

S E C R E T

Proposals For Strategy Before, During and After Elections Proposal One:

Elections Should be Stopped

Comrades, you will appreciate even the acceptance to hold elections under the present state of affairs in Uganda must at best be a farce. Our party is opposed to elections and will only accept the prospect of holding elections at the greatest of pains. I do not need to remind you how much the Baganda hate me personally. Nor do you need to be reminded about the demonstrations that followed Lule's fall. All this means that it will be impossible for us to win a single seat in Buganda at this time of our history. We must do everything possible to see that elections are not held on the 30th of September as proposed. Even if it were not for lack of support in the country at the moment our party would simply not be ready by then.

How Can We Ensure That Elections Are Not Held?

(a) **Politically:** We have the majority in the NCC. We should frustrate the non - UPC elements in the Council so that they quit Council business altogether. The NCC minus anti - UPC elements will then be able to amend the electoral laws to suit us in case plans to hold elections succeeded.

(b) **Military:** We similarly have the majority in the armed forces. Anti - UPC elements in the Police force should be retired or dismissed. Only forces loyal to us should be armed at night within a radius at least 10 miles of the City. Anti - UPC officers and men should be sent up country and kept under close surveillance. The Baganda especially should be intimidated. There is no way their co - operation can be solicited. It is very important that Julius does not change his attitude towards us because the presence of his army here is still a deciding factor. In order to guard against the eventuality of Julius walking out on us we should keep in touch with Fidel so that an alternative force is on standby especially if we have to experience a situation similar to the Angolan one. Fidel has already shown anxiety to help especially now that most of our neighbours have turned to America for support. We have, therefore, to portray ourselves as revolutionaries and harp Fidel's tune.

(b) **Administratively:** In case elections have to be held, the Chairman of the Electoral Commission has to be a UPC sympathiser. I have in mind our old friend Kikira who would be suitable. Subsequently all returning officers should be our sympathisers. It will be necessary, therefore, to find a way of eliminating these District Commissioners

who stubbornly refuse to go with us. We must also dig in on the issue of drawing the electoral constituencies. More constituencies should be given to the North - East. Care should be taken not to over weigh West Nile and Acholi. Lango, Teso, Bugishu, and Karamoja are our best hopes. The West is still uncertain. A lot of ground work has to be done in the West and Busoga. They are likely to be persuaded by tribalism to run against us.

I am at pains to propose that if necessary leaders of other parties should be eliminated, UPC especially can be a risk militarily.

Proposal Two: Line Of Action If Elections Have To Be Held

(a) There has to be separate elections for the President. This will give us the advantage of fighting one against three and we are likely to win. Nyerere is still against this idea but I differ strongly. Tanzanian politics is not the same as Uganda's. That is why Cuba and one other African country, I would prefer Ethiopia to Angola, should be informed well in advance.

Semogerere is a man who could be easily dislodged. We need to infiltrate our men into the DP to study his character but his leadership of the party is only a compromise. It would be easy to cause tribal wrangle within the DP.

(b) Each candidate has to have a separate ballot box. Even if we were to compromise on the issue of Presidential elections the ballot boxes must be separate. The need for this is only too clear to you. We are in Government now and we have to be the ones to organise and supervise the elections. That is a golden chance and we must play our cards properly.

Proposal Three: The Elections

(a) If it appears just before, during or immediately after the elections that things are not working out as expected there should immediately be a mutiny by the Army. For this purpose the Chief of Staff has already ensured that all commanders of the Brigades are loyal to us. Instantaneously the other parties will be banned and their leaders detained. This is why the Cubans must be on standby

NB: These proposals have been circulated only by the Party President and you are required not to divulge this information to anybody. Any suggestion regarding the same should be given to the Party President, The Chief of Staff, and the Chairman of the Military Commission.

A.M.O.
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