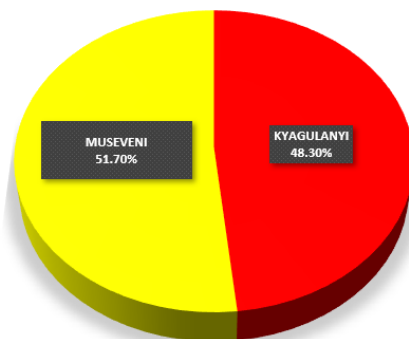
Fig14: Sebei Subregion

National Electoral Survey Uganda

Sebei Sub-Region

November 2020

Market Intelligence Group (MIG)



MIG

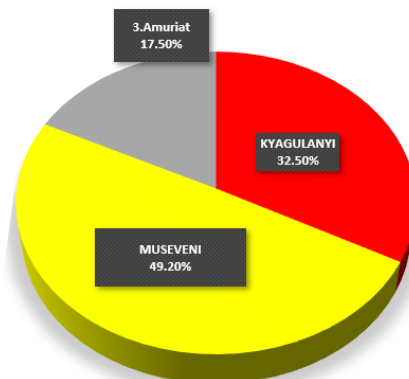
Fig15: Teso Subregion

National Electoral Survey Uganda

Teso Sub-Region

November 2020

Market Intelligence Group (MIG)



MIG

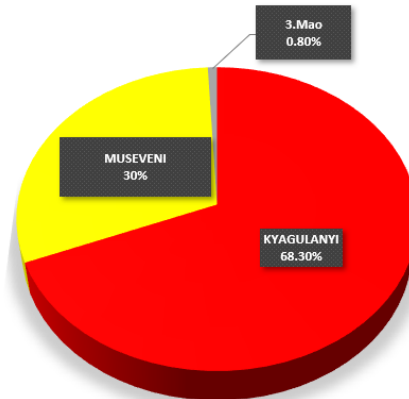
Fig16: Tooro Subregion

National Electoral Survey Uganda

Tooro Sub-Region

November 2020

Market Intelligence Group (MIG)



MIG

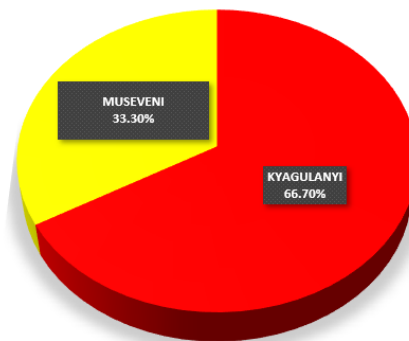
Fig17: West Nile Subregion

National Electoral Survey Uganda

West Nile Sub-Region

November 2020

Market Intelligence Group (MIG)



MIG

4.Comparative scores across Age of respondents for presidential candidates

Table2: Scores for candidates across age of respondents

| Candidate | 18-29 | Percent | 30+ | Percent |
|------------|-------|---------|-----|---------|
| Kyagulanyi | | 34.5 | | 24.3 |
| Museveni | | 16 | | 20.5 |
| Amuriat | | 1.4 | | 0.9 |
| Katumba | | 0.4 | | 0.1 |
| Muntu | | 0.3 | | 3.3 |
| Kalembe | | 0.3 | | 0.2 |
| Mao | | 0.1 | | 0.3 |
| Tumukunde | | 0.1 | | 0.1 |

5.Comparative scores across Gender of respondents for presidential candidates

Table3: Scores for candidates across gender of respondents

| Candidate | Male | Percent | Female | Percent |
|------------------|-------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|
| Kyagulanyi | | 31.7 | | 27.4 |
| Museveni | | 17.3 | | 18.7 |
| Amuriat | | 0.9 | | 1.4 |
| Katumba | | 0.3 | | 0.2 |
| Kalembe | | 0.2 | | 0.2 |
| Muntu | | 0.3 | | 0.2 |
| Mao | | 0.2 | | 0.2 |
| Tumukunde | | 0.1 | | 0.1 |

6.Issues Subregions want winning presidential candidate to address

Table4: Issues respondents want winning presidential candidate to address

| Subregion | Issues winning candidate should address | Percent |
|------------------|--|----------------|
| Acholi | Unemployment | 15 |
| Ankole | Unemployment | 21.7 |
| Buganda | Unemployment | 13.3 |
| Bukedi | Poor roads | 21.7 |
| Bunyoro | Unemployment | 19.2 |
| Busoga | Poor roads | 20.8 |
| Elgon (Bugisu) | Unemployment | 32.5 |
| Kampala | Poor roads | 20.8 |
| Karamoja | Poor roads | 15.8 |
| Kigezi | Poor health facilities | 10.8 |
| Lango | Unemployment | 29.2 |
| Rwenzururu | Unemployment | 24.2 |
| Sebei | Unemployment | 28.3 |
| Teso | Unemployment | 13.3 |
| Tooro | Poor roads | 16.7 |
| West Nile | Unemployment | 25.8 |

Rigging in Gomba

Gomba is a district west of Kampala in the Central Region. The roots of Robert Kyagulanyi are here, but Museveni also has some farms here; an interesting battleground therefore.

On 24 December the campaign of Kyagulanyi travelled to Gomba where they were met with teargas. According to the affidavit by David Lewis, the meeting took place amidst clouds of teargas. Voting was not free, as the story²⁰⁰ of Godfrey Ssegiinya from Kaula village indicates.

Election day 14th of January also saw a lot of violence. During the day an NRM youth leader by the name of Wamala went by the polling stations chasing away observers, agents and supervisors, especially from NUP. He pointed guns at those who tried to observe. This has been observed by many people.

Noone could stop him, even when the consulting officer at the district was called and was asked what role Wamala had in the election process. Wamala and his group beat up people, they chased people, they teared DOR forms and took opposition appointment letters to get new DOR forms so they could refill it with the results they desired.

The group that Wamala (real name Kisakyamukama Yiga) moved around with, consisted of Musinguzi Emma, Lubega Deo, Bisaso and former mayor of Maddu Town Council Mugengyi Vincent, plus two military gun men working as Wamala's personal escorts.

Wamala and Mugengyi have been involved in election violence before. An article²⁰¹ in WhisperEye describes how they were arrested after Mugengyi lost the race for NRM flag bearer in September of 2020.



Left: Mugengyi Mid: Wamala meeting Museveni Right: Wamala again with M7

²⁰⁰ <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/apr/22/torture-abducted-uganda-crackdown-museveni>

²⁰¹ <https://whispereye.co.ug/2020/09/24/tension-maddu-mayor-mugengyi-arrested-after-losing-nrm-party-flag-to-gen-salim-salehs-wife-kalumba-jayne/>

Lwawebe Church of Uganda

In the polling station near the farm of Robert Kyagulanyi late father JW Ssentamu, the organisers of the elections didn't want Kyagulanyi to take any votes. Quickly the fraud became clear because 7 family members didn't vote at all. Maria Nalubega swore in an affidavit that her mother Nakyanzi Elimeldah died on 10th November of 2020 and therefore didn't vote.

| PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, (Presidential Elections Act, 2005, Section 48) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|-------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|--------------|-----------------------------|-------------|------------------|---------------------|---------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|
| RESULTS TALLY SHEET | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| DISTRICT: 091 GOMBA | | | CONSTITUENCY: 254 GOMBA WEST COUNTY | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Parish | Station | Reg. Voters | AMURIAT OBOI PATRICK | KABULETA KIZA JOSEPH | KALEMBE NANCY LINDA | KATUMBA JOHN | KYAGULA NYI SSENTAMU ROBERT | MAO NORBERT | MAYAMBA LA WILLY | MUGISHA MUNTU GREGG | MWESIGYE FRED | TUMUKULU DE HENRY KAKURUGU | YOWERI MUSEVENI TIBUHABU RWA KAGUTA | Valid Votes | Invalid Votes | Total Votes |
| Sub-county: 003 MADOU | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 024 KYABAGAMBA | 01 KIGAYAZA INFANT SCHOOL | 307 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 32 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 264 | 299 | 0 | 299 |
| | | | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 10.70% | 0.33% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.33% | 0.33% | 88.29% | 0 | 0.00% | 97.39% |
| | 02 KYABAGAMBA CATHOLIC PRIMARY SC | 619 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 137 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 186 | 326 | 6 | 332 |
| | | | 0.00% | 0.31% | 0.00% | 0.31% | 42.02% | 0.31% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 57.06% | 1 | 1.81% | 58.83% |
| | Parish Total | 926 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 169 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 450 | 625 | 6 | 631 |
| | | | 0.00% | 0.16% | 0.00% | 0.16% | 27.04% | 0.32% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.16% | 0.16% | 72.00% | 0 | 0.95% | 88.14% |
| | Sub-county Total | 7777 | 6 | 8 | 2 | 3 | 1627 | 6 | 0 | 4 | 3 | 7 | 4239 | 5901 | 199 | 6010 |
| | | | 0.88% | 0.88% | 0.83% | 0.85% | 27.87% | 0.19% | 0.00% | 0.87% | 0.85% | 0.12% | 71.84% | 0 | 1.81% | 77.28% |
| Sub-county: 004 KYAYI | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 014 BUGULA | 01 KYAMULANGWA | 226 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 210 | 217 | 8 | 225 |
| | | | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 2.78% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.46% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 96.77% | 0 | 3.58% | 99.58% |
| | 02 ALLIANCE JUNIOR ACADEMY | 254 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 246 | 249 | 5 | 254 |
| | | | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 1.20% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 96.80% | 0 | 1.97% | 100.00% |
| | 03 KASHONGI | 173 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 160 | 169 | 4 | 173 |
| | | | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.59% | 4.73% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 94.67% | 0 | 2.31% | 100.00% |
| | 04 BUGULA PRIMARY SCHOOL | 317 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 310 | 312 | 5 | 317 |
| | | | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.64% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 99.36% | 0 | 1.58% | 100.00% |
| | 08 NSOLOLO | 342 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 48 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 105 | 153 | 6 | 159 |
| | | | 0.00% | 0.65% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 30.07% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.65% | 88.63% | 0 | 3.77% | 46.49% |
| | Parish Total | 1312 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 66 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1631 | 1100 | 28 | 1128 |
| | | | 0.00% | 0.09% | 0.00% | 0.09% | 6.91% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.09% | 0.00% | 0.09% | 83.73% | 0 | 2.48% | 85.98% |
| 015 BUYANJA | 01 LUZIGA C.O.U | 157 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 138 | 148 | 9 | 157 |
| | | | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 6.76% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 93.24% | 0 | 5.73% | 100.00% |
| | 02 ST. JUDE PRI. SCH | 608 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 114 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 459 | 575 | 31 | 606 |
| | | | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 19.83% | 0.17% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.17% | 0.17% | 79.83% | 0 | 5.12% | 99.67% |
| | 03 LWAVEBA C.O.U | 387 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 11 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 357 | 368 | 19 | 387 |
| | | | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 2.99% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 97.01% | 0 | 4.91% | 100.00% |
| | 04 NAKITEMBE C.O.U | 362 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 361 | 361 | 1 | 362 |
| | | | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 100.00% | 0 | 0.28% | 100.00% |
| | 05 NABUGANDO | 74 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 74 | 74 | 0 | 74 |
| | | | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 100.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 100.00% |
| | Parish Total | 1608 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 135 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1469 | 1548 | 89 | 1608 |
| | | | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 8.73% | 0.06% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.06% | 91.14% | 0 | 3.74% | 99.98% |
| 016 KALYAMAWOLU | 01 KASHEGO PRI SCH. | 106 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 105 | 105 | 0 | 105 |
| | | | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 100.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 99.06% |
| | 03 KALYAMAWOLU | 234 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 26 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 205 | 226 | 5 | 231 |
| | | | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 8.85% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.44% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 90.71% | 0 | 2.16% | 98.72% |

If we read the affidavit of the polling station agent for NUP, we understand how they made it possible that dead people voted.

floor, Plot 71 Nkrumah road, Kampala do hereby solemnly swear this affidavit and state as follows:

1. THAT I am a male adult Ugandan, a resident, a registered voter and the appointed polling agent of the Petitioner at Lwawebe C.O.U. Polling station of Lwawebe Village, Buyanja Parish, Kyayi Sub County, Gomba West County, Gomba district in which capacity I swear this affidavit.
2. THAT I was present at the polling station and the votes got done at 10 a.m and whoever came after that did not get an opportunity to cast their vote.
3. THAT I personally did not cast a vote as the votes were finished by about 11 am when I intended to cast my vote. (Attached is a copy of my Voter Location Slip marked "A").

He also specifically mentions some people that were dead and therefore didn't vote.

6. THAT on further analysis of the Voters' Register for Lwawebe C.O.U. there are various people that have since died and these are as shown hereunder: (Attached is a copy of the National Voters' Register for Lwawebe C.O.U. marked "B").
 - a) THAT the Late **Bitale Sulaiman** is on the National Voters' Register vide voter number 61467762 as seen on page 1 of 15 of the Voters' Register for Lwawebe C.O.U. Polling Station, and died before polling day and as thus could not have voted.
 - b) THAT the Late **Baliyo Lonal** vide voter number 50521273 on Page 1 of 15 of the Register was buried in Lwawebe village and therefore, did not vote.
 - c) THAT **Kababirise Scovia** vide Voter 53437713 on Page 2 of 15 of the National Voters' Register for Lwawebe C.O.U, also passed on before voting time and despite being on the voters' register, could not have voted.
 - d) THAT **Kakoza Karoli** voter number 5778686943 on page 3 of 15 of the Register for Lwawebe C.O.U. died on November 7th, 2020 and was buried on the 8th day of November, 2020 in Lwawebe at his home.
 - e) THAT **Katsigazi Yonoka** born on 15th April 1943 vide voter number 62162384 on the voters' register for Lwawebe C.O.U. Polling station was known to me and died way before voting day.
 - f) THAT **Mukandanga Leocadia** died on the 9th day of January, 2021 and was buried on the 10th day of January, 2021 in the week preceding the voting week and was buried within our village of Lwawebe.
 - g) THAT **Nakabugo Anastasia** died in December 2019 and is buried within Lwawebe village and as thus could not have voted.
 - h) THAT **Nakyanzi Elmeldah** died in November, 2020 and was buried in Lumanyo village, Ddegeya Parish within Gomba District.
 - i) THAT Tindimanyire Patrick also registered as a voter on the register for Lwawebe C.O.U vide voter number 58030149 on page 14 of 15 for the Polling station.

Another witness also reports that Mukandanga had passed away and that voting was not possible.

4. THAT I was informed by the Polling Agent, Mugisha Stephen that the results declared show that 100% of the registered voters turned up to vote on that day.
5. THAT this is not right as I did not vote because the votes were done at the polling station by the time I reached to vote.
6. THAT my mother in law, **Mukandanga Leocadia** born on 12th July, 1951 vide CF51091103UF3J is on the Voters Register for Lwawebe C.O.U Polling Station as a registered Voter. (See Voter Register and her National Identity Card attached and marked "C").
7. THAT Mukandanga Leocodia died on 9th January, 2021 and was buried on Sunday 10th January, 2021 in Lwawebe Village and as thus could not have voted since he was deceased by the 14th day of January, 2021.
8. THAT I did not vote and my mother in law had died despite being on the register and could not have voted and so the 100% vote was not achieved at the polling station of Lwawebe C.O.U.

Kirasi Church of Uganda

Looking at the tally sheet for Ddegeya parish, it's evident the ballot boxes where stuffed at Kirasi C.O.U and Kiruli Kangenyi. Where the other polling stations showed over half of the votes for Kyagulanyi, Kirasa and Kiruli showed less than 1 percent.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------|--------------------------------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|---------|------|-------|--------|
| 022 DDEGEYA | 01 LUMANYO | 496 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 165 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 202 | 368 | 6 | 374 |
| | | | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 44.84% | 0.27% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 54.89% | | 1.60% | 75.40% |
| | 02 DDEGEYA UMEA PRIMARY SCHOOL | 427 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 186 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 64 | 251 | 2 | 253 |
| | | | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.40% | 0.00% | 74.10% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 25.50% | | 0.79% | 59.25% |
| | 05 KIRASI C.O.U | 621 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 613 | 616 | 4 | 620 |
| | | | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.49% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 99.51% | | 0.65% | 99.54% |
| | 07 KAMENGO C.O.U | 230 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 84 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 81 | 166 | 1 | 167 |
| | | | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 50.80% | 0.60% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 48.80% | | 0.60% | 72.61% |
| | 08 ST.KIZITO PRI.SCH | 275 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 92 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 72 | 165 | 2 | 167 |
| | | | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 55.76% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.61% | 43.64% | | 1.20% | 60.73% |
| | 09 KIRULI KANGENYI | 186 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 153 | 153 | 0 | 153 |
| | | | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 100.00% | | 0.00% | 82.20% |
| | Parish Total | 2235 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 530 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1185 | 1719 | 15 | 1734 |
| | | | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.06% | 0.00% | 30.83% | 0.12% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.06% | 68.94% | | 0.87% | 77.58% |

We were told *"But this time people were still counting and they found out that (..) NUP was leading they tried to chase away people , people insisted, they fired in the air. People tried to run away. They got the polling station assistant, to remain 1-1 per candidate. They put them in the nearby church, a soldier took them to a toilet and (...) slips and poured them there. They were still counting. When they poured into the toilet, they came with their own slips."*

Another witness told us: *"We were locked inside church, While they are still ticking the ballot papers. While they still a NUP youth came in, called kalyango happened to be a brother to Seemuju, came in from a distance. They rest were warned they immediately fired (..) They stayed in church until 3am in the morning, meaning those with the votes came out. Mugenyi said no votes should be announced pronouncing Bobi Wine as the winner or else they should vote again. (..) Some of the Bobi Wine votes were thrown into the church toilet. Only 3 votes where declared. A soldier took them in church toilet in the night."*

During day time when voting process still took place Sssemuju stood next to ballot box. The youth and some elderly had their ballot paper grabbed and kicked out. Those that refused were taken forcefully and others were given a fight for the ballot paper. Muyenyi The LC3 came with pre-ticket ballot in an envelope and added to the ballot box."

Maddu Town Council

In the middle of the day, Wamala came by with a number of partners. Supporters of NUP were around to protect the votes so he threatened to shoot. People ran away and then he took the voting material. It remains unknown where he took it to.



A NUP official testifies

“Wakama came with guns after NUP agents were announced as winner. He threatened to shoot and people ran away. He started beating the presiding officer. He was escorted by police. They confiscated all the votes and the voting material”. Here they had failed to scatter the people to do their stuff.. since it's an urban center, people kept around, they then threatened to shoot.”

When the Presiding officer resisted she was injured so much that she had to be taken to hospital.

Multiple affidavits that we have on file confirm this story. Returning officer Aheebwa Anna was informed that Wakama had attacked polling staff and taken voting material like the BVVK machine, Black box and DoR forms for all candidates, but no known investigation by Electoral Commission was started. Only statements were taken by Police officers and that was it.

Kiruli Kangenyi

“In Kiruli kangenyi in kifampa SC Kisakyamukama [Wamala] abducted the Presiding officer who was initially supposed to work ak Kirasi c.o.u ps, put her on a gun point and forced her to verify un-authorized voters. She revealed that she registered 75 ghost voters in the BVVK machine yet more people were voted for by Kisakyamukama and his team.”

Other polling stations

“In Kitwe Mummy's Hope polling stations, in Maddu rural sub-county, a lot of chaos happened there by Wamala. He also visited all the twenty polling stations in Kyayi sub-county and remember this has for years been their rigging area.”

| Sub-county: 004 KYAYI | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|--------|-------|-------|-------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|-----|
| 014 BUGULA | 01 KYAMULANGWA | 226 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 210 | 217 | 8 | 225 | |
| | | | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 2.76% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.46% | 0 | 98.77% | 3.56% | 99.56% | |
| | 02 ALLIANCE JUNIOR ACADEMY | 254 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 246 | 249 | 5 | 254 | |
| | | | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 1.20% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 98.80% | 1.97% | 100.00% | |
| | 03 KASHONGI | 173 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 160 | 169 | 4 | 173 | |
| | | | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0.59% | 4.73% | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 94.67% | 2.31% | 100.00% | | |
| | 04 BUGULA PRIMARY SCHOOL | 317 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 310 | 312 | 5 | 317 | |
| | | | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0.64% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0 | 0 | 99.36% | 1.58% | 100.00% | | |
| | 08 NSOLOLO | 342 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 46 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 105 | 153 | 6 | 159 | |
| | | | 0 | 0.00% | 0.65% | 0.00% | 30.07% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.65% | 68.63% | 3.77% | 46.46% | | | |
| | Parish Total | 1312 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 65 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1031 | 1100 | 28 | 1128 | |
| | | | 0.00% | 0.09% | 0 | 0.09% | 5.91% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.09% | 0 | 93.73% | 2.48% | 85.98% | | |
| 015 BUYANJA | 01 LUZIGA C.O.U | 157 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 138 | 148 | 9 | 157 | |
| | | | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 6.76% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 93.24% | 5.73% | 100.00% | | |
| | 02 ST. JUDE PRI. SCH | 608 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 114 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 459 | 575 | 31 | 606 | |
| | | | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0.00% | 19.83% | 0.17% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 79.83% | 5.12% | 99.67% | | |
| | 03 LWAMBEA C.O.U | 387 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 11 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 357 | 368 | 19 | 387 | |
| | | | 0 | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 2.99% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 97.01% | 4.91% | 100.00% | | | |
| | 04 NAKITEMBE C.O.U | 382 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 381 | 381 | 1 | 382 | |
| | | | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 100.00% | 0.26% | 100.00% | | | |
| | 05 NABUGANDO | 74 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 74 | 74 | 0 | 74 | |
| | | | 0 | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 100.00% | 0.00% | 100.00% | | | |
| | Parish Total | 1608 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 135 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1409 | 1546 | 60 | 1606 | |
| | | | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 8.73% | 0.66% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.06% | 91.14% | 3.74% | 99.88% | | |
| 016 KALYAMAWOLU | 01 KASHEGO PRI.SCH. | 106 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 105 | 105 | 0 | 105 | |
| | | | 0 | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 100.00% | 0.00% | 99.06% | | | |
| | 03 KALYAMAWOLU | 234 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 20 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 205 | 226 | 5 | 231 | |
| | | | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 8.85% | 0.00% | 0 | 0.44% | 0 | 0.00% | 90.71% | 2.16% | 98.72% | | |
| Sub-county: 004 KYAYI | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 04 KYETUME | 224 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 219 | 219 | 1 | 220 | |
| | | | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 98.21% | 0.45% | 98.21% | | |
| | Parish Total | 564 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 20 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 529 | 550 | 6 | 556 | |
| | | | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 3.64% | 0 | 0.00% | 0.18% | 0.00% | 0 | 96.18% | 1.08% | 96.58% | | |
| 017 KASAMBYA | 02 KYAMUKAMA | 467 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 64 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 375 | 440 | 2 | 442 | |
| | | | 0 | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.23% | 14.55% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 85.23% | 4.45% | 94.65% | | |
| | 03 MABANDA CHURCH | 109 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 21 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 75 | 97 | 5 | 102 | |
| | | | 1.03% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 21.65% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 77.32% | 4.90% | 93.58% | | |
| | 06 KASAMBYA | 359 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 67 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 168 | 236 | 0 | 236 | |
| | | | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.42% | 28.39% | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 93.58% | 0.00% | 65.74% | | | |
| | Parish Total | 935 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 152 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 618 | 773 | 7 | 780 | |
| | | | 0.13% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.26% | 19.66% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 79.95% | 0.90% | 83.42% | | |
| 025 KYAYI | 01 NAKASEETA CHURCH OF GOD | 328 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 32 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 199 | 232 | 4 | 236 | |
| | | | 0 | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 13.79% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.43% | 0.00% | 85.75% | 1.69% | 71.95% | | |
| | 02 KYAYI PRIMARY SCHOOL | 669 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 121 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 261 | 382 | 22 | 404 | |
| | | | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0.00% | 31.68% | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0.00% | 68.32% | 5.45% | 60.39% | | |
| | 05 NABUGUYO | 295 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 59 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 73 | 134 | 3 | 137 | |
| | | | 0 | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 44.03% | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0.75% | 0.75% | 54.48% | 3.21% | 46.44% | | |
| | 07 KYEBUMBA C.O.U | 200 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 187 | 187 | 0 | 187 | |
| | | | 0 | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0 | 100.00% | 0.00% | 93.50% | | |
| | Parish Total | 1492 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 212 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 720 | 935 | 29 | 964 |
| | | | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 22.87% | 0 | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.21% | 0 | 77.01% | 3.91% | 64.61% | | |
| | Sub-county Total | 5911 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 584 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 4307 | 4904 | 130 | 5034 | |
| | | | 0.02% | 0.02% | 0.00% | 0.06% | 11.91% | 0.02% | 0.09% | 0.2 | 0.04% | 0.06% | 87.83% | 2.58% | 86.16% | | |

As we can see in the tally sheet above there are exactly 20 polling stations in Kyayi sub-county and most of them show clear indications of ballot box stuffing.



On the right side we see Mugenyi ticking ballot papers.

Some polling agents spent election day in a police cell. The original declaration is in Luganda and has been translated to English.

*"I was abducted the 13th around 2pm. A man named Wamala found me walking on the road and picked me up. I was abducted and taken to police. I was to be supervisor for NUP in Maduu. I was abducted to .. police. i'm not able to vote or participate in the election, i'm not sure if any agent were able to vote or not... cause i was not around. Wamala came along with 3 other gunmen, heavily armed. i was not able to speak, and tell the side of my story, i was just locked up. by the time i was picked to make a statement i was accused of a crime like heading a group that insults ruling president of being dictator
i'm moving around the leigs [unclear word] registering youth man
yes, i was appointing polling agents and they made appointment of polling agents a crime. I stayed in from 13th until 16th. I was released on a police bond when a few people came. I don't know whether the case is closed or not, because I was not taken to court."*

Abductions

An article in the Guardian references to the abduction of Godfrey Ssegirinya.

"They used batons, wires and gun barrels to torture us," said Godfrey Ssegirinya, 36, an electrician from Kaula village in Gomba district, who was detained and assaulted by soldiers three days after the elections, after admitting he voted for Wine.

He said: "I became unconscious and fainted. When I regained consciousness, blood was coming from my eye and I couldn't open it. I think they hit my left eye when I became unconscious. I am blind now."

According to our sources, many of the abductions in Gomba were executed under the command of Flavia Byekwaso, who was in leading a number of pickups with soldiers. Talking as the UPDF spokesperson, she told the press²⁰².

"The question on abductions has dominated the media bringing the forces under the spotlight but in my opinion, I will begin by not calling them abductions but acknowledging that some people are being picked for various reasons."

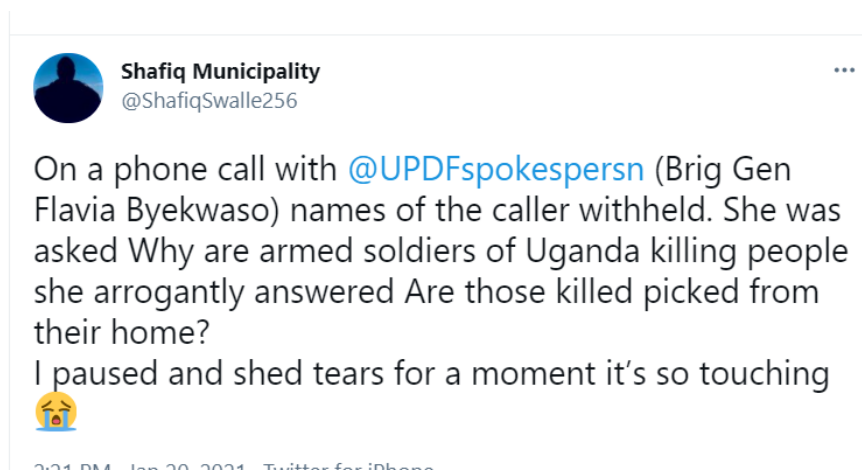
²⁰² <https://the-buzznation.com/they-are-not-abductions-gen-flavia-byekwaso/>



The UPDF spokesperson has however dismissed reports that indicate that people are being tortured by security operatives saying any form of torture is illegal and those cases are being investigated.

“What I have read in the newspapers wasn’t physical torture but psychological. Any form of torture isn’t allowed and this is something that must be investigated.”

Flavia Byekwaso doesn’t seem to be very bothered about the killings.



Conclusion

There was wide spread voter intimidation and ballot box stuffing in Gomba. A group led by Wamala and Mugenyi went around the polling stations to manipulate the outcome. Wamala and Museveni know each other well, as can be seen from their multiple joint photo appearances. According to Wamala they are good friends and Museveni pays him directly for this work.

Kyagulanyi narrowly won Gomba, but if the people of Gomba had been able to vote freely, the outcome of Gomba would have been more like the Parish of Kiriri where Kyagulanyi scored 83%.

Rigging in Gulu & Gulu City

As Dr. Lina Zedriga has put it, in the North it was truth or die for the government. A supervisor from the Gulu District told us:

The first thing and most important we were not allowed to freely move (..) We were not able to talk to voters and for passing out the message. Most of our activities where disrupted, before voting day, they were arresting our field mobilizers. Very many incidents. People were fearing. They kept arresting them. That disrupted our ability to reach the ground, to mobilize. Then, it was wide reported in media, 3 weeks to polling day, our offices in Northern Uganda were attacked ,all our forms , and registration material, lots of mobilization material, phones, laptop, they ransacked our office. A group mobilized by NRM, financed by NRM and pretended to be a group of disgruntled members, which is not true, because they never came before, they were just young boys that were hired. They came and carried away most of our things and intimidated our staff. On the actual polling day we were filling in as many agents as we could, but they were bribing them, they were more determined to disrupt the presidential than the parliamentary, arresting our mobilizers, and then blocking him from coming. (...) I survived being arrested on 3 occasions where they came to disrupt the campaign. These people had guns so we would move away. (..) When we were collecting the DR forms they were trailing the people we were working with everywhere. They would take away so many forms. (..) Then one of our electoral commissioners was arrested when coming to Kampala. (..) forms were taken away as he was on his way to deliver them. Now you dont have the forms so you cant verify the results from EC, so we don't trust those. It was not free and fair, they were blocking us, intimidating us, trailing us. Immediately after elections they started kidnapping us. People were scared.

Raid on the NUP office in Gulu



Some of the youths on their way to the NUP office.

The incident is described by Independent²¹⁰ and on Uganda Radio Network²¹¹. The video is on YouTube²¹². NUP reacted through Joel Ssenyonyi in pmldaily²¹³.

“These youth went to the office pretending to be NUP members with grievances, yet their intentions were to wreak havoc and humiliate our leaders! The one who led the pack, Tony Olenge used to be our coordinator whom we asked to step aside months ago due to misconduct. We understand he is now an NRM mobiliser. These goons took away three laptops, two phones, NUP posters, petty cash, plus a handbag belonging to the receptionist. They went ahead and locked the office doors with some wires. It is clear this was a state operation from the word go, no-wonder even when our team informed police, no action was taken. We have also got information that these particular youth will in the coming days be meeting NRM top leaders to get a “reward” for their illegal acts.

On Twitter, the last reference to Tony Olenge as a NUP official is on 15 August 2020, 4 months before the attack. Normally in Uganda, you would not find out who is behind the attack, but on March 29 this took an interesting turn when Ekyooto journalist Emmanuel Busingye revealed that Oulanyah brags within NRM about the raid in his struggle to become spokesperson of parliament.

Oulanyah who accuses Kadaga of being reluctant as NUP and its leader Kyagulanyi Ssentamu Robert aka Bobi Wine entrenched the youth structures, says he took it upon himself in the Northern Uganda region to personally demobilise the youths linked to the opposition party that had threatened the stay of the NRM party.

Oulanyah reveals that he even used his own money to buy off NUP youths. “I bought off the NUP youth coordinator Olanya Olenge Tony, I inspired the raid on NUP Gulu offices. What haven’t I done for the party?,” Oulanyah is quoted to have asked. “My results are visible. Our presidential candidate won in the entire region while in Kadaga’s Busoga, because of her selfishness, our candidate lost to NUP,” Oulanyah adds.

Kasubi

Kasubi is where the barracks is located and the home of General Salim Sale. Most of the refugees from Congo live there mixed up with the army. They supposedly were given IDs and made to vote with the soldiers. Already on election night ²¹⁴messages came out that soldiers were voting along with civilians.

One of our witnesses tells us

There was a lot of ballot stuffing, vote rigging, and intimidation. There are polling stations like Okech Andrews that’s one of many that I witnessed. Up to 10-11 am

²¹⁰ <https://www.independent.co.ug/nups-office-in-gulu-attacked/>

²¹¹ <https://ugandaradionetwork.net/story/pictorial-raid-on-nup-offices-in-gulu>

²¹² <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fW6UCSYjbkU>

²¹³ <https://www.pmldaily.com/news/2020/12/nup-accuses-nrm-goons-of-masterminding-attack-on-party-office-in-gulu.html>

voting material was just arriving. People had turned up in large numbers as early as 6 am. But ballot boxes reached at 10.

Our agents; some were battered, they underwent a lot of intimidation, they were not allowed to access, once they discovered you are from NUP they won't give you easy access. If they do, they give you to sit in a distant place you are not able to track what's happening, until some of us have to intervene. But how about all those PS where we were not able to access, where they were chased away, some they tried to buy them off?

The presiding officers, some were compromised. (..) Even in my own polling station, the biometric machines they claimed was working only worked for few people, there after ppl were just voting literally without doing the biometric, they just come and vote.

In the PS of Bardege, there are nine (..) there you would see on the night of the elections soldiers were ferried there, they were coming to vote, civilians didnt get time to vote, cause they said let the soldiers first vote, cause they are going back, their names are not there, they were just told to go and vote. Civilians did not get time to vote themselves, the voting started late and then the time reached 4 soldiers were still voting and civilians couldnt vote, that's another rigging we saw. They never used the biometric, their names were not reflected there. I think they (..) knew what they were doing.

Some of our agents were beaten, they are looking for us, even up to now. Three armed people were following me, even in my own home. I was offered 200 million shilling and a 4x4 vehicle. The guy said they will give you a good job in government, they would send a guy from state house that speaks the same language, which I rejected, they gave me an ultimatum or else.... That's when they started trailing me, I have abandoned my house. They are using women and fake meetings to get to me and direct calls. The vote rigging was very true. In the eve of elections, I have a friend personally known to me and they were giving out money and sugar. He came to me and told me I could use that avenue, to market myself, they went distributing money every door in Bardega division. If they say he won, I doubt it. In the north NRM can't get the vote they have gotten.

What I didnt mention. The DoR forms made agents were forced to sign because soldiers were there, police were there, they just tell you: Sign! They made you sign regardless if the vote tallies and you cannot even ask questions. You can't go with the phone.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|---------------------------|-----|----|---|---|---|----|----|---|---|---|---|-----|-----|----|-----|
| 017 KASUBI WARD | 01 GOAN QUARTERS (A-A) | 807 | 11 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 35 | 46 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 153 | 251 | 15 | 266 |
| | 02 LALIA P7 SCHOOL (A-J) | 461 | 12 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 29 | 32 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 91 | 172 | 6 | 178 |
| | 03 LALIA P7 SCHOOL (K-Z) | 593 | 13 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 36 | 61 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 86 | 202 | 25 | 227 |
| | 04 BAT (AA-AL) | 485 | 14 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 21 | 34 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 67 | 140 | 7 | 147 |
| | 05 GOAN QUARTERS (B-N) | 352 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 25 | 34 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 53 | 121 | 4 | 125 |
| | 06 BAT (B-Z) | 892 | 24 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 87 | 67 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 98 | 283 | 6 | 289 |
| | 07 KASUBI CENTRAL (AA-AC) | 330 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 14 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 57 | 81 | 7 | 88 |
| | 08 KASUBI CENTRAL (AD-Z) | 542 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 14 | 23 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 103 | 147 | 3 | 150 |
| | 09 BAT (AM-AZ) | 309 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 22 | 13 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 50 | 95 | 14 | 109 |
| | 10 GOAN QUARTERS (O-Z) | 579 | 11 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 61 | 50 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 84 | 210 | 2 | 212 |
| | 40 KASUBI (A-AS) | 763 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 27 | 17 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 99 | 149 | 8 | 157 |
| | 41 KASUBI (AT-ES) | 735 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 28 | 15 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 88 | 139 | 21 | 160 |
| | 42 KASUBI (ET-LF) | 792 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 29 | 15 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 103 | 153 | 24 | 177 |
| | 43 KASUBI (LG-OC) | 672 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 30 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 107 | 137 | 11 | 148 |
| | 44 KASUBI (OE-OKI) | 773 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 46 | 24 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 92 | 168 | 14 | 182 |
| | 45 KASUBI (OKJ-OS) | 733 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 41 | 27 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 96 | 165 | 3 | 168 |

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| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|--------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|------|-------|--------|
| 46 KASUBI (OT-Z) | 700 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 29 | 19 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 88 | 139 | 15 | 154 |
| Parish Total | 10518 | 131 | 7 | 7 | 15 | 559 | 497 | 1 | 18 | 6 | 6 | 1505 | 2752 | 185 | 2937 |
| | | 4.76% | 0.25% | 0.25% | 0.55% | 20.31% | 18.06% | 0.04% | 0.65% | 0.22% | 0.22% | 54.69% | | 6.30% | 27.92% |

What's very concerning from the statement of the witness is that the biometric device was not consistently used. Looking at the scores of Kyagulanyi across these 9 polling stations that they are spread from 9.52% to 27.38, almost 3 times as much. This is very unlikely given the fact that there are not many differences between these polling stations.

Awach

An UVote user submitted a result that was much higher than what the tally sheets are showing us. Also, the votes for Kyagulanyi are much lower than in the rest of the district. It looks like they were moving over some votes from Kyagulanyi to Mao: In Paduny Kyagulany got 10% and Mao 26% where in Gulu district it's contrary.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|--------|--------|-------|-------|-------|--------|------|--------|--------|
| Parish Total | 573 | 16 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 65 | 33 | 10 | 2 | 2 | 5 | 132 | 275 | 10 | 285 |
| | | 5.82% | 1.45% | 1.45% | 0.73% | 23.64% | 12.00% | 3.64% | 0.73% | 0.73% | 1.82% | 48.00% | | 3.51% | 49.74% |
| 002 PADUNY | 01 AWACH P 7 SCH (A-K) | 555 | 12 | 5 | 2 | 18 | 55 | 11 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 100 | 210 | 12 | 222 |
| | | | 5.71% | 2.38% | 0.95% | 8.57% | 26.19% | 5.24% | 1.43% | 0.95% | 0.48% | 47.62% | | 5.41% | 40.00% |
| | 02 AWACH CENTRAL P 7 SCH (A-J) | 495 | 16 | 3 | 0 | 13 | 43 | 14 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 89 | 184 | 28 | 212 |
| | | | 8.70% | 1.63% | 0.00% | 7.07% | 23.37% | 7.61% | 1.09% | 0.54% | 1.63% | 48.37% | | 13.21% | 42.83% |
| | 03 AWACH P 7 SCH (L-Z) | 530 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 20 | 67 | 4 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 112 | 216 | 18 | 234 |
| | | | 3.24% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 9.26% | 31.02% | 1.85% | 1.85% | 0.00% | 0.46% | 51.85% | | 7.69% | 44.15% |
| | 04 AWACH CENTRAL P 7 SCH (K-Z) | 520 | 15 | 1 | 3 | 41 | 51 | 5 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 117 | 238 | 8 | 246 |
| | | | 6.30% | 0.42% | 1.26% | 17.23% | 21.43% | 2.10% | 0.42% | 1.26% | 0.00% | 49.16% | | 3.25% | 47.31% |
| | 05 LATWONG P7 SCH | 487 | 13 | 3 | 5 | 16 | 62 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 101 | 210 | 11 | 221 |
| | | | 6.19% | 1.43% | 2.38% | 7.62% | 29.52% | 2.38% | 0.48% | 0.48% | 1.43% | 48.10% | | 4.98% | 45.38% |
| | Parish Total | 2587 | 63 | 12 | 10 | 3 | 108 | 278 | 39 | 11 | 7 | 519 | 1058 | 77 | 1135 |
| | | | 5.95% | 1.13% | 0.95% | 0.28% | 10.21% | 26.28% | 3.69% | 1.04% | 0.66% | 49.05% | | 6.78% | 43.87% |

Aswa County

The complaints expressed above are also given by MP candidate on DP ticket Mr Patrick Okello Onguti. He told NEN <https://www.nen.co.ug/en/dp-candidate-for-aswa-county-mp-seat-seeks-court-redress-rejects-the-election-results-by-ec/>

“I am not satisfied with the results because there was a lot of irregularities in the election process in Aswa, the voting materials arrived late at the different polling stations that discourage people to vote, there was voters’ bribery on the night of the election,” Mr Onguti said.

According to Mr Onguti, the NRM candidate was distributing money to the people on the night of election day , something he said was voter’s bribery.

After the voting stopped, some of the ballot boxes from Owor and Owalo Sub County were intercepted at Bungatira heading to Gulu City instead of Awach where the tally Centre for Gulu district is located. Mr Onguti explained.

“Our agents were denied copies of the Declaration results’ form, our agents were intimidated, they did not want to hand over the copy of the DR forms to our agents and they were told to photocopy yet there is no photocopying Centre in Palaro and Patiko Sub County,”

“We are still demanding for Declaration forms from 23 polling station in both Awach Centre, Patiko and Bungatira which are missing,”

Rigging in Iganga

Something strange happened in Iganga. Malobi Pri Sch [A-M] and Malobi Pri Sch [N-Z] have exactly the same result, although the second one is only half the size.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-------------------------------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|------|--------|--------|
| | Parish Total | 2774 | 12 | 0 | 6 | 5 | 453 | 2 | 1 | 7 | 3 | 10 | 1011 | 1510 | 38 | 1548 |
| 021 NAMUSISI | 01 NAMUSISI PRI. SCH. (A-MUK) | 646 | 0.79% | 0.00% | 0.40% | 0.33% | 30.00% | 0.13% | 0.07% | 0.46% | 0.20% | 0.66% | 66.95% | 350 | 2.45% | 55.80% |
| | | | 1.14% | 0.29% | 1.43% | 0.29% | 45.43% | 0.00% | 0.29% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 51.14% | 350 | 1.14% | 361 |
| | 02 MALOBI PRI. SCH. [A-M] | 678 | 0.27% | 0.00% | 14 | 0 | 217 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 137 | 371 | 12 | 383 |
| | | | 0.27% | 0.00% | 3.77% | 0.00% | 58.49% | 0.27% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.27% | 36.93% | 371 | 3.13% | 55.49% |
| | 03 NAMUSISI PARISH HQTRS | 320 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 82 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 62 | 169 | 3 | 172 |
| | | | 0.59% | 0.59% | 1.18% | 0.00% | 48.52% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.59% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 48.52% | 169 | 3.14% | 53.75% |
| | 04 NAMUSISI PRI. SCH. (MUL-Z) | 567 | 0.99% | 0.00% | 7 | 1 | 95 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 197 | 304 | 8 | 312 |
| | | | 0.00% | 0.00% | 2.30% | 0.33% | 31.25% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.33% | 0.00% | 64.80% | 304 | 2.56% | 55.03% |
| | 05 MALOBI PRI. SCH. [N-Z] | 391 | 0.27% | 0.00% | 14 | 0 | 217 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 137 | 371 | 12 | 383 |
| | | | 0.27% | 0.00% | 3.77% | 0.00% | 58.49% | 0.27% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.27% | 36.93% | 371 | 3.13% | 57.95% |
| | 06 BUGANZA TRADING CENTRE | 266 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 48 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 101 | 153 | 19 | 172 |
| | | | 0.00% | 1.31% | 0.65% | 0.65% | 31.37% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 66.01% | 153 | 11.05% | 64.66% |

The chance that this occurs coincidentally in polling stations of the same size is less than 0.001%, but they aren't even nearly as big. In reality this is fraud, and this is proven by the DoR that NUP has on file.

UGANDA PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 2021
DECLARATION OF RESULTS
 (Presidential Elections Act, No. 16, 2005, as amended, Section 51)
 District: **IGANGA** Code: **007**
 Constituency: **KIGULU COUNTY NORTH** Code: **038**
 Sub County/Town/Municipal Division: **NAWANDALA** Code: **004**
 Parish/Ward: **NAMUSISI** Code: **021**
 Polling Station: **MALOBI PRI. SCH. [N-Z]** Code: **05**

| Name of Candidates Contesting | Political Party / Independent | Number of valid votes polled per candidate | |
|---|-------------------------------|--|--------------------------|
| | | In Figures | In Words |
| AMURIAT OBOI PATRICK | FDC | #00# | ZERO VOTES |
| KABULETA KIIZA JOSEPH | INDEPENDENT | #01# | ONE VOTE |
| KALEMBE NANCY LINDA | INDEPENDENT | #04# | FOUR VOTES |
| KATUMBA JOHN | INDEPENDENT | #01# | ONE VOTE |
| KYAGULANYI SSENTAMU ROBERT | NUP | #86# | EIGHTY SIX VOTES |
| MAO NORBERT | DP | #00# | ZERO VOTES |
| MAYAMBALA WILLY | INDEPENDENT | #00# | ZERO VOTES |
| MUGISHA MUNTU GREGG | ANT | #00# | ZERO VOTES |
| MWESIGYE FRED | INDEPENDENT | #00# | ZERO VOTES |
| TUMUKUNDE HENRY KAKURUGU | INDEPENDENT | #00# | ZERO VOTES |
| YOWERI MUSEVENI TIBUHABURWA KAGUTA | NRM | #113# | ONE HUNDRED THIRTEEN |
| Total Number of Valid Votes Cast for Candidates | | #205# | TWO HUNDRED FIVE VOTES |
| Total Number of Rejected (Invalid) votes | | #08# | EIGHT VOTES |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Counted | | #213# | TWO HUNDRED THIRTEEN |
| Total Number of Spoilt Ballot Papers | | #00# | ZERO VOTES |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Issued to Polling Station | | #400# | FOUR HUNDRED VOTES |
| Total Number of Unused Ballot Papers | | #187# | ONE HUNDRED EIGHTY SEVEN |

Note: The Presiding Officer should ensure that ALL information is duly filled and signed.

Total Number of Females who voted _____
 Total Number of Males who voted _____

UGANDA PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 2021
DECLARATION OF RESULTS
 (Presidential Elections Act, No. 16, 2005, as amended, Section 51)
 District: **IGANGA** Code: **007**
 Constituency: **KIGULU COUNTY NORTH** Code: **038**
 Sub County/Town/Municipal Division: **NAWANDALA** Code: **004**
 Parish/Ward: **NAMUSISI** Code: **021**
 Polling Station: **MALOBI PRI. SCH. [N-Z]** Code: **05**

| Name of Candidates Contesting | Political Party / Independent | Number of valid votes polled per candidate | |
|---|-------------------------------|--|----------------------------|
| | | In Figures | In Words |
| AMURIAT OBOI PATRICK | FDC | #01# | one vote |
| KABULETA KIIZA JOSEPH | INDEPENDENT | #004# | fourteen votes |
| KALEMBE NANCY LINDA | INDEPENDENT | #01# | one vote |
| KATUMBA JOHN | INDEPENDENT | #00# | zero vote |
| KYAGULANYI SSENTAMU ROBERT | NUP | #217# | two hundred and seventeen |
| MAO NORBERT | DP | #01# | one vote |
| MAYAMBALA WILLY | INDEPENDENT | #00# | zero vote |
| MUGISHA MUNTU GREGG | ANT | #00# | zero vote |
| MWESIGYE FRED | INDEPENDENT | #00# | zero vote |
| TUMUKUNDE HENRY KAKURUGU | INDEPENDENT | #01# | one vote |
| YOWERI MUSEVENI TIBUHABURWA KAGUTA | NRM | #137# | one hundred thirty seven |
| Total Number of Valid Votes Cast for Candidates | | #371# | three hundred seventy one |
| Total Number of Rejected (Invalid) votes | | #12# | twelve votes |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Counted | | #383# | three hundred eighty three |
| Total Number of Spoilt Ballot Papers | | #00# | zero |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Issued to Polling Station | | #700# | seven hundred |
| Total Number of Unused Ballot Papers | | #317# | three hundred seventeen |

Note: The Presiding Officer should ensure that ALL information is duly filled and signed.

Total Number of Females who voted _____
 Total Number of Males who voted _____

The NUP DoR shows 400 ballot papers. The fraudulent version of the EC contains 700 ballot papers, which cannot be the case for a polling station with only 391 registered voters.

Let's think about options how this could occur. It could be that the Electoral Commission representative in Iganga didn't have the DoR for Malobi [N-Z] available and decided to commit fraud by using the Malobi [A-M] numbers. So how did they solve the signatures then? To our surprise we found out that in the upload to the EC website they simply used the back-side of DoR for Malobi [A-M]! This can only be done intentionally, definitely a proof of fraud.

On the electoral commission website you find the front-side & back-side of the DoR behind each other, with all DoRs for one district in one big file. All the uploaded DoRs for Iganga are 482 pages: 241 front-sides with votes and 241 back-side with signatures²²⁰.

Just go to the link and check pages 474-475. Another example of plain fraud at the level of the Electoral Commission.

Fortunately, not all stations in Iganga were rigged. This is Kakososo polling station.



²²⁰ https://www.ec.or.ug/drforms/2021/DR_007_IGANGA.pdf

Rigging in Isingiro

Isingiro is a special district because it had the most polling stations with a 100% voter turnout: 145. “That not a single voter died, was sick, was away from home or decided not to vote at these polling stations, experts say raises questions that beg to be probed. Such voter turnout, election observers argue, isn’t normal” according to The Observer ²³⁰.

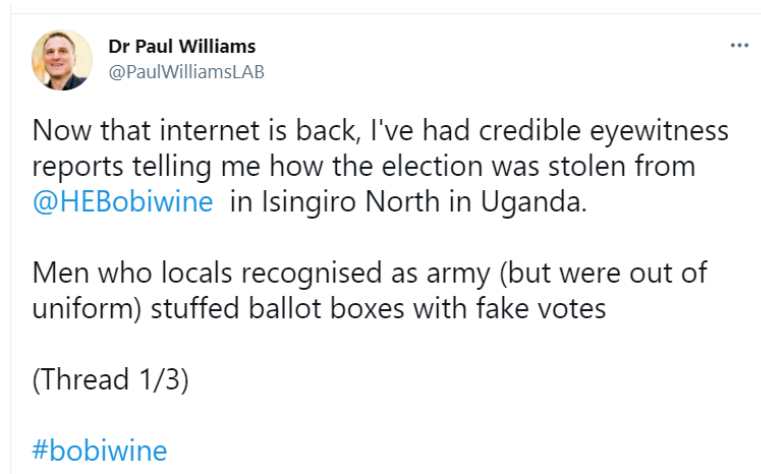
The Electoral Commission claims to nullify polling stations with a voter turnout of higher than 100%. Our analysis in the chapter of Ballot Box stuffing shows this is not true. We found that 47 polling stations reported more ballot papers counted than registered voters. Instead of nullifying these polling stations, the EC official responsible for entering DoRs in the computer system entered a lower number of total ballot papers.

| Polling station | Registered Voters | Ballots counted | Excess | Polling station | Registered Voters | Ballots counted | Excess | Polling station | Registered Voters | Ballots counted | Excess |
|--------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------|-----------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------|--------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------|
| KIYENJE PRI SCH A | 571 | 651 | 80 | RWENTURAGARA PLAYC | 567 | 600 | 33 | KASHENYI PRI SCH | 482 | 500 | 18 |
| KYAKABINDI PARENTS SCH | 500 | 550 | 50 | NYABUGANDO PRI SCH | 368 | 400 | 32 | Rukiri Catholic Church A | 583 | 600 | 17 |
| KIKUNYU PLAYGROUND | 401 | 450 | 49 | RYABOONA PENTECOST | 218 | 250 | 32 | KYENJOJO C.O.U | 184 | 200 | 16 |
| KEIKOBE MOSQUE GROUND | 752 | 800 | 48 | KASHENYI PRI SCH | 369 | 400 | 31 | KAGAAGA PRI SCH | 586 | 600 | 14 |
| RUBOROGOTA PRI SCH B | 205 | 250 | 45 | KABAGARAME MARKET | 464 | 494 | 30 | RWAMBAGA PRI SCH | 837 | 850 | 13 |
| MBAARE II C.O.U | 355 | 400 | 45 | BWEZA PRI SCH | 321 | 350 | 29 | Katooma Church Sch | 431 | 441 | 10 |
| RUTOOMA HEALTH CENTRE | 256 | 300 | 44 | RUKINGA NURSERY SCH | 418 | 445 | 27 | KYABAHESE PRI SCH | 626 | 635 | 9 |
| RUKOMA C.O.U II | 350 | 391 | 41 | KYEIRUMBA MARKET B | 473 | 500 | 27 | KYEIRUMBA MARKET A | 492 | 500 | 8 |
| AKAKIRI TRADING CENTRE | 262 | 303 | 41 | KAGONGI C.O.U | 425 | 450 | 25 | NGARAMA C.O.U PRI SC | 642 | 647 | 5 |
| KITEZO TRADING CENTRE (I | 810 | 850 | 40 | NYARUBUNGO I | 625 | 650 | 25 | KAKINGA PUBLIC GROU I | 624 | 626 | 2 |
| KIBENGO MIRACLE CENTRE | 612 | 650 | 38 | AKAFUNDA | 225 | 250 | 25 | NYAKABUNGO C.O.U I | 343 | 345 | 2 |
| MUREMA HEALTH CENTRE | 762 | 800 | 38 | RUBIRA TRADING CENTR | 226 | 250 | 24 | NYAKIGYERA PRI SCH | 469 | 470 | 1 |
| KYARUBAMBURA II | 414 | 450 | 36 | ST THOMAS SEN SEC SCI | 228 | 250 | 22 | NYARUBUNGO II | 599 | 600 | 1 |
| KYAMBURARA CATHOLIC C | 161 | 196 | 35 | KYAMUTURA | 381 | 400 | 19 | MABONA III | 673 | 674 | 1 |
| MUSLIM PRI SCH/KAMURI I | 615 | 650 | 35 | NTUURA | 408 | 427 | 19 | RWENSHEBASHEBE PAR | 290 | 291 | 1 |
| MABONA I (N-Z) | 315 | 349 | 34 | KAARO PENTECOSTAL C | 462 | 480 | 18 | | | | |

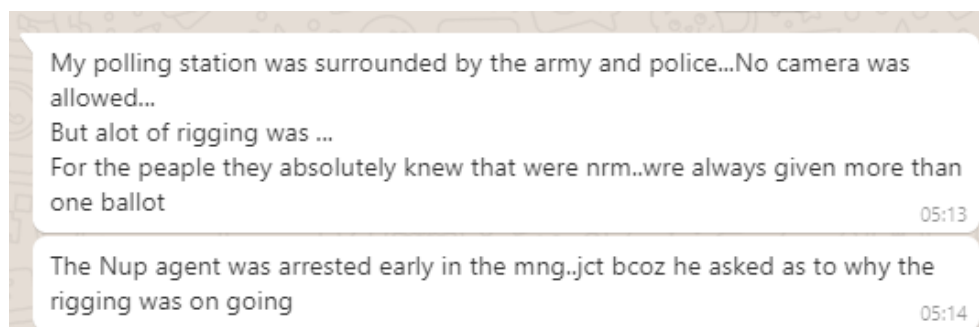
Furthermore, there were 119 polling stations where the number of female voters was higher than the number of registered females, and 97 polling stations where the number of male voters was higher than the number of registered males.

Quickly after the ending of the internet blackout on 18 January the enormous scale of rigging became clear. UK parliament member Paul Williams tweeted:

²³⁰ <https://observer.ug/news/headlines/68513-election-observers-baffled-by-100-voter-turnout-at-409-polling-stations>



Paul Williams has those eyewitness reports, and so do we. Uvote user Hassan told us:



Another witness confirmed that NUP agents were arrested or chased away in the early morning. We know from our analysis that all stations in Isingiro were rigged, but we can only highlight a couple because of limitations of space.

Rukuuba Mosque

We start with Rukuuba Mosque because it's exemplary for Isingiro. The supervisor writes in his sworn affidavit that he received a call from the NUP agent Jude Semakula in Rukuuba.

5. That I had assigned Jude Semakula as my agent at Rukuuba Mosque polling station.
 6. That on 14/1/2021 my agent Semakula phoned me saying soldiers were around getting ballot papers from the presiding officer and I told him they should not be allowed to take away those booklets.
-
7. That I decided to go and check and as I arrived at Rukuuba Mosque I found soldiers in military uniform lifting my agent and dumping her on their vehicle which was a police vehicle.
 8. That they drove off with my agent and I followed them up to Masha police post after which they drove off.
 9. That I tried to get off my agent on police bond but the police refused and kept him.
 10. That in the meantime the same soldiers went to Kakyera polling station where my agent told me they were trying to get him.
 11. That I advised him to cool down and drove there to find he had been picked by soldiers and taken away to unknown place.
 12. As co-ordinator I received calls from my agents in Nyarubungo II and the rest of polling stations in Masha sub-county complaining of the same conduct by the same soldiers.
 13. That in the evening of 14/1/2021 I went to check on all my agents who had been arrested but got only one Jude Semakula, on police bond.
 14. That I found that none of my agents had been given the DR forms for signing.

Interesting enough, the presiding officer Robert Tukamuterwa also write about this incident on the DoR. He reports that Jude has been arrested for disobeying polling officials and SOPs. It doesn't specify which SOPs.

(Where any agent refuses or fails to record the reasons for his / her refusal to sign, The Presiding Officer must record the facts of the refusal or failure).


Has not signed because he has been arrested by the security officials on disobeying polling officials and SOPs.
(Sedwaka Jude) TNC agent

I, the undersigned, certify that the above information is true and correct.

Kigaragara Polling station

3. **THAT** on the voting day, 14th January, 2021, at around 9:00 am, two double cabin cars with hidden number plates arrived at Kigaragara Primary School polling station with the NRM sub-county chairman Mugume Sylver, the former sub-county councilor Mr. Mayanja Adam, and other youths.
4. **THAT** the said youth were given three bundles of ballot papers of the president, Member of Parliament and women member of parliament. That the said youth got hold of the ballot papers and ticked the 1st Respondent and the Members of parliament of their choice.
5. **THAT**, I later on asked the said chairman Mugume Sylver to give me my ballot paper in order for me to vote my presidential candidate but the said chairman informed me that all ballot papers were used up and that they had voted for me.
6. **THAT** my polling station was surrounded by officers in Uganda Police Force, Uganda Peoples Defence Force, and other officers that suppressed voters' opportunity to complain against the acts.
7. **THAT** at Kagango Primary School and Kankyingi Primary School polling stations in Kankyingi Parish, Kahumba Sub-county, Isingiro district, the presidential ballot papers were not brought at the polling station and the voters were only required to vote only members of parliament.
8. **THAT** I saw agents of other presidential candidates being arrested for protesting the capturing of ballot papers by agents of the 1st respondent.

Also on Twitter people claim not to have voted although the turnout was 100%.



Ishabalongo KJM @ishabalongo · Jan 28

Am a voter at kigaragara Primary school but didn't vote cause am in Europe but see the voter turn up??? I lost my aunt in late November but she voted too!! Who voted for me in this case???

RESULTS TALLY SHEET

DISTRICT: ISINGIRO CONSTITUENCY: KAHUMBA NORTH COUNTY

Kagango Primary School

According to the sworn affidavit, no Presidential voting took place at Kagango Primary School. Still, the Electoral Commission announced there was a 100% turnout at this polling station, with 206 Museveni, 2 Kyagulanyi, 1 Katumba and 2 invalid votes. In total there are 211 registered voters.

Busingye Pentecostal Church

A voter told *The Observer* that when she went to her polling station at Busingye pentecostal church at around 11 am, she was told she'd already voted yet she still had in her possession her voter location slip and National IDs, the two main documents that used for voter verification: "I thought I was the only one until when a boda boda [taxi-cyclist] rider also told me the same had happened to him at a nearby polling station. Later in the evening, we discovered that many people in the area had already been voted for," Nyakato said.

Iryango Pri School

The Presiding Officer Lucky Orishba together with Museveni agents started to tick the ballot papers. The NUP agent tried to prevent it, and as they charged at him with a panga, targeting his neck, he guarded it with his arm and run off to save his life. They had no problem signing on his behalf on the DoR form, which is another fraud they committed. For months the agent has been on the run because he's still unsafe.



Left: Polling agent after being assaulted Right: Iryango Pri School

Even with the polling agent chased away, they were not able to hide the fraud.

FORM DR

UGANDA PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 2021

DECLARATION OF RESULTS
[Presidential Elections Act, No.16, 2005, as amended, Section 51]

18571

District: **ISINGIRO** Code: **062**

Constituency: **ISINGIRO WEST COUNTY** Code: **325**

Sub County/Town/Municipal Division: **KABUYANDA TOWN COUNCIL** Code: **005**

Parish/Ward: **IRYANGO WARD** Code: **020**

Polling Station: **IRYANGO PRI SCH** Code: **02**

| Name of Candidates Contesting | Political Party / Independent | Number of valid votes polled per candidate | |
|---|-------------------------------|--|---------------------------------|
| | | In Figures | In Words |
| AMURIAT OBOI PATRICK | FDC | 003 | THREE VOTES ONLY |
| KABULETA KIIZA JOSEPH | INDEPENDENT | 001 | ONE VOTE ONLY |
| KALEMBE NANCY LINDA | INDEPENDENT | 000 | ZERO VOTES |
| KATUMBA JOHN | INDEPENDENT | 001 | ONE VOTE ONLY |
| KYAGULANYI SSENTAMU ROBERT | NUP | 061 | FIFTY ONE VOTES ONLY |
| MAO MORBERT | DP | 001 | ONE VOTE ONLY |
| MAYANBALA WILLY | INDEPENDENT | 000 | ZERO VOTES |
| MUGISHA MUNTU GREGG | ANT | 006 | FIVE VOTES ONLY |
| NWESIGYE FRED | INDEPENDENT | 001 | ONE VOTE ONLY |
| TUMUKUNDE HENRY KAKURUGU | INDEPENDENT | 001 | ONE VOTE ONLY |
| YOWERI MUSEVENI TIBUHABURWA KAGUTA | NRM | 987 | NINE HUNDRED EIGHTY SEVEN VOTES |
| Total Number of Valid Votes Cast for Candidates | | 1051 | ONE THOUSAND FIFTY ONE VOTES |
| Total Number of Rejected (Invalid) votes | | 013 | THIRTEEN VOTES |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Counted | | 1064 | ONE THOUSAND SIXTY FOUR VOTES |
| Total Number of Spoilt Ballot Papers | | 00 | ZERO VOTES |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Issued to Polling Station | | 1064 | ONE THOUSAND SIXTY FOUR VOTES |
| Total Number of Unused Ballot Papers | | 00 | ZERO VOTES |

Note: The Presiding Officer should ensure that ALL information is duly filled and signed.

Total Number of Females who voted 856

Total Number of Males who voted 405

The DoR states that 656 females have voted, but there are only 569 registered females in Iryango Pri School.

Kaberebere

A video²³¹ being shared widely on social media shows a man walking towards a ballot box and putting multiple ballots in it.

²³¹ <https://www.dropbox.com/s/uz0n877s3qmwjkd/IsingiroRiggingSubTitles.mp4?dl=0>



Kasozi Isaac @yitzhak_kasozi · Jan 21

Replying to @UgandaEC

This is Kaberebere in **Isingiro**, the person doing this illegality is the chairman.

Stop lying to ugandans. Know your pervasiveness can erode trust of a whole nation & lead it into turmoil. Announce the correct results

@HEBobiwine won & is president



Kyamusooni Health Center

Isingiro case #5, Kaymusooni Health centre. [Uganda EC](#) reports 481 registered voters. But the presiding officer was able to count 496 ballots. They did realize they had to fix something, and changed 024 Invalid votes to 02E invalid votes. Indeed, a number that does not exist in the decimal system.

District: **ISINGIRO** Code: **062**
 Constituency: **ISINGIRO WEST COUNTY** Code: **325**
 Sub County/Town/Municipal Division: **RUBOROGOTA** Code: **004**
 Parish/Ward: **KYAMUSONI** Code: **002**
 Polling Station: **KYAMUSONI HEALTH CENTRE** Code: **01**

| Name of Candidates Contesting | Political Party / Independent | Number of valid votes polled per candidate | |
|---|-------------------------------|--|------------------------------|
| | | In Figures | In Words |
| AMURIAT OBOI PATRICK | FDC | 004 | four |
| KADULETA KIIZA JOSEPH | INDEPENDENT | 002 | two |
| KALEMBE NANCY LINDA | INDEPENDENT | 000 | zero |
| KATUMBA JOHN | INDEPENDENT | 000 | zero |
| KYAGULANYI SSENTAMU ROBERT | NUP | 016 | sixteen |
| MAO NORBERT | DP | 000 | zero |
| MAYAMBALA WILLY | INDEPENDENT | 000 | zero |
| MUGISHA MUNTU GREGG | ANT | 003 | three |
| MWESIGYE FRED | INDEPENDENT | 000 | zero |
| TUMUKUNDE HENRY KAKURUGU | INDEPENDENT | 000 | zero |
| YOWERI MUSEVENI TIBUHABURWA KAGUTA | NRM | 448 | four hundred forty eight |
| Total Number of Valid Votes Cast for Candidates | | 473 | four hundred seventy three |
| Total Number of Rejected (Invalid) votes | | 025 | two thirteen five |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Counted | | 496 | four hundred ninety six |
| Total Number of Spoilt Ballot Papers | | 002 | two |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Issued to Polling Station | | 498 | four hundred ninety eight |
| Total Number of Unused Ballot Papers | | 000 | zero |

Note: The Presiding Officer should ensure that ALL information is duly filled and signed.

Total Number of Females who voted: 285
 Total Number of Males who voted: 188

Bukanga rigging

Bukanga is one of the constituencies in Isingiro. The incumbent MP in the Bukanga constituency is Stephen Kangwagye.



Already during the NRM primaries there were incidents between Stephen Kangwagye and his competitor Dr. Moses Mpeirwe²³².

²³² <https://www.independent.co.ug/nrm-fails-to-field-candidate-for-bukanga-county-mp-seat-in-isingiro-district/>

According to the Hidden Truth Post²³³:

“The evidence at hand shows that Hon Steven Kangwagye a son to Museveni’s first cousin Rwakanuma had not only rigged but also terrorised the voters using CMI and Military Police provided by Maj. Gen Abel Kandiho also a first cousin to Janet Museveni.”

It becomes clear that the rigging and the violence used during the primaries were even worse during the elections.



Ugandans, on alleged vote rigging videos, Electoral Commission is asking these questions:

1. What are those materials?
2. Are they ours?
3. Which district are they from?
4. Why didn't the people report when they saw that?
5. Why didn't they go to police?

#UGElectons2021



Interestingly, the same man with blue jacketed is appearing in both pre-ticking videos²³⁴ ²³⁵. His name is Fred Rwakaizi Bangumya, a friend and agent of MP Stephen Kangwagye. Below are some pictures he posted on his Facebook page.



²³³ <https://hiddentruthpost.com/2020/09/23/m7-accepts-that-his-relatives-declared-themselves-with-impunity-in-recent-nrm-primaries/>

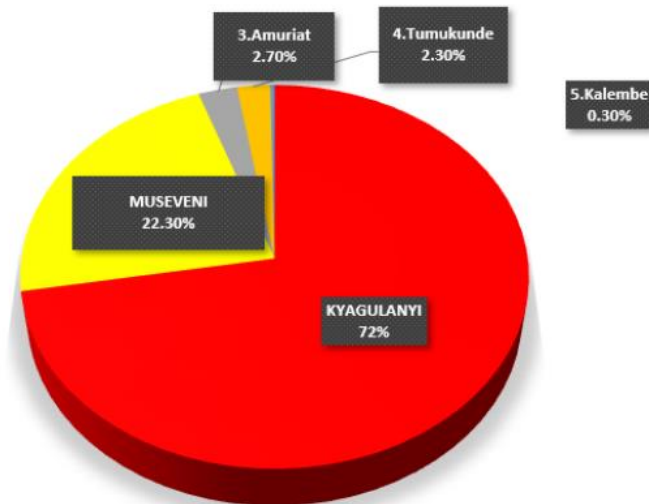
²³⁴ <https://www.dropbox.com/s/wzwxrk5z6nvgs01/KangwagyeStevenSupportersStuffing.mp4?dl=0>

²³⁵ <https://www.dropbox.com/s/lyi5zkw30zs75ks/KiruhuravideoplaybackIsingiro.mp4?dl=0>

Rigging in Kampala

Although rigging was difficult in Kampala because of the massive support for Kyagulanyi, it did happen.

National Electoral Survey Uganda
Kampala Capital City Sub-Region
November 2020
Market Intelligence Group (MIG)



The survey performed by Market Intelligence Group in November turned out to be very accurate forecast of the official election results for Kampala in which Kyagulanyi scored 72.8% and Museveni 23.9%.

Although there was a lot voter intimidation, the people of Kampala did go to the polling stations and casted the vote for their favorite candidate. This is the main reason why the MIG forecast turned out so good.

Out of the 1423 polling stations in Kampala, only some 33 were won by Museveni. Many of them show suspiciously high turnouts, like polling stations in Summit View, Nakasero, and Mbuya Hill. Nakasero [A-L], near the State House, had a voter turnout of 93.5%. Another sign that the State House was well aware of the ballot box stuffing that took place around the country.

| <u>areaName</u> | <u>voterTurnout</u> | <u>M7</u> | <u>BW</u> | |
|----------------------|---------------------|-----------|-----------|--|
| SUMMIT VIEW (A - J) | 72.92 | 92.99 | 5.26 | |
| SUMMIT VIEW (N - OM) | 88.34 | 92.90 | 5.60 | |
| NAKASERO [A-L] | 93.54 | 92.77 | 6.19 | |
| NAKASERO [M-Z] | 73.85 | 91.45 | 7.05 | |

| <u>areaName</u> | <u>voterTurnout</u> | <u>M7</u> | <u>BW</u> | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|-----------|-----------|--|
| SUMMIT VIEW (ON - Z) | 70.62 | 90.69 | 7.33 | |
| MBUYA HILL[A-MAM] | 66.67 | 90.17 | 7.35 | |
| SUMMIT VIEW (K - M) | 73.78 | 90.04 | 9.31 | |
| MBUYA HILL[MAN-Z] | 62.25 | 88.28 | 9.56 | |
| MBUYA HILL -UPPER MBUYA [A A] | 42.83 | 84.62 | 12.09 | |
| MBUYA HILL -UPPER MBUYA [B J] | 37.12 | 84.26 | 8.09 | |
| MBUYA HILL -UPPER MBUYA [N O] | 37.99 | 80.15 | 14.89 | |
| MBUYA HILL -UPPER MBUYA [P Z] | 36.45 | 79.66 | 17.80 | |
| MBUYA HILL -UPPER MBUYA [L M] | 38.79 | 78.44 | 19.70 | |
| ALL SAINTS A:: | 93.84 | 78.13 | 17.24 | |
| MBUYA HILL -UPPER MBUYA [K K] | 33.83 | 77.92 | 19.48 | |
| REMAND PRISON | 29.27 | 75.38 | 20.77 | |
| FOOTBALL PLAYGROUND | 36.88 | 70.59 | 24.51 | |


Nakasero [A-L]

The picture below show Tumukunde casting his vote at Nakasero [M-Z].



The DoR that the Electoral Commission has on file is below. Not only does it shows signs of ballot box stuffing, but it claims that 380 females have voted when there are only 280 registered females in Nakasero [A-L]. Clearly the DoR is frauded.

FORM DR



UGANDA PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 2021

DECLARATION OF RESULTS

[Presidential Elections Act, No.16, 2005, as amended, Section 51]

02322

District: **KAMPALA**

Constituency: **KAMPALA CENTRAL DIVISION**

Sub County/Town/Municipal Division: **KAMPALA CENTRAL**

Parish/Ward: **NAKASERO II**

Polling Station: **NAKASERO (A-L)**

Code **012**

Code **061**

Code **001**

Code **016**

Code **40**

| Name of Candidates Contesting | Political Party / Independent | Number of valid votes polled per candidate | |
|---|-------------------------------|--|-----------------------------|
| | | In Figures | In Words |
| AMURIAT OBOI PATRICK | FDC | -02- | TWO VOTES ONLY |
| KABULETA KIIZA JOSEPH | INDEPENDENT | -01- | ONE VOTE ONLY |
| KALEMBE NANCY LINDA | INDEPENDENT | -00- | ZERO |
| KATUMBA JOHN | INDEPENDENT | -00- | ZERO |
| KYAGULANYI SSENTAMU ROBERT | HUP | -42- | FOURTY TWO VOTES ONLY |
| MAO NORBERT | DP | -00- | ZERO |
| MAYAMBALA WILLY | INDEPENDENT | -00- | ZERO |
| MUGISHA MUNTU GREGG | ANT | -04- | FOUR VOTES ONLY |
| MWESIGYE FRED | INDEPENDENT | -00- | ZERO |
| TUMUKUNDE HENRY KAKURUGU | INDEPENDENT | -00- | ZERO |
| YOWERI MUSEVENI TIBUHABURWA KAGUTA | NRM | -629- | SIX HUNDRED TWENTY NINE |
| Total Number of Valid Votes Cast for Candidates | | -678- | SIX HUNDRED & SEVENTY EIGHT |
| Total Number of Rejected (Invalid) votes | | -03- | THREE VOTES ONLY |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Counted | | -680- | SIX HUNDRED & EIGHTY VOTES |
| Total Number of Spoilt Ballot Papers | | -00- | ZERO |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Issued to Polling Station | | -750- | SEVEN HUNDRED & FIFTY VOTES |
| Total Number of Unused Ballot Papers | | -69- | SIXTY NINE VOTES ONLY |

Note: The Presiding Officer should ensure that ALL information is duly filled and signed.

Total Number of Females who voted

Total Number of Males who voted

-380-

-300-

Makindye Military barracks

Looking at Makindye Military Barracks we see they were officially won by Museveni. The Kyagulanyi votes are almost half of the parish average for Makindye. This is suspicious, as Besigye was able to win here in 2016.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|------|-------|--------|
| 43 MILITARY BARACKS [A-L] | 1490 | 19 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 238 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 511 | 777 | 6 | 783 |
| | | 2.45% | 0.26% | 0.13% | 0.39% | 30.63% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.26% | 0.00% | 0.13% | 65.77% | | 0.77% | 52.55% |
| 44 MILITARY BARACKS [M-NAM] | 1079 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 224 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 385 | 618 | 7 | 625 |
| | | 0.49% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 36.25% | 0.32% | 0.00% | 0.32% | 0.16% | 0.16% | 62.30% | | 1.12% | 57.92% |
| 45 MILITARY BARACKS [NAN-Z] | 1312 | 12 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 253 | 2 | 0 | 8 | 1 | 1 | 616 | 898 | 6 | 904 |
| | | 1.34% | 0.00% | 0.11% | 0.45% | 28.17% | 0.22% | 0.00% | 0.89% | 0.11% | 0.11% | 68.60% | | 0.66% | 68.90% |
| Parish Total | 21855 | 87 | 11 | 12 | 27 | 5991 | 20 | 2 | 46 | 6 | 9 | 3444 | 9655 | 138 | 9793 |
| | | 0.90% | 0.11% | 0.12% | 0.28% | 62.05% | 0.21% | 0.02% | 0.48% | 0.06% | 0.09% | 35.67% | | 1.41% | 44.81% |

Fatuo Kiggundu was abducted on January 14, 2021 when he showed up to vote at Military Polling station in Makindye, Kampala. His name is Fatuo was the polling agent of NUP and when he saw a group of soldiers pre ticking ballots, he recorded the incident using his phone. The military, realizing that he had been recording them, abducted him for what they called, "possessing things he shouldn't". ²⁴⁰

Jihad Kiggundu was abducted along with her brother Fatuo (above) when she asked the military why they were taking her brother. Jihad was a nursing mother who left behind a nursing child but has not been seen since. The video says that the military charged Fatuo with possessing things that he was not supposed to possess, which were videos of soldiers ticking ballots several times which he had recorded on his phone, but it is still not clear why Jihad was detained or what charges could possibly be brought against her for asking about her brother²⁴¹.

In the NBS video, the reporter interviews the family Kiggundu. Patrick Kiggundu describes how he saw his brother being taken by a car full of soldiers *"I saw my brother being handcuffed and thrown on the car. My sister intervened to find out what was happening and asked where they were taking her brother. When she asked the policeman told the sister he had done nothing, if you want you can join him, so the sister went on the car and joined the brother. All the people of the car had different types of guns and they drove off."*

A family member says: *"She left a young baby who was still breastfeeding, now it's hard, they are giving the baby different types of food."*

Amira Kiggundu, the mother of Jihad & Fatuo. *"She called , we have been brought to military and we dont know the reason, i asked what is really happening" "we dont know they do to them"*

The family Kiggundu has suffered before as their father, a UPDF officer and his driver were assassinated in 2016. They called police and the lady said they should give her the names and she should find out tomorrow if they are in Makindye barracks. The policeman confirmed that the lady is in Mikundye and fatua is in Kilayi and says they are charged in military court because they were found with government possessions which are not supposed to be with them.

Anonymous sources told us that the reason Fatua was arrested was that he recorded and took pictures of soldiers who were voting more than once.

The incident is also described by Daily Monitor²⁴² which also cites sources that Fatua was arrested for taking videos and photos.

²⁴⁰ <https://www.facebook.com/489836437713897/posts/3885450321485808/?sfnsn=wa>. 4

²⁴² <https://www.monitor.co.ug/uganda/news/national/updf-arrest-late-maj-kiggundu-s-children--3268678>

Curfew

One way of intimidating the opposition is by applying the curfew. Our witness told us:

“Curfew is a tool to torture opposition members, it's a tool to do anything, anyone with a gun has extreme powers. I was arrested last month, It was around 9, curfew time. When it is jam you find a parking place and you find an easy way to reach home. When I parked at place called Y, it was like 9.30pm cause i was caught in jam. Immediately from the parking I was put under arrest with guns ppl were all the way from home following me, i had already told my friend i used alternative route. (..) UPDF had all surrounded the place and we were put behind bars. (..) The day after ppl came in, we came out of prision , they had not opened a file against us. Their method is to take like properties, money, they let you go the following day. That was Lugala police station.

At night around 9 un-uniformed started to check cells. When they find a known face, they were put outside the cell. It was so fortunate that people that came did not know our faces. There's a corridor at the station and they were put under torture, we could hear them cry. In the morning, a vehicle came, took them away, we didnt know where they went. Could be Kitanya or a safe house. We were so worried about our lives. It was good that they didnt know our origin. (..) I did not say where I came from, I said I came from (..) They were looking for [] coming from [], I told them I was coming from other place. Someone that was giving them information had told I was from [], fortunately my drivers permit didnt show my origin. So that's how I survived.

They were using a tool, not scissors, but something like that. Many were crying. They were tortured for almost an hour. In the morning they were all thrown on the truck and disappeared. We are not sure where they are.”

Kamwenge

Case #1 Ntonwa Pri Sch (A-K)

A video showing ballot box stuffing in Ntonwa Pri Sch (A-K) has been widely shared on social media.



The full video is here:

<https://www.dropbox.com/s/zrasjmrsb5zerjz/KamwengestuffingAndProtesting.mp4?dl=0> The National Unity Platform polling station agent K swore in the following affidavit.

- 5 That voting started around 10.00 a.m and I left my fellow agent Moses at that station and went supervise other areas.
- 6 That when I reached Kyakaitaba around 3.30 P.m. Voting was going on.
- 7 That I found that my NUP, agent Christopher was denied entry and his letter of appointment was thrown at him.
- 8 That I decided to privately get a video of ballot staffing by the presiding officer and vice chairperson of Kyakaitaba (Annex B.)
- 9 That I have that Video to show cheating through ballot staffing and lack of supervisor by our NUP agent
- 10 That I went back to Ntonwa polling station and formed voting ending.
- 11 That counting of ballots was done and Kyagulanyi got 75 votes whereas Museveni got 382 votes.
- 12 That the presiding officer had told all voters to go away after voting except the agents.
- 13 That we kept around until 7.30 P.m when the RDC of Kamwenge, one Mucunguzi Godfrey came in a Double cabin vehicle Reg.No.UG 0687Y with 6 soldiers.
- 14 That the RDC immediately directed the presidency officer that all the remaining ballot papers should be ticked and this was done in favour of candidate Yoweri Museveni and I was there watching.
- 15 That after ticking them they were all spiffed in the ballot box
- 16 That before that one Mukiza Wilberforce a supporter of NRM and Muhanguzi the Mayor of Ntonwa phoned me to go and bargain for money but leave the D.R forms alone and I recorded that conversation.
- 17 That I ignored the call and urged my colleagues not to accept any bribe.
- 18 That I refused to sign the blank D.R forms and the RD told them that I could go away without signing.
- 19 That I am swearing this to prove the irregularities at the polling stations and outright cheating through ticking extra ballot papers and ballot staffing

Interestingly, there are only 380 (below in yellow) registered voters in Ntonwa PriSch (A-K). Officially Kyagulanyi scored 44 votes and Museveni scored 332, which means that they found out there were too many votes and they had to lower the numbers.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|------|-------|---------|
| 09 NTONWA PRI. SCH. (A-K) | 380 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 44 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 332 | 380 | 0 | 380 |
| | | 0.79% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 11.58% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.26% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 87.37% | | 0.00% | 100.00% |
| 10 NTONWA PRI. SCH. (L-Z) | 398 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 31 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 354 | 387 | 6 | 393 |
| | | 0.26% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 8.01% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.26% | 0.00% | 91.47% | | 1.53% | 98.74% |
| Parish Total | 4105 | 7 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 189 | 0 | 1 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 3025 | 3235 | 67 | 3302 |
| | | 0.22% | 0.00% | 0.09% | 0.00% | 5.84% | 0.00% | 0.03% | 0.15% | 0.06% | 0.09% | 93.51% | | 2.03% | 80.44% |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|---------------------------|------|---|-------|---|-------|---|-------|---|-------|-----|--------|---|-------|---|-------|---|-------|---|-------|---|-------|------|---------|------|----|-------|------|---------|
| | 09 NTONWA PRI. SCH. (A-K) | 380 | 3 | 0.79% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 44 | 11.58% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 1 | 0.26% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 332 | 87.37% | 380 | 0 | 0.00% | 380 | 100.00% |
| | 10 NTONWA PRI. SCH. (L-Z) | 398 | 1 | 0.26% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 31 | 8.01% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 1 | 0.26% | 0 | 0.00% | 354 | 91.47% | 397 | 6 | 1.53% | 393 | 98.74% |
| | Parish Total | 4105 | 7 | 0.22% | 0 | 0.00% | 3 | 0.09% | 0 | 0.00% | 189 | 5.84% | 0 | 0.00% | 1 | 0.03% | 5 | 0.15% | 2 | 0.06% | 3 | 0.09% | 3025 | 93.51% | 3235 | 67 | 2.03% | 3302 | 80.44% |
| 039 KYAKAITABA | 01 MBARARA T/C | 557 | 2 | 0.36% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 12 | 2.15% | 0 | 0.00% | 1 | 0.18% | 1 | 0.18% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 541 | 97.13% | 557 | 0 | 0.00% | 557 | 100.00% |
| | 02 OMIKACWAMBA T/C | 392 | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 392 | 100.00% | 392 | 0 | 0.00% | 392 | 100.00% |
| | 03 KYAKAITABA T/C | 540 | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 540 | 100.00% | 540 | 0 | 0.00% | 540 | 100.00% |

Reading the DoR we find that the NUP agent didn't agree and therefore was not willing to sign the DoR, not even in exchange of a bribe. The presiding officer came up with an excuse: "he didn't sign because he was caught by time i.e. 6.00 pm, therefore he left to Kyenjojo because his child was alone in Kyenjojo". This story doesn't seem very plausible, especially if we look at the signature time of the DoR at 4.08 pm

(Where any agent refuses to sign he / she should record reasons in the space provided below)

At 4.08 pm, he didn't sign because he was caught by time i.e. 6.00 pm, therefore he left to Kyenjojo because his child was alone in Kyenjojo

(Where any agent refuses or fails to record the reasons for his / her refusal to sign, The Presiding Officer must record the facts of the refusal or failure).

I, the undersigned, certify that the above information is true and correct.

Presiding Officer:

Names: ATUKWASE PHIONA

Signature: *[Signature]*

Place: NTONWA PRI. SCH. (A-K) Date: 14/1/21

Time: 4:08 pm

St. John Nursery & Primary School

A couple of weeks after the election we received this message from a UVote user (name is known with us). They didn't bother to really count the ballots and just estimated.

OK, true, I witnessed voter fraud at my polling you can never imagine! There was the direct involvement of police constables and polling officials ticking ballots after people had voted in hundreds and when people shouted, they said what do you want to do? They went ahead and didn't count as usual counting is done, they estimated and gave Bobi only 3 votes and M7 466 votes after had crosschecked with the total voters at the polling station, all these were in Kamwenge at Kampala B polling station in Biguli sub-county. All these happened on the directive by the RDC and Hon. Minister Frank Tumwebaze. They chased away all agents from the opposition and those that could stand strong were bought with only 20k and took their appointment letters.

09:01

Double checking with the tally sheet, we see that indeed in Kampala B, St John's Nursery there were 3 votes for Kyagulanyi and 460 votes for Museveni (6 less than the witness remembered).

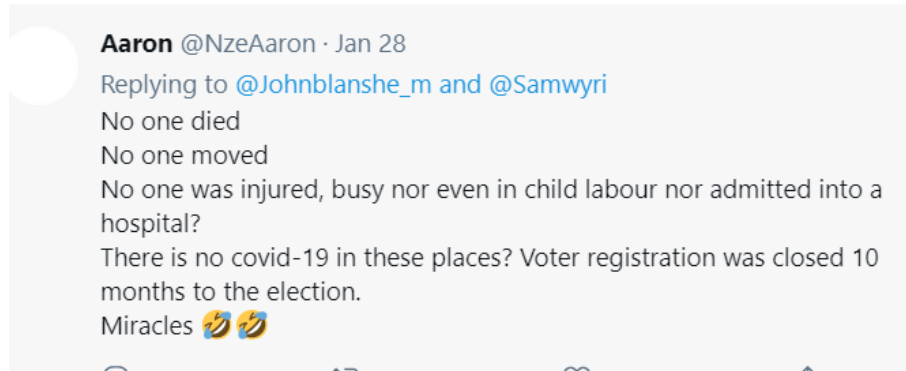
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|-----|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|-----|-------|--------|
| 035 KAMPALA B | 01 MUNYUMA P/SCHOOL | 527 | 7 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 334 | 348 | 0 | 348 |
| | | | 2.01% | 0.00% | 0.29% | 0.57% | 0.57% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.57% | 95.98% | | 0.00% | 66.03% |
| | 02 ST JOHN'S NURSERY AND PRIMARY SCHOOL | 468 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 460 | 463 | 0 | 463 |
| | | | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.65% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 99.35% | | 0.00% | 98.93% |



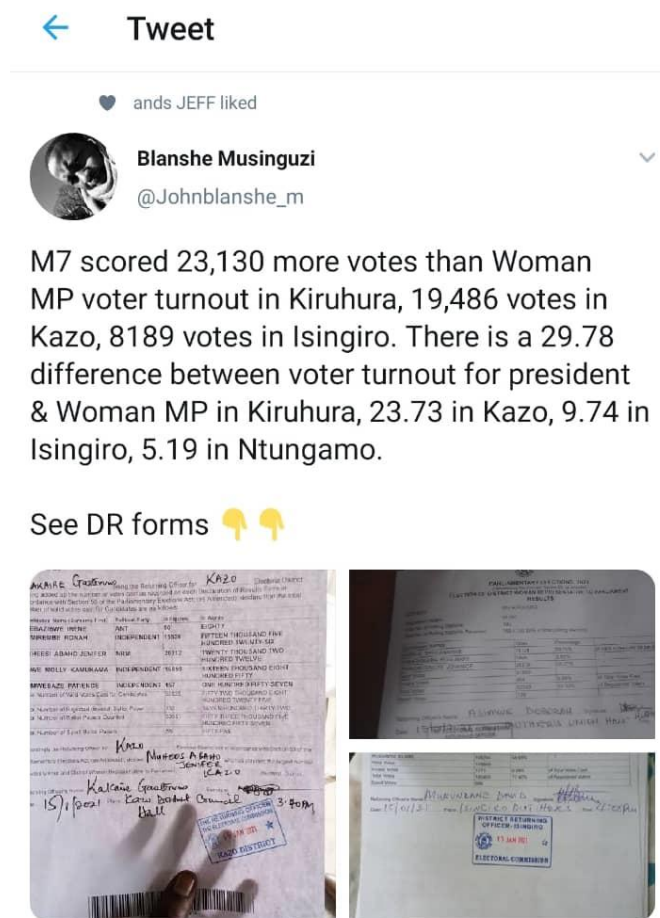
According to our witness, it was the RDC & Minister Frank Tumwebaze himself (above his Twitter profile with Museveni) that was responsible for chasing away the agents.

Rigging in Kiruhura

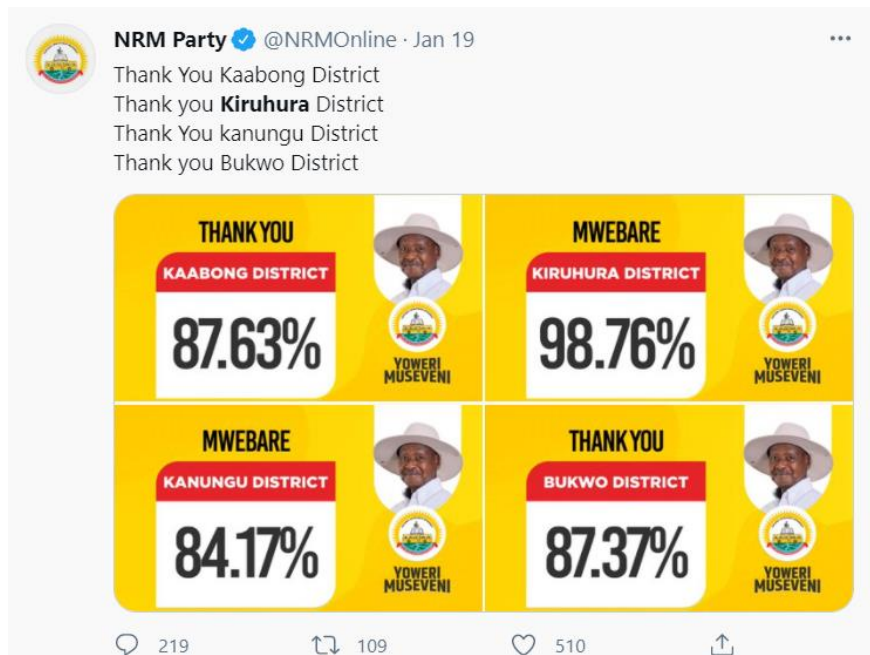
In Kiruhura ballot box stuffing was epidemic. In 148 out of 189 polling stations the voter turnout was above 90%, in 143 polling stations Museveni scored 100% of the votes.



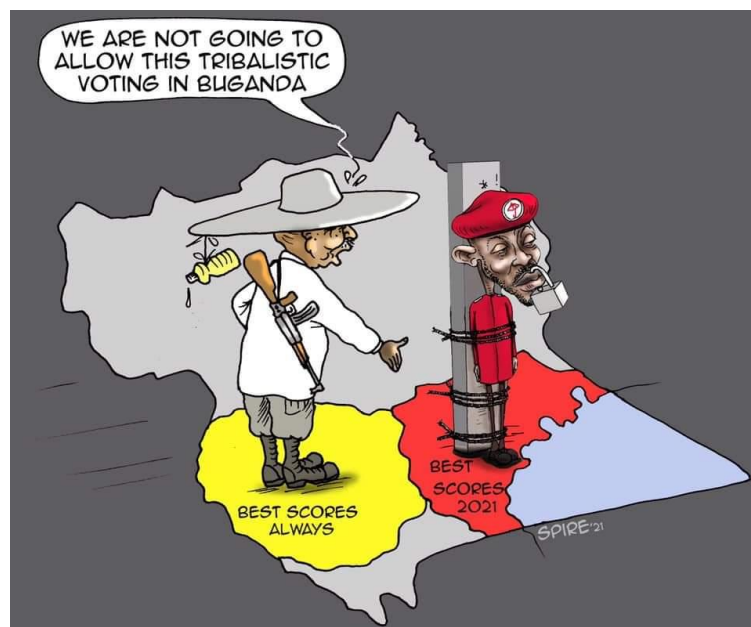
The turnout for the presidential elections was much higher than the woman MP election, which takes place at the same time, at the same polling station.



NRM did not mind the accusations of ballot box stuffing and celebrated their Kiruhura victory:



The responses to this tweet²⁶⁰ give a clear view of discontent of the Ugandan voters. One of them replied this cartoon by Spire. Others post videos of ballot box stuffing. A minority is happy with the NRM victory.



²⁶⁰ <https://twitter.com/NRMOnline/status/1351602172132261893>

The NUP agent for Hospital Park Zone risked his life by testifying about the ballot box stuffing & the intimidation by NRM agent Elly Namanya. Hospital Park Zone is further discussed as #11 in the sections below.

3. That it started raining at around 9:30am and the voters at hospital zone polling station kenshunga parish Kiruhura Towncouncil Nyabushoozi Kiruhura district moved away to find shelter. I stayed close where I saw the polling officer and the NRM agent ticking ballot papers in favour of candidate Yoweri Museveni.
4. That when the rain stopped at around 11:45am, the polling officer moved towards the ballot box and put the ticked ballot papers into the box. I complained against this and the NRM agent told me that I will be arrested if I say any other word. I was told that I would only be allowed to vote if I said nothing about what they had done.
5. That I at around 12:00am, I proceeded to cast my vote and was handed a preticked ballot paper which I declined to accept. The polling assistant then gave me a clear ballot paper and he wrote my name down.
6. That the polling assistant together with the NRM agent Eli, ticked most of the people in the register. Since it rained many people did not turn up to vote but they ticked them in the register and then ticked ballot papers for them and the polling assistant put them in the box.
7. That the secret basin where voters were supposed to tick their desired candidates was removed by the polling officer. He was directed by the NRM agent to tell every voter to tick from the table in front of everyone. This is for those who were given unticked ballot papers.
8. That a certain woman came to vote and found that she had been ticked in the register even before she would vote at Hospital Zone Parkyard polling station. She complained and was then taken in a car that was for the army man. She spent some time and when she came out, she quarreled and moved away without voting. Most people found when their names had already been ticked and they went back.
9. That at around 4:30pm when counting of the votes started, bundles of ballot papers which had been placed in the box together came out all in a bundle and the presiding officer said that the rain had hit them that's why they got attached to each other.

In the remainder, we will analyse a number of polling stations where fraud took place. For Kiruhura we did not do the full analysis as we did for Isingiro, where we found over 200 cases of excess ballot stuffing fraud. The 11 cases below have also been published on Twitter and are accessible through this search URL²⁶¹: The number is also referred to in the tweets.

From analysis of the DoRs can we deduce that in Kiruhura a 'fixer' was active. When the fixer found that there were more votes than registered voters, he or she would

²⁶¹ https://twitter.com/search?q=kiruhura%20from%3Anup_diaspora&src=typed_query&f=live

correct this and put a little autograph. In this way a situation like in Isingiro was prevented where 43% of the polling stations saw excess ballot box stuffing.

Akita Valley Dam (#1)

Akita Valley Dam has 279 registered voters. First they put 300 votes, that couldn't be right. So it was fixed with a different handwriting.

FORM DR

UGANDA PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 2021
DECLARATION OF RESULTS
[Presidential Elections Act, No. 16, 2005, as amended, Section 51]

19012

District: **KIRUHURA** Code: **065**
 Constituency: **NYABUSHOZI COUNTY** Code: **142**
 Sub County/Town/Municipal Division: **KIKATSI** Code: **004**
 Parish/Ward: **EMBARE** Code: **018**
 Polling Station: **AKATI VALLEY DAM** Code: **02**

| Name of Candidates Contesting | Political Party / Independent | Number of valid votes polled per candidate | |
|---|-------------------------------|--|--------------------------|
| | | In Figures | In Words |
| AMURIAT OBOI PATRICK | FDC | 00 | ZERO |
| KABULETA KIIZA JOSEPH | INDEPENDENT | 00 | ZERO |
| KALEMBE NANCY LINDA | INDEPENDENT | 00 | ZERO |
| KATUMBA JOHN | INDEPENDENT | 00 | ZERO |
| KYAGULANYI SSENTAMU ROBERT | NUP | 00 | ZERO |
| MAO NORBERT | DP | 00 | ZERO |
| MAYAMBALA WILLY | INDEPENDENT | 00 | ZERO |
| MUGISHA MUNTU GREGG | ANT | 00 | ZERO |
| MWESIGYE FRED | INDEPENDENT | 00 | ZERO |
| TUMUKUNDE HENRY KAKURUGU | INDEPENDENT | 00 | ZERO |
| YOWERI MUSEVENI TIBUHABURWA KAGUTA | NRM | 279 | Two hundred seventy nine |
| Total Number of Valid Votes Cast for Candidates | | 279 | Two hundred seventy nine |
| Total Number of Rejected (Invalid) votes | | 00 | ZERO |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Counted | | 279 | Two hundred seventy nine |
| Total Number of Spoilt Ballot Papers | | 00 | NONE |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Issued to Polling Station | | 300 | Three hundred |
| Total Number of Unused Ballot Papers | | 21 | Twenty one |

Note: The Presiding Officer should ensure that ALL information is duly filled and signed.

Total Number of Females who voted: 128 females
 Total Number of Males who voted: 151 males

Rwebitambo Catholic Pri Sch (#2)

Parish/Ward: **BWEEZA** Code: **036**
 Polling Station: **RWEBITAMBO CATHOLIC PRI SCH** Code: **04**

| Name of Candidates Contesting | Political Party / Independent | Number of valid votes polled per candidate | |
|---|-------------------------------|--|--------------------------|
| | | In Figures | In Words |
| AMURIAT OBOI PATRICK | FDC | 02 | ZERO TWO ONLY |
| KABULETA KIIZA JOSEPH | INDEPENDENT | 00 | ZERO ZERO ONLY |
| KALEMBE NANCY LINDA | INDEPENDENT | 00 | ZERO ZERO ONLY |
| KATUMBA JOHN | INDEPENDENT | 02 | ZERO TWO |
| KYAGULANYI SSENTAMU ROBERT | NUP | 16 | SIXTEEN ONLY |
| MAO NORBERT | DP | 00 | ZERO ZERO |
| MAYAMBALA WILLY | INDEPENDENT | 00 | ZERO ZERO |
| MUGISHA MUNTU GREGG | ANT | 03 | ZERO THREE |
| MWESIGYE FRED | INDEPENDENT | 00 | ZERO ZERO |
| TUMUKUNDE HENRY KAKURUGU | INDEPENDENT | 00 | ZERO ZERO |
| YOWERI MUSEVENI TIBUHABURWA KAGUTA | NRM | 336 | THREE HUNDRED THIRTY SIX |
| Total Number of Valid Votes Cast for Candidates | | 336 | THREE HUNDRED THIRTY SIX |
| Total Number of Rejected (Invalid) votes | | 02 | ZERO TWO |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Counted | | 336 | THREE HUNDRED THIRTY SIX |
| Total Number of Spoilt Ballot Papers | | 00 | ZERO ZERO |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Issued to Polling Station | | 550 | FIVE HUNDRED FIFTY |
| Total Number of Unused Ballot Papers | | 189 | ONE HUNDRED EIGHTY NINE |

Note: The Presiding Officer should ensure that ALL information is duly filled and signed.

Total Number of Females who voted **179**
 Total Number of Males who voted **157**

Huguku Pri School (#3)



UGANDA PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 2021

DECLARATION OF RESULTS

[Presidential Elections Act, No.16, 2005, as amended, Section 51]

19056

District: **KIRUHURA** Code: **065**
 Constituency: **NYABUSHOZI COUNTY** Code: **142**
 Sub County/Town/Municipal Division: **NYAKASHASHARA** Code: **006**
 Parish/Ward: **KYAKABUNGA** Code: **015**
 Polling Station: **HUGUKA PRI SCH** Code: **02**

| Name of Candidates Contesting | Political Party / Independent | Number of valid votes polled per candidate | |
|---|-------------------------------|--|--------------------------|
| | | In Figures | In Words |
| AMURIAT OBOI PATRICK | FDC | 000 | Zero |
| KABULETA KIIZA JOSEPH | INDEPENDENT | 000 | Zero |
| KALEMBE NANCY LINDA | INDEPENDENT | 000 | Zero |
| KATUMBA JOHN | INDEPENDENT | 000 | Zero |
| KYAGULANYI SSENTAMU ROBERT | NUP | 000 | Zero |
| MAO NORBERT | DP | 000 | Zero |
| MAYAMBALA WILLY | INDEPENDENT | 000 | Zero |
| MUGISHA MUNTU GREGG | ANT | 000 | Zero |
| MWESIGYE FRED | INDEPENDENT | 000 | Zero |
| TUMUKUNDE HENRY KAKURUGU | INDEPENDENT | 000 | Zero |
| YOWERI MUSEVENI TIBUHABURWA KAGUTA | NRM | 297 | Two hundred ninety seven |
| Total Number of Valid Votes Cast for Candidates | | 297 | Two hundred ninety seven |
| Total Number of Rejected (Invalid) votes | | 00 | Zero |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Counted | | 297 | Two hundred ninety seven |
| Total Number of Spoilt Ballot Papers | | 00 | Zero |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Issued to Polling Station | | 350 | Three hundred |
| Total Number of Unused Ballot Papers | | 02 | Two |

Note: The Presiding Officer should ensure that ALL information is duly filled and signed.

Total Number of Females who voted **152**
 Total Number of Males who voted **145**

The little autograph indicates that a correction was carried out by the 'fixer'.

Kasharara TC. (#4)

The presiding officer wrote on the DoR "Other agents were not allowed" without giving any reason. What other presiding officers didn't dear to write, this one was honest about it. NUP agents were not welcome at the polling stations.

| Candidates Contesting | No. | Names of Candidate's Agents present | Agent's Signature |
|------------------------------------|-----|-------------------------------------|-------------------|
| AMURIAT OBOI PATRICK | 1. | | |
| | 2. | | |
| KABULETA KIIZA JOSEPH | 1. | | |
| | 2. | | |
| KALEMBE NANCY LINDA | 1. | | |
| | 2. | | |
| KATUMBA JOHN | 1. | | |
| | 2. | | |
| KYAGULANYI SSENTAMU ROBERT | 1. | | |
| | 2. | | |
| MAO NORBERT | 1. | | |
| | 2. | | |
| MAYAMBALA WILLY | 1. | | |
| | 2. | | |
| MUGISHA MUNTU GREGG | 1. | | |
| | 2. | | |
| MWESIGYE FRED | 1. | | |
| | 2. | | |
| TUMUKUNDE HENRY KAKURUGU | 1. | | |
| | 2. | | |
| YOWERI MUSEVENI TIBUHABURWA KAGUTA | 1. | Kakooze Jones | [Signature] |
| | 2. | Tusingirire ELIAS | [Signature] |

(Where any agent refuses to sign he / she should record reasons in the space provided below)

(Where any agent refuses or fails to record the reasons for his / her refusal to sign, The Presiding Officer must record the facts of the refusal or failure).

Other Agents were not Allowed

I, the undersigned, certify that the above information is true and correct.

Presiding Officer:

Names KYAGUHIRE ACRES Signature: [Signature]

Place KASHARARA Date: 14th Time: 6.30pm

Mt. Olives Primary School (#5)

On some of the DoRs in Kiruhura we see a small autograph appearing. It seems to indicated that the DoR has been altered in the right way to make the numbers add up. We can see that originally there were 494 Museveni votes. This has been lowered to 454 votes.

Polling Station: ... MT. OLIVES PRI SCH Code: ... 05

| Name of Candidates Contesting | Political Party / Independent | Number of valid votes polled per candidate | |
|---|-------------------------------|--|--------------------------|
| | | In Figures | In Words |
| AMURIAT OBOI PATRICK | FDC | 00 | Zero |
| KABULETA KIIZA JOSEPH | INDEPENDENT | 00 | Zero |
| KALEMBE NANCY LINDA | INDEPENDENT | 00 | Zero |
| KATUMBA JOHN | INDEPENDENT | 00 | Zero |
| KYAGULANYI SSENTAMU ROBERT | NUP | 03 | Three |
| MAO NORBERT | DP | 00 | Zero |
| MAYAMBALA WILLY | INDEPENDENT | 00 | Zero |
| MUGISHA MUNTU GREGG | ANT | 01 | One |
| MWESIGYE FRED | INDEPENDENT | 00 | Zero |
| TUMUKUNDE HENRY KAKURUGU | INDEPENDENT | 00 | Zero |
| YOWERI MUSEVENI TIBUHABURWA KAGUTA | NRM | 454 | Four hundred fifty four |
| Total Number of Valid Votes Cast for Candidates | | 458 | Four hundred fifty eight |
| Total Number of Rejected (Invalid) votes | | 00 | Zero |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Counted | | 458 | Four hundred fifty eight |
| Total Number of Spoilt Ballot Papers | | 02 | Two |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Issued to Polling Station | | 10 | Ten |
| Total Number of Unused Ballot Papers | | 00 | Zero |

Note: The Presiding Officer should ensure that ALL information is duly filled and signed.

Total Number of Females who voted 300

Total Number of Males who voted 200 158

The red circle indicates the autograph of the 'fixer' of this DoR.

Byanamira C.O.U. (#6)

Byanamira C.O.U. has 812 reg. voters. The copy that @nup ug has shows 1 FDC vote, 9 Kyagulanyi votes, 801 (stuffed) Museveni votes and 39 invalid votes. Total:850. The Uganda EC reduced the 39 invalid votes to 1 on their own DoR copy to hide the fraud.

FORM DR

UGANDA PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 2021

DECLARATION OF RESULTS
(Presidential Elections Act, No.16, 2005, as amended, Section 51)

19144

District: KIRUHURA Code: 065

Constituency: KASHONGI COUNTY Code: 260

Sub County/Town/Municipal Division: KASHONGI Code: 002

Parish/Ward: BYANAMIRA Code: 001

Polling Station: BYANAMIRA C.O.U Code: 05

| Name of Candidates Contesting | Political Party / Independent | Number of valid votes polled per candidate | |
|---|-------------------------------|--|----------------------|
| | | In Figures | In Words |
| AMURIAT OBOI PATRICK | FDC | 001 | One |
| KABULETA KIIZA JOSEPH | INDEPENDENT | | |
| KALEMBE NANCY LINDA | INDEPENDENT | | |
| KATUMBA JOHN | INDEPENDENT | | |
| KYAGULANYI SSENTAMU ROBERT | NUP | 009 | Nine |
| MAO NORBERT | DP | | |
| MAYAMBALA WILLY | INDEPENDENT | | |
| MUGISHA MUNTU GREGG | ANT | | |
| MWESIGYE FRED | INDEPENDENT | | |
| TUMUKUNDE HENRY KAKURUGU | INDEPENDENT | | |
| YOWERI MUSEVENI TIBUHABURWA KAGUTA | NRM | 801 | Eight hundred one |
| Total Number of Valid Votes Cast for Candidates | | 811 | Eight hundred eleven |
| Total Number of Rejected (Invalid) votes | | 39 | Thirty nine |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Counted | | 811 | Eight hundred eleven |
| Total Number of Spoilt Ballot Papers | | 000 | zero |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Issued to Polling Station | | 850 | Eight hundred fifty |
| Total Number of Unused Ballot Papers | | 000 | zero |

Note: The Presiding Officer should ensure that ALL information is duly filled and signed.

Total Number of Females who voted 439

Total Number of Males who voted 373

FORM DR

UGANDA PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 2021

DECLARATION OF RESULTS
(Presidential Elections Act, No.16, 2005, as amended, Section 51)

19144

District: KIRUHURA Code: 065

Constituency: KASHONGI COUNTY Code: 260

Sub County/Town/Municipal Division: KASHONGI Code: 002

Parish/Ward: BYANAMIRA Code: 001

Polling Station: BYANAMIRA C.O.U Code: 05

| Name of Candidates Contesting | Political Party / Independent | Number of valid votes polled per candidate | |
|---|-------------------------------|--|---------------------------|
| | | In Figures | In Words |
| AMURIAT OBOI PATRICK | FDC | 001 | One |
| KABULETA KIIZA JOSEPH | INDEPENDENT | | |
| KALEMBE NANCY LINDA | INDEPENDENT | | |
| KATUMBA JOHN | INDEPENDENT | | |
| KYAGULANYI SSENTAMU ROBERT | NUP | 009 | Nine |
| MAO NORBERT | DP | | |
| MAYAMBALA WILLY | INDEPENDENT | | |
| MUGISHA MUNTU GREGG | ANT | | |
| MWESIGYE FRED | INDEPENDENT | | |
| TUMUKUNDE HENRY KAKURUGU | INDEPENDENT | | |
| YOWERI MUSEVENI TIBUHABURWA KAGUTA | NRM | 801 | Eight hundred one |
| Total Number of Valid Votes Cast for Candidates | | 811 | Eight hundred eleven only |
| Total Number of Rejected (Invalid) votes | | 39 | Thirty nine only |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Counted | | 812 | Eight hundred twelve |
| Total Number of Spoilt Ballot Papers | | 000 | zero |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Issued to Polling Station | | 850 | Eight hundred fifty only |
| Total Number of Unused Ballot Papers | | 000 | zero |

Note: The Presiding Officer should ensure that ALL information is duly filled and signed.

Total Number of Females who voted 437

Total Number of Males who voted 373

Mooya Pri Sch (#7)

THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION **UGANDA PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 2021** **FORM DR**
DECLARATION OF RESULTS
(Presidential Elections Act, No 16, 2005, as amended, Section 51) **19166**

District: **KIRUHURA** Code: **065**
 Constituency: **KASHONGI COUNTY** Code: **260**
 Sub County/Town/Municipal Division: **KITURA** Code: **009**
 Parish/Ward: **MOOYA** Code: **003**
 Polling Station: **MOOYA C.O.U PRI SCH** Code: **02**

| Name of Candidates Contesting | Political Party / Independent | Number of valid votes polled per candidate | |
|---|-------------------------------|--|--------------------------|
| | | In Figures | In Words |
| AMURIAT OBOI PATRICK | FDC | 04 | (FOUR) |
| KADULETA KIZZA JOSEPH | INDEPENDENT | 00 | (ZERO) |
| KALEMBE NANCY LINDA | INDEPENDENT | 00 | (ZERO) |
| KATUMBA JOHN | INDEPENDENT | 03 | (THREE) |
| KYAGULANYI SSENTAMU ROBERT | NUP | 33 | (THIRTY THREE) |
| MAO NORBERT | DP | 00 | (ZERO) |
| MAYAMBALA WILLY | INDEPENDENT | 00 | (ZERO) |
| MUGISHA MUNTU GREGG | ANT | 33 | (THIRTY THREE) |
| MWESIGYE FRED | INDEPENDENT | 00 | (ZERO) |
| TUMUKUNDE HENRY KAKURUGU | INDEPENDENT | 01 | (ONE) |
| YOWERI MUSEVENI TIBUKABURWA KAGUTA | NRM | 350 | (THREE HUNDRED FIFTY) |
| Total Number of Valid Votes Cast for Candidates | | 403 | (FOUR HUNDRED THREE) |
| Total Number of Rejected (Invalid) votes | | 03 | (THREE) |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Counted | | 406 | (FOUR HUNDRED SIX) |
| Total Number of Spoilt Ballot Papers | | 00 | (ZERO) |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Issued to Polling Station | | 650 | (SIX HUNDRED FIFTY) |
| Total Number of Unused Ballot Papers | | 244 | (TWO HUNDRED FORTY FOUR) |

Note: The Presiding Officer should ensure that ALL information is duly filled and signed.

Total Number of Females who voted: **195**
 Total Number of Males who voted: **211**

THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION **UGANDA PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 2021** **FORM DR**
DECLARATION OF RESULTS
(Presidential Elections Act, No 16, 2005, as amended, Section 51) **19166**

District: **KIRUHURA** Code: **065**
 Constituency: **KASHONGI COUNTY** Code: **260**
 Sub County/Town/Municipal Division: **KITURA** Code: **009**
 Parish/Ward: **MOOYA** Code: **003**
 Polling Station: **MOOYA C.O.U PRI SCH** Code: **02**

| Name of Candidates Contesting | Political Party / Independent | Number of valid votes polled per candidate | |
|---|-------------------------------|--|--------------------------|
| | | In Figures | In Words |
| AMURIAT OBOI PATRICK | FDC | 04 | (FOUR) |
| KADULETA KIZZA JOSEPH | INDEPENDENT | 00 | (ZERO) |
| KALEMBE NANCY LINDA | INDEPENDENT | 00 | (ZERO) |
| KATUMBA JOHN | INDEPENDENT | 03 | (THREE) |
| KYAGULANYI SSENTAMU ROBERT | NUP | 33 | (THIRTY THREE) |
| MAO NORBERT | DP | 00 | (ZERO) |
| MAYAMBALA WILLY | INDEPENDENT | 00 | (ZERO) |
| MUGISHA MUNTU GREGG | ANT | 11 | (ELEVEN) |
| MWESIGYE FRED | INDEPENDENT | 00 | (ZERO) |
| TUMUKUNDE HENRY KAKURUGU | INDEPENDENT | 01 | (ONE) |
| YOWERI MUSEVENI TIBUKABURWA KAGUTA | NRM | 350 | (THREE HUNDRED FIFTY) |
| Total Number of Valid Votes Cast for Candidates | | 403 | (FOUR HUNDRED THREE) |
| Total Number of Rejected (Invalid) votes | | 03 | (THREE) |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Counted | | 406 | (FOUR HUNDRED SIX) |
| Total Number of Spoilt Ballot Papers | | 00 | (ZERO) |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Issued to Polling Station | | 650 | (SIX HUNDRED FIFTY) |
| Total Number of Unused Ballot Papers | | 244 | (TWO HUNDRED FORTY FOUR) |

Note: The Presiding Officer should ensure that ALL information is duly filled and signed.

Total Number of Females who voted: **195**
 Total Number of Males who voted: **211**

For both DoRs the votes don't add up.

Akareere Trading Centre (#8)

There are 786 reg voters at Akareere Trading Centre. The DoR given to NUP agent (left) shows 794 votes. The DoR at Electoral Commission (right) shows 10 of the stuffed M7 votes taken away to get turnout below 100%. The right circle indicates the autograph by the 'fixer'

FORM DR

UGANDA PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 2021
DECLARATION OF RESULTS
(Presidential Elections Act, No 16, 2005, as amended, Section 51)

19176

District: **KIRUHURA** Code: **065**
 Constituency: **KASHONGI COUNTY** Code: **260**
 Sub County/Town/Municipal Division: **KITURA** Code: **009**
 Parish/Ward: **KIGANDO** Code: **039**
 Polling Station: **AKAREERE TRADING CENTRE** Code: **01**

| Name of Candidates Contesting | Political Party / Independent | Number of valid votes polled per candidate | |
|---|-------------------------------|--|--------------------------------|
| | | In Figures | In Words |
| AMURIAT OBOI PATRICK | FDC | (11) | Eleven only |
| KABULETA KIIZA JOSEPH | INDEPENDENT | (00) | Zero |
| KALEMBE NANCY LINDA | INDEPENDENT | (00) | Zero |
| KATUMBA JOHN | INDEPENDENT | (03) | Three only |
| KYAGULANYI SSENTAMU ROBERT | NUP | (24) | Twenty four only |
| MAO NORBERT | DP | (01) | One only |
| MAYAMBALA WILLY | INDEPENDENT | (00) | Zero |
| MUGISHA MUNTU GREGG | ANT | (07) | Seven only |
| MWESIGYE FRED | INDEPENDENT | (00) | Zero |
| TUMUKUNDE HENRY KAKURUGU | INDEPENDENT | (01) | One only |
| YOWERI MUSEVENI TIBURABURWA KAGUTA | NRM | (735) | Seven hundred thirty five only |
| Total Number of Valid Votes Cast for Candidates | | (794) | Seven hundred ninety four only |
| Total Number of Rejected (Invalid) votes | | (02) | Two only |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Counted | | (796) | Seven hundred ninety six |
| Total Number of Spoilt Ballot Papers | | (00) | Zero |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Issued to Polling Station | | (800) | Eight hundred |
| Total Number of Unused Ballot Papers | | (06) | Six |

Note: The Presiding Officer should ensure that ALL information is duly filled and signed.

Total Number of Females who voted _____
 Total Number of Males who voted _____

FORM DR

UGANDA PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 2021
DECLARATION OF RESULTS
(Presidential Elections Act, No 16, 2005, as amended, Section 51)

19176

District: **KIRUHURA** Code: **065**
 Constituency: **KASHONGI COUNTY** Code: **260**
 Sub County/Town/Municipal Division: **KITURA** Code: **009**
 Parish/Ward: **KIGANDO** Code: **039**
 Polling Station: **AKAREERE TRADING CENTRE** Code: **01**

| Name of Candidates Contesting | Political Party / Independent | Number of valid votes polled per candidate | |
|---|-------------------------------|--|---------------------------|
| | | In Figures | In Words |
| AMURIAT OBOI PATRICK | FDC | (11) | ELEVEN |
| KABULETA KIIZA JOSEPH | INDEPENDENT | (00) | ZERO |
| KALEMBE NANCY LINDA | INDEPENDENT | (03) | THREE |
| KATUMBA JOHN | INDEPENDENT | (02) | TWO |
| KYAGULANYI SSENTAMU ROBERT | NUP | (034) | THIRTY FOUR |
| MAO NORBERT | DP | (00) | ZERO |
| MAYAMBALA WILLY | INDEPENDENT | (00) | ZERO |
| MUGISHA MUNTU GREGG | ANT | (07) | SEVEN |
| MWESIGYE FRED | INDEPENDENT | (00) | ZERO |
| TUMUKUNDE HENRY KAKURUGU | INDEPENDENT | (01) | ONE |
| YOWERI MUSEVENI TIBURABURWA KAGUTA | NRM | (794) | SEVEN HUNDRED NINETY FOUR |
| Total Number of Valid Votes Cast for Candidates | | (794) | SEVEN HUNDRED NINETY FOUR |
| Total Number of Rejected (Invalid) votes | | (02) | TWO |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Counted | | (796) | SEVEN HUNDRED NINETY SIX |
| Total Number of Spoilt Ballot Papers | | (00) | ZERO |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Issued to Polling Station | | (800) | EIGHT HUNDRED |
| Total Number of Unused Ballot Papers | | (06) | SIX |

Note: The Presiding Officer should ensure that ALL information is duly filled and signed.

Total Number of Females who voted 307 FFI
 Total Number of Males who voted 489

Kyabagyenyi Catholic Pri Sch (#9)

There are 364 reg.voters at Kyabagyenyi Catholic Pri Sch. First they stuffed in 365 M7 votes. The fixer made it right (autograph in red circle).

FORM DR

UGANDA PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 2021

DECLARATION OF RESULTS
[Presidential Elections Act, No.16, 2005, as amended, Section 51]

19118

District: **KIRUHURA** Code: **065**

Constituency: **NYABUSHOZI COUNTY** Code: **142**

Sub County/Town/Municipal Division: **RUSHERE TOWN COUNCIL** Code: **011**

Parish/Ward: **NSHWERENKYE WARD** Code: **006**

Polling Station: **KYABAGYENYI CATHOLIC PRI SCH** Code: **05**

| Name of Candidates Contesting | Political Party / Independent | Number of valid votes polled per candidate | |
|---|-------------------------------|--|--------------------------|
| | | In Figures | In Words |
| AMURIAT OBOI PATRICK | FDC | 00 | Zero |
| KABULETA KIZA JOSEPH | INDEPENDENT | 00 | Zero |
| KALEMBE NANCY LINDA | INDEPENDENT | 00 | Zero |
| KATUMBA JOHN | INDEPENDENT | 00 | Zero |
| KYAGULANYI SSENTAMU ROBERT | NUP | 00 | Zero |
| MAO NORBERT | DP | 00 | Zero |
| MAYAMBALA WILLY | INDEPENDENT | 00 | Zero |
| MUGISHA MURTU GREGG | ANT | 00 | Zero |
| MWESIGYE FRED | INDEPENDENT | 00 | Zero |
| TUMUKUNDE HENRY KAKURUGU | INDEPENDENT | 00 | Zero |
| YOWERI MUSEVENI TIBUHABURWA KAGUTA | HRM | 364 | Three hundred sixty four |
| Total Number of Valid Votes Cast for Candidates | | 364 | Three hundred sixty four |
| Total Number of Rejected (Invalid) votes | | None | — |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Counted | | 364 | Three hundred sixty four |
| Total Number of Spoilt Ballot Papers | | None | — |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Issued to Polling Station | | 400 | Four hundred |
| Total Number of Unused Ballot Papers | | 036 | Thirty six |

Note: The Presiding Officer should ensure that ALL information is duly filled and signed.

Total Number of Females who voted: 205

Total Number of Males who voted: 160

Kyeibuza primary school (#10)



As can be seen from the pictures, the education at Kyeibuza primary school is not in a very good state, and neither is the vote counting. There are 801 registered voters and we know not all of them voted.



Byamugisha Milton @ByamugishaMilt3 · Jan 30

Replying to @HEBobiwine

I was surprised to find out that our polling station **Kyeibuza pri sch** in kiruhura voted 100% with all registered voters voting yet our family of about 5 people didn't vote provided we are registered voters. Again there were invalid votes at the point of counting.



2



2



However, the ballot box was stuffed with 845 Museveni ballots and 4 were considered invalid: 849 total. Both were fixed by the Electoral Commission 'fixer'. (note the signature in red circle)

FORM DR

UGANDA PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 2021
DECLARATION OF RESULTS
[Presidential Elections Act, No.16, 2005, as amended, Section 51]

19016

District: **KIRUHURA** Code: **065**
 Constituency: **NYABUSHOZI COUNTY** Code: **142**
 Sub County/Town/Municipal Division: **KIKATSI** Code: **004**
 Parish/Ward: **EMBARE** Code: **018**
 Polling Station: **KYEIBUZA PRI SCH** Code: **07**

| Name of Candidates Contesting | Political Party / Independent | Number of valid votes polled per candidate | |
|---|-------------------------------|--|--------------------------|
| | | In Figures | In Words |
| AMURIAT OBOI PATRICK | FDC | 00 | Zero |
| KABULETA KIIZA JOSEPH | INDEPENDENT | 00 | Zero |
| KALEMBE NANCY LINDA | INDEPENDENT | 00 | Zero |
| KATUMBA JOHN | INDEPENDENT | 00 | Zero |
| KYAGULANYI SSENTAMU ROBERT | NUP | 00 | Zero |
| MAO NORBERT | DP | 00 | Zero |
| MAYAMBALA WILLY | INDEPENDENT | 00 | Zero |
| MUGISHA MUNTU GREGG | ANT | 00 | Zero |
| MWESIGYE FRED | INDEPENDENT | 00 | Zero |
| TUMUKUNDE HENRY KAKURUGU | INDEPENDENT | 00 | Zero |
| YOWERI MUSEVENI TIBUHABURWA KAGUTA | NRM | 801 | Eight hundred and one |
| Total Number of Valid Votes Cast for Candidates | | 801 | Eight hundred and one |
| Total Number of Rejected (Invalid) votes | | 48 | fourty ZERO |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Counted | | 805 | Eight hundred and five |
| Total Number of Spoilt Ballot Papers | | 00 | Zero |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Issued to Polling Station | | 849 | Eight hundred forty nine |
| Total Number of Unused Ballot Papers | | 00 | Zero |

Note: The Presiding Officer should ensure that ALL information is duly filled and signed.

Total Number of Females who voted: 500 Five hundred votes
 Total Number of Males who voted: 305 Three hundred five votes

Hospital Parking Yard (#11)

Hospital Parking yard was already discussed in the introduction. 293 registered women, 304 registered men. According to the DoR 381 men voted! 77 more than registered!



FORM DR

UGANDA PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 2021

DECLARATION OF RESULTS

[Presidential Elections Act, No. 16, 2005, as amended, Section 51]

19121

District: **KIRUHURA** Code: **065**
Constituency: **NYABUSHOZI COUNTY** Code: **142**
Sub County/Town/Municipal Division: **RUSHERE TOWN COUNCIL** Code: **011**
Parish/Ward: **RUSHERE WARD** Code: **042**
Polling Station: **HOSPITAL PARKING YARD** Code: **03**

| Name of Candidates Contesting | Political Party / Independent | Number of valid votes polled per candidate | |
|---|-------------------------------|--|---------------------------------|
| | | In Figures | In Words |
| AMURIAT OBOI PATRICK | FDC | 00 | zero |
| KABULETA KIIZA JOSEPH | INDEPENDENT | 00 | zero |
| KALEMBE NANCY LINDA | INDEPENDENT | 00 | zero |
| KATUMBA JOHN | INDEPENDENT | 02 | Two votes |
| KYAGULANYI SSENTAMU ROBERT | NUP | 09 | Nine votes |
| MAO NORBERT | DP | 00 | zero |
| MAYAMBALA WILLY | INDEPENDENT | 00 | zero |
| MUGISHA MUNTU GREGG | ANT | 01 | one vote |
| MWESIGYE FRED | INDEPENDENT | 00 | zero |
| TUMUKUNDE HENRY KAKURUGU | INDEPENDENT | 00 | zero |
| YOWERI MUSEVENI TIBUHABURWA KAGUTA | NRM | 579 | Five hundred seventy nine votes |
| Total Number of Valid Votes Cast for Candidates | | 591 | Five hundred ninety one votes |
| Total Number of Rejected (Invalid) votes | | 02 | Two invalid votes |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Counted | | 593 | Five hundred ninety three votes |
| Total Number of Spoilt Ballot Papers | | 00 | None |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Issued to Polling Station | | 600 | Six hundred |
| Total Number of Unused Ballot Papers | | 07 | Seven |

Note: The Presiding Officer should ensure that ALL information is duly filled and signed.

Total Number of Females who voted **212**Total Number of Males who voted **381**

The supervisor of Hospital Zone Parking Yard testified:

2. That on 14th January 2021, I went very early morning to cast my vote for my president Robert Kyagulanyi. That to my surprise voters were told to vote outside the basin on a table in the open while the army officers were witnessing their choice of candidate and in favour of Yoweri Kaguta Museveni.
3. That our Polling agents Mutebi Suleiman of Rushere Play ground Polling Station; Ssetuba Yusuf of Rushere Market Zone; and Nuwandinda Justus of Rushere Primary School Polling Station were arrested and taken to Rushere Police Station only to be released three days after voting.
4. That no one was allowed to vote secretly in the basin because they were threatened they were told to tick Yoweri Kaguta Museveni as their only choice as a president. That I was arrested for having ticked in the basin secretly and told that NUP must not operate in the area

5. That NUP agents were chased away from the polling stations so that they do not witness what was taking place
6. That voters were threatened and they emphasized that they must vote for Yoweri Kaguta
7. That I and other people protested these actions but were threatened to be arrested by the Police.

Kiruhura, Kaaro High School

Kaaro High School is Yoweri Museveni's polling station. Many polling stations may have changed, but not Kaaro High School. In 2016 there were 721 registered voters, and this grew to 759 registered voters in 2021. People here get old, the oldest voter is James Kamanyiro, born 2 July 1914. If he's alive like the voter register is suggesting, he will turn 107 this year. Also Paul Karakuza is over one hundred years old. In 2016 there were 6 voters over 90 years old, and all six are still alive.

M KAMANYIRO JAMES
M KARAKUZA PAUL
M KIJUNJURE ABDUL MAGIDU
M KISEGYESI NATHAN
M BURAKU PERES
F BAMUTANIRE DEBORAH

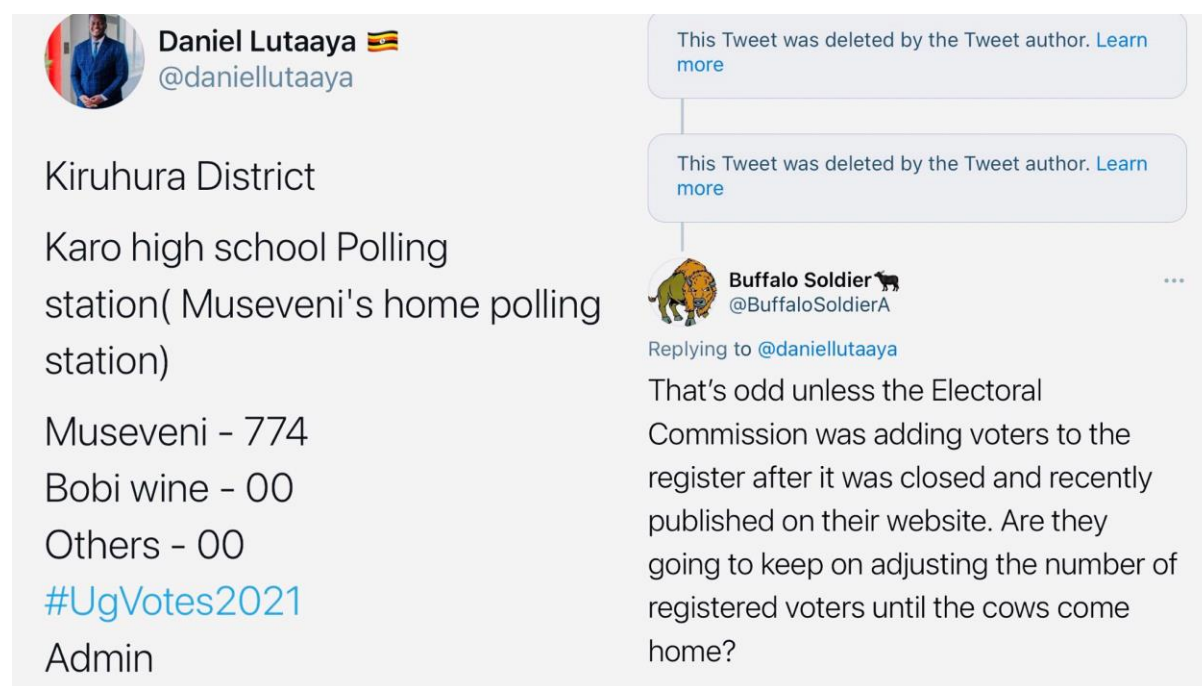
What's even more remarkable than becoming so old, is that all these voters of Kaaro High School turn out to vote. According to the 2016 tally sheet 718 out of 721 registered voters actually voted (99.6% voter turnout). In 2021 there were even more voters and the number of registered voters had also increased up to 759.

We have not been able to find any video of Museveni voting on 14 January 2021, likely because it was raining half of the day. A video of him voting in 2016 at Kaaro can be found here²⁷⁰. A photo by daily monitor shows Museveni wearing a jacket while voting on January 14th.

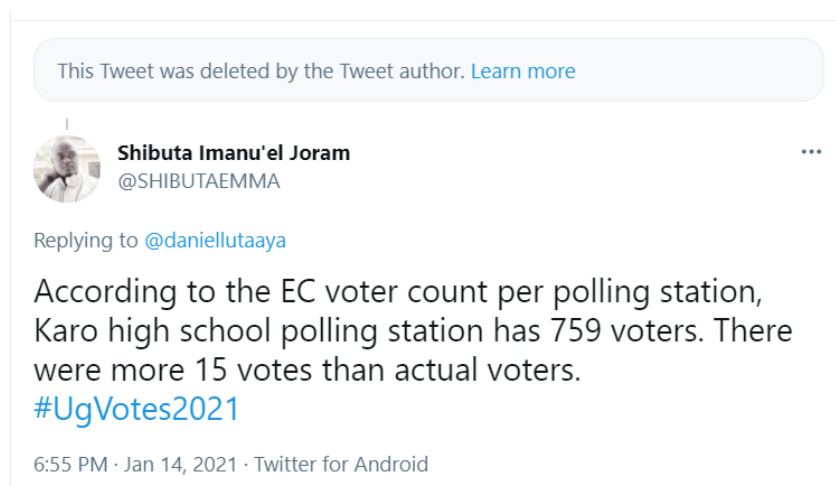


²⁷⁰ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BrANCzOJzug>.

On 14 January 2021 NBS journalist Daniel Lutaaya and connected journalists decided to go to polling stations of particular interest, such as Magerere polling stations where Kyagulanyi would vote and Kaaro High School. Although internet was blocked, NBS journalists had a way of posting the results on Twitter. These results were official results announced at the polling station. Daniel posted from this Twitter account.



Twitter user @buffaloSoldier, a well-known pro-democracy activist on Twitter, immediately reacted that 774 voters is more than the number of registered voters of 759. Many twitter users reacted as this confirmed their assumptions about ballot box stuffing in this area.



According to other journalists on the ground Lutaaya got arrested which was then tweeted by @buffalosoldier. The arrest was then confirmed by Anna Reuss.



Anna Reuß @reussae · 1m

Arrest confirmed.

@daniellutaaya did an admirable job throughout the campaigns and polling day - continuing to report even when physically attacked and in spite of the internet shutdown.



Buffalo Soldier @BuffaloSoldierA · 1h

.@daniellutaaya has been reportedly arrested & taken to an unknown place 🙄

Tweets posted on preliminary election results have been deleted incl one of Museveni's home polling station that reported 774 votes to him (Others-NIL) while #EC has a 759 reg voter count.

#ElectionFraud 🇺🇬



It is for sure that Daniel was of the radar for more than a day. Two days later his NBS colleague Canary Mugume announced he was back.



Canary Mugume  @CanaryMugume · Jan 16

...

.@daniellutaaya is safe and sound. **News** about his arrest or kidnap is **fake news**.



 147

 49

 416



They tried to downplay this incident by playing the 'Fake News' card. An answer why Daniel was gone for such a long time and why he deleted the tweets of 14 January was not given, although he was reminded dozens of times by Twitter users including myself.

Given the various examples of DoRs with more voters than registered voters it's not unlikely at all that 774 Museveni votes were really announced. It is likely that in Kaaro High School, just like in many of the DoRs we have seen in Kiruhura and Isingiro, the number of votes were lowered after the first Declaration of Results to get the Voter Turnout below 100%.



UGANDA PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 2021

FORM DR

DECLARATION OF RESULTS

[Presidential Elections Act, No.16, 2005, as amended, Section 51]

19117

District: **KIRUHURA** Code: **065**
Constituency: **NYABUSHOZI COUNTY** Code: **142**
Sub County/Town/Municipal Division: **RUSHERE TOWN COUNCIL** Code: **011**
Parish/Ward: **NSHWERENKYE WARD** Code: **006**
Polling Station: **KAARO HIGH SCH** Code: **04**

| Name of Candidates Contesting | Political Party / Independent | Number of valid votes polled per candidate | |
|---|-------------------------------|--|----------------------------|
| | | In Figures | In Words |
| AMURIAT OBOI PATRICK | FDC | 00 | ZERO |
| KABULETA KIIZA JOSEPH | INDEPENDENT | 00 | ZERO |
| KALEMBE NANCY LINDA | INDEPENDENT | 00 | ZERO |
| KATUMBA JOHN | INDEPENDENT | 00 | ZERO |
| KYAGULANYI SSENTAMU ROBERT | NUP | 00 | ZERO |
| MAO NORBERT | DP | 00 | ZERO |
| MAYAMBALA WILLY | INDEPENDENT | 00 | ZERO |
| MUGISHA MUNTU GREGG | ANT | 00 | ZERO |
| MWESIGYE FRED | INDEPENDENT | 00 | ZERO |
| TUMUKUNDE HENRY KAKURUGU | INDEPENDENT | 00 | ZERO |
| YOWERI MUSEVENI TIBUHABURWA KAGUTA | NRM | 728 | SEVEN HUNDRED TWENTY EIGHT |
| Total Number of Valid Votes Cast for Candidates | | 728 | SEVEN HUNDRED TWENTY EIGHT |
| Total Number of Rejected (Invalid) votes | | 00 | ZERO |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Counted | | 728 | SEVEN HUNDRED TWENTY EIGHT |
| Total Number of Spoilt Ballot Papers | | 00 | ZERO |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Issued to Polling Station | | 800 | EIGHT HUNDRED |
| Total Number of Unused Ballot Papers | | 72 | SEVENTY TWO |

Note: The Presiding Officer should ensure that ALL information is duly filled and signed.

Total Number of Females who voted **183**

Total Number of Males who voted **545**

The very clean Declaration of Results form for Kaaro High School published on the Electoral Commission website shows 728 Museveni votes, no votes for other candidates and no invalid votes. Such a result is extremely unlikely to be the result of a normal voting process, but the fraud is given away definitely by the 545 supposedly male votes. There are only 527 registered male voters in Kaaro High School.

Also we have to consider that it was a rainy day and Kaaro High School is an open air voting polling station. The process of verifying a voter takes about 45 seconds. In an hour 75 voters can be processed. Zero invalid votes and zero spoilt votes is unlikely.

Conclusion

The issues occurring at Kaaro High School show that fraud is not incidental, but systemic. In the polling station of the president himself ballot box stuffing took place, both in 2016 and 2021.

If the error (announcing 774 Museveni votes) was incidental and the result of an honest and transparent election process, then arresting Daniel Lutaaya and having him delete his tweets would not have been necessary. Rather, it could have been explained where the number of 774 came from.

If this error was the result of a process of rigging then it makes perfectly sense that this dangerous announcement for the Museveni government had to be met with urgent actions such as arresting Daniel. Making him disappear permanently would have drawn too much attention to the case. Intimidating him and NBS until they were willing to announce that nothing had happened was the best damage-control that the government could do.

Obviously the president knows what is happening in his own area, at his own polling station. Although he may not have given specific order for the ballot box stuffing here on January 14th, or the arrest of Daniel Lutaaya, he is aware of it and approves of it.

NRM reactions

We found in the Observer the following NRM reaction:

<https://observer.ug/news/headlines/68280-statistical-impossibilities-museveni-scored-100-at-348-polling-stations>

But several NRM leaders in the districts of Kazo and Kiruhura dismissed “rigging” allegations as baseless. The Kazo NRM chairperson, Wilson Nkaija for instance argued that no over one has ever sued “people of Kiruhura for voting Museveni massively.” He argued that elections in the district as always free and fair.

Wilson Kajwengye, the Nyabushozi MP elect said all election petitions challenging Museveni’s win have been defeated.

“Nyabushozi people feel so proud that president Museveni who has performed above everybody’s expectations comes from Nyabushozi, and they always go out and vote for him,” Kajwengye said.

Other NRM supporters argued that election observers usually traverse Kiruhura on voting day, witnessing how people vote peacefully. They argue that no one has ever produced a report saying elections in Kiruhura are rigged.

Rigging in Luuka

Luuka was won by Robert Kyagulanyi with 52.16% of the votes, versus 45.16% for Museveni, according to the Electoral Commission. The visit by Kyagulanyi to Luuka on 20 November 2020 was the start of the most violent episode of election history that Uganda has known. Although the visit to Luuka had been announced and was accepted by the local government, violence was unleashed against the Bobi Wine campaign and his supporters.

Kyagulanyi was arrested in Luuka as described in the Daily Monitor²⁸⁰. In subsequent protests at least 54 (government announcement) people were killed, although it's expected that more than a 100 died.



Esther Mbayo, minister for the Presidency was accused of being behind the arrest, although she denies. Police accused Kyagulanyi of not observing SOPs and having more than 200 supporters. Kyagulanyi fans were infuriated about the double standards that are applied since two days earlier Bebe Cool had featured in an NRM campaign in Kitgum where SOPs were clearly not respected (photo below).

²⁸⁰ <https://www.monitor.co.ug/uganda/news/national/bobi-wine-arrested-in-luuka-3202494>



NRM supporters led by musician Bebe Cool

Not only did they arrest Kyagulanyi, 4 people were arrested and charged of Incitement to Violence and in police custody from 18 November until 20 November.

Lambala Primary School

NUP official Emmanuel Mbalasa has stated in his sworn affidavit that on January 14th, Esther Mbayo chased away agents and supporters. All those who were around were ordered to vote for Museveni. His affidavit states “At Rambara Primary School polling station, while co-ordinating activities of the first respondent (President Museveni), deployed 20 UPDF officers who chased away the agents of the first petitioner and ordered everyone to vote for first respondent (Museveni)”

“Throughout my tenure as the supervisor of the petitioner’s activities and after the election, I, several agents and supporters in Luuka district have faced a lot of intimidation, harassment and torture by the Police and military for supporting the petitioner (Kyagulanyi)”

Mbalasa also commented on the arrest of Kyagulanyi on 18 November in Luuka. “The scheduled campaign meeting was violently dispersed by the Police and military firing live bullets, rubber bullets and teargas, subsequently preventing the petitioner from addressing the meeting”. He states this caused fear and intimidation among the people and affected the voting process.



In the daily monitor we read

In her affidavit, Ms Mbayo denies ever having deployed the army in her constituency at Lambala Primary School Polling Station to chase away agents of Bobi Wine as claimed. She also denies that her polling station is called Rwabara as alleged in the affidavit of Kyagulanyi's witness, Mr Emmanuel Mbalasa. She says instead, her polling station is known as Lambala. She denies engaging the army to force the electorate to vote President Museveni. The minister also denies coordinating the election activities for President Museveni in her constituency, saying she was instead coordinating her own agents since Mr Museveni had his own.

It's interesting Ms Mbayo has to revert to semantics. Many Ugandans pronounce the r & l in the same way, so Rwabara (a non-existing polling station) is clearly meant to be Lambala.

An audio recording that we have contradicts Ms Mbayo statement that her soldiers were not involved. It describes the attempts of a small group of soldiers trying to vote without being on the register.

[English] They called me, so i had to call my coordinators. They reached there even before me, then I reached. When the situation had cooled down, so we managed to stop them to vote.

[Lusoga] They drove off and went. The people refused them to vote.

[English] That's what happened. They were cooperative.

[Lusoga] because we told them, when they want to vote when they are not registered here. Because you are in uniform I will also tell the people around to vote even if they are not in the register and it becomes a fair game. Because if they vote if they [only] have national ID, then we also tell the people here to vote.

I think their commander looked at it. The soldiers were few and the people were many so they knew it would cause problems. [if they would start voting] (..) Mbayo was not at the site then by that time. She just sent them.



Violence

During the visit of Kyagulanyi to Luuka, supporters and bystanders were met with enormous amounts of violence, as the photos below show:



Left: Man with eye plucked out. Right: Young lady that was tortured.

I got hurt on the day of Wednesday, the day Bobi Wine went to the field to tell us about his thoughts because we are his supporters who need change because we studied but we don't have jobs. So I got injured by the soldiers who were shooting and teargassing in to the people who didn't cause any problems to them. They started beating us intentionally so I request for help.



Left: 14-year old girl brutalized Right (2x): Police fired a teargas canister at him.

An elderly widow of 85 years old was beaten up by army and Police for supporting NUP and having Kyagulanyi poster in her neck ring. Her thigh was damaged. The video below²⁸¹ shows how much pain she has.

²⁸¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zd8ufRr8d9Q>



My name is Katirini Babirye whom they beat in Luuka. I'm requesting for help through my area chairman. It's me the supporter of "ngobi" (the name they gave Bobi Wine in Luuka) They hurt me, they stole my things and my phone and my money, shoes.

They stole my poster of Bobi Wine that I had in my neck, they plugged it out of my neck. The president picture was laminated. The police took it. They beat my hip and broke it. Right now I have no medication. (showing the leg) I pray for Kyagulanyi to lead us. I want him to rule us, because the current president has nothing good for us. They lied to us that they will give us elderly support. We've never seen that. The government lied to us there would be widow support and they say they work for us, but we see nothing. I love Kyagulanyi very much, i would be looking at my postcard every day of my president, but the police stole it. I pray for "ngobi" every day and will see how he will lead us.

Most NUP coordinators in Luuka were still on the run per May 2021.

Rigging in Mbale

Already during the campaign, Mbale looked like a war zone. In his affidavit (items 13-15) at the end of this report (page 184), Saasi Marvin describes how Kyagulanyi tried to have a campaign event in Mbale City Stadium, but this was prevented by enormous violence by security forces.

On election day many agents were chased away from the polling stations

4. **THAT** during the process of getting agents the army and the police used to intimidate every agent that we recruited to be our polling agents.

5. **THAT** many supporters of NUP volunteered to act as polling agents however on all polling stations the agents were chased away and other threatened to lose their lives.

6. **THAT** my brothers were among the agents that were chased away from their respective station but they insisted and amidst all threats they managed to stay until voting was closed.

Ballot-box stuffing was widespread and EC officials worked at the orders of Army and Police for the benefit of Museveni.

7. **THAT** on the 14th Jan 2021 while still supervising election I received a call at around 8pm I was called by a one Brilliant saying that some

NRM members and the Mbale RDC were ticking ballots at Regional Block 14, Mbale.

8. **THAT** I rushed there but the military and the police did not allow to access the building but only to see the police moving out of the building with ballot boxes full as if there was a polling station in the regional block 14.

9. **THAT** the elections were conducted under of partiality with the commission officials working on the orders of the Army and Police but all in favor of the 1st respondent.

Fairway Pri School

When we read the news that a Polling Official had been arrested in Mbale we were surprised. EC officials, police and military normally cooperate in the rigging as stated in the affidavit above, so what went wrong?



It was only weeks later that we discovered that a television team from NBS came by unexpectedly. They encountered DoR forms that had already been signed while voting was still ongoing. When the authorities understood that such electoral offenses being caught on camera could cause problems, they activated a damage protection plan. An Electoral Commission representative went to the polling station and gave the Presiding Officer a lesson while the cameras were running (left photo).



To make the theatre show complete, the presiding officer and FDC agent involved were arrested and taken away on a police truck (right photo). The video is available here²⁹⁰, the Mbale report starts at 1:30.

We checked 244 DoRs for Mbale City, and all but some 5 were signed by the National Unity Platform agent. Given the NTV report, it is likely that most DR forms in Mbale were pre-signed or signed by someone else.

For example, at Bukhanakwa Pri School we see the same autograph for 2 NUP agents which is only possible if one of them is false.

| | | | |
|----------------------------|----|----------------------|-------|
| KYAGULANYI SSENTAMU ROBERT | 1. | KUPUNAHU LODES MORDO | Ameyi |
| | 2. | WAKOHO JACOB | Ameyi |
| | 1. | | |

Makosi T/C

Ballot box stuffing was widespread in Mbale, and there even was 1 polling station with a 100% turnout.

| UGANDA PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 2021 | | | |
|---|-----------|-------|--|
| DECLARATION OF RESULTS | | | |
| [Presidential Elections Act, No 16, 2005, as amended, Section 51] | | | |
| District: MBALE CITY | Code: 142 | 34876 | |
| Constituency: NORTHERN DIVISION | Code: 302 | | |
| Sub County/Town/Municipal Division: NORTHERN DIVISION | Code: 001 | | |
| Parish/Ward: NANYUNZA | Code: 042 | | |
| Polling Station: MAKOSI T/C | Code: 01 | | |

| Name of Candidates Contesting | Political Party / Independent | Number of valid votes polled per candidate | |
|---|-------------------------------|--|-------------------------|
| | | In Figures | In Words |
| AMURIAT OBOI PATRICK | FDC | 13 | THIRTEEN |
| KABULETA KIIZA JOSEPH | INDEPENDENT | 01 | ONE |
| KALEMBE NANCY LINDA | INDEPENDENT | 01 | ONE |
| KATUMBA JOHN | INDEPENDENT | 00 | ZERO |
| KYAGULANYI SSENTAMU ROBERT | NUP | 294 | TWO HUNDRED NINETY FOUR |
| MAO NORBERT | DP | 01 | ONE |
| MAYAMBALA WILLY | INDEPENDENT | 00 | ZERO |
| MUGISHA MUNTU GREGG | ANT | 00 | ZERO |
| MWESIGYE FRED | INDEPENDENT | 01 | ONE |
| TUMUKUNDE HENRY KAKURUGU | INDEPENDENT | 01 | ONE |
| YOWERI MUSEVENI TIBUHABURWA KAGUTA | NRM | 310 | THREE HUNDRED TEN |
| Total Number of Valid Votes Cast for Candidates | | 622 | SIX HUNDRED TWENTY TWO |
| Total Number of Rejected (Invalid) votes | | 00 | ZERO |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Counted | | 622 | SIX HUNDRED TWENTY TWO |
| Total Number of Spoilt Ballot Papers | | 00 | ZERO |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Issued to Polling Station | | 650 | SIX HUNDRED FIFTY |
| Total Number of Unused Ballot Papers | | 28 | TWENTY EIGHT |

Note: The Presiding Officer should ensure that ALL information is duly filled and signed.

Total Number of Females who voted: 291

Total Number of Males who voted: 331

| Candidates Contesting | No. | Names of Candidate's Agents present | Agent's Signature |
|------------------------------------|-----|-------------------------------------|-------------------|
| AMURIAT OBOI PATRICK | 1. | WACHI ISMAIL | |
| KABULETA KIIZA JOSEPH | 1. | | |
| KALEMBE NANCY LINDA | 1. | | |
| KATUMBA JOHN | 1. | | |
| KYAGULANYI SSENTAMU ROBERT | 1. | NANJALA JALILI | |
| MAO NORBERT | 1. | | |
| MAYAMBALA WILLY | 1. | | |
| MUGISHA MUNTU GREGG | 1. | | |
| MWESIGYE FRED | 1. | | |
| TUMUKUNDE HENRY KAKURUGU | 1. | | |
| YOWERI MUSEVENI TIBUHABURWA KAGUTA | 1. | NAMBAZWA PATRICK | |
| | 2. | GASABALA ASHAI | |

(Where any agent refuses to sign he / she should record reasons in the space provided below)

(Where any agent refuses or fails to record the reasons for his / her refusal to sign, The Presiding Officer must record the facts of the refusal or failure).

I, the undersigned, certify that the above information is true and correct.

Presiding Officer:

Names: KIZABALA UMALI Signature: [Signature]

Place: MAKOSI T/C Date: 14-01-2021 Time: 09:20AM

In the tally center people did object as is shown in this video²⁹¹: "You cannot tell me that out of 623 people, 621 voted"

²⁹⁰ <https://www.dropbox.com/s/eoeepymnj8k8xt3/MbalePreSignedBallots.mp4?dl=0>

²⁹¹ <https://www.dropbox.com/s/8er5gmvrna48dm8/MbaleTally.mp4?dl=0>



Nkoma Ward

On WhisperEye we read: Mbale Police are hunting for Israel Teru, the presiding officer at Nkoma central polling station in Nkoma ward in Northern city division in Mbale city for alleged electoral malpractice.

He is said to have connived with three suspects, who are already in Police custody to stuff ballots during the residual elections for Northern City West Division Councillor's seat held on Monday.

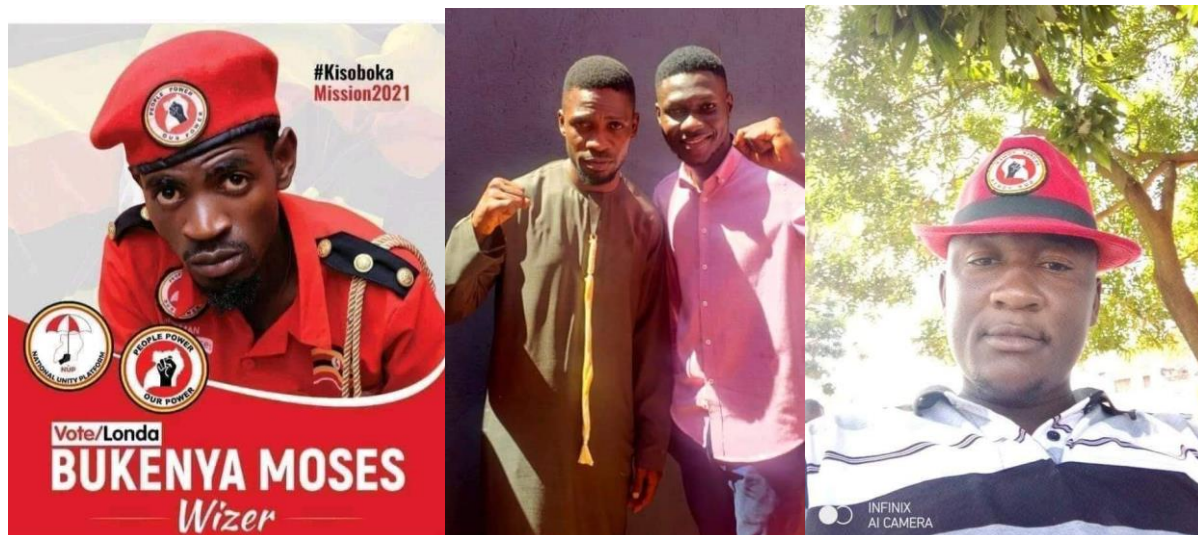
Rogers Taitika, the Elgon Region police spokesperson identifies two of those in custody as Marry Nandudu and Ashimu Mwanika. He says the suspects were found with 650 pre-ticked ballot papers.

Charles Obero, the Mbale City Election Registrar, says police is investigating the anomalies that marred the residual election.

This morning, Obero declared the National Unity Platform –NUP candidate, Abdallah Magambo, the winner of the Northern City division councillor's seat with 5,915.
<https://whispereye.co.ug/2021/02/09/presiding-officer-on-the-run-for-ballot-stuffing-three-others-in-custody/>

Abductions & arrests

In the last week of April and first week of May multiple NUP members in Mbale got abducted.



Kato Umar(right), Asibatu, Waiswa & Musakulu from Bugembe village.

Abductions & arrests are not just limited to NUP members. In April the story of Nangayi Guyson, candidate for the Alliance for National Transformation was published in African Arguments²⁹².

When he wanted to present evidence of electoral malpractice he was arrested for some minor civil offense and sent to prison. He was then transferred to Kitalya where he met Nubian Li, who told him:

We are here suffering because we rejected the many offers of money which Museveni's regime made to available to us. And if you have joined us here, just be strong brother because is not easy here. We're the people who are used to exercising and reading books but, to read books political in nature is a terrible offense.

²⁹² <https://africanarguments.org/2021/04/i-was-abducted-by-musevenis-regime-this-is-what-i-saw/>

Rigging in Mbarara

The NUP vice-president Jolie Mugisha testifies in the affidavit about the widespread ballot-box stuffing and bribery that took place in Mbarara.

- 8 That I passed by the Kamukuzi polling station and Mbarara H.School play ground as sample and the voting exercise was going on smoothly.
- 9 That thereafter I moved to Kashari and passed by Bwizibwera polling centre and continued to Rubind.
- 10 That at Rubindi I found voters in a line and somebody I could not identify was issuing out money, shs 1000 to each voter.
- 11 That I had taken letters of our polling agents in Kashari because the supervisor, one Lawrence Kato had been arrested by the military the previous evening and copies of of all our agent our agents letters and copier of voter register for Kashari had been confiscated.
- 12 That thereafter I passed by Kagongi Polling centre and found soldiers voting directly after arresting all our agents.
- 13 That the soldier were ticking ballot papers for candidate Museveni and giving them some voters to hand in at gun point.
- 14 That on several polling centres there was no voting as the voters would be told that the ballot papers for the presidential candidates had been finished (Video recording available as annextures .A).
- 15 That while talking to my people the soldier chased me away and followed me up in my car up to Mbarara where I went straight to Mbarara Police Station from where I was referred to Bwizibwera Police Station.
- 16 That I was advised to report to the electoral Commission and I called and I called the Returning officer for Kashari and told her all that I had witnessed about the irregularities in voting.

In the press we read similar stories.

“In Mbarara, at Amabaare Central Church of Uganda Polling Station in Nyabisirira parish in Kashare Sub-county in Kashari Constituency, some local council officials who were serving as candidate Yoweri Museveni’s agents reportedly announced that voters would be given pre-ticked ballots for president [...] The commanding officer, a tall man dressed in Khaki uniform, reportedly asked people who were lining up that whoever was not willing to vote President Museveni should get out of the queue. The voter further

alleged that the police officer ordered pre-ticking of all ballot papers for president and stayed at the presiding officer's desk as pre-ticked ballots in favour of candidate Museveni were being issued to voters."

"At another polling station called Mutoozo in the neighbouring parish voters were reportedly not given ballots for president and the ballot box for president was not there. They were reportedly given only ballots for Members of Parliament."

See <https://www.monitor.co.ug/uganda/special-reports/elections/ballot-box-stolen-voters-protest--3257914>.

Agempiri Trading Centre

There are only 170 registered voters, so 184 votes for Museveni would be too much. The DoR clearly show that number has been adjusted to 154 M7 votes (99.4% turnout).

| | |
|--|------------------|
| District: MBARARA | Code: 027 |
| Constituency: KASHARI NORTH COUNTY | Code: 140 |
| Sub County/Town/Municipal Division: KASHARE | Code: 005 |
| Parish/Ward: NCHUNE | Code: 010 |
| Polling Station: AGEMPIRI TRADING CENTRE | Code: 02 |

| Name of Candidates Contesting | Political Party / Independent | Number of valid votes polled per candidate | |
|---|-------------------------------|--|--|
| | | In Figures | In Words |
| AMURIAT OBOI PATRICK | FDC | =002= | TWO |
| KABULETA KIIZA JOSEPH | INDEPENDENT | — | — |
| KALEMBE NANCY LINDA | INDEPENDENT | — | — |
| KATUMBA JOHN | INDEPENDENT | =001= | ONE |
| KYAGULANYI SSENTAMU ROBERT | NUP | =006= | SIX |
| MAO NORBERT | DP | — | — |
| MAYAMBALA WILLY | INDEPENDENT | — | — |
| MUGISHA MUNTU GREGG | ANT | =001= | ONE |
| MWESIGYE FRED | INDEPENDENT | =001= | ONE |
| TUMUKUNDE HENRY KAKURUGU | INDEPENDENT | — | — |
| YOWERI MUSEVENI TIBUHABURWA KAGUTA | NRM | 154 =154= | ONE HUNDRED FIFTY FOUR |
| Total Number of Valid Votes Cast for Candidates | | =165= | ONE HUNDRED SIXTY FIVE |
| Total Number of Rejected (Invalid) votes | | =004= | FOUR |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Counted | | =169= | Sixty nine ONE HUNDRED NINETEEN |
| Total Number of Spoilt Ballot Papers | | =001= | ONE |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Issued to Polling Station | | =350= =350= | Three hundred fifty THREE HUNDRED FIFTY |
| Total Number of Unused Ballot Papers | | =180= =000= | ZERO one hundred eighty |

Note: The Presiding Officer should ensure that ALL information is duly filled and signed.


Total Number of Females who voted: **093 62**

Total Number of Males who voted: **107**

Rubindi Health Centre

In Rubindi health centre III, the ballot box stuffing went wrong. There are only 353 registered voters, to make sure they wouldn't get caught, the presiding officer reduced the number of M7 votes from 378 to 178.

FORM DR



UGANDA PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 2021

DECLARATION OF RESULTS

[Presidential Elections Act, No. 16, 2005, as amended, Section 51]

07447

District: **MBARARA** Code: **027**

Constituency: **KASHARI NORTH COUNTY** Code: **140**

Sub County/Town/Municipal Division: **RUBINDI-RUHUMBA TOWN COUNCIL** Code: **012**

Parish/Ward: **RUBINDI CENTRAL WARD** Code: **002**

Polling Station: **RUBINDI HEALTH CENTRE III** Code: **03**

| Name of Candidates Contesting | Political Party / Independent | Number of valid votes polled per candidate | |
|---|-------------------------------|--|---------------------------|
| | | In Figures | In Words |
| AMURIAT OBOI PATRICK | FDC | =21= | TWENTY ONE |
| KABULETA KIIZA JOSEPH | INDEPENDENT | =00= | ZERO |
| KALEMBE NANCY LINDA | INDEPENDENT | =00= | ZERO |
| KATUMBA JOHN | INDEPENDENT | =00= | ZERO |
| KYAGULANYI SSENTAMU ROBERT | NUP | =51= | FIFTY ONE |
| MAO NORBERT | DP | =11= | ELEVEN |
| MAYAMBALA WILLY | INDEPENDENT | =00= | ZERO |
| MUGISHA MUNTU GREGG | ANT | =06= | SIX |
| MWESIGYE FRED | INDEPENDENT | =00= | ZERO |
| TUMUKUNDE HENRY KAKURUGU | INDEPENDENT | =00= | ZERO |
| YOWERI MUSEVENI TIBUHABURWA KAGUTA | NRM | =378= | ONE HUNDRED SEVENTY EIGHT |
| Total Number of Valid Votes Cast for Candidates | | =267= | TWO HUNDRED SIXTY SEVEN |
| Total Number of Rejected (Invalid) votes | | =00= | ZERO |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Counted | | =267= | TWO HUNDRED SIXTY SEVEN |
| Total Number of Spoilt Ballot Papers | | =00= | ZERO |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Issued to Polling Station | | =500= | FIVE HUNDRED |
| Total Number of Unused Ballot Papers | | =33= | THIRTY THREE |

Note: The Presiding Officer should ensure that ALL information is duly filled and signed.

Total Number of Females who voted = 280 =

Total Number of Males who voted = 147 =

Nyaminyobwa Pri Sch

What did exactly happen at Mbarara, Nyaminyobwa Pri Sch? Little hint: there are only 655 registered voters. Why did Kyagulanyi go from 40 -> 4 -> 20?

| | |
|--|-----------------|
| District: MBARARA | Code 027 |
| Constituency: KASHARI NORTH COUNTY | Code 140 |
| Sub County/Town/Municipal Division: KAGONGI | Code 003 |
| Parish/Ward: BWENGURE | Code 019 |
| Polling Station: NYAMINYOBWA PRI SCH | Code 04 |

| Name of Candidates Contesting | Political Party / Independent | Number of valid votes polled per candidate | |
|---|-------------------------------|--|---------------------------|
| | | In Figures | In Words |
| AMURIAT OBOI PATRICK | FDC | =000= | THREE ZERO |
| KABULETA KIIZA JOSEPH | INDEPENDENT | =000= | ZERO |
| KALEMBE NANCY LINDA | INDEPENDENT | =000= | ONE ZERO |
| KATUMBA JOHN | INDEPENDENT | =003= | THREE |
| KYAGULANYI SSENTAMU ROBERT | NUP | =020= | FORTY FOUR TWENTY |
| MAO NORBERT | DP | =000= | ZERO |
| MAYAMBALA WILLY | INDEPENDENT | =000= | ZERO |
| MUGISHA MUNTU GREGG | ANT | =004= | FOUR |
| MWESIGYE FRED | INDEPENDENT | =023= | TWENTY THREE |
| TUMUKUNDE HENRY KAKURUGU | INDEPENDENT | =000= | ZERO |
| YOWERI MUSEVENI TIBUHABURWA KAGUTA | NRM | =583= | FIVE HUNDRED EIGHTY THREE |
| Total Number of Valid Votes Cast for Candidates | | =633= | SIX HUNDRED THIRTY THREE |
| Total Number of Rejected (Invalid) votes | | =005= | FIVE |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Counted | | =630= | SIX HUNDRED THIRTY |
| Total Number of Spoilt Ballot Papers | | =000= | ZERO |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Issued to Polling Station | | =900= | NINE HUNDRED |
| Total Number of Unused Ballot Papers | | =013= | THIRTEEN |


Note: The Presiding Officer should ensure that **ALL** information is duly filled and signed.

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------|-------|
| Total Number of Females who voted | =245= | =320= |
| Total Number of Males who voted | =324= | =313= |

Uganda

Something doesn't add up

In an embarrassing blunder, Uganda's electoral commission has released a 'genuine' results form that appears to *prove* electoral fraud



UGANDA PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 2021

DECLARATION OF RESULTS

(Provisional Results As At 16.10.2021, as provided Section 312)

0001

District: **MURRI**

Constituency: **FOOTER COUNTY**

Sub Constituency/Township/District: **MURRI**

Party/Vote: **UNITED**

Polling Station: **00000**

| Name of Candidates Contesting | Political Party / Independent | Number of valid votes polled per candidate 30 Figures In Words | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|--|-------|
| ERISSENT DINA PATRICK | FDC | 06 | Six |
| KAROLITA ROSA JOSEPH | INDEPENDENT | 06 | 2,000 |
| KALIMBE NANCY LYNN | INDEPENDENT | 01 | 1 |
| KATIMBA JOSE | INDEPENDENT | 01 | 1 |
| REGULATORY SECTIONS BOARD | INDEPENDENT | 05 | 5 |
| JOJO MURRIET | INDEPENDENT | 01 | 2,000 |
| OUTSIDER WAT | INDEPENDENT | 01 | 2,000 |
| MURRIKA MURRIKA | FDC | 04 | Four |
| INDEPENDENT FREE | INDEPENDENT | 04 | Four |
| TRIMBINGHI HARRY KAGANDA | INDEPENDENT | 02 | Two |
| YVESSE MURRIKA TRIMBINGHI KAGANDA | FDC | 01 | One |

Total Number of Valid Votes Cast for Candidates: **350**

Total Number of Rejected (Invalid) votes: **THREE HUNDRED**

Total Number of Ballot Papers Counted: **THIRTY THREE**

Total Number of Spoiled Ballot Papers: **THIRTY THREE**

Total Number of Ballot Papers Issued to Polling Station: **650**

Total Number of Unused Ballot Papers: **THIRTY THREE**

Note: The Presiding Officer should ensure that ALL information is duly filled and signed.

Total Number of Females who voted: **153**

Total Number of Males who voted: **197**

Inexplicable inconsistency

Look at the other single digit votes. They are written out as '06', '07', etc. But it's different for Kyagulanyi Ssentamu Robert, aka Bobi Wine.

Suspicious sums

If you add up all the votes on this form, the total votes cast come to just 224. It is only if Bobi Wine received 84 votes, rather than 8, that you get a total of 300.

On Monday, the Uganda Electoral Commission told citizens to beware of doctored voting results forms that are apparently floating around social media. To help distinguish between real and fake, it released an example of a “genuine” form from the January general election, for Anyang Polling Station in Nebbi District.

But the numbers on the genuine form appear to show that votes were stolen from

opposition candidate Bobi Wine, who claims the election was rigged in favour of incumbent President Yoweri Museveni.

Nic Cheeseman agrees. He is the author of *How To Rig An Election*, and first spotted the inconsistencies.

"The doctored form is evidence that the election results are flawed," Cheeseman told *The Continent*. "The figures were deliberately manipulated to make it look like Bobi Wine got less votes than he did."

The electoral commission has promised to investigate. ■

The press asked the Electoral Commission for an explanation.

Hours later, the EC spokesperson, Mr Paul Bukonya, admitted that there was an error in their form they posted and promised to follow their internal processes to establish how it came about.

“The course of action is to look at it and question it and go backwards and see what happened. Someone posted a fake form. The form we issued to the presidential candidates has eight but the total has an error. We have to find out if they were panicking, rushing or just an error or it was deliberate,” Mr Bukenya said.

We have asked the Electoral Commission the following questions.

1. What have been the results of this internal investigation that mr Bukenya referred to?
2. Are you still of the opinion that the Nebbi Anyang DoR form as posted by National Unity Platform is 'Fake'?
3. Isn't it in the interest of transparency of the electoral process to publish the investigations as soon as possible?
4. Can you confirm your Facebook post as shown above has been removed? What was the reason for doing so?
5. The Nebbi Anyang polling station result is an example of a result that strongly deviates from surrounding polling stations, more than can be expected with normal polling patterns. Shouldn't all these polling stations be investigated? For example the polling stations that were won by Katumba and Kyagulanyi got 0 votes, likely because his votes were moved over to Katumba.

Although we sent emails and reminders on 6 April, 2 May & 17 June, our questions were never answered by the Electoral Commission.

We spoke with the agents A1 and A2 in Anyang polling station. For their safety we can't mention their names, but the conversation has been recorded and is on file with us.

N: I was looking at the results for your PS, you are [...] you and [...] were agents for NUP

A1: yes

(..)

2.38

N: How many agents where at the PS

A1: about 10

N: 10 agents, ok. On the DoR I see 6. About the voting. How many votes each candidate got?

A1: I can only remember Kyagulanyi, because i was recording for him

N: How many votes did he get?

A1: 84 votes

N: OK 84 votes.

N: I have the DoR that you have provided. But the EC says only 8 votes.

A2: Dr forms is the one that you have been giving to me

N: And the one you signed.

A1: I signed the one that indicates 84 votes, not only 8.

N: Who won the PS?

A1: It was Museveni

N: Yes, I see he had 198 votes could that be correct

A1: yes, that's correct

(N going through other candidates, those are confirmed)

N: Total number of valid votes were 300.

A1: yes, that's correct.

N: At what time did voting stop?

A1: at 4.

N: How long did it take to count the votes?

A1: 2 hours

N: Anything happened during counting process.

A1: nothing, just smooth

N: How many agents during counting?

A1: 10

N: How many assistants did presiding officer have

A1: About 4

N: Then also a constable?

A1: Yes,1

N: Did constable interfere in anyway?

A1: No

N: No violence?

A1: No

N: So M7 won the polling station honestly with 198 votes and 84 votes for Kyagulanyi?

A1: (not very convinced) right

N: Any intimidation?

A1: No

N: Secret voting?

A1: All votes were secret

N: That's good

N: Who did you vote for?

A1: (hesitates)

N: Who? (laughing)

A1: Yes, i did.....

A1: for Robert

N: How many people you know that voted?

A1: I can't tell, it was secret, i can't

N: Yes, You dont have to mention names. Or do people not talk about it?

A1: I know them

N: Even the people among your friend and at same PS, who do they vote for?

A1: Kyagualanyi

N: Even the majority would vote Kyagulanyi?

A1: Yes

N: So how did Museveni win then?

A1: Some people came from far away, but their names appeared in our place

N: So some of the people that voted were actually not from Anyang?

A1: Yeah

N: Are you saying that actually the majority of your people in your village, in Anyang, support Kyagulanyi?

A1: Yes

N: How many have seen that came from other villages, people you don't know about

A1: About 58

N: Normally you have the fingerprint identification, the BVVP. Did that happen?

A1: Yes, that one happened.

A2: Yes it happened, the problem was they don't display time, the figure are different. there's some manipulation somewhere.

You may find that during display the population is 250, but

During voting it goes to 3 hundred something. We were getting confused

N: You are saying there are ghost voters there?

A2: It could be, but they were there in person but we didn't know them.

N: You said 58, that's very precise. Where they people in citizen cloth?

A2: Yes, but they would tally them differently.

(..)

N: Did every person just get 1 ballot paper?

A2: Yes, because the agents tallied.

N: There were many ppl from other places, did you complain about it?

A2: Here you cannot complain, if someone's name appear they have the right to vote. It's not just Anyang, it's so many polling stations. (..)

In some places they would later, they told people that first soldiers voted, then later people

N: Which PS?

A2: In Nebbi Secondary School PS, in Kosj, Nebbi subcounty, also in other subcounties

N: How many PS

A2: I'm sure of 4, they move in a truck, they continue like that. Other PS were not reported.

N: You went to Kampala to make a declaration.

A2: One is Onjeki William, our statements were recorded.

(ending at 18:20)

Later the polling agent clarified about the additional voters from outside of Anyang

A2: You can see the faces, they are different. You can just tell that they are [not from around]. It's a small place, you know. They are not from the village.

N: They are not people that have lived in Anyang. They are really new people?

A2: They have not, They were rotating themselves, they came with vehicle. they knew where to vote from. They were rotated.

At around 60 in Anyang, another 50 in .., another 40 in ..

N: OK, that's clear. They come together?

A2: They are moving in army truck

N: They have different line?

A2: When they arrive they ask the presiding officer to let them vote first. Others vote later.

N: there's the finger print, but there's also the ink on your finger, is that used also?

A2: Yes, they're being used.

N: if they vote multiple times, don't you see on their finger

A2: 150 people may be in the truck, 60 people will vote, the rest will vote in another polling station. They are not doing multiple voting, not all the people in that truck vote.

N: Is it possible these are legitimate voters?

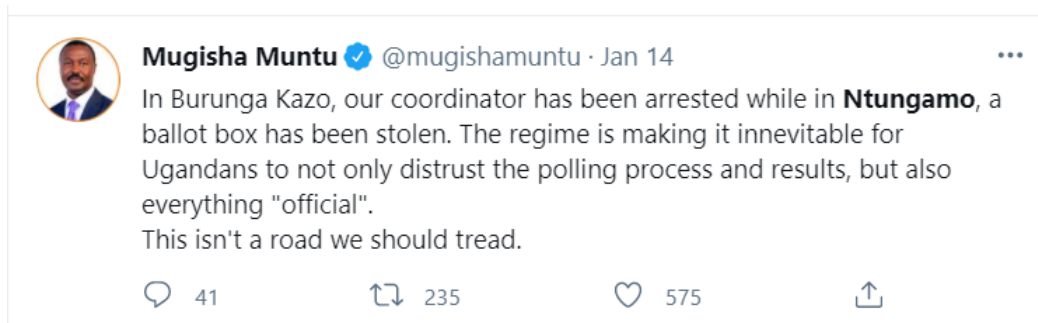
A2: Why should they do be voting on that particular place?

Rigging in Ntungamo

There were incidents of stolen and pre-marked ballots. For example, the Daily Monitor reported on 15 Jan 2021 that ballots were pre-marked at Rushenyi in Ntungamo District and Kashari in Mbarara District. In this report, witnesses state that blank ballots were stolen and voters were given pre-ticked ballots and told to vote for General Museveni:

“In Rushenyi County in Ntungamo District, a box containing ballot papers was stolen in transit to a polling station while in Kashari County in Mbarara District voters were reportedly given pre-ticked ballots for president at a polling station, sparking protests. The stolen box contained voting materials for Kacerere Polling Station in Nyarwanya Parish in Rushenyi constituency.”

See <https://www.monitor.co.ug/uganda/special-reports/elections/ballot-box-stolen-voters-protest--3257914>.



Kataraka Primary School & Kataraka C.O.U.

In Kataraki Parish there are three polling stations, among which Kataraki C.O.U. & Kataraki Pri Sch. In both polling stations the voter turnout is above 99% so it's certain the ballot boxes were stuffed.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|---------------------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|------|-------|--------|
| 043 KATARAKA | 01 KATARAKA C.O.U. | 757 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 20 | 0 | 0 | 19 | 1 | 1 | 706 | 752 | 3 | 755 |
| | | | 0.27% | 0.00% | 0.13% | 0.27% | 2.66% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 2.53% | 0.13% | 0.13% | 93.88% | | 0.40% | 99.34% |
| | 02 KATARAKA PRI SCH | 619 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 24 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 585 | 614 | 3 | 617 |
| | | | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.16% | 3.91% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.16% | 0.49% | 95.28% | | 0.49% | 99.68% |
| | 03 RUSA PRI SCH | 492 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 8 | 1 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 452 | 472 | 10 | 482 |
| | | | 0.21% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.42% | 1.69% | 0.21% | 0.00% | 1.69% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 95.76% | | 2.07% | 97.97% |
| | Parish Total | 1868 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 5 | 62 | 1 | 0 | 27 | 2 | 4 | 1743 | 1838 | 16 | 1854 |
| | | | 0.16% | 0.00% | 0.05% | 0.27% | 2.83% | 0.05% | 0.00% | 1.47% | 0.11% | 0.22% | 94.83% | | 0.86% | 99.25% |

In the morning of 14 January Cyprian woke up to go a protect the votes, but things took a different turn. Cyprian was assigned to be the NUP polling agent at Kataraka Pri Sch.

3. THAT I woke up to vote and guard the vote for my candidate Kyagulanyi Ssentamu Robert but known NRM goons picked me in a white Toyota Premio car and took me to place I did not know.
4. THAT the people who picked me, beat me and took all my money and even clothes only to release me later at 2pm. I was in so much pain and helpless.
5. THAT they condemned me for supporting and working for Kyagulanyi Robert Ssentamu and the National Unity Platform.
6. THAT after being released, I went to a hospital in Mbarara City for treatment, but up to now, about a month later, I still feel the pain and have not yet fully recovered from the injuries sustained on the polling day.
7. THAT what befell me on the polling day was not the first time these know NRM goons had attacked.
8. THAT during the process leading up to the voting day, I was at the receiving end of various beating games played by the known goon sponsored by the NRM party.
9. THAT many of the people to whom we campaigned to vote for candidate Kyagulanyi were bribed with Uganda Shillings 50,000 each by NRM agents urging them to vote candidate Museveni and many of them were too intimidated to turn up and vote.
10. THAT even after the voting day, my home was raided by the known NRM goons who confiscated my NUP apparel and intimidated my family telling them to be careful during the following elections.

Since Cyprian wasn't at Kataraka to protect the votes, a different couple of NUP agents were present: Mugungozi James and Kiyombo Steven. In the neighbouring polling station of Kataraka C.O.U. things didn't go smoothly as well. 39-year old Ahairwe Tushabe declared in his affidavit.

3. THAT on polling day at around 9:00am in the morning, the agent for the National Resistance Movement party threatened me that I would face trouble if I kept on the same polling station doing the work I was assigned to do. He cautioned me that I should "be careful."
4. THAT at around 10.00am, I received a call from a friend of mine that my counterpart, a National Unity Platform party agent at Rusa Polling Station which is within the same locality had been picked up by goons sponsored by the NRM party in a black Toyota Prado.
5. THAT two cars with NRM sponsored goons and the GISO later came to my polling station and forced the presiding officer to hand over the ballot booklets which they ticked from inside the church at my polling station at around 11:00am.
6. THAT after ticking the ballot papers, they returned the same and stuffed it into the ballot boxes.
7. THAT the goons mentioned are known locals in our villages and they had been used by the NRM party throughout the campaign process to intimidate and terrorise locals who did not support the NRM.
8. THAT only one booklet was used by the lined up voters before the said goons came in and did such acts to rig the election.
9. THAT at around 3:00pm, the votes were counted, and all NRM candidates both for presidential and parliamentary elections were declared winners having obtained the highest number of votes on that polling station.
10. THAT during the counting, to my surprise, the total number of votes cast exceeded the number of registered voters on the polling station and the presiding officer fidgeted to balance the votes by subtracting the extra votes from those of opposition candidates. Whereas Kyagulanyi Ssentamu Robert was originally declared to have obtained 37 votes on the polling station, the declaration form only indicated 20 votes for him.
11. THAT I spoke other agents of the NUP party in the neighboring polling stations and they told me the same case of having more votes than registered voters.

Our suspicion that all 3 polling stations of Kataraka where rigged is supported by these affidavits.

Mwerasandu

A widely shared video shows that only NRM agents were allowed, and you were forced to tick Museveni.



<https://www.dropbox.com/s/9wu8d7xfeejysey/NtungamoRuhamaPSStuffing.mp4>

The DoR confirms there are only 22 Kyagulanyi votes in Mwerasandu polling station.



FORM DR

UGANDA PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 2021

DECLARATION OF RESULTS

09365

[Presidential Elections Act, No. 16, 2005, as amended, Section 51]

District: **NTUNGAMO**

Code **034**

Constituency: **RUHAAMA COUNTY**

Code **185**

Sub County/Town/Municipal Division: **RUHAAMA**

Code **004**

Parish/Ward: **RWAMWIRE**

Code **012**

Polling Station: **MWERASANDU**

Code **04**

| Name of Candidates Contesting | Political Party / Independent | Number of valid votes polled per candidate | |
|---|-------------------------------|--|--------------------------|
| | | In Figures | In Words |
| AMURIAT OBOI PATRICK | FDC | 001 | ONE |
| KABULETA KIIZA JOSEPH | INDEPENDENT | 000 | ZERO |
| KALEMBE NANCY LINDA | INDEPENDENT | 000 | ZERO |
| KATUMBA JOHN | INDEPENDENT | 000 | ZERO |
| KYAGULANYI SSENTAMU ROBERT | NUP | 022 | TWENTY TWO |
| MAO NORBERT | DP | 000 | ZERO |
| MAYAMBALA WILLY | INDEPENDENT | 001 | ONE |
| MUGISHA MUNTU GREGG | ANT | 001 | ONE |
| MWESIGYE FRED | INDEPENDENT | 000 | ZERO |
| TUMUKUNDE HENRY KAKURUGU | INDEPENDENT | 000 | ZERO |
| YOWERI MUSEVENI TIBUHABURWA KAGUTA | NRM | 448 | Four hundred Forty Eight |
| Total Number of Valid Votes Cast for Candidates | | 481 | Four hundred eighty one |
| Total Number of Rejected (Invalid) votes | | 008 | Eight |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Counted | | 481 | Four hundred eighty one |
| Total Number of Spoilt Ballot Papers | | 000 | ZERO |
| Total Number of Ballot Papers Issued to Polling Station | | 550 | Five hundred Fifty |
| Total Number of Unused Ballot Papers | | 069 | Sixty nine |

Note: The Presiding Officer should ensure that **ALL** information is duly filled and signed.

Total Number of Females who voted

245 (Two hundred forty five)


Total Number of Males who voted

236 (Two hundred thirty six)

Rigging in Rakai

Microfinance state minister Harunah Kyeyune Kasolo ran a violent campaign, sometimes using his military guards to terrorise opposition supporters, but lost the parliamentary seat to DP's John Paul Mpalanyi Lukwago. (Observer³³⁰)



Bobi Wine  is with **King Umana** and **29 others**.

1h • 

*****ANOTHER ABDUCTION*****

This morning, I recieved a call from our coordinator in Rakai informing me that our supporter and polling agent in the just concluded election, Ssedanzi Paul was abducted by three men, two in plain clothes and one in a military uniform but all of them armed with AK47 guns. He was picked from his home in Kamukalo in Rakai today at 4am in the morning, severely beaten before he was taken away to an unknown destination. The regime is in overdrive, we too should step up our efforts to achieve our freedom.

³³⁰ <https://observer.ug/news/headlines/68206-brutality-on-bobi-cost-us-in-buganda-defeated-ministers>

Kyanika Catholic Church

18. **THAT** at around 12:00pm I received a call from my agent called Bashir and he informed me that the Military police came Lwamagwa sub- county at kyanika catholic church polling station and ticked all ballot papers for presidents in favor of the 1st respondent and the voters being deprived of their voters rights they decided to demonstrate against the act and in the scuffle, boxes were destroyed by supporters and ballots were torn into pieces.
19. **THAT** Bashir further told me that he ran away and went to kibuka primary school polling station and later Lwoyo polling station the same had happened all still the polling materials were destroyed by the voters, there were no Declaration of results Forms as they were all torn.
20. **THAT** I drove and reached Kyanika polling station, I found all materials were destroyed I requested some voters to collect for me the ton ballots and I took a picture of them packed in polythene bags. (hereto attached is a picture showing the ton ballot papers).

The first video³³¹ shows people of Kyanica,Rakai while revolting against election fraud.(Luganda) "In Kyanica people have taken the ballot box because they brought the boxes and stuffed them with ballots. We are tired of Museveni,we can't vote for nothing while you stuff the box."



Left: Military takes off in vehicle with concealed number plate. Right: People of Kyanika celebrating they prevented ballot box stuffing.

³³¹ https://www.dropbox.com/s/vzshwsoczsjg8y/nup_diaspora-1375851131524505600-20210327_174406-vid1.mp4?dl=0

Ballot papers are lying around. In the 2nd video, likely filmed before the first, we see military taking off. ³³²

³³² <https://www.dropbox.com/s/qtrree0w8lelmu3/gTQhy6macUzkbhXwArmyTakingBallots.mp4?dl=0>

Rigging in Ssembabule

A video emerged³⁴⁰ filmed by journalist Kalyango Solomon of Theodore Ssekikubo trying to influence the voting. A team member made the following transcript.

An aspirant Theodore Ssekikubo an NRM candidate is seen trying to fight police with an armed man likely his guard and trying to gain access to a polling station, an act that is not allowed .The crowd is greatly against this with many questions why a candidate would want to gain access to the polling station. Shots are fired and Theodore is seen directing his guard to point a gun at the journalist Kalyango Solomon. "i am unarmed ,shoot me if you want to ,i have a right to be here ,you are a candidate why would you be here " Kalyango said. The rest of the crowd shout and ask him to peacefully wait for his loose in the elections.



The image shows Theodore and his guard trying to intimidate a police officer. The gun of the guard is clearly visible.

³⁴⁰ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QYacdEURqE8>

This violent incident has not prevented Theodore Ssekikubo to make further carrier in politics. A few weeks later he announced his candidacy for Speaker of Parliament.



Daily Monitor³⁴¹ reported that 10 polling stations had more votes than registered voters:

Sembabule has 286 polling stations, but at polling stations such as Kagango A-N in Mitima Sub-county, which has 238 registered voters, Mr Robert Kyagulanyi got 49 votes while general Museveni got 233 votes.

The same fraud was detected at Kagango N- Z Polling Station, also in the same sub-county, which has 513 registered voters, but 559 votes were found in the ballot box.

Other polling stations with such anomalies included Kyebando, Kakoma primary schools and Mihimba Polling Station all in Mitima Sub-county, Kabukogote Polling Station in Lugusulu Sub-county. At Keirasha Polling Station in Lugusulu Sub-county, the voter turnout was at 100 per cent.

Mr Gerald Karisa, the NUP supervisor in Sembabule, questioned the 100% voter turnout at Keirasha, claiming he knows some people who died in the area, and whose names were deliberately left on the voters' register.

Votes exceeding the number of voters is concrete evidence that the election was marred by malpractices and ballot stuffing and those saying it was free and fair have not done thorough analysis.

Ms Catherine Nakayiza, a former independent candidate in the Mawogola North parliamentary race, which Ms Shartis Musherure Kutesa won, cited multiple voting at various polling stations.

Many eligible voters did not cast their ballots because the people sent by our opponent threatened them, even our agents were threatened and some fled the polling stations.

Some polling stations which Daily Monitor visited during voting time had some agents voting for people. The reports by Daily Monitor of ballot box stuffing and intimidation are similar by those we saw in the affidavits (page 82).

³⁴¹ <https://www.monitor.co.ug/uganda/special-reports/elections/more-votes-than-voters-in-semababule-3261798>

THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF UGANDA AT KAMPALA

**IN THE MATTER OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS ACT, 2005 (AS
AMENDED)**

**AND IN THE MATTER OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS (ELECTION
PETITIONS) RULES, 2001**

**IN THE MATTER OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS HELD ON THE 14TH DAY OF
JANUARY 2021.**

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION PETITION NO. OF 2021

KYAGULANYI SSENTAMU ROBERT ::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::: PETITIONER

-VERSUS-

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. YOWERI MUSEVENI TIBU HABURWA KAGUTA] | |
| 2. THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION] | |
| 3. THE ATTORNEY GENERAL] ::::::::::: RESPONDENTS | |

AFFIDAVIT IN SUPPORT OF THE PETITION

I, **SAASI MARVIN AUGUSTIN**, c/o. *Lukwago & Co. Advocates, 1st Floor, Media Plaza Building, Plot 78 Kira Road, P. O. Box 980, Kampala*, do hereby make oath and state that:

1. I am an adult male Ugandan of sound mind; a registered voter (voter number 51642438); and a member of the National Unity Platform (hereinafter referred to as "NUP") on whose ticket the Petitioner contested for President. I swear this affidavit in support of the instant Presidential Election Petition in the aforesaid capacities, well conversant with the facts and issues in the same.

2. At about 10:00AM on 2nd November 2020, the 2nd Respondent nominated the 1st Respondent as a presidential candidate in the 2021 general elections. Thereafter, the 1st Respondent proceeded, under police and military protection, from the nomination venue in Kyambogo to Speke Resort Hotel in Munyonyo from where he launched his Manifesto in the afternoon. At 11:27AM or thereabouts on the same day, I encountered a crowd of people holding a procession while chanting loudly along Kimathi Avenue street next to Christ the King Church in the middle of Kampala City, celebrating the 1st Respondent's nomination.
3. I observed that majority of the people in the aforesaid crowd were holding up yellow posters that bore the 1st Respondent's face and the words "vote Museveni". They were also dressed in yellow tee shirts upon which the 1st Respondent's face was printed along with the words "vote Museveni" and "securing your future". Whereas this crowd was marching in the middle of the road, I did not see any security personnel breaking up or interfering with their procession in any way. ***Attached hereto marked "SM-1", "SM-2" and "SM-3" are photographs that I took of the said procession.***
4. On 3rd November 2020, I travelled in a vehicle behind the petitioner from his home in Magere, Gayaza District up to Naguru Police Barracks along Ntinda Road commonly known as 'stretcher' as the Petitioner travelled to submit his presidential nomination documents to the 2nd Respondent at the nomination venue it had set up in Kyambogo. A heavy security detail comprising police and military officers escorted the Petitioner, and along the way kept shooting teargas grenades and sound bombs into our vehicles and at groups of people who had gathered by the roadside to catch a glimpse of the Petitioner. As we approached Spear Motors junction along Kampala-Jinja Highway, having had enough of the teargas and being in fear for my life as a result of the brutality we were being subjected to by security officers, I abandoned the journey and went to the NUP Secretariat in Kamwokya from where the Petitioner had earlier announced that he would launch his Manifesto after concluding the nomination process.

5. However, I met more brutality at the Secretariat where I had anticipated to find some peace and safety as security forces who were patrolling the area kept detonating sound bombs and shooting teargas canisters into supporters who had gathered to celebrate the Petitioner's nomination. At about 12:30PM or thereabouts, as we anxiously waited for his arrival, I learnt that the Petitioner had been arrested by police and military officers as he left the 2nd Respondent's nomination venue and driven off to his home where he was placed under house arrest for the rest of the day and rendered unable to come to the Secretariat.
6. Eventually, on 7th November 2020, the Petitioner launched his Manifesto at Kakyeeka Stadium on the outskirts of Mbarara Town but even then, the launch was conducted amidst untold terror on account of the violence meted out against us by police and the military. Throughout the function, police and military kept firing teargas and sound bombs into the stadium and at pockets of supporters who were following the proceedings from a distance. I saw the Petitioner constantly reaching for his handkerchief to sneeze, cough or wipe away tears as a result of the teargas fumes. From time to time, I would instinctively duck away as sound bombs and tear gas canisters exploded around us, fearing the worst. The combination of sound bombs and tear gas grenades exploding simultaneously created a war-like atmosphere that kept us on edge throughout the function.
7. On the night of 12th November 2020, I travelled with the Petitioner and other members of his campaign team from Lira District where we had held the day's final rally, to Kaabong District in Northern Uganda where we had a campaign rally the following day. We arrived in Kaabong at dawn on 13th November 2020, having spent the entire night on the perilous journey from Lira. Like other team members, I felt extremely exhausted and hungry. We were caked in dust and dried sweat, thanks to the 250KM+ murram road upon which we had travelled from Lira.

8. However, as soon as we reached Kaabong trading centre to freshen up and get something to eat, on the said 13th November 2020, police and the military in the area surrounded us and ordered us to leave the town. I saw the Petitioner begging the security officers' commander to permit us to at least get breakfast from the area but his pleas fell on deaf ears as the security men immediately started teargassing us and shooting in the air. We were forced to seek refuge in our vehicles and then drove away towards the campaign venue. But even as we drove away in compliance with the security team's orders, police kept firing teargas and sound bombs into our convoy until we arrived at the campaign rally venue that was situated out of Kaabong town.
9. Later the same day, we travelled to Kotido District where we were supposed to hold our second campaign rally of the day. As we were about to reach Kotido town, we found that police and the military had set up a roadblock at the entrance to Kotido town in such a way that we were not allowed to proceed into the town. On trying to find out why we were not permitted to enter town, the security officers immediately started firing teargas and live bullets in the air. This continued throughout our journey to the campaign rally venue, and throughout the rally itself. At one point during the Petitioner's address, most of the supporters fled away from the venue into nearby thickets to escape the security men's brutality. I saw the Petitioner trying to calm the supporters' nerves but even then, only a few of them returned to the rally as the rest were visibly too frightened to return. At the end of the rally, we drove away from the venue towards Moroto District amidst teargas explosions and live bullets. In the ensuing commotion as we fled for safety, a colleague known as Mr. Kavuma Jamushid and one of the police officers assigned by the 2nd Respondent to guard the Petitioner were injured by teargas canisters. The injured officer was so angry that his commander – ASP Kato Kubai – locked him in their vehicle to prevent him from shooting at the soldiers whom he blamed for wounding him.

10. At about 5:00PM on the same day, the campaign vehicle in which I was travelling reached an area called 'Pader Palwo' on Moroto road only to find a thick roadblock manned by police and military officers holding machine guns and other heavy weapons. After getting out of Kotido District, we had travelled ahead of the rest of the campaign convoy to take Mr. Kavuma for treatment, and to fix a flat tyre. On reaching the roadblock, we were interrogated as to why we sought to travel to Moroto town, and then let through after explaining our predicament to the officers. However, on returning from Moroto town at about 6:00PM, we were held at the roadblock with all other road users that were travelling out of the town, and prevented from rejoining our colleagues at the campaign rally venue on the other side of the roadblock until 07:30PM or thereabouts when the roadblock was lifted, more than an hour after the rally had ended. ***Attached hereto marked "SM-4" is a photo I took that shows the injured Mr. Kavuma receiving treatment.***
11. At 12:00PM or thereabouts on 15th November 2020, I travelled from Kumi with Ms. Sarah Muwonge and other members of the Petitioner's advance campaign team towards Mbale City where the Petitioner was supposed to address a campaign rally later in the day. We had tied red 'People Power' headbands around our heads and stuck posters of the Petitioner all over our vehicle as we played his music. Along the way, we would stop by the roadside to give out posters and other campaign materials to willing residents in the area, and then proceed with the journey.
12. At one of the several roadblocks that we found along Soroti – Mbale road, we were briefly detained after the police officers manning the roadblock had seen us from a distance handing out the Petitioner's campaign posters and fliers. We were later released and left to proceed after demanding to know what offence we had committed, only to find another roadblock near Nakaloke town. At that roadblock, we were stopped and made to remove our bags from the vehicle. Police officers then started rummaging through the contents of our bags by the roadside. I saw Ms.

Rehemah Juma, one of the ladies we had travelled, with beset with humiliation after several pieces of her underwear were spread out on the dusty ground in full view of other road users. I lost my cool and asked one of the elderly police officers at the scene why they were humiliating us to this extent just because we were supporters of the Petitioner. The police officer smiled with visible embarrassment and then asked us to re-pack our belongings and proceed with the journey. During this ordeal, other motorists kept driving past the roadblock without being stopped for a search.

13. We arrived in Namakwekwe town on the outskirts of Mbale City only to find the place teeming with all manner of security officers, deployed all the way up to Mbale City in anticipation of the Petitioner's campaign rally in the District. The deployed security officers included LDUs, police officers, counter-terrorism officers and military officers, among others. They stood by the roadside and carried heavy weapons including machine guns and what seemed like missile launchers, and had used their heavy armored trucks to block major entrances into Mbale City. Pedestrians were few on the roadside, and many of them seemed to be in fear. I had never seen anywhere else on the campaign trail that I had been to so far the kind of military and police deployment that I witnessed in Mbale on that day.
14. In great fear, we drove up to Mbale City Stadium where the Petitioner was supposed to stage his campaign rally. Even though he had not arrived in the area, I kept hearing loud explosions of teargas grenades and sound bombs in the distance. On arriving at the stadium, we found it empty as security officers had intimidated and blocked supporters from entering it. As a result, the supporters were standing across by the roadside, chanting support for the Petitioner. After some time, one of the police officers in charge approached Ms. Muwonge and I, and asked us to go out and convince the supporters at the roadside to enter. The police officer added that the supporters were too afraid to dare try to enter the stadium on their own. Ms. Muwonge and I indeed went out of the stadium and convinced the supporters to join us. After some of the

supporters had entered, police officers with anti-riot gear cordoned off the entrance to the stadium and started firing teargas grenades, claiming that the supporters inside had already exceeded 200 people. I do not know which criteria the police officers used to reach this conclusion because I did not see anyone counting the people entering.

15. Eventually, I saw the Petitioner arriving at Mbale Stadium amidst a hail of live bullets and teargas explosions in a different vehicle from the one he was in in the morning. I had last seen him in the morning in Kumi District, travelling in his official vehicle, a Toyota Cygnus Reg. No. UAY 432Z. In stark contrast with the well-groomed gentleman I had seen in the morning, the Petitioner looked like a thief that had just survived a mob beating. He was dirty and shabby. He could barely open his eyes, and kept sniffing. He seemed enervated and appeared to be in pain. When he spoke, one could see that the Petitioner did so with difficulty. He attempted to address the rally, but abruptly stopped after less than 15 minutes. Meanwhile, as all this was going on, teargas grenades, live bullets and sound bombs were being fired into and around the stadium with reckless abandon. We boarded our vehicles and drove out the stadium – and out of Mbale City – the way one would out of a warzone. I was so traumatized by this particular day's events that I abandoned the campaign trail and temporarily returned home.
16. At about 11:00PM or thereabouts on 22nd November 2020, I received a phone call from Ms. Sarah Muwonge informing me that police and the military had raided AMCA Suites Hotel in Kyegegwa District where Ms. Muwonge and other members of the Petitioner's campaign advance team had checked in to spend the night, and that they had arrested her colleagues including Mr. Akandonda Wallen, Mr. Mwesigwa Jacob and Mr. Mutebi Abbey whom they had found in the hotel's lobby. A few minutes later, Ms. Muwonge called me again and informed me that she was hearing the said security officers breaking into rooms next to hers in search for the rest of the members of the Petitioner's advance team. As she was

still narrating to me what was happening, I heard through the phone what sounded like a loud bang on a door and Ms. Muwonge fearfully informed me at that moment that the security men had reached her door. She then hang up abruptly. The Petitioner was expected to address a campaign gathering in this District the following morning. I eventually established that the arrested gentlemen had been detained at Kyegegwa Police Station and eventually freed on Court bail on 25th November 2020.

17. In the morning of 24th November 2020 or thereabouts, I received another telephone call from Ms. Muwonge informing me that she had been arrested at a roadblock in Ntoroko District together with Mr. Kafuko Stanley and Ms. Rahmah Juma – all members of the Petitioner's campaign advance team – and that they were being driven to Ntoroko Central Police Station. Ms. Muwonge informed me that they had been arrested after Policemen who had searched their vehicle had seen campaign materials of the Petitioner that Ms. Muwonge and her colleagues were going to use at a venue where the Petitioner was expected to address a campaign rally in the District. After two (2) hours or thereabouts, Ms. Muwonge called me again and informed me that they had been set free.
18. On 4th December 2020, I read a post on the 1st Respondent's official Facebook appreciating "the people of Iganga" district for welcoming him when he went there to hold campaigns the previous day. Photographs that accompanied the 1st Respondent's said post, available page via link <https://www.facebook.com/KagutaMuseveni/posts/2142675382534541>, depicted hundreds of people gathered together by the roadside, cheering on the 1st Respondent without observing basic COVID-19 guidelines. I observed that the said supporters were being protected by police and the military without any teargas or other brutality occasioned upon them, unlike the norm was on the Petitioner's campaigns against him and his supporters. On the same day, I watched a video on journalist Sadab Kitatta's Facebook page showing thousands of people gathered at a

political rally organized by 1st Respondent's State Minister for Microfinance Mr. Haruna Kasolo to launch the Petitioner's campaigns in the area. The aforesaid video is accessible at <https://www.facebook.com/100001581951186/posts/3806401486089212>.

19. On 15th December 2021, I rejoined the Petitioner's presidential campaign trail from which I had taken a break on 15th November 2020 following unceasing violence meted out on us by police and military officers, only to learn that nothing had changed. That day, we travelled from Kampala up to Ntungamo District where we spent the night. From the start of our journey, police and military officers kept flogging and teargassing people standing by the roadside however few in number they were in a particular place. I saw police officers firing teargas grenades at young children and into fresh produce markets by the roadside, thereby disrupting the business of traders and their customers who had nothing to do with our convoy that was peacefully driving past. At about 05:00pm or thereabouts when we reached Masaka town roundabout next to Total Petrol Station off which one branches to head to Mbarara District, we found armoured police trucks commonly known as 'mambas' and heavy water canon police trucks usually used to disperse crowds parked in the middle of the road to block traffic from getting into or out of Masaka City.
20. As soon as we reached the said roundabout, the Police and the military started firing teargas grenades and sound bombs into our convoy and at bystanders, causing me to feel a strong, choking sensation, a sore throat and eye irritation. We were forced to branch off the road to a place called 'Highway takeaway' restaurant from where we intended to buy water to wash our faces and temporarily escape the security officers' brutality. On reaching the said restaurant, I was informed by one of the attendants to whom I had made an order that they could not serve us with anything due to the disruption caused by the security officers' impugned brutality.

21. At about 07:30PM on the same day, our campaign convoy arrived in Lyantonde town only to encounter slow-moving traffic jam. Out of nowhere, the police and military officers who had been trailing us from Kampala started firing teargas grenades and sound bombs directly into our convoy and at other road users with whom we were stuck in jam. We survived several accidents by a whisker since the teargas fumes not only complicated our sight in the already dark night, but also caused motorists and pedestrians to panic in terror. At about 09:00PM, a short distance from Mbarara City, we arrived at the roundabout after *Igongo Cultural Centre* only to find that police and military had cordoned off the road that enters Mbarara City where we intended to spend the night. Fierce military officers bearing machine guns directed us to take the road towards Ntungamo District, sixty (60) kilometers away. With no other option, we proceeded to Ntungamo.

22. In the morning of 16th December 2020, the Petitioner, myself and the rest of his campaign team embarked on a journey from Ntungamo towards Kisoro District where the Petitioner was scheduled to address a campaign rally. Some of the police and military officers deployed to trail us drove ahead of our convoy, others in its midst, and others behind it. I observed that by the time we would arrive in many of the small and major towns along the way to Kisoro, we would find military and police officers standing by the roadside holding big sticks and guns in such a way that one would think they were about to aim and shoot. I observed that by that time, residents had already abandoned the towns and hid behind buildings or in thickets from where they would fearfully cheer us on and chant "Bobi Wine" and "People Power, Our Power," a slogan popularized by the Petitioner. Eventually, I saw that the military and police officers who drove ahead of us would stop in the trading centers, jump off their trucks and clobber or chase away residents from the area such that by the time we would arrive, the areas would be almost empty of people. From a distance, I would see residents running for their lives whenever they saw police and military officers approaching them or jumping off

their patrols, and later running back into the towns after we had driven past.

23. Later in the afternoon after the Petitioner's campaign rally in Kisoro, we drove to Kabale District for another campaign rally. At the venue - Kigezi High School pitch – we found just a handful of people inside the pitch as the rest who were in the vicinity stood a big distance away from the pitch. I saw military and police officers chasing away residents who attempted to access the venue after the Petitioner had arrived even when the people at the venue were very few. I did not see any security person counting the supporters inside to make sure that they were two hundred 200 in number before chasing away the rest who tried to access the venue. I observed that the people standing in the distance would run away whenever they saw police and military officers approaching, but would regroup as soon as the officers had gone away. *Attached hereto and marked "SM-5", "SM-6", "SM-7", "SM-8" and "SM-9" are photographs that I took during the aforesaid rally in Kabale.*
24. At about 5:30PM when we reached Rukiga District for the day's final rally held at Nankunama in Muhanga Town Council, I observed that even here, residents seemed too frightened to attend the petitioner's rally. They stood a good distance away from the venue across the main road with heavy armored police trucks and several police and military officers deployed in-between the residents and the campaign venue. ***Attached hereto and marked "SM-10", "SM-11", "SM-12", "SM-13" and "SM-14" are photographs that I took during this rally.***
25. After the rally in Rukiga District, we set off for Kanungu Town in Kanungu District where we intended to spend the night. Although we reached Kanungu town at about 08:40PM, we found it deserted. We tried to buy fuel from Total Petrol Station that is located in the town, but I heard the pump attended saying that they could not sell us any fuel to us. I spent several minutes with my colleagues looking for somewhere to buy something to eat but

most shops were closed. There were several soldiers and policemen patrolling the area on foot and in police trucks, as well as what appeared to be vigilantes holding big sticks standing opposite the said petrol station. Out of fear, we attempted to drive to the nearby Kihhi Town but abandoned the journey and spent the night in Kanungu after some of the brake pedals of the vehicle in which we were travelling malfunctioned.

26. On 17th December 2020, I travelled with the Petitioner and the rest of his campaign team from Kihhi Town in Kanungu District to Rukungiri Main Stadium in Rukungiri District. As we approached the stadium's entrance, I saw police and military officers chasing away supporters who were trying to cross over from one side of the road to go the stadium. As the Petitioner and other campaign team members entered the stadium, I stood at its entrance to observe what was going on. I saw several police officers standing at the entrance and blocking supporters from entering. Most of these officers had no name tags to identify them, apart from a one Katsirabo (number 40650). Another police officer I saw stopping people from entering the stadium was a one Nabale with three (3) pips on her shoulder. When I politely asked her why she was stopping people from entering the stadium, she stated that those inside were already two hundred (200) in number. I asked her whether she had counted them and she responded that she had someone counting them from inside. When I asked her to show me the person who was counting them so that I could verify her claim, she walked away. Later, as the petitioner drove out of the stadium, I saw several supporters who had not been allowed to enter the stadium standing by the roadside to see him.

27. From the Stadium, we headed towards Mitooma District where the Petitioner had his last rally of the day. Considering that the only route to Mitooma from the Stadium passed through Rukungiri town, Police removed the blockades they had earlier put to block anyone from getting into or out of the town from the Stadium, and let us proceed to the town. But as soon as we reached Rukungiri's main town, police and the military started firing teargas grenades,

sound bombs and live bullets. This went on until we were forced to branch off to a murram road that headed towards Mitooma. Later when we were leaving Mitooma to travel to Ntungamo where we would spend the night, I saw several fresh campaign posters of the 1st Respondent pasted on a big traffic sign post at a roundabout that gives directions to motorists driving out of Mitooma. ***Attached hereto and marked "SM-15" is a photograph that I took of the aforesaid posters pasted upon the traffic signpost.***

28. On 18th December 2020, as we travelled from Rwampara District to Kyamate grounds in Ntungamo District for a campaign rally, I noticed that police and the military had cordoned off the road from Kyamate that goes to Ntungamo town. They were not allowing anyone using the road that goes to Mirama Hills from Ntungamo town to cross over towards the Petitioner's rally venue at Kyamate, let alone those who were crossing into Ntungamo Town. After the rally ended, Police and the military cut off the road that goes from the venue towards Ntungamo, and instead directed us to take the one that goes to Isingiro District – effectively blocking the Petitioner and his team from accessing Ntungamo Town. Later, we reached a roundabout with a signpost marked 'Mirama Hotel' on our way to Isingiro District from Ntungamo but police and military patrols blocked the tarmac road and diverted us onto a murram road although it had just rained and the road was impassable.

29. As soon as we reached Isingiro District's main town, Police and the military immediately began firing teargas grenades into our convoy and at supporters of the 1st Petitioner as they peacefully waved at him. The indiscriminate firing of teargas and live bullets frightened me into thinking that we were going to be harmed anytime. At about 6:50pm as we drove from Isingiro towards Mbarara City where we intended to spend the night, we found a roadblock mounted by police and the military in a swamp at a place called Birere. No vehicle was being allowed to pass through the roadblock be it from or towards Mbarara. We were detained at this roadblock without any explanation from that time until

08:30PM or thereabouts when it was removed and we proceeded with our journey to Mbarara. **Attached hereto and marked “SM-16”, “SM-17”, and “SM-18” are photographs that I took at the roadblock.**

30. On the morning of 19th December 2020, as we branched off towards the Petitioner's campaign venue in Sheema District, Police and the military started indiscriminately firing teargas canisters and sound bombs into our convoy and at traders standing peacefully by the roadside. I saw people who were standing by the roadside fleeing the scene as police and the military continued firing the teargas. In the process, one of the teargas canisters hit and shattered one of the windows of motor vehicle Reg. No. UAV 555Y (Harrier 'Kawundo') in which some members of the Petitioner's campaign team were travelling. Despite the violence against us by police and the military, we eventually arrived at the Petitioner's campaign rally venue but even here, I saw police officers blocking the few people who had not been scared away by teargas from crossing over to the venue. Attached hereto marked **Attached hereto and marked “SM-19”, “SM-20”, and “SM-21” are some of the photographs that I took indicating part of the security deployment, and the damaged vehicle.**

31. Later in the evening, we travelled to Rubirizi District where the Petitioner would address his final rally of the day. When we reached the rally venue, Hon. Joel Ssenyonyi, the Spokesperson of NUP informed me that Mr. Kasasa Patrick, a member of the Petitioner's campaign advance team, had been arrested minutes before our arrival and detained at Rubirizi Main Police Station. I rushed to the said Police Station and indeed found Mr. Kasasa detained there. I asked him why he had been arrested and he told me that policemen had found him distributing to resident near the campaign venue the Petitioner's campaign material including Tee Shirts, masks and red headbands. Later, when I interacted with one of the police officers I found at the Station, he confirmed to me that Mr. Kasasa had indeed been arrested for distributing the aforesaid materials, and then pointed at a bunch of red clothes on the floor as proof. I later spoke with the District Police Commander, a one

ASP Muwonge, in the presence of Mr. Edward Ssebuwuufu alias Eddie Mutwe, and he ordered for Mr. Kasasa's release after the rally had ended. I got off the Petitioner's campaign trail the following day and returned to Kampala.

32. On the morning of 23rd December 2020, I travelled to Mubende District with Hon. Zaaque Francis, a member of NUP, and rejoined the Petitioner on his campaign trail. Police and military officers kept shooting teargas canisters and sound bombs into our convoy and at people in trading centres and along the twenty-three (23) kilometer stretch from Mubende town to Kasambya village where the Petitioner had scheduled a campaign rally. ***Attached hereto and marked "SM-21" is a photograph I took showing clouds of teargas billowing near L. K. Petrol Station where we had stopped to refuel on our way to Kasambya.***
33. At about 5:30PM on the same day as we travelled to Butambala District for another campaign rally, the tyre of motor vehicle Reg. No. UBF 213Y – one of the vehicles in the Petitioner's campaign convoy – burst and the vehicle overturned, injuring some of the people who were travelling on it. None of the police patrols that were pursuing us stopped to attend to the people who had been injured in the accident but they instead just drove on in pursuit of the Petitioner's vehicle that had passed the area before the accident occurred. ***Attached hereto and marked "SM-22" is a photograph I took in the aftermath of the accident.***
34. On 24th December 2020, I travelled with the Petitioner to Gomba District where he was supposed to address a campaign rally. At about 11:30AM, we encountered the first roadblock in an area called Mpami. A police patrol vehicle was parked in the middle of the road, reinforced by a column of policemen wielding shields among other anti-riot gear. The roadblock was removed around fifty (50) minutes later after which we proceeded to the Petitioner's first rally of the day, held in Gomba. ***Attached hereto and marked "SM-23" is a photograph I took at the first roadblock.***

35. Later at about 02:00PM as we travelled to the second rally, also in Gomba, we encountered the second roadblock, mounted by Police and the military in a place called Kabasuma swamp along Gomba – Ssembabule Highway. A big police truck was parked in the middle of the road. Soldiers and police officers putting on black uniforms with their faces hidden behind masks stood beside the truck in such a way that no car could drive past it. We were detained at this roadblock with no car being allowed to cross, be it from or to Gomba. The roadblock was removed at about 02:40PM after the Petitioner had jumped onto a motorcycle that maneuvered through the roadblock and sped away. ***Attached hereto and marked “SM-24”, “SM-25” and “SM-26” are photographs I took at the second roadblock.***
36. At about 3:00PM, we encountered a third roadblock in Gomba town at which we were held for another thirty (30) minutes or thereabouts without any reason given. Throughout the period we were held at this roadblock, police kept indiscriminately shooting pressurized water and teargas into our stationary convoy, including at other equally-stuck motorists who had nothing to do with the Petitioner's campaigns. A traffic jam built up covering a stretch of about one (1) kilometer as the road had been blocked by heavy teargas trucks, water canons and police and military officers. ***Attached hereto and marked “SM-27”, “SM-28” and “SM-29” are photographs I took at the third roadblock.***
37. Eventually, the Petitioner's vehicle was let through the roadblock but the rest of us were delayed for another 30 minutes or thereabouts. Hon. Zaake and I who had travelled in the same vehicle arrived less than five (5) minutes before the Petitioner's rally ended yet we had moved with campaign materials including tee shirts and masks that we were supposed to distribute to supporters at the rally before it began.
38. From Gomba, we proceeded towards Ssembabule District. For over twenty (20) kilometers, Police and the military kept firing teargas canisters into our convoy and at groups of people standing

by the roadside. The situation would particularly become worse whenever we were driving through trading centres. Police and military officers kept firing the teargas indiscriminately without caring who it affected or what it damaged. In Matete trading centre I saw a child of about 5 years struggling amidst teargas fumes. The person with whom he had moved had abandoned him in a roundabout as the sound of teargas explosions and live bullets became more intense. A few seconds later, I saw Mr. Daniel Bugembe alias Dax Vibes, a brother to the Petitioner with whom we had travelled, jumping out of his vehicle and rushing towards the child whom he carried and rushed away to safety. The hind windshield of motor vehicle Reg. No. UBB 526Z (Toyota Premio) was shattered by one of the teargas canisters fired into our convoy. ***Attached hereto and marked "SM-30" is a photograph I took of the vehicle and its shattered windshield.***

39. As a result of the unnecessary and unexplained roadblocks, we reached the campaign venue in Ssembabule several minutes past 06:00PM but even then, the Petitioner could not address it even if he attempted to because police immediately dispersed the few people gathered there with teargas and sound bombs. I permanently left the Petitioner's campaign trail after the terrifying events of this day.
40. At 07:00PM or thereabouts on 13th January 2021, I noticed that my internet connection was off after I tried making a Google search without success. I later confirmed while watching a news bulletin that that internet had been switched off across the country.
41. At about 9:00AM or thereabouts on 14th January 2021, polling materials arrived at Bandwe P/S [NAM - Z] polling Station where I vote from. However, we did not start voting until 09:30AM or thereabouts. While I stood in the line awaiting to cast my ballot, I saw some of the voters who had stood for a long time getting out of the line and walking away from the polling station.

42. Later at about 12:30pm or thereabouts on the same day, I attempted to make a transaction on my Airtel and MTN mobile money accounts but the transactions kept failing. I asked one of the voters who was standing in front of me in the line whether he was having a similar problem and he told me that he was facing a similar problem. I then telephoned Ms. Sarah Muwonge and inquired from her whether she, too, could not make mobile money transactions. When she answered in the affirmative, I concluded that mobile money services had been disabled.
43. At about 05:30PM or thereabouts as counting of votes started at a polling station adjacent to the one I voted from, military and police officers came and chased away from the polling station me and other voters who had gathered to witness the vote-counting process, claiming that they were preventing the COVID-19 disease from spreading. We were made to stand several meters away from the polling station in that we could not hear or see what was happening at that polling station. I found the security men's directive that we leave the polling station strange because they did not intervene when we were lining up close to each other to cast our ballots but only showed up when the process of vote-counting had started.
44. I depone this affidavit in support of the instant Presidential Election Petition and all reliefs sought therein.
45. Whatever I have stated hereinabove is true and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief, save for that from sources herein disclosed, and which I believe to be true and correct.

NYANZI, KIBONEKA AND MBABAZI ADVOCATES

Legal Consultants, Attorneys at Law and Legal Practitioners
Chambers: Plot 103 Buganda Road, P.O. Box 7699/6147
Tel: 256-414-251480/348504/252111, Fax: 256-414-251480 KAMPALA (UGANDA)
Email: nkmadvo@imul.com

Alliance For National
Transformation

09 DEC 2020

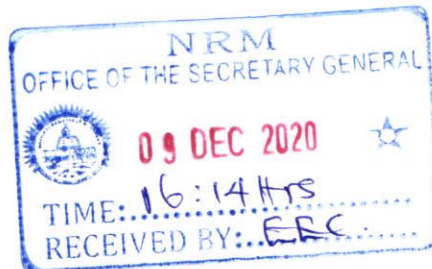
HEADQUARTERS

Ref: NKM/GEN/2020

09th December, 2020

The Chairman
Electoral Commission
KAMPALA

Dear Sir,



**RE: PETITION TO THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION TO CORRECT IRREGULARITIES
AND CONDUCT LEGITIMATE, FREE AND FAIR 2021 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS**

[Under Section 15 of the Electoral Commission Act, Cap. 140 (as amended)]

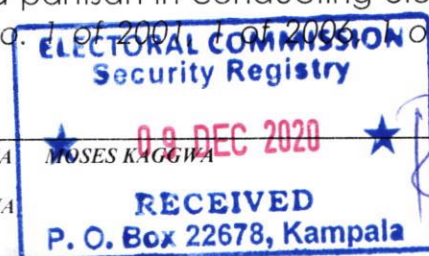
We act for and on behalf of JACKSON WABYONA a registered voter with ID No. **008121243, NIN CM66006104Y0TH** whose instructions are to lodge this Petition under Section 15 of the Electoral Commission Act, Cap. 140.

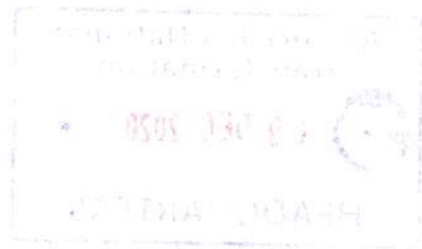
1.0 FACTS GIVING RISE TO THE PETITION/FACTUAL BACKGROUND

1.1 Uganda has held numerous elections but the most significant are of 1980, 2001, 2006 and 2016. In 1980, the elections were rigged resulting in the 1981-1986 guerilla war that brought forth the present regime. Although there was no petition challenging the election results, the significant indicator of election rigging was the order by the then President cum Chairman of the Military Commission to stop the Electoral Commission from announcing results and usurping the powers of declaring the winner into himself. The election results lost legitimacy, credibility and integrity and became a sham. In 2001 and 2006, the election process was not any different from the perception of a number of people. In the same vein, the results were challenged and court found that there were several malpractices of rigging. Unfortunately by a majority vote of 3:2, 4:3 and 9:0 the election results were upheld on the basis that the malpractice did not affect the election results in a substantial manner. Unfortunately, we have up to now not known the extent and degree of rigging that amounts to substantial effect!

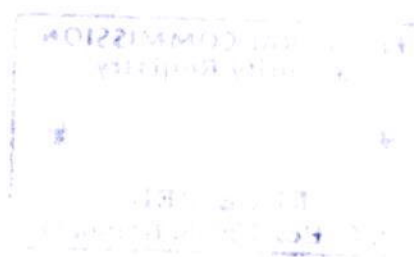
1.2 The findings of court and observer missions reflect an Electoral Commission that is inefficient, incompetent and partisan in conducting elections. See the Presidential Election Petition No. 1 of 2001, 1 of 2006, 1 of 2016 and Observer Mission Reports.

Senior Partners: MOHMED MBABAZI RICHARD KIBONEKA
Managing Partner: ALZHIK NAMUTEBI
Senior Associates: MANISULI SENYONJO, PATRICIA NYANGOMA
Junior Associates: YUSUF KAGERE, HAMZAH KYAMANYWA
Associates: JANET K. MURUNGI, DENNIS KADDU





100-11-10



- 1.3 For this petition, we shall lay emphasis on the 2016 Presidential elections, where the Electoral Commission procured SMARTMATIC INTERNATIONAL HOLDINGS LTD at USD 19,963,000 (United States Dollars Nineteen million nine hundred sixty three thousand only) under Reference No. EC-SRVCS-14-15-00637 to provide a solution to the previous malpractices of rigging. Smartmatic is a renown and leading provider of election technology and services as per its website. See www.smartmatic.com/voting/voting. Smartmatic supplied the Biometric Voter Verification System (BVVS) and Biometric Voter Verification Kits (BVVK).
- 1.4 In the same vein the Electoral Commission procured and contracted Avante International Technology for the supply of **Electronic Results Transmission and Dissemination System (ERTDS)**.
- 1.5 Unfortunately, during the 2016 Presidential elections the BVVS and ERTDS were not used optimally **as some functions including the critical one of Real Time Electoral Information System (REIS) and the System/ Results Audit** functions were never utilized. Worse still the Electoral Commission has never disclosed (if at all it carried out) a systems audit and evaluation on the 2016 BVVS and ERTDS to inform the public how the election technology deployed for the 2016 elections performed.
- 1.6 As a result and as the President also confirmed the systems that were procured did not protect the election results from cheating/rigging.

"For the general election, we must get a method which does not allow cheating. We must have digital recognition of voters using the biometric machine. This was supposed to be done in the previous [2016] elections, but the corrupt fellows in the EC, who were sacked recently, bought machines which did not do this," the president said on September 7.

"The corrupt team that was in EC refused to procure this system. It is, however, being procured now. This will end this sad story of the anti-democratic forces, at least as far as the problem of multiple voting and multiple registrations is concerned. It will also deal with the problem of ballot-stuffing because the fingerprints digitally read must be equal to the votes in the ballot box."

Observer September 16, 2020

- 1.7 One solution that is very crucial for Ugandan elections is the counting, adding up and tallying process of the votes at the polling stations and consequent transmission of results, coupled with tallying and/or

consolidation at the collection centre otherwise called the District Tally Centre (DTC).

- 1.8 The announcement of the poll results at the polling stations under Article 68(4) of the Constitution should be to the whole country. For clarity, we hereunder reproduce Article 68(4) as hereunder:

"Voting at elections and referenda

- 1)
- 2)
- 3)

- 4) ***The presiding officer, the candidates or their representatives and in the case of a referendum, the sides contesting or their agents, if any, shall sign and retain a copy of a declaration stating-***

(a) the polling station;

(b) the number of votes cast in favour of each candidate or question, and the presiding officer shall there and then, announce the results of the voting at that polling station before communicating them to the returning officer."

- 1.9 Fortunately for this coming election of 2021 (unlike the previous elections where elections technology was deployed and utilized without enabling laws) there are appropriate election technology laws viz the Electoral Commission (Amendment) Act No. 9 of 2020 and the Presidential Elections (Amendment) Act No. 11 of 2020. For clarity we hereunder reproduce the relevant provisions under the said laws.

The Electoral Commission (Amendment) Act, 2020 Act No. 9 of 2020, Section 1:

1. Amendment of Cap. 140.

The Electoral Commission Act, in this Act referred to as the principal Act, is amended in section 12 by inserting immediately after subsection (1) the following—

- "(1a) The commission may, in the exercise of its powers under subsection (1), adopt technology in the management of elections.***

- (1b) *Notwithstanding the general effect of subsection (1a), the commission shall put in place an electronic display system at every tallying center on which the votes being tallied shall be displayed to the general public.*
- (1c) *The Minister shall, in consultation with the commission, by statutory instrument, make regulations prescribing the manner in which technology will be used in the management of elections.*
- (1d) *The statutory instrument referred to in subsection (1c) shall be laid before Parliament for information."*

The Parliamentary Elections (Amendment) Act, 2020 – SI No. 8 of 2020:

8. Amendment of section 56 of the principal Act

Section 56 of the principal Act is amended by substituting for subsection (2) the following—

"(2) Upon completing the return, every returning officer shall—

(a) Transmit to the commission, with a copy to participating political parties and organisations, a candidate and a candidate's official agent, the following documents electronically—

- (i) The return form;*
- (ii) The tally sheets; and*
- (iii) The declaration of results forms from which the official addition of the votes was made; and*

(b) Deliver to the commission the documents referred to in paragraph (a)."

2.0 IRREGULARITIES (ACTUAL AND ANTICIPATED) IN THE 2021 ELECTIONS

2.1 Application and enforcement of Section 1(b) Electoral Commission (Amendment) Act, 9 of 2020

- 2.1.1 Ascertaining the election results through counting or tallying or adding up of the votes polled by each candidate is the most crucial and critical aspect of every election. Tallying of votes at the polling stations and consolidation at the districts is thus the most critical and fundamental

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consideration in giving the elections results the necessary and required integrity, credibility, fairness and accuracy. It is therefore very important to safeguard, protect and maintain the results tallied and recorded on the DR Forms as polled at the polling stations without any manipulation or doctoring. The manipulation and doctoring of the results recorded on the DR Forms begins with sending away candidates' agents and voters by the security operatives under the guise of keeping law and order. Often times the Electoral Commission and courts prioritizes the candidates as having a higher stake in the election results and obligates them through their agents to protect the election results to the exclusion of the voters. However, the voter also has a higher stake in the results as it is his vote that he cast which signifies the expression of his will and consent to be governed by the leader of his choice. Given the **COVID-19 SOPs and curfew**, the voters may not witness the tallying or counting of the votes at the polling stations. It is imperative that the DR Form results besides the announcement (this time to no one) are published to the public. Fortunately, Section 1(b) of the Electoral Commission (Amendment) Act, 9 of 2020 stipulates that "**the commission shall put in place an electronic display system at every tallying center on which the votes being tallied shall be displayed to the general public**". Additionally, and most importantly, the DR Form to be displayed should be the one that is put in the tamper proof envelope and eventually transmitted to the DTC for tallying and consolidation at the district level. The other DR Forms of candidates' agents or parties are susceptible to manipulation and partisan interests.

- 2.1.2 In effect the DR Form that is put in the tamper proof envelope ought to be circulated and published on a display screen at the polling station and or transmitted to the elections results website. This would eliminate all intentions and possibilities of altering the results in the DR Form as recorded at the polling station. Once the DR Form results are published at the polling station and elections results website, the consolidation and tallying at the DTC and by the voters can be done. **If there is no manipulation the figures will always reconcile accurately.** For your information, DR Forms are often confiscated by security operatives from the candidates' agents. In other instances, they are bought from the candidates' agents by other financially able candidates and results thereon doctored or destroyed. Most importantly the DR Forms of a candidate's agent at a particular polling station cannot easily be transmitted to the candidates' agents at the DTC and NTC for purposes of comparison and verification during the consolidation and tallying.

2.1.3 Prayers/Redress

- A. The Electoral Commission should strictly comply with Section 1(b) of the Electoral Commission (Amendment) Act, 9 of 2020 or Section 12 (1) (b) of the Electoral Commission Act, Cap. 140 as amended and put in place an electronic display system at every polling station where the counting and tallying of votes shall be done.
- B. To protect, safeguard and enhance the integrity and credibility of the 2021 presidential election results, the Electoral Commission should immediately publish the DR Forms results as recorded at the polling station, on the election display system at the polling station, the Electoral Commission results website, DTC display screen, NTC display screen and TV/Radio stations. This would eliminate any possibility and opportunity to tamper and manipulate the DR Forms results as recorded at the polling stations.

2.2 Deployment of the BVVS and BVVK and its Optimal utilization for real time poll results

- 2.2.1 Although there is no information on the procurement of the BVVS for the 2021 elections, there are however news and reports that Electoral Commission procured the BVVS from Smartmatic the provider of the same system for the 2016 elections. The BVVS is such a robust system equipped with 2 sim cards and a memory card. It is linked to the national voters roll. Additionally, the voters handbook – 2021 outlines the use of the BVVS in the polling cycle. The Director of IT clearly stated in his affidavit in support of the Electoral Commission to the 2016 presidential elections as hereunder:

“11. That the BVVS is a system comprising of:

- a) The National Voters Register***
- b) A Biometric Voter Verification Kits (BVVK) for each polling station. These are the stand alone machines used at each polling station on the day of voting***
- c) That the purpose of the BVVS is to process the data from the National Voters Register by segmenting it into voters registers for each district and saving it onto Memory Cards which are then inserted into the BVVK devices.***

That the BVVK is an electronic device containing a localized database of the details of all Voters in a particular District. For



instance all BVVK devices at Polling Stations in Jinja District contained data relating only to Jinja District.

- a) The BVVK devices are stand alone devices not connected to and does not communicate with the BVVS.**
- b) The BVVK device's purpose is to verify the identity of a Voter at a polling station in a district using biometric fingerprint recognition technology.**
- c) The BVVK had two SIM cards to ensure sufficient mobile network coverage for the purpose of establishing that the BVVK was switched on through service providers network.**
- d) That sim cards were not enabled to transmit data as alleged since there isn't uniform data coverage country wide in all 28,010 polling stations and they would not be able to transmit encrypted data.**
- e) The BVVK was not used to or intended to transmit the names of the verified voters to any database under the control, administration and management of the 2nd Respondent or at all.**

13. That the BVVK did not and was not intended to replace the Voters Role but it was simply a support mechanism o enhance the integrity of electoral process and provided the avenue for biometric identification."

2.2.2 Smartmatic provides an online results system that avails results in real time. Letting the electorate know results as they are being processed is an effective measure to increase transparency and credibility and give confidence and legitimacy to the elections. Smartmatic has a Real Time Electoral Information System (REIS) that receives and monitors electoral information from all voting machines before tallying the votes and declaring the winner. Smartmatic also operates data centers where the voting platform can be monitored by all stakeholders.

2.2.3 Additionally and most importantly, Smartmatic transmits poll results from each Polling Station country wide through direct upload and text messaging of poll results to:

- a) Electoral Commission Election Results website;
- b) Radio and TV stations and websites;

- c) Websites of political parties and/or candidates;
- d) Observers and election monitors;
- e) Text messages to candidates and their agents.

2.2.4 In case of the 2021 elections the BVVS only identifies voters, it should transmit the number of voters who were verified and were issued with a ballot to vote at a particular polling station. The voters should know how many voters cast their votes at each and every polling stations. This information would be useful in comparing the results on the DR Form while tallying.

2.2.5 With this mode of announcement of results, there will be no manipulation of results through tallying or in the course of transportation from the Polling Stations to the Returning Officers at the District Tally Centers. What is declared at the Polling Station and appears on the results Declaration Forms will also be on the websites, Radio and TV stations and text messages.

2.2.6 Prayers/Redress

- A. Disclose to the voters the Provider of the BVVS, its architecture, configuration, modules and functions as is relevant to the 2021 elections.
- B. Conduct test – runs in the presence of stakeholders including candidates or their agents, parties, observers, among others.
- C. Training of the stakeholders or their agents in the relevant operations, functionality, modules and utilization of the system.
- D. The BVVS ought to be used optimally as opposed to disabling some of its functions as was done in 2016 elections. The electoral information from the BVVK viz number of votes verified and issued with a ballot to vote at every polling station is concealed and hidden from the stakeholders intentionally and deliberately by the Electoral Commission. This information is very critical and key in enhancing transparency of the elections and integrity of the results. Why not allow the electorate to know the number of voters from every polling station as results are being processed in real time?

2.3 Procurement and Deployment of the ERTDS - 2

2.3.1 From the information accessed from the Electoral Commission website at www.ec.or.ug, we know that the Electoral Commission procured and by now must have contracted a provider/s for the supply and implementation of Election Results and Dissemination System (ERTDS) and Equipment connectivity, cyber security solution, video wall and display services for ERTDS Communication Network under Procurement Reference No. EC/SUPPLS/2019-2020/00829. Under lot 5 of the procurement reference herein above mentioned, the ERTDS System for the 2021 elections is code-named ERTDS-2.

2.3.2 Prayers/Redress

- A. Disclose to the voters the provider of the BVVS, its architecture, configuration modules and functions as is relevant to the 2021 elections.
- B. Conduct test – runs in the presence of stakeholders including candidates or their agents, parties, observers, among others.
- C. Training of the stakeholders or their agents in the relevant operations, functionality, modules and utilization of the system.

2.4 System Architecture

2.4.1 Upon examination and analysis of the Statement of Requirements for the different lots of the procurement, the following issues arise that compromise the integrity and fairness of the 2021 elections results. Under Item 38/39 of the detailed Technical Requirements for all the components of the ERTDS System at page 100 the election results from DTC are transmitted to the Primary Data Center (PDC) and data at the NTC is accessed via the PDC. The question is – where will the PDC be located/situated? And why transmit data to the PDC and the National Tally Centre (NTC) accesses data from the DTC through the PDC? Will the candidate agents be present at the Primary Data Centre (PDC) and who is going to man the same? Without belaboring this point the transmission of results ought to be simultaneous to the NTC and if need be to the PDC and public election results website. This syncs with the design of the system stipulated at page 83. Making the NTC access results from the Primary Data Centre compromises the results and renders them susceptible to manipulation and doctoring at the PDC which is not accessible to the stakeholders. During the last elections you may have heard of the **Naguru Tally Centre** that fed election results favorable to the incumbent to the NTC. This intended architecture of the ERTDS lends credence to the existence of the Naguru Tally Centre in the previous elections.

2.4.2 Prayers/Redress

For the 2021 presidential elections, please don't set up another **Naguru Tally Centre** to manipulate DR forms and doctor results in favour of the preferred candidate for the personnel manning the Primary Data Centre. There is no rational basis and justification for the NTC to access data of election results from the PDC. Electronic results should be transmitted simultaneously to all centers i.e., DTC, PDC, NTC and DRC.

2.5 Operator/Results Auditors/NTC Verification Stations

- 2.5.1 The reading of Sections 54 and 56 of the Presidential Elections Act as amended by the Presidential Elections (Amendment) Act, 2020 clearly shows that results from the District Tally Centre are authentic and final results derived from DR Forms brought in sealed envelopes at the DTC. The results from the District Returning Offices are not only transmitted to the Commission but to the political parties' candidates and official agents of candidates. The deployment and operations of the ERTDS-2 at the District Tally Centre is clearly set out at pages 88-89 of the bidding documents under lot 5. In section 6 item 1.3.2. The same method of operation of the ERTDS-2 and results publication is clearly stated in the Voters Handbook at pages 47-50 under paragraphs 8.6-8.6.2. The question is – what is the use of the Operator Auditors or NTC verification stations? Will the verification by the operator auditors be observed by the candidates' agents? There are 250 laptops that would require 20 candidates' agents surrounding one laptop observing social distancing and Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs)! Will the auditing and verification by the operator auditors be displayed on display screens? As there was no procurement of 250 display screen for the NTC. We note that there is a **200** results verification team with **250** laptops all networked at the NTC. The question is – what would the NTC verification team be auditing and verifying if the DTC results are published on the District Tally Centre Display screen streamed to the NTC and election results website? Further, at the DTC there is a Tallying software inbuilt in the ERTDS-2 that can detect and correct wrong entries and errors in the DR results and tally entries. Is there software that has been specifically developed for the auditing and verification exercise that will be used by the users of the 250 laptops? Additionally, the results from the DTC are already forwarded to the candidates, parties and stakeholders.

2.5.2 Prayers/Redress

The DTC verification station alias verification team of auditors and operators is not necessary in the election results flow and should not be set up or otherwise should be disbanded. There is no rational basis and justification for its existence and set up in the election results process flow. It is another **Naguru Tally Centre** designed to coordinate with the PDC and draw manipulated and doctored data therefrom that is later fed to the NTC and elections results website.

2.6 Display of DR Forms transmitted from the DTCs on the Election Results Website and NTC

2.6.1 Reading from the system requirements at page 98 of the bid documents, scanned DR Forms at the DTC are transmitted to the EC Data Centre DR Site and NTC. At the same time they are displayed at the DTC display screen. Instead of hiding the results at the NTC and EC Data Centre, the scanned DR Forms should be published and displayed to the public at the elections results website and NTC display screen sometimes as they are displayed at the DTC. Together with the BVVS voter turnout results the electorate can follow the results in real time.

2.6.2 Prayers/Redress

The DR Forms transmitted to the NTC from the DTC and published at the DTC display screen should also be displayed at the NTC display screen and election results website. This is called transparency and participation of the electorate in results verification and auditing. In this way the electorate own the process which leads to integrity and fairness to the elections.

2.7 Regulations prescribing the manner in which the technology will be used in the management of elections

2.7.1 Making the regulations prescribing the manner in which the elections technology deployed and will be used in the management of elections is now a statutory requirement under Section 1(a) of the Electoral Commission (Amendment) Act No. 9 of 2020. Regulations on the application and use of the BVVS and ERDTS-2 technology in the 2021 presidential elections ought to be in place by now. It is most probable that if the regulations are made, the questions asked above would be answered by the Regulations. For your information our neighbor Kenya made the Elections (Technology) Regulations, 2017 that regulated the deployment of elections technology for its previous elections. While you are at liberty to make regulations with provisions completely different from those of Kenya, it however is important

to highlight the critical areas and key issues to consider in making the Regulations:

- a) Testing of the election's technology before deployment in the presence of stakeholders including parties, candidates, agents and observers.
- b) Publication of the test results
- c) Certification of the election technology
- d) System audit
- e) Access to information on the system
- f) Data recovery
- g) Establishment of the elections technology advisory committee with a composition of parties and experts.
- h) Voter education related to elections technology.

2.7.2 Prayers/Redress

Immediately advise the Minister to make and publish regulations prescribing the manner in which the elections technology of BVVS and ERDTS-2 will be applied and used in the management of the 2021 elections. In the previous elections, technology was applied and used by the Electoral Commission without regulation resulting in allegations of the existence of Naguru Tally Centre doctoring resulting and feeding into the NTC. Electoral Commission can do better in the 2021 elections and infuse integrity, fairness and credibility in the elections management and results by making the Elections Technology Regulations. Additionally, the Electoral Commission should present the evaluation and audit report of performance of both technology in the 2016 elections. The performance audit and evaluation of the technology would benchmark and inform the systems design architecture and configuration of the 2021 elections technology system.

2.8 Discrepancy in the number of constituencies, polling station and number of registered voters

- 2.8.1 In your press statement of 21st November, 2019 published on your website, you published the number of registered voters as of 21st November, 2019 as 16,435,355. In the same press statement you published the number of constituencies as **296** and polling stations as **34,236**. In the Gazette of 13th March, 2020, General Notice No. 288 of 2020 you published and maintained the number of constituencies as **296**. However, in your press statement of 17th August, 2020 you published the number of constituencies as **353**, polling stations as **34,344** and number of registered voters as **17,658,527** as of 17th September, 2020. In all your press releases you state

that the information in the press release on the constituencies, polling stations and registered voters is uploaded on the Electoral Commission website: www.ec.or.ug and gazetted. Unfortunately no such information is on your website nor gazetted. One month to the elections the electorate ought to be knowing the number of registered voters, districts, constituencies and polling stations. All this information should be uploaded on your website as a way of being transparent and adhering to good governance principles.

2.8.2 Prayers/Redress

Can you please publish on your website and gazette the accurate and correct information regarding, inter alia, the number of districts, constituencies, polling stations and registered voters. The Voters Register has always been an issue during all the previous elections.

2.9 Failure to realize your vision and implement your mission in the 2021 elections

2.9.1 For the record we wish to remind you of your vision and mission as hereunder:

Vision

"To be a Model Institution and Centre of Excellence in Election Management."

Mission

"To efficiently Organize, Conduct and Supervise Regular Free, Fair and Transparent Elections and Referenda to Enhance Democracy and Good Governance."

2.9.2 What sort of elections are conducted where people are killed and their murder justified that they were being protected from being infected with **Covid-19**? What sort of elections are held where campaign rallies are considered riots and to counter the riots, people are teargassed. What sort of elections are conducted where people who attend **yellow** rallies do not get infected with Covid-19 and those who attend other **non-yellow** get infected with Covid-19.

2.9.3 Where is the good governance when there is no rule of law and democracy? Shall we have a free, fair and transparent elections? Will the

deceased vote in a free, fair and transparent election? In the previous elections death of people during campaigns was considered as **"a vote less"** without any substantial effect on the results. How many **"hooligans"**, **"weed and drug addicts"**, **"ganja boys"** or **"ghetto youths"** should die in order to have a substantial effect on the election results? The questions are as many as the deaths that have so far occurred.

2.9.4 Prayers/Redress

- A. The Electoral Commission should exercise its constitutional mandate, authority and power as stipulated by the Constitution, law and Oath of Office. Just to remind you, you took an oath as hereunder:

"OATH OF A MEMBER OF THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION

I Being appointed chairperson/member of the Electoral Commission swear in the name of the Almighty God/solemnly affirm that I will well and truly exercise the functions of chairperson/member of the Electoral Commission in accordance with the Constitution and the laws of the Republic of Uganda without fear or favour, affection or ill will. (SO HELP ME GOD)."

- B. The Electoral Commission should:

- (i) Conduct a legitimate, just, free and fair presidential election in compliance with the Constitution, the Electoral Commission Act and the Presidential Elections Act;
- (ii) Guarantee and ensure an open, transparent, credible and legitimate poll results for presidential elections;
- (iii) Give the presidential elections results legitimacy, integrity and credibility free of manipulation and electoral malpractices.
- (iv) Increase efficiency, openness and transparency of the electoral process and election results;

- C. The Electoral Commission should adopt, use and apply elections technology and services to:

- (i) Implement an online results system that avail results in real time as results are being processed;
- (ii) Electronically transmit the poll results from the Polling Station to the Tally Centre for consolidation;
- (iii) Announce and publish poll results country-wide through uploading to designated websites and text messaging to designated recipients;
- (iv) Allow the stakeholders to audit the process before, during and after elections.

2.10 Conclusion

2.10.1 You will notice that this Petition is brought under Section 15 of the Election Commission Act complaining about irregularities in the conduct of the 2021 elections. Interestingly, you are both the accused and the judge. In this respect we request that before summoning us before you, appear for a hearing, you first respond to the allegations herein so that we know your defence before hand. Additionally and most importantly we request that you render your decision in reasonable time to enable the dissatisfied party with your decision (it could be our client or yourselves) to appeal to the High Court as mandated under Section 15(2).

Yours faithfully,


NYANZI, KIBONEKA & MBABAZI
ADVOCATES

cc. All Presidential Candidates
cc. All Political Parties
cc. The Citizens' Election Observers Network – Uganda (CEON-U)
cc. Client