

Sanctions Are Writing Uganda's Laws **Including the Sovereignty Bill**

A wall around stolen wealth that can no longer escape, built by a regime now trapped inside the country it looted.

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I. THE VERDICT FROM THE GROUND

Ugandans, let nobody confuse you with big English.

The Protection of Sovereignty Bill, 2026 is not about protecting Uganda from foreigners. It is not about protecting the country from the diaspora. It is not about defending ordinary citizens from foreign manipulation.

It is a wall around stolen wealth.

Sanctions have done what forty years of opposition politics failed to do. They have entered the room where the regime hides its real power. Not the rally. Not the slogan. Not the yellow shirt. The money.

The houses abroad are no longer just houses. The accounts abroad are no longer just accounts. The dollar wires are no longer just wires. The school fees abroad are no longer just family matters. The medical trips abroad are no longer private arrangements. The banks in London, New York, and Washington are no longer quiet corridors for stolen Ugandan money.

The regime is now landlocked inside the country it looted.

That is why Kampala is panicking.

A regime can capture Parliament in Kampala. It can intimidate courts in Kampala. It can arrest a journalist in Kampala. It can beat a protester in Kampala. It can summon an NGO director in Kampala. But it cannot command a compliance desk in Manhattan. It cannot frighten OFAC in Washington. It cannot pass a Ugandan law that forces a London bank to move dirty money.

That is the sentence they cannot say in Cabinet.

The Sovereignty Bill was not born from strength. It was born from fear. The diaspora label is camouflage. The foreigner language is cover. The real purpose is to criminalize the channels through which Ugandans abroad, civil society, churches, lawyers, journalists, opposition forces, and accountability networks have started exposing the regime's money outside Uganda.

The Bill says it protects sovereignty. Article 1 says sovereignty belongs to the people. A law that puts the people under ministerial permission cannot protect sovereignty. It attacks it.

That is the verdict.

II. WHEN THE FLAG CAME DOWN BUT POWER DID NOT COME HOME

In 1962, Uganda received independence from Britain on 9 October. The flag changed. The anthem changed. The Governor left. But the deeper question remained unresolved. Who owns power in Uganda?

In 1963, Uganda became a republic in form. But a republic is not made by changing titles. A republic is made when power is bound by law and authority comes from the people.

In 1966, constitutional order was broken by force. The State learned an early bad habit. When the law stands in the way of power, power changes the law. When institutions resist, power crushes institutions. When citizens object, power calls them enemies.

In 1971, the gun entered the center of the State. Uganda learned that a uniform could swallow a Constitution. The indictment is simple. **Once the gun becomes the referee, citizenship becomes a favor.**

In 1979, Uganda removed one military ruler, but the culture of force did not leave the room. The ruler changed. The disease remained.

In 1980, elections reopened the question of consent, but the country did not settle it cleanly. Uganda entered another cycle

where power was claimed before legitimacy was trusted.

In 1986, the Movement entered Kampala speaking the language of liberation. It promised fundamental change. It promised a new political culture. It promised that the gun would serve the people.

Forty years later, the gun did not leave politics. It learned to sit in Cabinet. It learned to control budgets. It learned to run companies. It learned to capture procurement. It learned to draft laws.

Uganda got the flag. The people did not get full control of power.

In 1995, the Constitution tried to stop that disease. **Article 1** said all power belongs to the people. **Article 2** said the Constitution is supreme. **Article 3** said citizens have the right and duty to defend the Constitution.

Those words were not decoration. They were the foundation of the republic.

But Uganda today has a republican Constitution and a captured State. On paper, the people are sovereign. In practice, power sits with the ruler, the army, the ruling party, and the money network around them.

The Sovereignty Bill exposes that contradiction.

III. WHEN LAW BECAME THE NEW GUN

In 2013, the **Public Order Management Act** turned assembly into a police-managed privilege. The indictment is that the regime feared people meeting freely more than it feared corruption.

From 2013 onward, public order became a weapon. A meeting needed permission. A procession needed permission. A citizen's feet on the road became a security question.

From 2011 to 2022, the **Computer Misuse** framework became a weapon against online speech. The indictment is that the regime feared the phone because the phone had become the village square.

From 2016 to 2026, online criticism became treated like a national threat. Bloggers, journalists, and citizens learned that a post could bring police before sunrise.

In 2020, the High Court ruled in *Kalali Steven v Attorney General* that Ugandans in the diaspora and prisoners have the constitutional right to vote. The court said denying them that right violated **Articles 1, 21, and 59**. The indictment is that the Electoral Commission received the ruling but did not implement it.

In 2025, the Supreme Court ruled against civilian trial by military courts. The indictment is that Parliament did not treat the ruling as a constitutional command. It treated it as a drafting problem.

In 2025, the **UPDF Amendment** brought back the same spirit through new language. The indictment is clear. When courts block the regime, Parliament repairs the weapon.

In 2026, the **Protection of Sovereignty Bill** arrived. The indictment is that every time citizens gain a right, the regime drafts a limit. Every time court speaks, Parliament repackages defiance. Every time Ugandans organize, Cabinet creates a new offence.

That is not governance. That is survival dressed as law.

IV. WHEN WASHINGTON FIRST TOUCHED THE WIRE

Ugandans must stop reading history from the last headline. The sanctions story did not begin with Anita Among.

On **13 September 2019**, the United States sanctioned former Inspector General of Police Kale Kayihura under the Global Magnitsky framework. The allegation was serious human rights abuse and corruption. The indictment is that the world had started following the chain from repression to property. In 2019, the message was no longer hidden. Police violence could become a financial problem.

On **7 December 2021**, the United States sanctioned Maj. Gen. Abel Kandiho, then commander of Chieftaincy of Military

Intelligence. The allegations included arrests, detention, physical abuse, sexual abuse, electrocution, and targeting of people because of nationality, political views, or criticism of government. The indictment is that the torture chamber had entered the global financial record.

On **8 December 2023**, Uganda Prisons Commissioner General Johnson Byabashaija entered the American sanctions record in a wider human rights package. The indictment is that even prisons, long hidden behind uniforms, walls, and files, were no longer invisible.

Police. Intelligence. Prisons. That was the curve.

The regime saw it. Cabinet saw it. Security chiefs saw it. Permanent Secretaries saw it. Ministers saw it. The people around the money saw it.

By the time Anita Among was sanctioned, Kampala already knew the net was widening.

V. WHEN LONDON LOCKED THE HOUSE

On **30 April 2024**, the United Kingdom sanctioned Anita Annet Among, Mary Goretti Kitutu, and Agnes Nandutu under its Global Anti-Corruption sanctions regime. London imposed travel bans and asset freezes. The indictment is that what used to be foreign comfort became foreign exposure.

An asset freeze is not a press release. It is a lock. The person may still be called powerful in Kampala, but the property channel abroad is frozen. The account does not obey the Speaker's chair. The property register does not fear a police escort. The bank does not care how many MPs stand up and clap.

On **30 May 2024**, the United States followed with public designations against Among and other Ugandan officials, including Peter Elwelu, Mary Goretti Kitutu, Agnes Nandutu, Amos Lugoloobi, and Moses Magogo.

Let us be precise. The American action against Among was not the same as an OFAC asset blocking designation. It was primarily a public designation and entry restriction channel. That distinction matters because facts must be clean.

But the political message was still brutal. London froze the visible property channel. Washington closed the travel and reputational channel. Earlier American sanctions against Kayihura and Kandiho had already shown the harder financial channel available when Washington moves from visa pressure to blocking sanctions.

Kampala understood the warning.

Today it is a visa. Tomorrow it may be a wire. Today it is a property register. Tomorrow it may be a trust. Today it is a Minister. Tomorrow it may be a spouse, a company, an associate, a school fee trail, a hospital bill, or a dollar account.

That is why the room changed.

VI. THE DOLLAR PIPE DOES NOT FEAR KAMPALA

Sanctions are not magic. They are plumbing.

First, a person is named. That may happen through an American visa designation, an OFAC blocking designation, a British sanctions designation, or another allied mechanism.

Second, where blocking sanctions apply, property under the sanctioning country's jurisdiction is frozen. The person may still own it, but cannot freely move it, sell it, borrow against it, or convert it.

Third, travel becomes humiliation. No quiet medical trips. No shopping trips. No official delegations. No school visits. No

comfortable retirement visits.

Fourth, the serious pressure comes through banks. Every Ugandan bank that wants to move dollars across borders depends on relationships with international banks. Those banks screen names. They screen companies. They screen ownership. They screen spouses. They screen entities. They screen the payment chain.

The American framework has a particular trap inside it. **OFAC's 50 Percent Rule** treats any company owned 50 percent or more by a sanctioned person as also blocked, even when the company itself is not separately named on the list. That is why Moses Magogo was designated alongside Anita Among. Washington has seen the playbook many times. The sanctioned official transfers wealth to a spouse, a relative, an associate, or a shell company. The new holder continues to travel and bank as though untouched. Then the second wave arrives and closes that door too. The regime understands this rule. The Sovereignty Bill is part of the cover the regime is building for the relatives, associates, and shell structures it knows the next designation will reach for.

No law passed in Kampala changes that. No Minister in Uganda edits a bank compliance system in New York. No twenty-year prison sentence in Uganda forces a London bank to clear suspicious money. No Speaker's convoy enters a correspondent bank and orders a transaction through.

That is the quiet humiliation.

They can still threaten Ugandans. They cannot threaten the global financial system.

VII. WHEN THE DIASPORA WON IN COURT

On **17 June 2020**, the High Court held in *Kalali Steven v Attorney General* that prisoners and Ugandans in the diaspora have the constitutional right to vote. The ruling rested on Articles 1, 21, and 59. The indictment is that residence abroad does not cancel citizenship.

A Ugandan in Boston remains Ugandan.

A Ugandan in Dubai remains Ugandan.

A Ugandan in Toronto remains Ugandan.

A Ugandan in Doha remains Ugandan.

A Ugandan in London remains Ugandan.

On **4 January 2026**, Justice Bernard Namanya dismissed a fresh application on the same issue because the *Kalali* ruling had already settled the matter. The indictment is that the issue was no longer legal confusion. It was deliberate non-compliance.

Now look at the regime's two faces.

In court, the diaspora are **citizens** with voting rights.

In the Sovereignty Bill, a Ugandan citizen residing outside Uganda becomes a **foreigner**.

**Citizens in the courtroom. Foreigners in the Bill.
That is not confusion. That is fraud against Article 1.**

VIII. WHEN KAMPALA TOOK AMERICA'S HEALTH MONEY

On **10 December 2025**, Uganda and the United States signed a five-year health cooperation memorandum worth **2.3 billion dollars**. The United States committed up to 1.7 billion dollars. Uganda committed roughly 500 million dollars in additional health spending.

The indictment is simple. The same government that takes foreign health money now wants to criminalize foreign-supported civic activity.

Foreign money is acceptable when it passes through government.

Foreign money becomes dangerous when it helps citizens organize.

Foreign money is welcome when it stabilizes State programs.

Foreign money becomes subversive when it supports election monitoring, legal petitions, independent media, anti-corruption work, policy advocacy, or opposition finance.

That is not sovereignty. That is monopoly.

***IX.* WHEN A UGANDAN ABROAD BECAME A FOREIGNER**

On **13 April 2026**, the Protection of Sovereignty Bill, 2026 was gazetted as **Bill No. 13**.

Inside that Bill sits the insult.

A foreigner includes a Ugandan citizen residing outside Uganda.

Read that again slowly.

A nurse in Baltimore. A truck driver in Dubai. A student in Toronto. A doctor in Boston. A security guard in Doha. A cleaner in Riyadh. A businesswoman in London. A Ugandan mother in Maryland sending money to her mother in Masaka.

Under this Bill, she becomes a foreigner in the eyes of her own government.

The same Bill restricts foreign support above twenty thousand currency points within twelve months without written approval of the Minister. One currency point is twenty thousand shillings. That makes the threshold **UGX 400 million**. The Bill also carries penalties that can reach **twenty years in prison**. The indictment is that the regime is not merely regulating money. It is putting citizenship under permission.

Banks are also pulled into the machinery. If money connected to a so-called agent of a foreigner moves without declaration and authorization, financial institutions can be exposed to penalties. The indictment is that banks are being pushed toward political policing.

Read the Bill carefully and a quiet truth appears. The 300 dollars the nurse sends to her mother every month is not what the Bill catches. Multiply that by twelve months, add a Christmas wire and a hospital emergency in July, and the grandmother has received about 5,000 dollars in a year. Far below the UGX 400 million threshold. Technically safe.

What the Bill catches is the church project. The diaspora fundraiser. The civil society partnership. The legal aid clinic supported from abroad. The election monitor. The training program. The investigative journalism grant. Not family. Civic life.

The regime claims to be regulating foreign interference. It has actually drafted a law that misses small remittances and catches organized citizen action. That is the giveaway.

The target is not foreign. The target is organized.

In 2025, Uganda received roughly **2.5 billion dollars** in remittances. The United States was the largest source, sending about **702 million dollars**. Most transfers were small. Many were below 499 dollars. The money paid school fees, hospital bills, rent, food, burials, weddings, land payments, and survival.

So let us call this by its real name.

It wants the remittance but not the vote. It wants the dollar but not the voice. It wants the sacrifice but not the citizenship.

***X.* DO NOT BE FOOLED BY THE BIG ENGLISH**

Government will say every serious country regulates foreign influence.

Answer. Serious countries do not define their own citizens abroad as foreigners.

Government will say Uganda must protect sovereignty.

Answer. Article 1 says sovereignty belongs to the people. A law that criminalizes citizen participation cannot protect citizen sovereignty.

Government will say foreign money corrupts politics.

Answer. Then pass a clean campaign finance law for everyone. Cap contributions. Publish donors. Audit parties. Disclose state funding. Track ruling party abuse of public resources. Do not take diaspora remittances with one hand and criminalize diaspora political participation with the other.

Government will say the Bill protects national security.

Answer. Security law must be narrow. This Bill is wide enough to touch churches, NGOs, banks, media houses, lawyers, election monitors, policy advocates, diaspora associations, and ordinary citizens.

Government will say the Bill protects Uganda from foreign governments.

Answer. The Bill protects government from Ugandans who have learned how to organize beyond its reach.

That is why the language is broad. That is why the penalties are harsh. That is why the Minister sits at the center.

The regime is not hunting spies. It is hunting control.

XI. THE PERSON INSIDE THE LAW

Forget the legal grammar for a moment. See the person.

A Ugandan nurse in Baltimore sends 300 dollars every month to her mother in Mbarara. Blood pressure medicine. School fees for a grandchild. A small SACCO deposit. A hospital emergency in July. Christmas money in December.

That woman is not a foreign power.

She is a daughter.

Her church in Maryland raises 180,000 dollars over eighteen months to build a church hall in her home village. Under this Bill, the real question is no longer whether the village needs the hall. The question becomes whether a Minister in Kampala approves.

The same nurse joins a diaspora fundraiser for a candidate in Tororo. She gives money because Uganda is still her country. The Bill now treats her participation as foreign linked political activity.

What kind of government receives her remittances, counts them in the economy, benefits from the consumption they support, then calls her a foreigner when she asks for political voice?

Only a government that wants the money but fears the citizen.

XII. THE FATHER-TO-SON WALL

Now name the architecture.

The Sovereignty Bill, the ignored diaspora voting ruling, the shielded voter register, the revived spirit of civilian military trials, the weaponized speech laws, and the pressure on civic actors are not scattered events. They are the legal fence around a controlled succession.

Gen. Muhoozi Kainerugaba is being positioned as heir. Uganda knows it. The ruling class knows it. The army knows it. Foreign missions know it. The village knows it. Even those pretending not to know it know it.

But Article 1 creates a problem for inheritance.

Power belongs to the people.

It does not belong to a father.

It does not belong to a son.

It does not belong to a barracks.

It does not belong to a party caucus.

It does not belong to a family meeting at State House.

So the political ground must be changed before the people arrive at the ballot.

The diaspora must be silenced because diaspora Ugandans can finance politics beyond State House control.

Civil society must be boxed because civil society can document violations and move evidence.

Independent media must be chilled because media can connect scattered facts into one national story.

Courts must be ignored when they rule against the regime.

Parliament must move quickly because delay gives the country time to read.

That is the father-to-son wall.

A son is not a plan. A son is a confession.

XIII. THE INSTITUTIONAL CORRECTION

Opposition that only complains about bad laws will lose to the people writing them.

The Mulungi Plan begins from a hard truth. Uganda's crisis is not only bad leadership. It is bad architecture. Bad men are downstream. The structure that protects them is upstream.

The Sovereignty Bill exposes one central defect. Power is too concentrated in Kampala. One captured Cabinet can draft. One captured Parliament can rush. One captured committee can process. One captured Speaker can preside. One captured State can criminalize the whole country before the village even understands the Bill.

The correction must match the defect.

The first correction is a **Presidential Transition Authority**.

The PTA is not a government. It is a constitutional bridge out of capture. It must be created by referendum, limited by time, civilian in character, and neutral in composition. No sitting Cabinet minister. No sitting MP. No serving military officer.

Its work is direct. Audit the extraction points. Restore the Electoral Authority. Implement ignored court rulings. Clean the voter register. Supervise the first real election after capture. Dissolve on schedule.

That is how Uganda replaces the father-to-son plan with a people-to-people handover.

The second correction is **Subregional Parliaments**.

A single captured chamber in Kampala is too easy to bend. Uganda needs legislative firewalls across the country. Buganda. Busoga. Bukedi and Bugisu. Teso. Karamoja. Lango. Acholi. West Nile. Bunyoro. Tooro. Ankole. Kigezi. And final groupings approved through the transition process.

A Bill like this should not pass in nine days. It should face the country. It should face the subregions. It should face the people whose lives it claims to regulate.

That is what Local Federal Governance means under the Mulungi Plan.

Mobilize Civilian Rule.

Unleash Opportunity Zones.

Local Federal Governance.

Unify Urban and Rural Prosperity.

Nourish Education and Health.

Guard Good Governance.

Ignite Integration.

Those are the seven promises of MULUNGI. Not slogans. Architecture.

Sovereignty must stop being a word shouted from Kampala. It must become a system lived by citizens where they are.

XIV. WHAT MUST BE DONE BEFORE THE DOOR CLOSSES

Every Ugandan who understands the danger must move with discipline.

Submit written objections to Parliament. Not noise. Written objections. Churches. Mosques. Cultural institutions. Lawyers. Bankers. Traders. Student bodies. Women's groups. Diaspora associations. Media houses. Each submission becomes a record.

Prepare the constitutional petition now. The clauses redefining diaspora Ugandans as foreigners, restricting citizen participation, placing civic money under ministerial permission, and criminalizing broad political or policy activity must be challenged under Articles 1, 2, 3, 21, 26, 27, 29, and 59.

Record every official defending this Bill. Let them say on camera that Ugandans abroad are foreigners. Let them explain why remittance money is welcome but political participation is criminal. Let them build the evidence against themselves.

Read Articles 1, 2, and 3 aloud. In homes. In churches. In taxis. In WhatsApp groups. In trading centers. In university halls. In diaspora meetings.

The Constitution must leave the lawyer's shelf and enter the mouth of the ordinary Ugandan. That is where the regime becomes afraid.

XV. THE LANDLOCKED DYNASTY

The Protection of Sovereignty Bill, 2026 is not sovereignty.

It is panic in legal dress.

It is a wall around wealth sanctions have made less mobile. It is a wall around a succession the Constitution does not permit. It is a wall around a political class learning that the world is no longer as open to stolen wealth as it used to be.

They will call it national security. They will call it foreign interference. They will call it protecting Uganda. Read the dates and the vocabulary collapses.

1962Uganda got the flag.

1995Uganda wrote Article 1.

2013Assembly was pushed under police permission.

2019Kayihura was sanctioned.

2020The diaspora won the right to vote.

2021Kandiho was sanctioned.

2023Byabashaija entered the sanctions record.

2024London sanctioned Among and froze the UK channel.

2024Washington closed the American travel and reputational channel around Among and others.

2025Uganda took a 2.3 billion dollar health cooperation deal with America.

2026The same government defined Ugandans abroad as foreigners and placed foreign-supported civic participation under ministerial control.

That is not coincidence. That is architecture.

The regime has chosen law as its new gun because law lasts longer than bullets. We must choose the Constitution as our shield because Article 1 is stronger than any Bill tabled in panic.

All power belongs to the people.

Not to Cabinet.

Not to Parliament.

Not to State House.

Not to a General.

Not to a son.

The government is subject to the authority and power of the people. Not the other way round.

That is not opinion. That is Article 1.

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post-Museveni Uganda.*

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*Your pain was designed.
So is the plan to end it.*