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PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(HANSARD)

OFFICIAL REPORT

FIFTH SESSION - THIRD MEETING

TUESDAY, 05 MAY 2026



IN THE PARLIAMENT OF UGANDA

Official Report of the Proceedings of Parliament

FIFTH SESSION - 11TH SITTING - THIRD MEETING

Tuesday, 5 May 2026

Parliament met at 1.59 p.m. in Parliament House, Kampala.

PRAYERS

(The Speaker, Ms Anita Among, in the Chair.)

The House was called to order.

COMMUNICATION FROM THE CHAIR

THE SPEAKER: Honourable members, we shall have free sitting. I welcome you to this afternoon's sitting. As you recall, on Tuesday, 21 April 2026, I guided that the committees that had pending business should expedite it and conclude with the reports. I am happy that some of the committees have done that. We should leave the 11th Parliament clean.

Whereas on Thursday, 24 April 2026, I had adjourned the House sine die, a need has arisen because some committees are ready to report their work to the House. We should be able to consider what is on the Order Paper.

You will also note that we are now at the tail end of the 11th Parliament. As such, it is in our best interest to ensure a smooth transition to the 12th Parliament by leaving nothing undone. I request that Members cooperate with us and we ensure that we finish what is pending. I should be able to give you the last supper on the eighth. Thank you.

2.03

MR IBRAHIM SSEMUJJU (FDC, Kira Municipality, Wakiso): Thank you, Madam Speaker. I came here but left my heart out

because of the unusual deployment outside. It is as if Parliament has become a barracks with soldiers, including the Uganda People's Defence Forces (UPDF), who are not always present. They came here at 8.00 a.m. There are also some unusual faces I have seen in Parliament.

Madam Speaker, I rise to raise this procedural matter, seeking your assurance that what happened on the day we processed the Coffee (Amendment) Bill, 2025, will not happen today. That day, the lights were switched off and people we did not know entered Parliament and kidnapped Members of Parliament (MPs).

I even saw Sukhoi aircrafts. We bought them to go and fight agents of foreign interest but they are here fighting Parliament. Madam Speaker, can we be assured of our safety?

THE SPEAKER: Thank you. Honourable members, as long as you are in this House, you are all very safe. Unfortunately, I did not see the deployment. Maybe because I came through the lift - they ran away from me? They will not harm my people.

Is Hon. *Panadol* also here? When there is a last supper, everybody has to come. I am also happy to see my Leader of the Opposition (LOP). Next item.

LAYING OF PAPERS

(I) THE SUPPLEMENTARY
EXPENDITURE SCHEDULE NO. 5 FOR
THE FINANCIAL YEAR 2025/2026

THE SPEAKER: Honourable members, on 30 April 2026, the Office of the Clerk of Parliament received a Supplementary Expenditure Schedule No. 5 of the Financial Year 2025/2026 - can I have order - this supplementary schedule is of urgency. I remember Dr Keefa raising an issue on the election of local councils (LCs). There was the schedule but we did not have the minister then to present it.

We have pending issues, such as delayed payment of arrears for local government staff and preparations for the African Cup of Nations (AFCON 2027). They are all in this supplementary schedule. Due to this urgency, I request that the House consider this supplementary budget request.

Pursuant to Rule 160(1) of the Rules of Procedure of Parliament, I would like to invite the Minister of Finance, Planning and Economic Development to move a motion to that effect. Thereafter, we will request someone to move a motion to suspend rules for this supplementary schedule to go to the committee stage.

2.08

MR MEDARD LUBEGA-SSEGGONA (NUP, Busiro County East, Wakiso): Thank you, Madam Speaker. I am concerned that you invited somebody called “Minister of Finance”. I have read the Twitter handle of my brother, the President of the Republic of Uganda, His Excellency Yoweri Kaguta Museveni.

He said, “Today, I chaired a final Cabinet meeting of the outgoing Government and later hosted members to a luncheon in appreciation of their dedicated service to the country. This is the Cabinet that ushered Uganda into middle-income status. I thank everyone who contributed to this achievement, including Cabinet secretaries for effectively managing.”

These people had their final supper last evening and the President saw them off, wishing them well, yet we are still here claiming that we have ministers. Do we have a Cabinet? Guide me, Madam Speaker. The owner of the Cabinet dissolved it.

THE SPEAKER: First of all, that is not a tweet from your brother and not from the President of the Republic of Uganda. Being one of the best lawyers in town, you know when the Cabinet stops.

You are now talking about a tweet. I did not know that even a senior advocate would believe in hearsay because the law is very clear. Their term of office ends on the day the President is sworn in, and that is on the 12th of May. That is when you can also be appointed as a Minister of Constitutional Affairs. No - that was just a tweet, and it is not from the President.

2.10

MR NATHAN BYANYIMA (NRM, Bukanga North County, Isingiro): Thank you, Madam Speaker. When you talk of a supplementary budget, we came in here during the campaign period and passed a supplementary budget for the Ministry of Works and Transport, worth Shs 1.6 trillion. When we met them, they had received a paltry Shs 500 billion. The roads are in a bad state all over the country. What does the supplementary mean? I thought it would be money directly allocated to go into our roads. The money never reached them. There is no use of passing a supplementary when the money cannot go to the beneficiaries. It is just like-

THE SPEAKER: Therefore, we should not have election for LC1s, LC2s?

MR BYANYIMA: No. How sure are we that the money will go there? We want assurance.

THE SPEAKER: Hon. Nathan-

MR BYANYIMA: You would rather leave elections but have roads repaired. That is where we all pass.

THE SPEAKER: Why didn't you say we would rather not have your elections as a member of Parliament?

MR BYANYIMA: You could have even postponed; I would not mind. *(Laughter)* What we are after is Ugandans having roads to pass.

THE SPEAKER: Hon. Nathan, you are saying that because you escaped narrowly. Otherwise, somebody was going to whip you.

(II) SUPPLEMENTARY EXPENDITURE
SCHEDULE NO.5 FOR FINANCIAL YEAR
2025/2026

2.12

THE MINISTER OF STATE FOR FINANCE, PLANNING AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT (GENERAL DUTIES) (Mr Henry Musasizi): Madam Speaker, I beg to lay on the Table the Supplementary Schedule No.5 for Financial Year 2025/2026 amounting to Shs 1,105,163,000,000. I beg to lay, Madam Speaker.

THE SPEAKER: Thank you. That is under Rule 160(1) of the Rules of Procedure. Is the motion seconded? Seconded by Hon. Isaac, Hon. Peter, Member from Buhweju, Hon. Bahati, Hon. Obua, Hon. Ecweru, and this whole side. Hon. Aber, Hon. Linos, Ibanda, Hon. Kisa, Hon. Gabriel, Hon. Eric, Hon. Mariam, Hon. Amero, Hon. Elijah, Hon. Max, Hon. Akol, Member from Aruu, Hon. Okot, Hon. Ssentayi, Hon. Angura, Hon. Fox, Hon. Tom, and Hon. Kinobere- by the majority Members of the House.

Honourable members, please enter.

MR MUSASIZI: Madam Speaker, the Supplementary Schedule No.5 was administratively presented to the Office of the Speaker on 29 April 2006, and I have just laid it on the Table formally.

THE SPEAKER: Correction, it was on 30 April 2026.

MR MUSASIZI: Madam Speaker, I wish to correct the date as 30 April 2026. Madam Speaker, I also wish to present the details of this Schedule as follows:

Madam Speaker-

THE SPEAKER: There is a procedural matter.

MR SSEMUJJU: Madam Speaker, the minister, as per the Order Paper and Rules of Procedure, has laid the schedule but he is also going ahead to do something the rules do not provide for. He is explaining, and I do not know which rule he is using. Hon. Musasizi has been here for a long time. The Speaker guided you but being NRM, you did not even hear. She suggested that if you want to proceed to the next stage, you move Parliament; you do not just rise up as if you are herding cows. You have laid and now you are justifying. What are you justifying, and under which rule?

THE SPEAKER: Thank you. The supplementary Schedule has been laid-

2.17

MR FOX ODOI-OYWELowo (NRM, West Budama North East County, Tororo): Motion, Madam Speaker. Pursuant to Rule 17 of the Rules of Procedure of the Parliament of the Republic of Uganda, I beg to move that the House be pleased to suspend Rules 160 (3)(4) and (5) of the Rules of Procedure to enable this honourable House to consider Supplementary Expenditure No.5 for the Financial Year 2025/2026 without prior referral to the budget committee. I beg to move.

THE SPEAKER: Is the motion seconded? Seconded by the Prime Minister of the Republic of Uganda, the Government Chief Whip, Hon. Bahati, Hon. Musasizi, Hon. Nsibambi Yusuf, Hon. Ecweru, and this whole side. Thank you. Can you justify why you are moving that?

MR ODOI-OYWELowo: Madam Speaker, Supplementary Expenditure No.5 for the Financial Year 2025/2026 makes provisions for critical areas of expenditure:

1. Elections for Local Council 1

Our democratisation processes require that we hold elections right down to the lowest units of our administration. It is imperative that we provide resources to enable the people of Uganda to exercise their democratic rights to elect their Local Council 1.

2. It provides for AFCON.

This is one of our flagship projects. We bid to host the AFCON with other East African states and we need to make provisions for that item.

3. It also provides for the swearing-in ceremony of the President of the Republic of Uganda.

This is a culmination of the hard-earned efforts of the people of Uganda who elected their President; we have to provide for the swearing-in ceremony.

Lastly, it provides for salary arrears. The people who work for the Republic of Uganda must be paid, and as Parliament, we must make provisions for the payment of salary arrears. I request you, Honourable Colleagues, to support this Supplementary Expenditure No.5 of 2025/2026.

THE SPEAKER: Yes, you can debate. It has no problem.

2.20

MR MEDARD LUBEGA-SSEGGONA (NUP, Busiro County East, Wakiso): Thank you, Madam Speaker. The reasons given by both the Minister and Hon. Fox Odoi, on the face, sound reasonable. Let me question the commitment of our servants in the Government and those who make budgets.

When we were enacting the Public Finance Management Act, we put conditions for supplements. Certain things are foreseeable. Number one, who in the Government did not know that we would have a swearing-in ceremony for the President-elect, and that the functions surrounding that are funded from taxpayers' money, from the budget?

Who did not know that the election of Local Councils is long overdue? For us to be here, stampeded into making provision for monies over items we knew? Who did not know that servants are serving the Republic of Uganda, who are supposed to be paid from our coffers? How does someone, the minister, come here today to tell us that you want a supplementary to pay salaries for less than a month to the next budget? I oppose.

THE SPEAKER: Minister.

2.22

THE MINISTER OF STATE FOR FINANCE, PLANNING AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT) (GENERAL DUTIES) (Mr Henry Musasizi): Thank you, Madam Speaker. Before I present the details of the Supplementary, I appreciate Hon. Sseggon's concerns. An item in the law, Section 24 of the Public Finance Management Act, is very clear. For an item to qualify for supplementary, it must have been unforeseen at the time of budgeting or unavoidable.

Without wasting much time, I want to be specific. Looking at an item of swearing-in, it is true we foresaw that there would be the swearing-in of the President-elect on the 12th of May, and we provided the funding to that effect. What has arisen is that what we provided and what is required are different. What we are asking for is over and above what we provided at the time of budgeting, which is allowable.

THE SPEAKER: It is basically Shs 3 billion.

MR MUSASIZI: It is only Shs 3 billion.

THE SPEAKER: Members, can we have order?

MR MUSASIZI: Madam Speaker, I now come to the details of this Supplementary Schedule-

THE SPEAKER: Let me hear from the Shadow Minister of Finance. In the meantime, in the VIP Gallery, are members-elect of the 12th Parliament. We have Hon. Sumaya Nabawanuka, for Mubende. You are most

welcome. Stop that *Nugu*. Can you clap for my Members? (*Applause*)

We have Hon. Karungi Annet, Woman MP-elect, Kabarole District. Hon. Tumwesigye Anthony, Isingiro West County. Hon. Katooko Sylvia, Woman MP-elect, Kibuku. Hon. Goire Moses, Budaka County. Hon. Alinaitwe Sylvia, Woman MP-elect Rukiga, and Hon. Ntabazi Harriet from Bwamba County. You are all most welcome. (*Applause*)

In the VIP Gallery, we also have the former Member of Parliament and the Secretary-General of the Uganda People's Congress, Hon. Ebil Fred. They are all here to witness the proceedings. (*Applause*)

Yes, Hon. Ssemujju -

MR SSEMUJJU: Madam Speaker, the people seated next to my brother, Hon. Musasizi, will need to apply a speed meter. We are still debating the motion to suspend the rules. For the second and third time, he is going to elaborate on what is in the schedule. I want to concentrate on the Motion moved by the Hon. Fox Odoi.

Appropriation is one of the key functions of Parliament. When you look at Section 12 of the Public Finance Management Act, we are required, before we authorise the Government to spend money, to review their procurement plans, work plan and cash flow. That is a matter of law that you, Hon. Fox Odoi, cannot suspend.

That suspension means that you are also suspending the requirement under Section 12 of the Public Finance Management Act. The reason is that you are going to spend people's money. Their representatives must look at the work plan, procurement plan and cash flow. I do not want to also accuse you-

THE SPEAKER: Hon. Ssemujju, Section 12 is on the annual budget. We are talking about a supplementary.

MR SSEMUJJU: I agree, Madam Speaker, a supplementary is part of the budget because we are supplementing the budget, not something else. The point I make is that there is absolutely no way this Parliament, seated here, will look at procurement plans, work plans and cash flow, and then authorise the Government to spend money.

The minister - and I thank him. He said you already have money for the swearing-in ceremony but you want more. That is the very reason the Public Finance Management Act was made, for us to look at the money that we gave you, if it is not enough, and we do that by looking at the procurement, we look at the work plan, and then authorise you.

For you to come here and blindfold all MPs and say there is a swearing-in ceremony does not absolve you of the responsibility of following the law, because you are in a hurry. I want to hear from the Hon. Fox Odoi, a lawyer, on whether you can also suspend the requirements of the Public Finance Management Act. If there is a provision in any law allowing you to suspend it, we can deal with the rules.

I will ask you later to speak as Shadow finance minister. I am now debating like any ordinary MP, and I am opposed to this motion of Hon. Fox Odoi that is taking away our responsibility as Parliament to scrutinise requests from the Government.

THE SPEAKER: Hon. Fox Odoi is only seeking the House to allow him to suspend, and you know how this can be approved. We shall put that question. Meanwhile, the Vice President and Prime Minister, you are welcome to this session as we prepare for our last supper. Honourable members, I am putting a question that Rule 160(3), (4), and (5) be suspended to enable direct consideration of the Supplementary Expenditure Schedule No. 5 for the Financial Year 2025/2026 by the House without referral to the budget committee and relevant sectoral committees.

(Question put and agreed to.)

Rule 160(3)(4) and (5) suspended.

THE SPEAKER: I put the question that the Supplementary Expenditure Schedule No.5 for the Financial Year 2025/2026 be approved by this House. Honourable members, we are approving the schedule; we will then supply. Mr Okema read the motion, and he is going to justify it. Honourable minister, after the suspension, you justify it. Can we have the justification?

2.33

THE MINISTER OF STATE FOR FINANCE, PLANNING AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT (GENERAL DUTIES)

(Mr Henry Musasizi): Madam Speaker, Section 24 of the Public Finance Management Act states that the total supplementary expenditure that requires additional resources over and above what is approved by Parliament shall not exceed 3 per cent of the total approved budget for that financial year without the approval of Parliament.

You will recall that Parliament approved supplementary expenditure Schedules 1, 2, 3, and 4 for the Financial Year 2025/2026, as follows:

- i. Schedule 1 under 3 per cent Shs 1,652.29 billion;
- ii. Schedule 2 under 3 per cent for roads, Shs 1,696 billion;
- iii. Schedule 3 above 3 per cent Shs 4,776.11 billion;
- iv. Schedule 4 transferred to National Forest Authority (NFA) budget following rationalisation, Shs 22 billion; totalling Shs 8,126.4 billion.

Subsequently, the Cabinet approved Supplementary Expenditure Schedule NO. 5 as follows: within 3 per cent, Shs 519.002 billion. Above 3 per cent, Shs 586.161 billion, totalling Shs 1,105,163 trillion. This supplementary will be financed as follows:

One, budget reallocation, Shs 40.21 billion.

- i. Additional tax revenue/local revenue, Shs 6.25 billion.

- ii. Additional external financing, Shs 72.90 billion.

- iii. Reallocation efficiency in budget execution and cash management, Shs 985.80 billion.

I now go to Vote by Vote. Madam Speaker, we will spend this supplementary under the following votes –

THE SPEAKER: Honourable members, as you are near the switches, please, do not switch off our lights.

MR MUSASIZI: Vote 002 - State House, Shs 300 billion to cater for classified expenditures.

Vote 010 - Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries, Shs 3.8 billion to operationalise Kapeka Farm Service Centre.

Vote 144 - Uganda Police Force, Shs 110.41 billion to finance additional security interventions and emerging contractual obligations owing to the 2026 general elections. This ensured peaceful general elections, as you all witnessed.

Vote 017 - Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development, Shs 24.850 billion for partial payment for the Government acquisition of the Electro-Maxx 50 megawatt power plant in Tororo. This will enable the Government to commence implementing its energy policy mix, which requires 10 per cent of generation capacity to come from thermal power.

Vote 126 - National Information Technologies Authority, Shs 21.966 billion. This is additional financing for internet services under the National Information Technology Authority. This situation arose from an increase in internet usage by MDAs and local governments during the financial year following the implementation of Last Mile Connectivity.

Vote 142 - National Agricultural Research Organisation (NARO), Shs 20 billion. This is to cover operational shortfalls realised during the ongoing roll-out of the anti-tick vaccine. The shortfalls are for the purchase of reagents and packaging materials, and the recruitment of additional staff.

Vote 015 - Ministry of Trade, Industry and Cooperatives, Shs 37.90 billion for capitalisation of Uganda Development Corporation as an additional investment in Atiak Sugar Factory.

The second category is self-financing and budget-neutral supplementary requests over and above the 3 per cent legal limit, which require prior approval by Cabinet and Parliament. Of a total of Shs 586.16 billion for Supplementary Expenditure Schedule No.5, which is above the 3 per cent legal limit. A total of Shs 123.03 billion is self-financed and thus budget-neutral. The self-financing/budget-neutral supplementary includes the following: Reallocation of Shs 40.21 billion to cater for additional wages for recruitment of health workers under 19 referral hospitals.

Honourable colleagues, there is a need to allocate the wage of Shs 40.21 billion currently budgeted for under the Ministry of Health to 19 referral hospitals. This is required to cater for the recruitment and absorption of critical health workers who were previously supporting these hospitals before the suspension of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) funding for essential health services.

The beneficiary referral hospitals are the following;

- i. Butabika Hospital, Arua Hospital, Fort Portal Hospital, Gulu Hospital, Hoima Hospital, Jinja Hospital, Kabale Hospital, Masaka Hospital, Mbale Hospital, Soroti Hospital, Lira Hospital, Mbarara Regional Referral Hospital, Mubende Regional Referral Hospital, Moroto Regional Referral Hospital, Naguru National Referral Hospital, Entebbe Regional Referral Hospital, Mulago Specialised Women and Neonatal Hospital, Kayunga Referral Hospital, and Yumbe Referral Hospital;
- ii. Shs 9.92 billion for various local governments, which are also detailed in Annex I;

iii. Shs 1.44 billion as unspent balances under the Uganda Intergovernmental Fiscal Transfer Programme (UgIFT), which were returned to the Uganda Consolidated Fund at the end of the Financial Year 2024/2025. This funding is required to enable the local governments to meet their outstanding contractual obligations under the programme for this year;

iv. Shs 2.22 billion for the Uganda Support to Municipal Infrastructure Development (USMID) project as unspent balances that were returned to the Uganda Consolidated Fund at the end of the Financial Year 2024/2025. This funding is required to enable the local governments to meet their contractual obligations and avoid - *(Interruption)*

THE SPEAKER: There is a motion-

MR SSEGGONA: Madam Speaker, in your communication at the beginning of this Session, you did say, and I applauded you, that even as we exit, we must leave this Parliament and the nation clean. Having lost in our attempt to block this supplementary, and purely as a Ugandan, I concede that we lost on that. What I do not concede to is that we have also lost the duty to scrutinise the documents.

With the background I have given and the need to do the job you have called upon us to do, may I move that you find pleasure in suspending the proceedings for at least 15 minutes for us to be able to access the documents and follow the proceedings properly, so that we support what we know.

THE SPEAKER: Honourable members, don't you have the report?

MR SSEGGONA: We do not.

THE SPEAKER: The document was uploaded online, I gave all of you iPads, and my dad here gave it to my stepmother. So, check what is on the iPad. Can you continue?

MR MUSASIZI: Madam Speaker, Shs 6.25 billion-

THE SPEAKER: Honourable members, let us listen to this. These monies are going to hospitals. We are the ones who have been complaining that hospitals do not have workers, and we are here- By the way, let me tell you, if you think you are going to waste my time so we do not finish, we shall finish. I know my sister is not used to finishing, but today she will finish. (*Laughter*) Yes. Go ahead.

MR MUSASIZI: Madam Speaker, under this category, we have Shs 6.25 billion to cater for the additional local revenue collected by local government Votes over and above their respective appropriated budget.

THE SPEAKER: By the way, I was joking about my sister.

MR MUSASIZI: Madam Speaker, the local governments are the following: Arua City, Jinja City -

THE SPEAKER: Can you hear your local governments?

MR MUSASIZI: Madam Speaker, the local governments with additional local revenue are the following: Arua City, Jinja City, Lira City, Mbale City, Apac Municipal Council, Agago District, Budaka District, Bugiri District, Buhweju District, Bulambuli District, Bushenyi District, Dokolo District, Jinja District, Kalilo District, Kasese District, Kyikube District, Koboko District, Kyegegwa District, Kyenjojo District, Kyotera District, Mbarara District, Mitooma District, Moroto District, Nakapiripirit District, Nakasongola District, Namisindwa District, Obongi District, Pallisa District, Rubanda District, Rubirizi District, Rukiga District, Sironko District, Tororo District, among others. (*Interjections*)

Madam Speaker, we have also provided Shs 72.9 billion as additional disbursement by the World Bank for the Generating Growth Opportunities and Productivity for Women Enterprises(GROW) project. The World Bank

approved and disbursed additional funds for GROW project. These funds must be utilised, or the grant will be cancelled at the end of this financial year.

Madam Speaker, I now come to the supplementary expenditures that are above the 3 per cent legal limit that require additional financing. The total is Shs 463.15 billion, and the particulars are as follows:

- i. Shs 56.95 billion for LC1, LC2, and Women Council Committee elections countrywide as directed by the Cabinet. These funds are required to support the Electoral Commission in fully implementing the electoral roadmap, as already approved by the Cabinet.
- ii. Shs 29.57 billion for AFCON 2027 preparatory activities.

Honourable members, the Cabinet directed that we fully fund AFCON 2027, beginning with the immediate requirement in this Financial Year 2025/2026. These funds are required to implement the urgent preparatory works, reduce implementation risk and keep the overall AFCON 2027 preparation programme on schedule. The activities include the following;

- i) Shs 14.1 billion for preliminary works at Kabalega International Airport. This one will go to the Ministry of Works and Transport.
- ii) Shs 8.03 billion for priority road works and associated support activities in Kira Municipal Council.
- iii) Shs 3.06 billion for pitch improvement at Kadiba Football Stadium.
- iv) Shs 0.31 billion for branding of host cities and content production for the Destination Uganda documentary.
- v) Shs 1.0 17 billion for Hoima City and Masindi Municipality to finance sanitation and road safety interventions.
- vi) Shs 1.02 billion for meteorological and aviation safety support system.
- vii) Shs 1.8 billion for water utility preparatory works for the Hoima cluster.

Madam Speaker, we also require;

- i) Shs 132.9 billion for outstanding obligations under the Uganda Police Force. These obligations resulted from outstanding allowances and feeding expenses for special police constables hired during the general elections, as well as contractual obligations for the procurement of the 324 troop carriers.
- ii) Shs 23.21 billion as counterpart funding for wages to operationalise the newly constructed seed schools under the World Bank Uganda Intergovernmental Fiscal Transfer (UgIFT) programme – and the details are provided in the annex.
- iii) Shs 107.52 billion for wage, pension and gratuity shortfalls resulting from in-year salary enhancement undertaken by the Ministry of Public Service.
- iv) Shs 110 billion to cater for classified expenditures under Vote 002 – State House.
- v) Shs 3 billion to cater for budget shortfalls for the swearing-in and inaugural ceremony of the President-elect, 2026, His Excellency Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, under Vote 001 – Office of the President.

Madam Speaker, I had already earlier mentioned how this supplementary will be financed. I now conclude as follows;

Honourable colleagues, given the critical nature of these expenditure requirements, I pray that you consider and pass this supplementary request to enable the Government to meet them as we come to the close of the financial year; none of them can wait until the new financial year. I beg to move for the House's consideration.

THE SPEAKER: Thank you, Hon. Musasizi. In the VIP gallery, we have Hon. Kiti Peter from Too County, Bukwo. We have Hon. Arthur Atuhwereire Kazoora, from Ruhinda. You are most welcome. Thank you for coming. *(Applause)*

Yes, you have heard the supplementary. Shadow minister?

2.54

MR IBRAHIM SSEMUJJU (FDC, Kira Municipality, Wakiso): Thank you very much, Madam Speaker. First of all, from what the minister has read, in my opinion, nothing qualifies to be an emergency. However, I want to begin by thanking the NRM party whip for the good mobilisation. There are colleagues I have not seen for more than a year. I want to thank him.

THE SPEAKER: Honourable members, all these Members of Parliament have been coming here. Unless you are telling me that you have been half blind. *(Laughter)* Leave my Members of Parliament; they have been coming to the House.

MR SSEMUJJU: Madam Speaker, I agree. When we were processing the budget, all these seats were empty. However, I want to thank them. I am only fearing because last time, when the Special Forces Command (SFC) invaded us, they were standing like many of those NRM MPs in the corners.

THE SPEAKER: Honourable -

MR SSEMUJJU: Can I now move to the motion?

THE SPEAKER: Honourable members, I have told you that the Members of Parliament are elected to be in this House. When you say that you have not been seeing these Members of Parliament, that is an insult to yourselves.

MR SSEMUJJU: I am sorry, Madam Speaker. I did not mean to offend anyone but if any colleagues have come to vote, you can ask them to excuse themselves. We need some air. These ones who are standing everywhere, they will be notified that voting has started. *(Laughter)*

THE SPEAKER: Can you bring – there is a point of order.

MR AEKU: Madam Speaker, is my senior friend and brother, Hon. Ssemujju, in order to begin calling us SFCs as if he does not know us? You have been seeing us in this House but

you are there, saying you want fresh air. Are you going to get out, and I sit where you are seated? I am giving you respect by you sitting while you talk, and I stand here. Is Hon. Ssemujju in order to begin calling us SFCs when he knows that we are Members of Parliament? Then, you want fresh air? You go out and we sit where you are seated.

THE SPEAKER: Hon. Ssemujju, for me, I have enough fresh air. If you are squeezed there, just bring your seat and sit next to me. To the best of my knowledge, this place is very high - the air here is enough for everybody. And nobody standing here is an SFC. Why do you talk about SFCs?

MR SSEMUJJU: Madam Speaker, I was just sympathetic. If they do not care, they can continue standing – and I withdraw. I was just sympathetic to them. However, let me go to the motion, Madam Speaker.

We have just considered the budget. In the budget, this Government did not provide Shs 4 billion for the National Curriculum Development Centre to complete the new syllabi, especially for our children in Senior Six, who are going to sit for exams. They never had Shs 4 billion in the budget that we have just finished.

They also denied UNEB Shs 8 billion to train teachers who are going to mark Senior Six exams – the first group that is going to sit under a new curriculum. However, in their mind, they have money to organise a ceremony. The President can be sworn in – when he captured power, he was sworn in here at the staircases of Parliament – and the sun rose and set. However, you have children – 100,000 of them – who are going to sit for exams. You did not find Shs 2 billion for the National Curriculum Development Centre to complete their 34 subjects.

You never gave UNEB Shs 8 billion to train teachers to go and mark these children's examinations. However, you have brought us money so that we can have a ceremony, just eating! I do not know what is wrong with

the NRM people. To deny our children an opportunity to study and then bring money here to eat! You should be ashamed of yourself.

Madam Speaker –

MR MUSASIZI: Thank you, Madam Speaker. Madam Speaker, Hon. Ssemujju wants to go beyond his appropriation role into budget execution. In the budget that we passed, all those Votes he is mentioning had money appropriated for – (*Interjections*) - yes.

THE SPEAKER: Honourable members, why are you shouting like we are at the National Theatre?

MR MUSASIZI: Madam Speaker, the common practice, which all colleagues know, is that every Vote comes to this House with unfunded priorities. He is just taking us to the list of the unfunded priorities, which is a wish list. There is what you want and what we can provide. We were satisfied that what we provided was sufficient to make the Votes run through the year. If there is anything along the way that we did not provide for, and if something occurs during the implementation of the budget, we shall come back here and ask for the money.

THE SPEAKER: Honourable members, it is this same Government that brought the new curriculum. So, it is in the best interest of the Government to ensure that the new curriculum is implemented.

Can I hear from the Prime Minister – okay, let me hear from the Leader of the Opposition first.

3.01

THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION

(Mr Joel Ssenyonyi): Madam Speaker, there is a reason our laws are, to a great extent, very clear. The Public Finance Management Act provides for supplementary budgets. They are within the law. However, there is a coding, and there is a justification for a supplementary budget: unforeseeable expenses.

Therefore, I am really struggling to understand how unforeseeable some of these things are, in all honesty. That we have got to do it in haste - you said this is our last supper - our last sitting, you said. We are in -

THE SPEAKER: I did not say that.

MR SSENYONYI: You used the words “last supper”, Madam Speaker. I do not know what you meant, but you used them twice.

Anyhow, Madam Speaker, we are closing down as Parliament, and we seem to be in a haste to appropriate money for what we are saying is unforeseeable. I am struggling to understand how unforeseeable some of these things are. We have talked about the inaugural ceremony. There is money for the Atiak Sugar Factory, Shs 37.9 billion. We have been here and screamed our voices hoarse about projects like Atiak Sugar Factory, there is another one, Dei BioPharma Limited -

THE SPEAKER: Hon. Musasizi, I want you to listen to the submission on the Atiak Sugar Factory.

MR SSENYONYI: Madam Prime Minister, do not interrupt Hon. Musasizi; he needs to listen to these critical issues.

We have talked about Dei BioPharma Limited, which was given free money, Shs 778 billion. Money was given to Inspire Africa Coffee Factory, Ntungamo, more than Shs 180 billion. ROKO Construction was given more than Shs 260 billion. Of course there is the Lubowa Specialised Hospital, which has become a white elephant. We then talked about Atiak Sugar Factory. So far, Shs 668 billion, over the years, has gone to Atiak Sugar Factory.

It is a factory I went to visit with colleagues and there is no sugar coming out of there for the last couple of years. However, every year, we keep appropriating money to it. We are now even bringing money through a supplementary budget for Atiak Sugar Factory. Help me understand who this person behind Atiak

Sugar Factory is, whom we have to keep giving money, billions of shillings on an annual basis, and that now it has to come through a supplementary budget, that it is an emergency.

Madam Speaker, to the taxpayers who are watching us, we could be seen as conduits of fraud. Fraud is when you are paid for a service but you do not deliver it. You have given Shs 668 billion so far to Atiak Sugar Factory. No sugar is coming out of there, and this is free money. You want to add them money. For what? I do not understand.

Madam Speaker, the classified expenditure that is indicated here, within the 3 per cent legal limit, is Shs 300 billion. Outside the 3 per cent, it is Shs 110 billion. That is a total of Shs 410 billion.

Look, every country will have a classified budget. However, your classified budget has to be tethered to your revenue. You cannot be a heavily indebted poor country and you keep having trillions of shillings going to a classified budget. Now you have a supplementary budget for a classified expenditure of Shs 410 billion, a few days to the closure of the Government. What are you going to do in these few days, with this classified expenditure of Shs 410 billion?

Madam Speaker, yes, our rules can be suspended and all of that, but these things should make sense to the taxpayer. The taxpayer might try to understand you on the hospitals and so on - and hopefully that money will go to the hospitals, because many times we pass money for some of these things and it is vired. When you read the accountability reports, you see money was transferred from this and taken to something else. Hopefully, for the hospitals' money, it gets to do that.

However, help the taxpayer to understand this Shs 410 billion classified budget for a few days when the Government is closing down, and the billions to Atiak Sugar Factory that you have been giving money to, and nothing is happening there.

I genuinely want to understand, Madam Speaker, from the Prime Minister and her team. Help me and the taxpayer, whom you are going to squeeze a lot more - you recently passed more money, higher taxes on fuel and so on, which the taxpayer is paying for - to understand. We are waiting.

THE SPEAKER: Thank you. Hon. Musasizi.

MR MUSASIZI: Madam Speaker, I wish to clarify the issue of - under the 3 per cent legal limit, and above 3 per cent.

Madam Speaker, I have justified this schedule in three categories. We have expenditures, which are within the 3 per cent legal limit amounting to Shs 519 billion. Here, we have already spent this. We have come here to only seek for retrospective approval of the schedule. This is where the Atiak Sugar Factory falls in the 3 per cent that we have already spent.

Then we have a schedule that is budget-neutral. We also have the one that requires additional financing, where we need the authority of Parliament to spend Shs 586.16 billion.

Madam Speaker, in as far as the details of what we are doing under Atiak Sugar Factory are concerned, and in the interest of synergy, I want to, with your indulgence, request the minister for trade to respond to the specific activities.

THE SPEAKER: Yes, minister.

3.08

THE MINISTER OF STATE FOR TRADE, INDUSTRY AND COOPERATIVES (INDUSTRY) (Mr David Bahati): Thank you, Madam Speaker. As all of you know, Atiak Sugar Factory is a project that is supported by the Government to transform the economy of Northern Uganda. Many of you who come from Northern Uganda know how important that project will be.

Madam Speaker, we have funded the Atiak Sugar Factory to do several activities. One is irrigation, and Atiak Sugar Factory is finishing up the irrigation system to help guard against

the changing weather, so that there is proper production of the sugarcane.

Madam Speaker, as we speak, I know Members are very much concerned with when the sugar from Atiak Sugar Factory will be put on the market. I have good news for you. It will start producing sugar in the month of September this year. The irrigation has ended, and 2026 will have sugar. We should be able to support this sugar factory so that we have it running in September 2026. Thank you.

THE SPEAKER: Let us hear from the Chairman of the Acholi Parliamentary Group.

3.10

MR AKOL ANTHONY (FDC, Kilak North County, Amuru): Madam Speaker, as a matter of truth, the people of Uganda, including myself, have been complaining a lot about Atiak Sugar Works. What Ugandans want to see is the sugar. Unfortunately, while the production started at the Atiak Sugar Works, the sugarcane that was planted got finished within a very short period. Therefore, from that point - Madam Speaker, can I get protection, please?

THE SPEAKER: Members, can you listen to Hon. Akol?

MR AKOL: Madam Speaker, from that point, production stopped. What was resumed in the place was that at a time when we got the equipment for working on the gardens, there was a lot of planting that had been taking place, including irrigation. Fortunately, some people among us here have reached the place.

I have personally visited Atiak. What I want us to do, including myself, who is also complaining, is to be patient now and wait for the production to start. I am happy that the ministry for trade has taken more steps to make sure that the money that has been given to Atiak Sugar Works will be paid back to the Government, including taking some of the property of Atiak Sugar Works. I must thank the ministry for doing that.

Very soon, I think some of the property will become the property of the offices of the Members of Parliament, even here. So, for that matter, what I can assure you is that there is a lot of progress and production is going to start. That is all I can say. Thank you.

THE SPEAKER: There is a point of procedure from Hon. Jonathan.

MR ODUR: Madam Speaker, thank you. I am raising a point of procedure. The motion by Hon. Fox Odoi was carried in this House to the extent that, instead of the minister referring to the relevant committee, now the Committee of the Whole House is proceeding - not debating - but proceeding to interrogate the minister.

My question, where I require you to guide, is: at what point do you anticipate Members of Parliament to ask the minister for documents? At what point, for example, does the minister report to us that a resolution of this House, where you, Madam Speaker, is presiding, has identified loopholes in corporate governance in Atiak?

Government, which is a majority shareholder, has put in more money than the company should have spent. At what point are we going to satisfy ourselves that the figures attached and being requested of us to approve have been answered by the minister?

Even on the LC1 and LC2 elections, it is not enough to come and say, "I need Shs 66 billion for LC1, LC2." We need to see the list of all the villages attached so that every Member here can be sure that "in my village, I will not go back and they ask me questions of why village A is missing from the national list," and even two.

On the issue of the Police, there is a figure here, Madam Speaker, of Shs 56 billion, and the request is for reimbursement of Special Police Constables. I can tell you that in Lira, and I think in many parts of the country, they have not yet been paid for the services they provided, yet the request says "reimbursement." Reimbursement presupposes that you had picked up money

from somewhere and paid them, but they were not paid for the work they offered. So, at what point do we satisfy ourselves that actually this ministry paid? In terms of procedure, I am asking you, Madam Speaker.

THE SPEAKER: Thank you, Hon. Odur. One, we are at the budget processing stage for us to approve this money as a supplementary. On the issues of accountability, we have accountability committees that verify what this money has gone to do. For instance, this goes to the Committee on Commissions, Statutory Authorities and State Enterprises (COSASE) that has been managed by Hon. Sseggon. It is him to tell us, in the report that he is going to bring, whether the money is being used in a proper way or not. Yes, Leader of the Opposition(LOP).

MR SSENKYONYI: Madam Speaker, I seek your procedural indulgence. We were here a couple of months ago, and I was giving a report to this House about Atiak Sugar Factory, which we give billions, but there is no sugar coming out of there; Dei Bio-Pharma, Inspire Africa Coffee, ROKO, and so on. The response by the Government was that we have acquired a stake in a number of these entities.

I then asked where the share certificates and valuation reports were. The Government considered that for some of these, valuation had not happened. I remember when money was being passed for Dei Bio-Pharma, Shs 723 billion at the time, we asked the Government, but they said they had not carried out a valuation. We said, "What stake are you buying if you don't know the value?"

However, you guided, Madam Speaker, and you remember I disagreed with you, that let us pass the money and that then, the Government would hold to it before dispatching it to the private company, until valuation was done. You also said that they would bring the valuation report here before the money is dispatched. They have never brought that report. I told you that once we have appropriated that money, we become *functus officio*. The Attorney-General of Uganda, Hon.

Kiryowa Kiwanuka Nsumikambi Mugambe, promised on this Floor and on the *Hansard*, that he would come to this House and table the share certificates and valuation reports for these companies. That has never happened, yet the Government keeps coming back for more money. What are we funding?

When you say we have a stake, we are shareholders as the Government in each of these companies, where is the evidence? Also, before you acquire a stake, you first do a valuation. Good business people know that before you inject your money in a business to say, "I am buying, let's say 30 per cent," what is that 30 per cent worth? That is when you do the valuation and then you know I am buying this much stake. These people lied to us because they have never produced those certificates, and they have never produced the valuation report. So, they lied to us. Why then do they keep coming back for more money? They do not want to be transparent. What we want to know is: you are asking us to appropriate money to what? We want that accountability.

By the way it is not even enough to say, Madam Speaker, that sugar begins to come out of Atiak in September. As sure as day follows night, it is not going to happen because every year, they keep promising us. But let us even say it comes out, the taxpayer is asking: "What is my stake?" Forget that sugar will come out of that private entity. What is the stake? Why don't you want to respond to these questions, yet you keep asking us for more money and all of that? No, we should not proceed this way, in my view.

3.18

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

(Mr Kiryowa Kiwanuka): Madam Speaker, I want to thank the Leader of the Opposition, for his very loud submission. I am a first-time – (*Interjections*) - yes, loud, because I heard him clearly. That is what loud means. I am a first-time Member of Parliament like him but I have since learned how things are brought to Parliament. Normally, entities of the Government where it has invested, there is an Audit Act.

So, we send the Auditor-General, who reports to Parliament on what has been found. I was advised that we do not just drop documents on the Floor of – (*Interjections*) - yes, and I am telling you, I was advised.

Madam Speaker, I would want to imagine that the Auditor-General can give a report on the money that he audited in his audit.

THE SPEAKER: He has finished. Whom are you raising the point of order against?

MR ODUR: Madam Speaker, under the Constitution -

THE SPEAKER: He has finished.

MR ODUR: No, he gave. He is my good friend. This is the chief adviser to the Government.

THE SPEAKER: Honourable members, I now put the question that the Supplementary Expenditure Schedule No.5 for Financial Year 2025/2026 be approved by this House.

(Question put and agreed to.)

COMMITTEE STAGE

COMMITTEE OF SUPPLY

THE CHAIRPERSON: Honourable members, kindly sit. My son, Hon. Francis?

THE TOTAL RECURRENT EXPENDITURE
UNDER SUPPLEMENTARY
EXPENDITURE SCHEDULE NUMBER
FIVE FOR THE FINANCIAL YEAR
2025/2026

THE CHAIRPERSON: Honourable members, I propose the question that a total sum of Shs 894,548,183,558 be approved as total recurrent expenditure under the Supplementary Expenditure Schedule No.5 for the Financial Year 2025/2026.

(Question put and agreed to.)

THE SPEAKER: Honourable members, I now put the question that a total sum of Shs 894,548,183,558 be approved as total recurrent expenditure under the Supplementary Expenditure Schedule No.5 for Financial Year 2025/2026.

(Question put and agreed to.)

THE TOTAL DEVELOPMENT
EXPENDITURE UNDER
SUPPLEMENTARY EXPENDITURE
SCHEDULE No.5 FOR THE FINANCIAL
YEAR 2025/2026

THE CHAIRPERSON: Can I have order? Honourable members, I propose the question that a total sum of Shs 210,614,540,809 be approved as total development expenditure under Supplementary Expenditure Schedule No.5 for Financial Year 2025/2026.

(Question put and agreed to.)

THE CHAIRPERSON: Honourable members, I now put the question that a total sum of Shs 210,614,540,809 be approved as total development expenditure under the Supplementary Expenditure Schedule No.5 for Financial Year 2025/2026.

(Question put and agreed to.)

THE GRAND TOTAL SUPPLEMENTARY
EXPENDITURE UNDER
SUPPLEMENTARY EXPENDITURE
SCHEDULE NO. 5 FOR THE FINANCIAL
YEAR 2025/2026

THE CHAIRPERSON: Honourable members, I will miss some of you so much in the 12th Parliament. You have been amazing guys.

Honourable members, I propose the question that a grand total sum of Shs 1,105,162,724,367 be approved as a grand total under Supplementary Expenditure Schedule No.5 for Financial Year 2025/2026 under the various Votes that were deliberated or mentioned by the minister of finance and under the Votes that are in the schedule.

(Question put and agreed to.)

THE CHAIRPERSON: Honourable members, I now put the question that a grand total sum of Shs 1,105,162,724,367 be approved as a grand total supplementary expenditure under supplementary expenditure schedule No. 5 for Financial Year 2025/2026 for the various Votes that are in the Schedule.

(Question put and agreed to.)

MOTION FOR THE HOUSE TO RESUME

THE CHAIRPERSON: Honourable minister.

3.26

THE MINISTER OF STATE FOR FINANCE, PLANNING AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT (GENERAL DUTIES) (Mr Henry Musasizi): Madam Chair, I beg to move a motion for the House to resume and the Committee of Supply reports thereto.

THE CHAIRPERSON: I put the question that the House resumes and the committee of supply reports thereto.

(Question put and agreed to.)

(The House resumed, the Speaker presiding.)

THE SPEAKER: Stand up. Please sit.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF
SUPPLY

THE SPEAKER: Honourable minister.

3.27

THE STATE MINISTER OF FINANCE, PLANNING AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT (GENERAL DUTIES) (Mr Henry Musasizi): Madam Speaker, I beg to report that the Committee of Supply has considered the supplementary Schedule No.5 for Financial Year 2025/2026 amounting to Uganda Shs 1,105,162,724,367 passed without amendments.

MOTION FOR THE ADOPTION OF
THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF
SUPPLY

THE CHAIRPERSON: Honourable minister.

3.28

**THE MINISTER OF STATE FOR
FINANCE, PLANNING AND ECONOMIC
DEVELOPMENT (GENERAL DUTIES)**

(Mr Henry Musasizi): Madam Speaker, I beg to move a motion that the report from the Committee of Supply for Schedule No.5 of Financial Year 2025/2026 be adopted.

THE SPEAKER: I put the question that the report of the Committee of Supply be adopted by this House.

(Question put and agreed to.)

Report adopted.

THE SPEAKER: Honourable members, thank you. I will instruct the Clerk to capture the details and supply them to Finance.

BILLS
SECOND READING

THE PROTECTION OF SOVEREIGNTY
BILL, 2026

THE SPEAKER: Honourable members, you recall that on Wednesday, 15th, 2026, the Minister of Internal Affairs tabled the Protection of Sovereignty Bill, 2026, for the first reading. Pursuant to Rule 135 of the Rules of Procedure of Parliament, the Bill was referred to a joint committee of Defense and Internal Affairs, and Legal and Parliamentary Affairs. The committee has concluded the consideration of the Bill and is ready to report.

Also, pursuant to Rule 136(1) of the Rules of Procedure, I will invite the minister to move his motion for the second reading before I give you time to table your issue - please, honourable, let him first move, then I give you a chance to bring up your issue.

3.31

THE LEADER OF OPPOSITION (Mr Joel Ssenyonyi): Thank you, Madam Speaker. The Bill that you have invited this House to consider is a government Bill. I saw a tweet by the Head of Government and a letter signed by Gen. (Rtd) Yoweri Kaguta Museveni Tibuhaburwa -

THE SPEAKER: Ssabalwany -

MR SSENYONYI: That is not part of the name. In his letter, he actually disowned -

THE SPEAKER: LOP, is it in his letter?

MR SSENYONYI: Yes.

THE SPEAKER: Can I have a copy of the letter?

MR SSENYONYI: Let me submit, Madam Speaker -

THE SPEAKER: No, I want us to talk with evidence. Can we lay the letter on the Table?

MR SSENYONYI: I came prepared, Madam Speaker. Here is a copy of the letter, and I am tabling it.

THE SPEAKER: I have never seen a letter from the State House in white.

MR SSENYONYI: Madam Speaker, this is a copy of the letter, and I am tabling it. Normally, we table documents, then they can be processed and authenticated, and so on, but let me raise the point I was raising, Madam Speaker.

In this letter, he disowned the Bill that was tabled by the Minister of State for Internal Affairs. In fact, he was appalled, wondering what it was that we were debating.

Also, what bothered me, in his letter, he said he called the two chairpersons of committees regarding this Bill. I do not know how, procedurally, that gets to be correct, that now the Executive gets to meddle directly because it should be you, Madam Speaker, to call chairpersons of committees, guide them, and

so on, but if they are getting guidance from the Executive, then it is a problematic issue.

Madam Speaker, the Attorney-General and the Minister of State for Internal Affairs went back to the joint committee and made amendments to the majority of the clauses in the Bill. Please note that for those who have been following, amendments to the majority of the clauses in the Bill.

For all intents and purposes, Madam Speaker and colleagues, this was now a new Bill. By the way, there is a precedent that has been set by this House, even in the previous Parliament, where -

THE SPEAKER: Honourable members, I want you to listen to the LOP. The LOP is saying after -

MR SSENKYONYI: Let me actually say what I am saying and I am glad that you are protecting me from some noisy Members -

THE SPEAKER: After getting the letter, this becomes a new Bill. What I would only ask is: did the new Bill change the objective of the old Bill? You continue.

MR SSENKYONYI: Madam Speaker, I am glad that you are asking that question because the entire foundation of the Bill was torn apart and no wonder the initiator -

THE SPEAKER: There is a procedural point - *(Mr Simon Opolot rose)* -

MR SSENKYONYI: But I rose on a point of procedure, Madam Speaker.

THE SPEAKER: No, I only gave you -

MR SSENKYONYI: A point of procedure cannot counter another point of procedure.

THE SPEAKER: No, I gave you space to speak, not -

MR SSENKYONYI: But I raised -

THE SPEAKER: He now has a point of order.

MR SSENKYONYI: An order cannot - honourable, you have been around for some time and you know that a point of procedure takes precedence. You are going to mislead the new MPs who are coming in the 12th Parliament. *(Laughter)* They need to know and learn from people who - let me proceed in earnest, Madam Speaker -

THE SPEAKER: Hon. LOP, I want to put this on record that we do not have a new Bill and only have one Bill. I am the custodian of the law in Parliament, and if the President wanted to make a change in the Bill, the President ought to have informed me. I am not aware of that, and it has not come to my attention. I am the one processing the Bills here. So, if he sent it to the public and if he called the chairpersons - he is one of the Ugandans whom we should consult.

MR SSENKYONYI: Madam Speaker, I am glad you are saying that you were not informed and that is part of the problem I am raising. Why was this House not informed, especially because majority of the clauses were amended - *(Interjections)* - Madam Speaker, please protect me from noisy colleagues. You always tell us that this is not a market.

THE SPEAKER: Colleagues, please, let the LOP finish his submission - no, honourable members, let us be calm. I am the custodian of the law here, and I do not have a new Bill. So, after the honourable has finished, I will ask the minister to move his Bill.

MR SSENKYONYI: Thank you. As I was saying - this is me saying, and you will rule and guide, for all intents and purposes, as far as I am concerned, this then became a new Bill because the majority of the clauses in the Bill were changed.

There is precedent where ministers have been told, "No, with those so many amendments, just withdraw the Bill and reintroduce it, perhaps." What the Minister for Internal Affairs and the

Attorney-General should have done was to withdraw this Bill -

THE SPEAKER: Honourable LOP, my friend -

MR SSENYONYI: But, Madam Speaker, you are not even allowing me to submit. Let me submit. You are the one going to rule.

THE SPEAKER: Please, honourable LOP, my brother - can I have order? We have now started debating in anticipation because we do not know yet what is in the Bill. When the minister moves his Bill, that is when we can either reject or accept it. Please make my work easy - no, you leave the honourable LOP to finish - Switch on -

MR SSENYONYI: Madam Speaker, I am seeking to make your work easier if you capture what it is that I am saying because they are moving it for the second time, and what I am saying is that they should have been moving to withdraw the Bill. That is my opinion, and you are going to give your ruling, Madam Speaker. They called for the second and third reading - let me finish the issue that I am raising. Madam Speaker, also stakeholders -

THE SPEAKER: What is the procedural matter that you are raising?

MR SSENYONYI: The procedural matter I am raising is: shouldn't the Minister of Internal Affairs withdraw his Bill, and he goes back for consultation?

THE SPEAKER: Can I answer that first? Maybe it will form part of your second question. The Minister of Internal Affairs should be moving his motion for the second reading but as far as I know, I have not been given another motion. I only have one motion. Therefore, you will move your Motion for the second reading.

MR SSENYONYI: Thank you, Madam Speaker, and I am glad you are on record that you were not notified of a second one. That is

something we are going to interrogate because I am saying, as far as some of us are concerned, it is a second one.

However, Madam Speaker, the committee report on this Bill leaked, and it is in the public domain. It was first shared on our Parliament platforms; media houses have shared it. It is all over.

On 18 January 2023, you were seated in that Chair, and I was standing in front of this very microphone. I was then, the Chairperson of COSASE. I rose to present a committee report for COSASE on Uganda Airlines, and you said, I want to quote you verbatim according what is on the *Hansard*. You said, "There was a leakage of the Uganda Airlines report. A property of this Parliament cannot leak, and we continue debating it." Those were your exact words, captured on the *Hansard*.

This report has leaked, and given that precedent you set, are we going to go ahead and debate this leaked report because the precedent was set by you? We hope to be guided.

THE SPEAKER: Honourable members, in the VIP gallery, I want to introduce Hon. Namulondo Sarah, MP elect from Buyende, Hon. Nakku Fiona, the MP elect for workers, and Hon. Ssewagudde Robert, representing People with Disabilities, national, Hon. Matembe Miriam, and Hon. Emily Otekat.

Honourable members, I want to refer you to rule 214 (14) (a). It says: "*The report of a committee on Bills shall...*" and I am saying shall, "*...be uploaded on the Parliamentary information system for the information of Members before the report is laid on the Table...*"

This report that was uploaded has my signature. I asked for it to be placed on the Order Paper with my able signature. The report of airlines that got out did not have my signature. I am the only one who can sanction a document to be uploaded, which I did, so the report was not leaked. Can you move your motion?

3.43

THE MINISTER OF STATE FOR INTERNAL AFFAIRS (Gen. (Rtd) David Muhoozi): Madam Speaker, in keeping with Rule 130 of the Rules of Procedure of this Parliament, I beg to move that the Bill entitled, “The Protection of Sovereignty Bill, 2026” be read the second time.

THE SPEAKER: It is seconded by the Vice President of the Republic of Uganda, H.E Maj. (Rtd) Jessica Alupo, the Prime Minister, Hon. Nabbanja Robinah, the Government Chief Whip, Minister of Defence, Minister of Security, Minister of ICT, Minister of Finance, Minister of Works, Minister of State for Sports, and the whole House on this side and part of the other side, including Hon. Chemonges and Hon. Rugumayo. Would you want to speak to your motion?

GEN. MUHOOZI: Madam Speaker -

THE SPEAKER: Can I have the justification before you bring the procedure?

GEN. MUHOOZI: Madam Speaker, the object of this Bill is that the country faces several challenges, which threaten our ability to self-govern in the absence of a sovereignty-specific law, which this Bill seeks to address, and these include: preventing undue external influence, regulating foreign funding, safeguarding national security, filling legal gaps, and managing digital misinformation. I beg to move.

THE SPEAKER: Honourable members, I want to provide some guidance on this. The chairpersons of the committees have prepared the report, and I wish to guide as follows. From the time the Bill was tabled for the First Reading, there has been a remarkable public interest in it. A review of the committee report reveals that more than 60 witnesses were accorded the opportunity to present their views on the Bill, including persons and institutions. This answers the question on whether there was sufficient public consultation or not. I commend the committee for upholding our cardinal principle of public participation.

Two, there was a considerable debate on the content of the Bill, notably the definition of the word ‘foreigner’, the scope of application of this Bill, the regulatory prudence envisaged in administration and functions, the proposed penalties, the criminal offences, regulations of foreign policies, registration of agents of foreigners, declaration of foreign funding, and ministerial powers, among others. I have reviewed the report. The committee has established that the contentious matters have been exhaustively handled and addressed as per the public interest.

The definition of a foreigner, for instance, was initially brought in a way that was not appealing to the people, but the committee handled it. I want Members - there is no procedure; I am guiding you. I know I am touching your minorities. Honourable members, I am giving 30 minutes to the presentation of the major report. Where is the chairperson?

I am aware that there is a minority report - it does not matter. Whether minorities or a minority, I am also giving them 30 minutes. If you have 10 minorities, you will divide 30 minutes by 10, and you will have 3. I want the timing from the *Hansard* team - let him first read his report, then you will bring up the procedure - I do not want you to waste his time. Hon. Tebandeke, I know you want to exercise the law that you are learning but you wait. (*Laughter*) I have given you 30 minutes.

3.50

MR WILSON KAJWENGYE (NRM, Nyabushozi County, Kiruhura): Thank you. Madam Speaker, for the record, my name is Wilson Kajwenge, Member of Parliament, Nyabushozi Constituency and the Chairperson of the Committee on Defence and Internal Affairs. I will be assisted by my colleague, Hon. Baka Steven Mugabi, Chairperson of Legal and Parliamentary Affairs. May I take the honour to lay, on the Table, the minutes of the joint committees’ meetings while processing and considering this report? Indeed, I will take the 30 minutes.

On Wednesday, 15 April 2026, the Protection of Sovereignty Bill, 2026, was read for the first time under Rule 135(1) of the Rules of Procedure of Parliament. You referred to the joint committee made up of the Committees on Defence and Internal Affairs and the Committee on Legal and Parliamentary Affairs for scrutiny, and we are now reporting under the same rule of procedure.

The joint committee (here referred to as “the committee”) has examined the Bill, taking into account the submissions from stakeholders, and now presents this report.

This report sets the committee’s analysis of the Bill’s objectives, the key provisions, the likely effect, together with the synthesis of stakeholder views and the committee’s recommendations to Parliament.

Object of the Bill

The object of the Bill is to:

- i) Enact a law that seeks to provide for the protection of the sovereignty of the people of Uganda;
- ii) To designate the department responsible for peace and security, and the responsible entity for the registration and regulation of agents for foreigners;
- iii) To provide for the protection of the sovereignty of Uganda;
- iv) To provide for the registration of agents of foreigners;
- v) To regulate the funding and any other assistance to agents of foreigners and for the related matters.

Defect in the Existing Law

The Bill identifies the principal defect in the existing legal framework as the absence of a specific law operationalising the protection of Uganda’s sovereignty, which has allowed continued external interference in the Government policies and programmes.

In particular, it points out the increasing influence of foreign actors and their agents

in shaping policy and development priorities, often through conditional grants, conditional funding, and parallel programs that conflict with national objectives. It further highlights the inadequate regulation of civil society organisations, especially those receiving foreign funding, leading to concerns about transparency and alignment with national objectives.

Additionally, the Bill notes the growing use of digital platforms by foreign actors to spread misinformation and incite social discord, collectively undermining Uganda’s ability to self-govern independently and safeguard its political, economic, and social stability.

Methodology

In considering the Protection of Sovereignty Bill, 2026, the committee undertook an extensive and transparent stakeholder engagement process to ensure broad participation.

Public notices were published in the dailies, I mean the *New Vision* and the *Daily Monitor*, on 17 April. We invited memoranda and views from all interested parties. This was to facilitate meaningful input. The committee suspended the sittings for one week to allow stakeholders adequate time to prepare and submit written memoranda.

Upon resumption on the 24th of April, stakeholders who had expressed interest were accorded the opportunity to present their views. The committee engaged them directly, seeking clarifications where necessary.

In total, and this is unprecedented, Madam Speaker and honourable members, the committee interfaced with 227 stakeholders, clustered under 60 groups drawn from diverse sectors in the diaspora, the Global Forum, the Uganda Diaspora Council, whose memoranda included views of Ugandans drawn from 32 countries across all regions that gave their perspectives on the Bill.

In addition to the hearing from stakeholders who appeared before the committee, the committee also took into account the perspectives shared by His Excellency, the President, in his guidance to the nation through his letter, particularly that which was addressed to the *Bazzukulu*, regarding the Bill.

Following these engagements, the committee held further sittings, during which the learned Attorney-General responded to the stakeholder concerns and proposed refinements to the Bill. The interactive process ensured that the review incorporated both legal scrutiny and practical implementation considerations.

This structured approach, characterised by open invitations, dedicated submission time, inclusive hearings, and responsible dialogue, demonstrates that the committee's work was informed by a wide participatory and nationally representative consultation process.

The stakeholders the committee interfaced with include the following. It is important that this goes on record. We have clustered them like this. We had stakeholders in the government and public institutions. These are actors with statutory mandates that include the Bank of Uganda, Financial Intelligence Authority, National Planning Authority, Uganda Human Rights Commission, and the Parliamentary Committees.

We also had another cluster of legal and professional bodies and organisations that focused on the law, like Uganda Law Society, East African Law Society, the Law Development Centre, and Centre for Constitutional Governance, which had, in their entourage, former members and ministers of the Government, and independent legal practitioners who forwarded multiple submissions.

We had political actors and movements, political parties, or politically affiliated formations. These included, the Alliance for National Transformation, Forum for Democratic Change, National Unity Platform, the People's Front for Freedom, and, for the

record - the *Hansard* must capture this, Madam Speaker - the Uganda People's Congress appeared and gave their views and the Leader of the Opposition also appeared and gave his views. I am mentioning it for *Hansard* to capture.

We also entertained private sector and business associations that include: the Chamber of Commerce, Kampala Arcade Traders Association, Kampala City Traders Association, Uganda Small Scale Industries Association, Uganda National Traders Association, the Gen Z's Business Owners Association, Innovation Village, the Start-up Ecosystem, and the Independent Private Sector Consultants.

We did not stop there. We entertained Financial Insurance and the Economic Sector Actors. These include the sector-specific institutional stakeholders, which include the Uganda Bankers Association, supervised financial institutions like banks, and mobile money operators via sector submissions. We also entertained the Payment Service Providers Association, the Uganda Forex Bureau, and the Money Remittances Association. They too appeared and gave their views.

We also considered digital, telecom, media, and actors in communication, broadcasting, and the digital economy, including communication sector operators, the National Association of Broadcasters, media practitioners, journalists and journalism practitioners.

We also entertained Civil Society and Non-Government Organisations, both domestic and international civic actors. These include: the Anti-Corruption Coalition of Uganda, Foundation for Human Rights Initiative, Legal Aid Service Providers Association, the Rotary of Uganda, Women Probono Initiative, Country Directors of International Network, and various national Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) also submitted.

We also entertained international organisations and development actors; multinational organisations and international cooperation

actors. These include the United Nations Country team and the International NGO community, collectively represented. We did not stop there, Madam Speaker, we entertained the labour, religious, and social institutions. That includes the National Organisation of Trade Unions (NOTU), Inter-Religious Council of Uganda, the Muslim organisations coalition and other faith-based organisations.

We entertained the health and scientific community, and public health research institutions like the Uganda Medical Association, Uganda Virus Research Institute, and Persons living with HIV advocacy groups.

We also entertained the education and academic sector that includes Makerere University Academic Staff Association, universities and academic researchers, student groups, and members of the guild, the National Union of Disabled Persons of Uganda, Uganda Lawyers Voice on climate change, gender rights, and advocacy, and climate advocacy groups.

We also entertained diaspora transnational communities, Ugandan actors, and the Global Forum - This is an organisation that groups all Ugandans in the diaspora. The *Kyeyo* Association, the National Unity Platform (NUP) Diaspora Chapter, and individual diaspora submissions.

We went further and entertained professional and individual submissions. These are unaffiliated and cross-cutting. Independent consultants, individual citizens, business professionals and researchers.

Madam Speaker, we consulted documents. Consequently, the committee recommendations reflect a balanced synthesis of stakeholder perspectives in the key findings and salient observations.

Madam Speaker, permit me to present key findings and salient observations on the Sovereignty Protection Bill, 2026.

Introductory consideration

Looking at the scope and interpretation of Clause 2.

Before presenting its findings, the committee found it prudent to clarify the key interpretive issue of Clause 2, which is the application of the Bill.

Clause 2 sits at the core of the legislative framework, and it defines the reach of the law and determines who is regulated and under what circumstances and for what conduct. The committee reviewed the honourable Attorney-General's comments, noting that Clause 2 limits the Bill to specific activities tied to foreign influence.

According to the learned Attorney-General's interpretation, the Bill does not apply to all persons generally but applies only to persons acting as agents of foreign actors, and that even then, only where such a person engages in specific conduct, including influencing the Government policy, political processes or public decision making for the interest of foreigners.

The Attorney-General clarified that Clause 2 is meant to limit the Bill, not to expand it. He guided that it applies only to agents of foreign actors and only when they engage in specific influence-related activities, for example, affecting the Government policies or public decision-making.

In addition, the learned Attorney-General noted that the Bill is activity-based not identity-based, so ordinary transactions like remittances, businesses, and family support are excluded unless tied to regulated influence. On this reading, the Bill presented a targeted regulatory instrument aimed at structured foreign influence operations rather than legitimate international engagement.

However, the committee observes that this interpretation, while persuasive as a matter of policy intent, is not shared by the majority of stakeholders. There is a gap between the

Attorney-General's intended narrow scope and how the Bill is actually drafted.

When Clause 2 is read together with the broad definitions in Clause 1 and the expansive list of activities, including concepts such as influencing public opinion and activities that the minister may prescribe, stakeholders interpreted the Bill as having a much wider practical effect.

The East African Law Society, for example, in their submission, warned that the term "agent of a foreigner" in Clause 2 could apply to regular economic, professional and family connections, such as employees of foreign businesses, traders, and those receiving support from relatives abroad.

The Law Development Centre noted that Clause 2 does not distinguish harmful actions from lawful ones. So, the people could be held liable simply because of their associations, not because they caused any actual harm. This divergence reveals a fundamental issue. The intended limitations of Clause 2 are not sufficiently clear on the face of the law, creating uncertainty as to the boundary between harmful foreign influence and legitimate activity.

While the Attorney-General maintains that Clause 2 limits application to specific regulated activities, stakeholders consistently note that this limitation is not clearly reflected in the drafting. Therefore, the committee found that the line between harmful foreign interference and legitimate activities is unclear. Clause 2 is meant as a safeguard but not to effectively limit the Bill. This gap policy and the law shape all the committee's subsequent findings.

5.2 Understanding sovereignty

We looked at what the 1995 Constitution says versus what the Bill proposes.

Sovereignty under the 1995 Constitution, as amended.

This committee discussed sovereignty, referencing the Constitution of the Republic of

Uganda. Herein refers to the Constitution. The committee found that the 1995 Constitution determines that sovereignty belongs to the people of Uganda and not the Government. Specifically, Article 1 states that all power belongs to the people who shall exercise their sovereignty in accordance with the Constitution.

Article 1(2) adds that 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. These provisions establish that the people are the original source of political authority, while the Government merely exercises power as a trustee on their behalf.

This position is reinforced by the preamble, which recognises that the Constitution was adopted by the people in the exercise of their sovereign and inalienable right. Accordingly, the committee concludes that the State does not own sovereignty but holds and exercises it in trust for the people. Sovereignty is actively exercised through democratic processes such as elections and referenda (Article 1(4)), and safeguarded through the duty imposed on the citizens under Article 3 to defend the Constitution.

We looked at sovereignty in the Protection of the Sovereignty Bill, 2026. The committee further notes that sovereignty has two dimensions; a popular one where power ultimately rests with the people, and a security dimension where the State exercises authority to safeguard national interests.

We looked at a leading jurist, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr (1841-1932), a renowned American jurist who served as a Supreme Court judge, who described sovereignty in similar terms.

Justice Wendell Holmes perceives sovereignty as the ultimate practical power of the State to govern and maintain order grounded in the historical and social necessity for societal existence and survival. The State action is, therefore, legitimate only when it maintains grounded in popular sovereignty.

Guided by this understanding, Madam Speaker, the committee observed that the Bill introduces a strong emphasis on shielding Uganda from foreign influence and expands the State's regulatory powers over political and civic activity.

Summarily, the Bill aims to protect the sovereignty of the people and prevent foreign interference on governance. The key features include:

- i) Restricting activities that promote foreign interests, which can be got from Clause 5;
- ii) Restricting non-state actors from performing Government functions, which is Clause 6;
- iii) Criminalising interference in elections and Government operations, which are Clauses 1 to 13;
- iv) Regulating foreign funding and civil society activities; and
- v) Restricting interference -

THE SPEAKER: Excuse me, honourable. Is it 1 or 11 to 13?

MR KAJWENGYE: I beg your pardon, Clauses 11 to 13;

- i) Restricting interference in Government policy.

The committee, therefore, found that the Constitution grants ultimate authority to the people with the Government acting as a trustee. The Protection of Sovereignty Bill, 2026 regards the State as the primary guardian of sovereignty and adopts a cautious approach to foreign-linked actors. Whereas the Constitution vests sovereignty in the people of Uganda, the Bill focuses on the protection of sovereignty through State action, reframing sovereignty in security terms and promoting stricter regulation of foreign influence.

We looked at broad definitions and the scope. The committee found that the Bill's definition of "foreigner" and the "agent of a foreigner" is overly broad and wrongly includes:

- i) Ugandans living abroad,
- ii) Students, researchers, and professionals working with international partners;
- iii) Government Ministries, Departments, and Agencies exercising regulatory authority under any Act of Parliament, and
- iv) Organisations and companies that simply have foreign investors or cross-border businesses.

Instead of targeting harmful foreign interference, the Bill inadvertently ends up covering normal, economic, academic and community activities. This, Madam Speaker, blurs the line between harmful foreign interference and ordinary lawful activities, making every day economic, academic, and civic engagements legally risky.

Clauses 1 and 2 are specifically powerful in determining who is regulated and punished, and even raise constitutional questions about citizenship by classifying Ugandans abroad as foreigners.

Stakeholders warned that this could criminalise normal cooperation such as research, education, and diaspora support. In fact, the Law Development Centre has termed it as "regulatory contamination", where indirect foreign links extend liability across the entire economic and social chains. Therefore, to restore legal precision, ensure proportionality and to align the Bill with constitutional principles and practical realities, the committee recommends the following:

- i) Amend the definition of "foreigner" to limit it to non-citizens and foreign registered companies.
- ii) Amend the definition of "agent of a foreigner" to only include people who formally and knowingly act on behalf of a foreigner to influence public policy, elections, or national security.
- iii) Insert new definitions of words and phrases used in the Bill to improve clarity.
- iv) Insert an intent requirement, which the learned colleagues call *mens rea*, such that liability only arises with deliberate influence.

- v) Insert a clause explicitly protecting legitimate economic, academic, humanitarian, developmental, and civic activities to prevent misinterpretation and ensure that lawful activities are not captured by the Bill.

5.4 Creation of a Parallel Regulatory Regime

The committee observed that the Bill creates a new approval and monitoring system under the Ministry of Internal Affairs. However, many sectors in Uganda are already tightly supervised by strong regulators. These include the Bank of Uganda, the Financial Intelligence Authority, the Uganda Communications Commission, the Insurance Regulatory Authority, and the University councils.

Stakeholders argued that the Bill repeats work already done by these regulators and may create conflicting rules instead of improving oversight. This duplication can lead to confusion about which rules apply, multiple reporting requirements and uncertainty for businesses and institutions. For example, both telecommunications and banking sectors already operate under strict regulatory systems. Adding another regulator with similar powers could disrupt systems that are currently functioning well.

The committee notes that these sectors are already governed by detailed laws and licensing frameworks. Stakeholders also warn that the Bill could create a “parallel system”, run by a security-linked department that may not have the technical expertise of existing regulators.

Media organisations, too, pointed out that the issues such as foreign funding, transparency, and external influence are already addressed under the current laws, including the anti-money laundering legislation and the NGO regulation.

The private sector representatives highlight the economic impact of the Bill as more uncertainty, more regulators to satisfy, and higher costs of doing business. Stakeholders caution that the Bill risks creating duplication, institutional conflict and opportunities for forum shopping.

The committee recommends, therefore, that in light of these concerns, all institutions and individuals already supervised by a regulator established under an Act of Parliament should be exempted from the Bill.

5.5 Concentration of Executive Power in the Minister

The Bill gives the minister responsible for Internal Affairs wide and layered powers. These include authority to:

- i) Define the key terms used in the law;
- ii) Approve or reject the foreign funding;
- iii) Register or cancel organisations; and
- iv) Determine how the law will operate through regulations.

The committee notes that while each of these powers may be common in isolation, their combination in a single office creates a system where participation in economic, civic or institutional activities depends heavily on the minister’s approval. This raises deeper constitutional concerns not just about administrative efficiency but about the overall design of governance.

The committee elaborates these issues under three major themes: from regulatory oversight to discretionary control. Stakeholders observed that the minister’s power and role go beyond implementing the law. The minister effectively controls access to the law itself and can:

- i) decide who falls under the law;
- ii) control access to funding;
- iii) grant or withdraw legal status; and
- iv) shape how the law functions in practice.

This, we noted, risks turning the framework into a permission-based system, where individuals and organisations must seek approval to operate instead of following clear and predictable rules.

It also has constitutional implications. This concentration of authority raises significant constitutional concerns:

- i) It weakens the separation of powers, by placing too much control in one office.
- ii) It reduces checks and balances from independent institutions.
- iii) It increases the risk of unfair or arbitrary decisions, especially where the Bill lacks clear procedures, timelines or appeal mechanisms.
- ii) Exclude the application of the Bill to a Ugandan citizen residing outside Uganda.
- iii) Remove the power of the minister to declare any person a foreigner.
- iv) Remove the restriction on recruitment and employment of a person who is abroad, from disruptive activities.
- v) Provide for the elements of an offence.
- vi) Avoid unnecessary bureaucracy in the implementation of the policy.
- vii) Replace ministerial approvals with the “declaration of funds to the relevant regulator”.

A system that relies on discretion rather than clear rules undermines legal certainty and public trust.

We also looked at reframing sovereignty. The committee notes that many legal and governance submissions view this as more than an administrative matter. They see it as a shift in how sovereignty is exercised. Instead of power flowing through established institutions and the people, it risks being concentrated in one single office. From a human rights perspective, any limitation on rights must meet three tests:

- i) Legality;
- ii) Necessity; and
- iii) Proportionality.

The Bill does not clearly demonstrate how these standards are satisfied.

The committee recommends that to preserve the Bill’s objective – *(Member timed out.)*

THE SPEAKER: How many minutes do you need to conclude?

MR KAJWENGYE: I need five minutes to conclude.

THE SPEAKER: Five minutes. I will also add the other side five minutes.

MR KAJWENGYE: Okay.

Committee’s recommendations

To preserve the Bill’s objective while restoring institutional balance and constitutional compliance, the committee recommends the following amendments:

- i) Limit the application of the Bill to only agents of a foreigner.

We looked at disruption of financial and economic systems and we also have recommendations.

On that one, we recommend that to safeguard national interests without disrupting financial systems, the committee recommends shifting from broad approval-based controls to a targeted, risk-based approach by:

- i) Protecting every day financial flows by exempting personal remittances, routine banking transactions and legitimate business financing.
- ii) Replacing blanket approvals with disclosure requirements, reserving prior approval only for high-risk activities such as funding linked to political influence.
- iii) Adopting a flexible, risk-based declaration system developed with financial regulators and aligned with existing anti-money laundering frameworks.

We looked at the vagueness and criminalisation of risks.

Madam Speaker, we recommend that to align the Bill with constitutional requirements of legality and certainty, the committee recommends the following amendments under vagueness and criminalisation risks:

- i) Clearly define all criminal offences, specifying prohibited conduct, the required intent and the harm addressed.
- ii) Reduce the penalty of 20 years to 10 years, and a fine in case of legal entity

from 200,000 currency points to 1,000 currency points.

- iii) Limit offences to conduct that poses a real and demonstrable threat to national interests, avoiding broad terms that may capture lawful activities.
- iv) Include measurable thresholds or criteria, such as scale or impact, to guide enforcement and reduce subjective judgment.
- v) Insert a saving clause to protect legitimate activities such as business operations, research, journalism, advocacy and civic engagement.
- vi) Introduce procedural safeguards, including enforcement guidelines, written reasons for decisions and access to administrative or judicial review.

We looked at the impact on academia, health and innovation systems. We recommend that the academic institutions, research bodies, health and medical facilities legally operating in Uganda be exempted from the Bill.

We examined the certificate of financial implications – because this is a requirement of Public Finance Management Act. We looked at the cost.

Madam Speaker, we interrogated it, actually, and the details are there.

In conclusion, Madam Speaker, the committee undertook extensive consultations and the views received reveal a shared concern across all submissions. There is broad agreement on four key points:

- i) The Bill's objective is legitimate but the definitions and applications are overly broad;
- ii) The regulatory approach duplicates existing legal institutional frameworks;
- iii) Excess power is concentrated in the minister; and
- iv) The Bill's impact could extend across entire economy.

In response to the above concerns, we interacted with the learned Attorney-General, again.

The committee, therefore, recommends that the Bill proceed to the Second Reading subject to the proposed amendments attached thereto, and any further improvements this a House may consider appropriate. *(Applause)*

THE SPEAKER: Honourable chairperson, I want the part where you interacted with the Governor of the Bank of Uganda.

MR KAJWENGYE: In response to the concerns, the Attorney-General proposed the areas for review, which were supported by Bank of Uganda. The committee has carefully considered these proposals. We have also incorporated these amendments, where applicable, in the Bill.

I want to report that, yes, we interacted with the Governor of the Bank of Uganda twice. After we had got the proposals, we flashed them to the Governor, Bank of Uganda and he also agreed with the committee, and sent us more amendments, which we incorporated.

I need to report, however, that this majority report, which was signed by more than three-quarters of the membership has minority reports.

Madam Speaker, it is my duty as the leader of the majority report to report to the House that we have five minority reports.

THE SPEAKER: Are they five?

MR KAJWENGYE: I beg to report, Madam Speaker.

THE SPEAKER: Thank you. Can I have the minority report?

4.28

MR JONATHAN ODUR (UPC, Erute County South, Lira): Madam Speaker, I present this minority report - and we have agreed with our colleagues who also dissented that this will be the order of presentation. I will present first, followed by Hon. Wilfred Niwagaba, Hon. Gilbert Olanya, Hon. Abdallah Kiwanuka, Hon. Betty Nambooze,

and lastly, Hon. Medard Lubega-Sseggon. We have different reasons.

THE SPEAKER: The rules of time still apply.

MR ODUR: Before I begin to present, if you may allow, I can address you on that, Madam Speaker. When a member of a committee dissents singularly, the weight of the report demands that we are accorded the same time frame.

THE SPEAKER: Which rule?

MR ODUR: Rule 215(3) says a Member or Members dissenting - and the reasons are in this report. Madam Speaker, you will see. If I may address you briefly -

THE SPEAKER: I am giving all of you 35 minutes. Honourable members, before we continue, we have Hon. Otim Bernard, MP-elect for Maruzi North County and Hon. Tibyaze Peace, MP-elect from Jinja. You are welcome.

Honourable members, join me in welcoming our new Members.

MR ODUR: This is a minority report, Madam Speaker, in substantial dissent of the majority report of the Committee of Defence and Internal Affairs -

THE SPEAKER: Honourable members, can we listen to the report?

MR ODUR: - and the Committee on Legal and Parliamentary Affairs on the Protection of Sovereignty Bill, 2026. This minority report is brought under Rule 215 of the Rules of Procedure of Parliament.

Opening remarks

Madam Speaker, it is critical that today, when a draconian Bill is presented to this Parliament for enactment into law, the minority is persuaded by some of the most memorable speeches in the political history of Uganda.

Honourable Members of Parliament, please, pay attention to the contents of this speech attributed to President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni in the early 1990s. This is what he said:

“Depending on the nature of the state in a given society, law can be an instrument of oppression and exploitation or of social justice and progress. Law is not synonymous with justice. It is not always synonymous with justice. It can be, but it may not be. What is legal is not necessarily what is just. Law can be used by the strong against the weak, by the rich against the poor, by the minority against the majority.”

Historically, law has been used by the oppressor against the oppressed. During the slave trade period, enslaved people were owned and disposed of like chattels, and it was perfectly legal to own a slave. The NRM Government is strongly opposed to having laws on our statute books which serve the interest of the minority against the majority of the people, or in which any way promotes to serve the injustice or advance backward interest in our society.”

The minority shall, where necessary, refer to the speech above for the purpose of reminding ourselves as legislators and fellow Ugandans, and for -

THE SPEAKER: There is a procedural matter.

MR OBOTH: Madam Speaker, we want to benefit from the citation. When you are quoting somebody - You have stated the date but could you also tell us where that speech was made?

THE SPEAKER: You can find the source.

MR ODUR: Madam Speaker, I am well conversant with the Rules of Procedure of this House. That is why I have confined myself to this report. I will be available to clarify if necessary. Members can listen and I will respond to them. Thank you.

The minority report shall, where necessary refer to the speech above for the purpose of reminding ourselves as legislators-

THE SPEAKER: Can I have a copy of it?

MRODUR: - fellow Ugandans, the far we have come and the apparent U-turns and reversals that are being made for whatever reasons being advanced, have no place in shaping the sovereignty of the people of Uganda.

Areas of dissent and statement of reasons for dissent

3.1 Violation of the Rules of Procedure of Parliament.

Madam Speaker, during the consideration of the Protection of Sovereignty Bill 2026, the Co-chairpersons violated several provisions of the Rules of Procedure of Parliament of Uganda.

Rule 135 of the Rules of Procedure is instructive on reference of a Bill to the committee as follows:

1. *“Whenever the Bill is read for the first time in the House, the Bill shall be referred to the appropriate committee appointed under these rules.*
2. *The committee shall examine the Bill in detail and make all such inquiries in relation to the Bill as the committee considers expedient or necessary and report to the House within 45 days from the date the Bill is referred.*
3. *Except in the cases of very minor amendments, and subject to Rule 138, all proposed amendments to a Bill referred to the committee shall be presented to the committee by the person proposing the amendment and the committee shall scrutinise the amendment together with the Bill.*
4. *The committee may propose and accept proposed amendments in the Bill as the committee considers necessary if the amendments, including new clauses and new schedules, are relevant to the Bill.”*

The minority observes that the committee violated sub rules (2) and (3). It did not examine the Bill in detail and further, did not

make all such inquiries in relation to the Bill. In the view of the minority, the decision of the committee through a vote on a motion by Hon. Fox Odoi Oywelowo for an omnibus adoption of all clauses of the Bill and their amendment by the learned Attorney-General without examination and inquiry violated Rule 135.

The minority, Madam Speaker, also observed that the Protection of Sovereignty Bill, 2026, was proposed by the Minister of Internal Affairs, Maj. Gen. (Rtd) Kahinda Otafiire. Sub rule (3) restricts the latitude to propose substantial amendments to only the mover of the Bill, which is the Minister of Internal Affairs. Only minor amendments may be proposed by any other person who is not the proposer to the Bill.

With due respect, the learned Attorney-General proposed 18 amendments, all quite substantial in nature, which amendments the majority unilaterally adopted and relied on to pass the Bill in the committee. The committee ought to have outrightly rejected the substantial amendment proposed by the learned Attorney-General.

To make it worse, Madam Speaker, the new amendments were laid before the committee in form of a new Bill. Rule 135 (1) confines the committee to a Bill read for the first time in the House and referred to the committee. The committee is stopped from directly receiving Bills not read in the House and referred to it. By fraudulently bypassing this House and smuggling an amended version of the Bill to the committee, an illegality that goes to the root of parliamentary procedure and practice was committed and cannot be cured by any explanation at all.

Madam Speaker, the minority further observes that no sooner had the learned Attorney-General purported to present the amended Protection of Sovereignty Bill, 2026 to the committee at about 12:00 noon on Thursday, 30 April 2026 than His Excellency the President, through his address to Ugandans at about 4:00 p.m. on the same day, withdrew instructions from the learned Attorney-General.

Instead, the President publicly assigned Hon. Denis Hamson Obua to ensure that the Bill concentrates on what he calls “sovereignty of policy decision making”.

In the practice of law, there is nothing professionally as humiliating as a client withdrawing instructions from you and sharing it out with the public outright. No wonder, since then, neither the Attorney-General nor the Minister of Internal Affairs ever attempted to appear before the committee or the House. The House must, therefore, not entertain the two on anything to do with the Protection of Sovereignty Bill, 2026 since the President withdrew the vote of confidence in them.

The minority formed the view that Hon. Obua Hamson, having been given fresh instructions as per the written expression of the President, ought to have immediately sought audience with the committee to present the instructions given to him. Was it an instruction to withdraw the Bill? What was it?

Despite the insistence of the minority to invite Hon. Hamson Obua, under Rule 135 (2), to make all such inquiries in relation to the Bill, as this was the most expedient, the co-chairpersons, Hon. Kajwengye Wilson –

THE SPEAKER: Hon. Jonathan, sorry for interruption. My presumption is that when you bring a minority report, you bring your points of departure, not a debate on the procedural ways.

MR ODUR: Madam Speaker, respectfully, this is one of the points of departure that I had.

THE SPEAKER: Which one?

MR ODUR: Under sub-heading 3.1, I said areas of dissent and statement for reasons of dissent as provided in the rules. The first was violation of the Rules of Procedure of Parliament and I am explaining that under Rule 135, the committee ought to have examined and on its own moved to go and make inquiries. And my point is, having come to the attention

of the committee that Hon. Obua Hamson was assigned, the committee ought to have moved itself to request Hon. Obua to come and substantiate. It goes to the root of my dissent, Madam Speaker.

THE SPEAKER: So, the committee instead went to Hon. Obua? Or they should have.

MR ODUR: Thank you, Madam Speaker. The co-chairpersons Hon. Kajwengye Wilson and Hon. Baka Mugabi Stephen, were evidently partial, hostile, and continuously switched off the microphone of members in the committee they perceived to be against the Bill.

Contrary to the established practice of availing physical copies of submissions of stakeholders to Members of Parliament at the retreat, Members of Parliament were instead told that physical copies could not be availed since Parliament was on a weekend.

Madam Speaker, views of selected stakeholders were instead sent to Members on WhatsApp to read on their phones. Members who were not on WhatsApp or whose phones could not open the WhatsApp were effectively denied critical documents.

Madam Speaker, the privileges of a Member of Parliament were violated to the extent that some of the members of the committee had to jump on boda boda to travel to Nasser Road to print the stakeholders’ document for their own reference. A passionate plea for the committee to adjourn until Monday when Parliament is open for purpose of printing or photocopying the document was turned down.

Madam Speaker, this gross -

DR BARYOMUNSI: I am rising on a point of procedure, Madam Speaker. A minority report, as per our rules, envisages that the Member participates in the proceedings of the committee and then disagrees with some of the decisions taken by the majority but not to come here and tell us stories how the committee *-(Interruptions)* – read the rules.

This Parliament, while debating reports, is not for storytelling; how Members were seated, how they were going on boda boda. What we expect, Madam Speaker, from the minority report is where the Member disagrees with decisions of the majority report, not to waste the time of Parliament talking as if he is just reading a story. So, is the honourable friend of mine proceeding correctly by wasting our time as Parliament instead of being straight?

THE SPEAKER: Hon. Odur Jonathan, I am actually enjoying your story. You continue with the story. Please, let us listen to the story.

MR ODUR: Thank you, Madam Speaker. This gross abuse of authority with utmost impunity, laced with shameless sycophancy is highly condemned. Presiding officers in committees and indeed plenary must be impartial, patient, and respectful of the constitutional rights of an MP to represent their constituencies without undue partiality and interruption.

I must also add that the co-chairpersons of the committee appeared not to have addressed their minds to the Rules of Procedure of Parliament which guided us and opted for personal whims to decide substantive points of law as well as procedural matters that arose in the committee.

Findings

My finding number one is that the proceedings of the committee were held in complete violation of Rule 135 of the Rules of Procedure of Parliament.

Two, the co-chairpersons exhibited gross incompetence, lack of tolerance for divergent views, and stifled all avenues of debate during consideration of the Bill.

THE SPEAKER: Hon. Odur, on incompetence - by the time you come and become a Member of Parliament in this House – let us tone down our language. Let it be parliamentary. Even when I am enjoying your story, at least let us be parliamentary; these gentlemen are competent.

MR ODUR: Madam Speaker, I do not want to go into the debate but I could have addressed

you on the competencies. However, let me continue. Recommendation - and it is in writing here –

THE SPEAKER: And I will remove the issues of incompetence.

MR ODUR: You are such a powerful person, please, Madam Speaker. I respect, please proceed and remove it.

THE SPEAKER: Yes, please, go ahead.

MR ODUR: The minority recommends to Parliament to reject the majority committee report and instead refer the Bill to the Executive or in the alternative but without prejudice, be pleased to appoint another committee to examine the Bill in detail and make such inquiries in relation to the Bill in full confidence.

2. Defective Certificate of Financial Implication.

The minority observed that the Certificate of Financial Implications issued by the Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development does not comply with Section 76 of the PFMA and Rule 124 of the Rules of Procedure of Parliament. Section 76 of the PFMA and Rule 124 are at par on the Certificate of Financial Implication of a Bill as follows:

Every Bill introduced in Parliament shall be accompanied by a Certificate of Financial Implication issued by the minister. The Certificate of Financial Implication issued under sub rule (1) shall indicate the estimates of revenue and expenditure over a period not less than two years after coming into effect of the Bill when passed.

In addition to the requirements under subsection (2), the Certificate of Financial Implication shall indicate the impact of the Bill on the economy. Notwithstanding subsections (1), (2) and (3), a Certificate of Financial Implication shall be deemed to have been issued after 60 days.

The minority examined the Certificate of Financial Implication issued on 15 April 2026 by the Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, signed by Hon. Amos Lugoloobi, the Minister of State for Finance, Planning and Economic Development. In the certificate, under paragraph 5 on impact on the economy, Hon. Lugoloobi states as follows: *“The proposed Bill is expected to strengthen Uganda’s policy autonomy and national security architecture, improve coherence in the management of foreign aid and foreign-funded activities, and support stability in governance and public order. These outcomes are expected to contribute to a more secure environment and implementation of government programmes and long-term national development –”* (Member timed out.)

The minority draws the attention of honourable members to the sad realities that have befallen this country; that the entire ministry responsible for finance, planning and economic development does not know what constitutes an economy of a country called Uganda, and therefore are unable to articulate the impact of the Bill to the economy of Uganda.

The minority observes that instead of assessing the impact of the Bill against well-known parameters such as GDP, sovereign debt, debt-to-GDP ratio, balance of payments, Central Bank reserves, interest rates, inflation, exchange rates, rate of growth, etc, alien parameters formed the basis of the assessment.

The observation by the majority report that the Certificate of Financial Implication met the statutory standard – (Member timed out.)

THE SPEAKER: Honourable members –

MR ODUR: Let me just put on record –

THE SPEAKER: Yes.

MR ODUR: This minority which I wrote is actually 40 pages –

THE SPEAKER: Let us capture everything that is in all the minority -

MR ODUR: This is what exactly happened in the committee. We were not heard –

THE SPEAKER: Let me give you two minutes.

MR ODUR: This report that I have is 40 pages.

THE SPEAKER: Let me give you two minutes to summarise.

MR ODUR: In the committee, we had the same treatment, Madam Speaker, we were not heard. That is why I am bringing this issue and I am appealing to the House –

THE SPEAKER: I have actually given you the same amount of time – two minutes. Please, conclude.

MR ODUR: I want to put it on record that I cannot conclude in the three minutes you have given me but I appreciate it. If it is your ruling that this report stops at this level, I have no problem. I respectfully submit, and then I can leave – because there is no way I can. I just wanted to finally – because as you also know, this may be possibly the last time some of us may be in this Parliament. I wanted you to protect that constitutional right – that little window that the people gave me to be in this House to represent them. I just plead with you. I may never come back. I wanted to ask that you give me that constitutional right to present.

THE SPEAKER: Hon. Jonathan, you have actually spent 35 minutes. I have always told you that you are one of the people I will miss in this House. I am giving you an additional five minutes. All the other minority reports – we will capture what is in your minority report because the time has been taken.

MR ODUR: Thank you very much, Madam Speaker. I want to now go back to the report but let the record capture that when I appeared in the committee – and you designated me, Madam Speaker, as a Member of Parliament to sit in the Committee on Legal and Parliamentary Affairs – in the joint committee, I was not given the opportunity. I received the

same treatment. That is why I thought this House would allow me to present.

With that, let me just put it on the record that the five minutes that you have given to me is not enough for me to present this. I thank you and probably take the opportunity to conclude by wishing Members who are going to return to the 12th Parliament, good luck in their deliberation and representations. I know next week people are going to swear in. I want to wish you all the best.

However, without prejudice, if the committee proceeds to Committee Stage, there are amendments that are also attached here. I beg that I will be given time to move those amendments, Madam Speaker.

THE SPEAKER: Are you moving a motion for Committee Stage, so that we handle the amendments? *(Laughter)*

MR ODUR: Let the record capture that I did not and I just put you on notice because I had written it here.

THE SPEAKER: No problem. We shall consider them.

MR ODUR: If you had been patient and read, it was going to come on the last page.

THE SPEAKER: No, I am not impatient. Honourable members, I gave each side 35 minutes.

4.55

MR WILFRED NIWAGABA (Independent, Ndurwa County East, Kabale): Madam Speaker, I believe you will give me my right as a Member who prepared a minority report that was co-signed by two other Members: Hon. Adeke Ann Ebaju for FDC, District Woman Representative for Soroti and Hon. Asuman Basalirwa, the MP for Bugiri Municipality.

Madam Speaker, our points of dissent are in the following areas; 1. The provisions in the Bill that tend to infringe the freedom of expression contrary to Article 29 of the Constitution.

2. The inconsistent *mens rea* since several offenses of comparable severity, particularly Clauses 8 – incidentally this particular microphone seems to have been tampered with and mine has – Clauses 8, 10, 12, and 22 that remain strict liability while others require intention or knowledge and creating an internal inconsistency contrary to Article 28(3) of the Constitution. I hope the *Hansard* will capture me.

THE SPEAKER: We are listening to you.

MR NIWAGABA: 3. Circular definitions in respect of “foreigner” and “agent of foreigner” which cross-refer to Clause 2, which in itself raises legal -

THE SPEAKER: Hon. Wilfred, we will discuss that at Committee Stage. I will allow you to bring your issues.

MR NIWAGABA: Number 4, which is on criminalisation of free speech.

Number 5 and most importantly, Madam Speaker, this particular Bill tends to infringe on Article 1 of the Constitution by, one, trying to invert the sovereignty of the people into the sovereignty of the state. Article 1 of the Constitution refers to the people of Uganda being sovereign. What the state has is the authority to administer. Therefore, the title of the Bill tells a lie about itself.

When you go through the Bill, apart from clause 5, which talks about the sovereignty of the people of Uganda, the rest of the clauses are in respect of the sovereignty of the state.

When we go to the committee stage, we will have many amendments to make –

THE SPEAKER: No problem.

MR NIWAGABA: since we were never given an opportunity. We have amendments to make on almost all clauses in the Bill. May I invite my other honourable colleagues who have minority reports to lay their presentations.

4.58

MS BETTY NAMBOOZE (NUP, Mukono Municipality, Mukono): Madam Speaker, in my capacity as the Shadow Minister for Internal Affairs, I went to the committee with a request to make a presentation. I happened to arrive before the Attorney-General. The chairman of the day, Hon. Baka, requested me to wait for the Attorney-General to present so that I could also be given time.

After the Attorney-General had made his presentation of amendments, Hon. Baka ruled that I would make my presentation while at Munyonyo. When we reached Munyonyo, Hon. Kajwengye ruled that my request had been overtaken by events - (*Laughter*) - I chose to write a minority report because the issues I was going to raise had not been raised by anybody else, and so I did. Madam Speaker, you are now ruling that there is no time. As a member of the committee, I am not supposed to debate.

There was a memorandum that came from Buganda Kingdom. When we reached Munyonyo, the memorandum went missing - (*Laughter*) - they have told you here - (*Interjections*) - let me tell the Speaker -

THE SPEAKER: Honourable members, give Hon. Betty time - some order.

MS BETTY NAMBOOZE: Madam Speaker, I have heard the chairperson telling you that when we were at Munyonyo, we heard from the Governor, Bank of Uganda. I was so surprised because while the rest of us were in Munyonyo, we were never informed that even the Governor had got back to us.

We are also told that 700 people sent memoranda to the committee but only 47 of them were accounted for. I feel so silenced. Is it your ruling that the people of Mukono should not be heard on this Bill?

THE SPEAKER: My sister, Hon. Betty, the people of Mukono have been heard. You have spoken for over five minutes, raised your issues and we are going to address all of them.

Honourable members, we have all the minority reports. All of you say you have issues on each clause. Why don't we look at clause by clause? Hon. Odur has raised pertinent issues.

MR ODUR: Madam Speaker, let the record be clear. You denied me opportunity to present. Do not use my name.

THE SPEAKER: Hon. Odur, you took all the 35 minutes. Hon. Olanya, let me give you five minutes.

5.03

MR GILBERT OLANYA (FDC, Kilak South County, Amuru): Thank you, Madam Speaker. I will go straight to the point of dissent. The minority dissents following Rule 215 of the Rules of Procedure of Parliament.

The Bill establishes an extensive regulatory and criminal framework governing individuals and entities classified as "agents of foreigners," imposing control on funding, policy engagement and civic participations.

The minority observes that several provisions raise several concerns including:

- i) the vagueness and inconsistent definitions;
- ii) an extreme and disproportionate penalty regime;
- iii) infringements on freedom of expressions and civic space;
- iv) duplication of existing legal frameworks;
- v) the absence of commencement and transitional provisions; and
- vi) a defective certificate of financial implication.

Madam Speaker, you recall that the committee engaged with about 53 entities, out of which, 52 were in support of this Bill. Fifty-one, including Bank of Uganda, religious leaders, among others; were telling Ugandans that this Bill, when passed, will create economic instability in Uganda. That was the word from the Governor of Bank of Uganda.

This Bill creates extreme and disproportionate penalty regime. The Bill establishes a uniform

and severe penalty structure, imposing custodial sentences of up to 20 years in prison across a wide range of offenses. Notably, the same maximum penalty applies to:

- i) Promotion of interests of a foreigner (clause 5);
- ii) Participation in activities deemed to promote foreign policy (clause 10);
- iii) Publication of information characterised -

THE SPEAKER: Hon. Gilbert, we have gone to clauses.

HON. OLANYA: Thank you, Madam Speaker. Due to time, let me go straight to the recommendations. Having engaged and got many views from Ugandans, the minority recommends that:

- i) The House does not pass the Bill in its present form;
- ii) The Bill be withdrawn and remitted for comprehensive redrafting.
- iii) A revised Bill should:
 - a) Provide clear and precise definitions;
 - b) Establish a proportionate penalty regime;
 - c) Align with existing legal frameworks;
 - d) Be supported by a credible economic and physical analysis; and
 - e) Be subjected to broad stakeholder consultation.

The view of the minority is that the Bill should be withdrawn. I beg to move.

THE SPEAKER: Hon. Betty, five minutes.

5.19

MS BETTY NAMBOOZE (NUP, Mukono Municipality, Mukono): Thank you, Madam Speaker. The points of my dissent are as follows:

- i) It is my opinion that there have not been enough public hearings accorded to this Bill. You have been informed that 57 memoranda were reviewed; but the fact of the matter is that the committee received over 700 memoranda, one of them, as I have put it, being from the Buganda Kingdom.

When we went to Munyonyo, we were given time to go and study these memoranda on *WhatsApp*, but when we returned to the committee meeting, we were not given time to make a presentation, as I mentioned earlier.

It is not about allowing people to come to the committee. The purpose of the people appearing before the committee is to give their opinion space so that they are heard. My point of dissent is that the committee ruled in favour of only two people out of the 700 who opposed the Bill. We are here fidgeting with time; this is not legislation. The committee is always given up to 45 days according to Rule 135 of our Rules of Procedure-

THE SPEAKER: Not 200 but 45 days. If you get a committee which is efficient like yours, it can do it in one day.

MS BETTY NAMBOOZE: It was not efficient; Madam Speaker *-(Laughter)-* The issue of time is evident even here. I request that the 11th Parliament stops behaving as if it is the last Parliament Uganda will ever have. There will be other Parliaments that will come after this. We are so honoured that you also will be in the next Parliament. My recommendation -

THE SPEAKER: I can choose not to be because I have other jobs.

MS BETTY NAMBOOZE: You are already there because we have been talking to Hon. Mao *-(Laughter)*

THE SPEAKER: How has Hon. Mao come here? There is a point of order.

MRAKOL: Madam Speaker, we are discussing a very important Bill, and I am wondering how the honourable member is referring to their discussions outside this House. Is it in order to bring in the name of somebody in a debate on sovereignty Bill that we are considering?

THE SPEAKER: Do you want to tell us that he is an agent of foreigners? No, the person they mentioned. Hon. Betty finish.

MS BETTY NAMBOOZE: The other point of dissent is on the issue of interpretation. The law refers to the interest of Uganda. However, when you go into the interpretation, the interest of Uganda has not been defined. It also talks about the interest of the foreigner, which is also undefined. It also talks about Government policies -

THE SPEAKER: That is on the interpretation clause; you will bring your idea when we reach that clause.

MS BETTY NAMBOOZE: I thought you had allowed me to present my report.

THE SPEAKER: What I am saying is that we will expect your idea on that clause or the amendment you want.

MS BETTY NAMBOOZE: Madam Speaker, first of all, I am a member of the committee who is not supposed to contribute to the debate. Secondly, you gave me an opportunity to make a presentation and I am thankful that you allowed me -

THE SPEAKER: Hon. Betty, I am only advising you that when we reach that clause, I will give you the opportunity to present your proposal. Read your report but I will still give you a chance to bring forward your proposal. Are we speaking the same language?

MS BETTY NAMBOOZE: Madam Speaker, I am reading the report and you are giving me advice. I take your advice, but I will continue to read my report. *(Interruptions)* I seek your protection, Madam Speaker. *Abantu bawoggana.*

THE SPEAKER: Continue with the report. Members, there is a point of order from the Uganda Women Parliamentary Association (UWOPA).

MS OPENDI: Thank you, Madam Speaker. There is a lot of noise, yet the microphones they are using are not as loud. The point of order I am raising is: is it in order for Members to make noise when another Member is submitting?

It is okay to laugh, but let us laugh and allow the Member to read her report. We cannot hear what she is reading. Madam Speaker, is it in order for Members to continue shouting when a Member is reading her report?

THE SPEAKER: You are the one who was shouting. *(Applause)* Let us hear from Hon. Betty.

MS BETTY NAMBOOZE: Thank you, Madam Speaker. I do not know why this particular microphone is low - *(Interjections)*

THE SPEAKER: Please, go ahead. At least I can hear you.

MS BETTY NAMBOOZE: Madam Speaker, my recommendation is that this Bill be withdrawn by the movers to give Ugandans time to make meaningful contribution to the debate, and to accord Parliament enough time to handle a Bill of this nature.

The Commonwealth practice is that Parliaments, which are about to retire, do not handle controversial business. We are part of the Commonwealth. The fact of the matter, Madam Speaker, why that is required -

THE SPEAKER: Which page are you on?

MS BETTY NAMBOOZE: I am reading page three, Madam Speaker.

THE SPEAKER: I am following your report.

MS BETTY NAMBOOZE: Madam Speaker, I move that this House finds that this Bill violates the Constitution, the Rules of Procedure, and the Parliamentary Convention, and that this House declares that the denial of the main report offends rules 214 and 215.

THE SPEAKER: 214 and 215.

MS BETTY NAMBOOZE: Rules 214 and 215. It also declares that clauses 2, 3, 5, 8, 11, 12, 24, 25, and 30 are void for vagueness and the unlawful delegation of powers. That this Parliament rejects the joint committee report by the majority.

I, therefore, recommend that the movers of the Bill withdraw the Bill under Rule 140(1), defer the subject to the 12th Parliament with proper consultation. Direct that any future Bill must affirm the sovereignty of the people under Article 1 of the Constitution, define all key terms-

THE SPEAKER: First of all, Rule 141 is on the procedure of the select committee

MS BETTY NAMBOOZE: Rule 140(1) directs that any future Bill must affirm that the sovereignty belongs to the people under Article 1, and that key terms in the Bill are properly defined, that is, the interest of Government, the Government policy, what constitutes the actions that make one an agent of a foreigner, and that the minister is not given powers to alter the offenses under the Bill as it is.

In conclusion, it is my prayer that the Protection of the Sovereignty Bill 2026 fails the test of constitutionality, legality, and procedure. The 11th Parliament's final act should be to affirm the supremacy of the Constitution, not to legislate excessively. I so pray.

THE SPEAKER: Thank you. Yes, there is a procedural matter?

MR AOGON: Thank you, Madam Speaker, for the opportunity that you have given to those with minority reports to present. It is in the interest of this country that all the voices of Ugandans are heard in this House, and those who have spoken represent those voices.

Hon. Jonathan Odur said he wanted to make a presentation in Munyonyo but he did not have enough time, or was not given the opportunity. Now that he has very many issues he would love to present, together with the rest of his honourable colleagues, and those who may feel their procedural matters were not handled well, but now we have the opportunity to look at this Bill in detail, provision by provision -

THE SPEAKER: So, what have you spoken?

MR AOGON: I am raising a procedural matter

THE SPEAKER: Hon. Kiwanuka, just raise the issues of dissent for five minutes. Like what Hon. Niwagaba did.

5.21

MR ABDALLAH KIWANUKA (NUP, Mukono County North, Mukono): Thank you, Madam Speaker. I have seven points of dissent, and they are on page 2. Some of them have been highlighted briefly, but my approach is different. The point that has been left hanging starts on page 20.

THE SPEAKER: Let us have order.

MR ABDALLAH KIWANUKA: Madam Speaker, the minority has the opportunity to look at the amendments proposed by the committee, notwithstanding the manner in which those amendments were adopted during the meeting in Munyonyo, and I find that the amendments are excessive and an affront to the past precedents of the House regarding the number of amendments allowed to Bills.

The minority is aware that the movers of the Bill proposed additional amendments to their own Bill, and the committee has adopted the same with additional amendments, resulting in an amendment totalling to 24 out of 30 clauses in the Bill, which is 87 per cent of the amendments in the Bill that were made.

The nature and amount of amendments that are being proposed to this House are about 87 per cent, and that is beyond the permissible number of amendments that can be allowed. The minority wishes to refer the House to the past ruling of the presiding officers of this very House on the number of acceptable amendments to the Bill.

Especially the precedent set during the consideration of the Public Service Pension Fund Bill, 2022, as reported in the *Hansard* of 23rd May 2023. On that day, the Deputy Speaker then directed the withdrawal of the Public Service Pension Fund Bill, 2022, due to

the amendments which were over 60 per cent of the Bill and noted as follows –

“I have studied various precedents, including the Hansard of 19 February 2019, where the presiding officer then, Rt Hon. Jacob Oulanyah, guided on the magnitude of proposals for amendments to a Bill.

In reference to the Sexual Offences Bill, 2019, which had been substantially amended, the Rt Hon. Jacob Oulanyah guided as follows;

Any amendments to this magnitude would require the minister to withdraw the Bill, incorporate the proposals in the Bill, and reintroduce it for first reading again. In view of the fact that there are numerous proposed amendments to the Public Service Pension Bill, 2023, I suggest that if the minister agrees with the majority of these amendments, then the minister should move under Rule 140 of the Rules of Procedure of Parliament to withdraw the Bill, incorporate the proposed amendments, and have the Bill reintroduced for the first reading.”

The Attorney-General can act on behalf of the minister on such a matter. If he agrees, they withdraw the Bill, incorporate the proposed changes, gazette it, bring it for first reading, and reintroduce it to the public for consultation. I have read it and noted that there are very critical amendments made in regard to this Bill.

The rationale for the above directive was to shield the Bill from being amended in a manner that substantially affects the subject matter of the Bill. The minority wishes to note that the amendments proposed to the Bill go to the root of the subject matter of the Bill, and the minister should be asked to withdraw the Bill, study it and the amendments, and if agreeable, amend the Bill and reintroduce it in the House.

The withdrawal of the Bill also affords the Government to benefit from the views of the stakeholders, both in support and against the report and the minority report. Indeed, Rt Hon. Deputy Speaker, while directing the withdrawal of the Public Service Pension Funds Bill, noted that.

Therefore, once we allow the minister, they will go back and incorporate both issues in the minority report and those in the majority report, and will again subject them to the public - the biggest legislators are members of the public - because we take their views and incorporate them into the clauses.

In light of the above ruling, the minority calls upon the presiding officer to comply with the earlier precedents of the House, which, by virtue of Rule 8(2) – I am winding up, honourable members.

THE SPEAKER: Wind up.

MR ABDALLAH KIWANUKA: Thank you, Madam Speaker. In light of the above, the minority calls upon the Presiding Officer to comply with the earlier precedents of the House, by virtue of Rule 8(2) of the Rules of Procedure of Parliament which directs that the Speaker’s ruling form part of the Rules of Procedure of Parliament until such a time when substantive amendments to these rules is made to respond to that ruling.

THE SPEAKER: Honourable, I do not want you to misquote the ruling of the former Deputy Speaker then. The former Deputy Speaker quoted Rule 135(2) which says, *“The committee shall examine the Bill in detail and make all such inquiries in relation to the Bill as the committee considers expedient or necessary to report to the House within 45 days, working days from the date of the Bill is referred to the committee.”*

The alteration is in regard to the object of the Bill. I asked the first question. Do we have an alteration to the object of the Bill? The answer was no. What Rt Hon. Jacob Oulanyah, Rest in Peace, meant was an alteration in the objective, which is the law. You can conclude.

MR ABDALLAH KIWANUKA: Thank you, Madam Speaker. I invite honourable colleagues to look for that record as well so that I do not mislead you in one way or the other.

As I am winding up, of course, the issue that the Bill was rejected by the President and the majority of the stakeholders have been highlighted -

THE SPEAKER: Which President?

MR ABDALLAH KIWANUKA: The President of the Republic of Uganda in the letter he wrote -

THE SPEAKER: Which letter? Does the President just write to the public or is he supposed to write to Parliament because it is Parliament holding the Bill?

MR ABDALLAH KIWANUKA: Madam Speaker, the President wrote to the *Bazzukulu* and I believe -

THE SPEAKER: Are you a *Muzzukulu*?

MR ABDALLAH KIWANUKA: Yes. *(Laughter)* Madam Speaker, I am concluding. Let me conclude in just two minutes. The minority report notes that of the 224 stakeholders the committee interacted with, only two stakeholders, being John Asiimwe, a resident of Fort Portal, and Hon. Nsibambi from Mawokota supported the Bill.

In addition, the minority report also notes that His Excellency the President gave directives in his letter over his - which was posted on *X* in respect to this matter.

I call upon this House and recommend as follows:

The Protection of Sovereignty Bill, 2026 that was read for the first time and referred to the joint committee on Wednesday 15, be rejected for the reasons listed above, among others. I have only read one but there are six. For the others which have been left behind, the report is very clear and has been uploaded.

The Protection of Sovereignty Bill be withdrawn since it serves no purpose.

The Government is encouraged to consider providing remedies for matters affecting real societies.

The Government undertakes to take practical steps to protect the sovereignty of the people from direct and indirect attacks to the sovereignty.

Finally, Madam Speaker, the Rules of Procedure be amended to ensure that no legislation can be proposed by the President or processed by Parliament after the general elections.

Thank you, Madam Speaker.

THE SPEAKER: You mean after the general elections you cease to be Members of Parliament (MPs)? This country does not stop there. Point of Procedure?

MR OTIMGIW: Thank you, Madam Speaker. This Parliament considers all our kingdoms very important and they are great partners when it comes to making our laws when they present their views. In the presentation of the minority report by our honourable colleague, Hon. Nambooze, she mentioned twice that the views of Buganda Kingdom got lost.

THE SPEAKER: I have not yet opened the debate. First wait.

MR OTIMGIW: I was just saying -

THE SPEAKER: First wait. Hon. Medard, you have only two minutes.

5.32

MR MEDARD LUBEGA SSEGGONA (NUP, Busiro County East, Wakiso): Madam Speaker, in the law that I studied and taught some people, some of whom are in this House, there is room for accepting under protest. I accept some of your directions because you are the Speaker but under protest.

First, is lumping me up with people I have opted to disagree with. Therefore, saying all of you, minority, are lumped up together and given the same time.

Secondly, that even where you, Madam Speaker, and with immense respect, do not contain your Members. You allow them to present for more than the time you had originally apportioned for all of us. Then, when I come you say two minutes. I know that in my wisdom collected by age among other things, I am able to present this in those two minutes or five, but I also know that the country will not benefit.

With that said, Madam Speaker, let me thank my colleagues who have presented before, both the majority and minority reports. Let me also associate with the bulk of the minority presentations to avoid repetitions. Why I opted to disagree with some of them, including the minority reports, is that I did not read any amendment purportedly presented by the honourable Attorney-General.

My construction and understanding of the presentation by the Attorney-General, I read it and I know he skilfully wrote in small letters, "Views of the honourable Attorney-General" and then in big letters, "THE SOVEREIGNTY PROTECTION BILL". I treat them not as an amendment, but as views of a stakeholder.

Reasons or points of dissent

I have summarised on page 1 the reasons for my dissent:

- i) Insufficient consultation on the Bill by the Government and the committee;
- ii) The Bill inverts the constitutional concept of sovereignty in favour of the State in contravention of Article 1;
- iii) The Bill is accompanied by an incurably defective Certificate of Financial Implications;
- iv) The Bill infringes various principles and Articles of the Constitution;
- v) The Bill does not cure any mischief and is, therefore, misconceived;
- vi) The Bill is redundant as there exists sufficient legal framework to cure any mischief -

On page 2, Madam Speaker, 3.1 on insufficient consultation by the Government and the

committee, I have stated what you are able to read with emphasis on Article 1.

I also emphasise that the consultations were conducted here and we never moved anywhere outside Parliament as if the rest of Ugandans have no views to contribute on such an important subject.

Sadly, influencing government policy is sought to be criminalised in this Bill. See clause 7(4) of the Bill.

Madam Speaker, on page 4, I traverse the reasons that I have given, and I cite the case of *Male Mabirizi & Ors v. Attorney-General, (Constitutional Petitions No. 2 of 2018)* and the decision of the court to the effect in summary that consultation is not cosmetic, but goes to the root of our constitutional governance.

In 3.2, the Bill inverts the constitutional concept of sovereignty in favour of the state in contravention of Article 1 of the Constitution. I associate with the elaborated submissions of my colleagues to avoid wasting time and eating much into my two minutes.

3.3, Madam Speaker, the Bill does not cure any mischief and is therefore misconceived. The summary of this:

One is that there exists a sufficient legal framework. However, if you look at page 6 of my submission, it is to be understood that interference with the development and implementation of government policies and programmes, which interference is funded by foreigners and agents, is the mischief.

Foreign aid to civil society that comes along with conditions and parallel programmes, which conflict with government programmes. This has given external donors, I understand, significant influence over Uganda's political, social, and economic landscape, which has resulted in erosion of our values.

The use of online platforms by foreigners and agents of foreigners to disseminate information facilitates social discord.

The minority - and that is me now, because it is a single man's minority report - note that the Bill is misconceived since it is based on the wrong premise.

Uganda has no specific law upholding the sovereignty of the country, which has resulted in continuous interference in the Government's policies and programmes by foreign countries and agents of foreigners.

No laws exist in the book to regulate the activities of civil society

No law regulates the use of online platforms.

I note that, one, the Constitution only guarantees the sovereignty of the people as against the state. No wonder the laws of Uganda are silent on this matter.

There exist laws which include, among others, the Non-Governmental Organisations Act, the Anti-Money Laundering Act, and the Penal Code, which are sufficient to guarantee our security and sovereignty.

In addition, I note that the Bill is further misconceived because it restricts funds procured from abroad, thereby indirectly affecting the operations of financial institutions and the Bank of Uganda. Let me note that the majority report was uploaded yesterday at four o'clock, so this one is taken care of, and for that matter, I will proceed to the next.

The Bill creates a regulatory arbitrage by extending the Bill to persons and institutions already regulated by other Acts of Parliament. For emphasis, honourable members, each and every sector we are talking about is regulated, including the political sector, which is thought to be the target of this. You are able to read for yourselves "A" up to "K" on page 9.

Madam Speaker, although the Bill seeks to safeguard the sovereignty of Uganda from external influence, it grants agents of foreigners, once registered, the right to interfere with sovereignty. For instance, an agent of a foreigner who registers with the minister can

implement government policy or government services under clause 6, strangely; they can influence development of policy under clause 7; they can implement government policy under clause 8; and they can interfere with the electoral process under clause 11, simply because of registration.

All the activities that are allowed for an agent of a foreigner under the Bill will affront Article 1 of the Constitution, whichever way you look at it, even when the minister allows.

The Bill assumes that what is offensive to the Constitution becomes lawful simply by allowing it under an Act of Parliament. Insofar as they will infringe the sovereignty of the citizens of Uganda, by subjecting it to the influence of foreigners. The so-called Acts allowed under the proposed law will still be offensive by their nature, being an affront to sovereignty. The minority note, therefore, is that had the Bill been conceptualised properly, indeed by being overly vague and ambiguous in relation to its application and the activities it seeks to regulate, it may be declared void for vagueness and stretching beyond the parameters of the Constitution.

On page 9, the Bill infringes several Articles. My colleagues have mentioned quite a number, specifically Article 1. I also opine that it offends Article 259 to the extent that it seeks to amend the Constitution by infection. This was canvassed in *Paul Ssemogerere, Zachary Olum, and Juliet Rainer Kafire vs Attorney-General, (Constitutional Appeal No. 1 of 2002)*, in which the Supreme Court declared Section 5 of the Constitutional Amendment Act, 2000, as unconstitutional since it had the effect of amending Article 28, Article 41(1), and Article 44(c). Madam Speaker, in that case, it was declared unconstitutional for having been passed without following the procedure under Chapter 8 of our Constitution.

The court also discussed the effect of Section 5 of the Constitutional Amendment Act, which proposed to introduce new Clauses 2 and 3 of Article 97 with the intention of restricting citizens' unhampered access to information in

the possession of the state. You may read for yourselves, and I will proceed to Page 12.

The Bill infringes on the following Articles of the Constitution, making it grossly unconstitutional in form and effect:

1. Unconstitutional deprivation of citizenship. Madam Speaker, citizenship is not granted by statute. By seeking to reintroduce the foreign element against Ugandans, the Bill offends Articles 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15 of the Constitution.
2. Freedom of expression under attack. Article 29(1)(a) and (b), provides that every person shall have the right to freedom of speech and expression, freedom of thought, conscience, and belief. Clauses 5, 7, 8, 10, 12, and 13, and the definitions of disruptive activities in Clause 1, directly criminalise expression and association, including influencing the public to oppose the policy of the Government.

Clause 2(2)(g), engaging or participating in a riot or unlawful demonstration or assembly, the definition of disruptive activities is offensive, and publishing information said to weaken the economic system.

Clause 13

These restrictions are neither demonstrably justifiable in a free and democratic society as provided for under Article 43(2)(c), which provides that public interest shall not permit any limitation of the enjoyment of the right and freedoms prescribed under the Constitution, beyond what is acceptable and demonstrably justifiable in a free and democratic society.

3. Freedom of association and assembly threatened. Madam Speaker, Article 38(2) of the Constitution guarantees every citizen's right to participate in peaceful activities to influence the policies through civic organisation. Listen to this. Clauses 7(3), 8(3), 8(4), and 12 substantially burden and in some places extinguish that right by criminalising conduct that constitutes its core exercise.

4. Right of equality invaded. Under Article 21(1), all persons are equal. When it comes to the definition of "a foreigner", "a Ugandan citizen residing outside" – that has been sorted and I accede to that. Then, the foreigners in their own country and convert persons – and those who deal with them.

Intrusion of privacy

The right to privacy of a person and property and no person is subjected to unlawful search or entry into the premises. Clause 28 confers on "a person appointed by the minister" to inspect the premises on "an agent of a foreigner".

Void for Vagueness

Hon. Betty Namboozee has hinted on it – the wide and arbitrary provision. Authorities to look at are *Andrew Karamagi v. Attorney-General (Constitutional Petition No. 5 of 2016)*, which struck down Section 25 of the Computer Misuse Act as well as *Charles Onyango Obbo and Anor v. Attorney-General (Constitutional Appeal No. 2 of 2002)*.

The Bill departs from the legality principle under Article 28.

(i) "Interests of Uganda"

I think Hon. Namboozee has hinted on it – they are not defined.

"Agent of a foreigner" (Clause 1)

The definition is extraordinarily broad and captures any person who acts "at the order, request, under the direction and control". I have specifically highlighted the threats that I consider legitimate in those bullet points at page 14.

Now, the foreigner clause, I think, has also been canvassed, together with "disruptive activities" and "economic sabotage".

At page 16, I have highlighted the threat against the freedom from cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment and the attendant authorities.

1. The Bill is accompanied with a defective certificate – that has been canvassed by Hon. Jonathan Odur and I want to associate with him, but to point out or be specific that; one, the estimates of revenue and expenditure over the period of not less than two years after the coming into effect of the Bill when passed and, two, the impact of the Bill on the economy are not canvassed in the certificate. The certificate simply laid down the principle of what we may achieve in broad terms without telling us what we are likely to spend on implementing and whether the Government is prepared to spend that money. To that extent, the certificate is incurably defective and cannot support this Bill.

The Bill also has the potential to destabilise Uganda's balance of payments. I think reference has been made to the submissions of the Governor of Bank of Uganda – and I associate in the same terms.

The financial sector – de-risking operational paralysis; the capital requirements and the funding gap; and the policy framework inconsistency and voluntary shocks have all been canvassed

The second last is the amendments proposed by the committee. Good as they sound, they are equally excessive and disregard the precedents of the House. They also disregard the procedure that ought to have been adopted, as elaborated by my colleagues earlier.

Finally, Madam Speaker, for my reasons – this is where I am going to refer to the letter written by my brother, the President. Here, nobody will ask me whether he wrote it or not because, having said he is my brother, I think I know him better than anyone. *(Laughter)*

The Bill was rejected by the President and majority of the stakeholders that the committee engaged with.

Madam Speaker, the statistics have been given of all the persons that appeared – I think only three stakeholders supported it: Hon.

Yusuf Nsibambi; Hon. Kiryowa Kiwanuka, the Attorney- General – I treat him as a stakeholder because he was not the mover; and the gentleman from Fort Portal, Mr Asiimwe that has been referred to.

The President himself did state that this is not the Bill that he initiated in Cabinet. It does not stop there. Even Gen. Severino Kahinda Otafiire, who was stated to be the mover of the Bill, evaded the committee's proceedings, yet he is the one who must have received the president's instructions, only to be misconstrued – with immense respect – by my son, Gen. David Muhoozi, who appeared. *(Laughter)*

THE SPEAKER: Hon. David Muhoozi is a son-in-law because he marries from him.

MR LUBEGA SSEGGONA: Yes, he is my son. In Africa we do not say that. He is my son. *(Laughter)*

Madam Speaker, my general conclusion is that the minority – that is me – wish to remind colleagues that Uganda is here to stay and, therefore, there is no need for firefighting.

The country must not be stampeded into criminalising politics – because politics seems to be left as the only target – in the name and behind the curtain of sovereignty and security. The existing laws were not enacted in vain. They must be allowed to serve their purpose. The Bill, as proposed, is inimical to democratic tenets, constitutional commands and injurious to good conscience, which principles must be jealously guarded and protected with utmost tenacity by all Ugandans of goodwill.

The minority, therefore, recommend as follows:

- (1) The Protection of Sovereignty Bill, 2026 that was read for the first time and referred to the joint committee on Wednesday, 15 April 2026, be rejected in its entirety for the reasons stated above; and
- (2) The Government undertakes to take practical steps to protect the sovereignty of the people from direct and indirect attacks, including by those claiming to fight for us.

I am Hon. Medard Lubega-Sseggon, MP Busiro East. Thank you.

THE SPEAKER: Thank you, Hon. Medard, for that report – [Hon. Obua: “Motion.”]- Yes, motion?

5.54

THE GOVERNMENT CHIEF WHIP (Mr Hamson Obua): Madam Speaker, having heard from the substance of the majority report and the minority reports, I rise, pursuant to Rule 17(1) of the Rules of Procedure, which states: “*A member may, with the consent of the Speaker, move that a rule should be suspended in its application to a particular matter before the House.*”

I, therefore, move that the application of rule 214(14) and rule 214(15) be suspended to waive the requirement of a three-day period between the presentation of a report on the Bill and the debate. I beg to move.

THE SPEAKER: Seconded? (*Members rose*) It is seconded by Hon. Okwalinga, Namilyango, Hon. Eweru, Hon. Balaam, Hon. Fox Odoi, Hon. Kabanda, Hon. Acen, Hon. Silas, Hon. Charity, Hon. Nekesa, Hon. Rwakajara, Hon. Alanyo, Hon. Aber, Hon. Akello, Hon. Esther, Hon. Sanon, Hon. Apolot, Hon. Abeja, Member from Ibanda, Hon. Omara, Hon. Acuti, Hon. Mariam, Hon. Eric, Hon. Gabriel, Member for Toroma, Member for Amuria, Hon. Phyllis, Hon. Nyakato, my brother from Bugisu – by the whole of this side and three quarters of the other side. It is also supported by the Vice President, the Rt Hon. Prime Minister, the Government Chief Whip, Hon. Yusuf Nsibambi, the yellow boy and then “*Mama wa abana*”, the yellow girl. Hon. Businge, all the elders’ representatives and the representatives of people with disabilities and Hon. Nabakoba - all support the motion. Justify your motion.

5.55

THE GOVERNMENT CHIEF WHIP (Mr Hamson Denis Obua): Madam Speaker, the justification of my motion is basically threefold. One, Rules 214 and 215 do not fall within the

confines of Rule 17(4) as entrenched. Implying that the two rules can be suspended.

Two, this particular report on the Bill was uploaded to our parliamentary information system. Members here present have perused through the report, and I believe with the turnout you have in the House, we are ready to proceed just like we have proceeded with the main and the minority reports.

Three, Members who are required to discuss and debate this report are present here and gathered in big numbers. Therefore, based on the three reasons, I justify that my motion for suspension of the rule, if it pleases you, Madam Speaker, carries the day. I beg to move.

THE SPEAKER: Thank you so much. Hon. Wilfred.

5.58

MR WILFRED NIWAGABA (Independent, Ndoorwa County East, Kabale): Madam Speaker, I strongly oppose the motion to suspend the rules on account of three grounds. One, it is apparently clear that the speed at which this Bill has been moved, the majority of the Members are yet to access the records - the minutes of the committee meetings and even the reports to internalise and appreciate the essence of this particular Bill.

Two, Madam Speaker -

THE SPEAKER: How many Members have reported to you that they have not had access to the information?

MR NIWAGABA: Madam Speaker, speaking as the alternative Attorney-General, we had six minority reports. Of course, you know the presentation has not been to its logical conclusion, and the majority of the people who have remained seated here, who did not stand up to support the motion, have not had time to look at the reports - read and internalise them. Incidentally, even the minutes of the committee were not laid by the mover of the motion.

THE SPEAKER: They are there.

MR NIWAGABA: Three, most importantly, Madam Speaker, is that this particular Bill touches the fundamental rights of the people of Uganda both within and without the territorial jurisdiction of this country. Therefore, it is important that Members be given time to debate the reports. Those who do not intend to debate can just keep quiet but give Members an opportunity to debate. So, I strongly oppose the motion to suspend the rules on debate of this very important matter.

THE SPEAKER: Thank you. Attorney-General?

6.00

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL (Mr Kiriyowa Kiwanuka): Madam Speaker, I think the question has been put more to the Members because -

THE SPEAKER: I only want you to respond to what the shadow has said.

MR KIRYOWA KIWANUKA: Yes. The honourable member seems to doubt the Member's capacity to read quickly, which I strongly oppose. Madam Speaker, I think Members have the capacity to read and understand these things. Of course, this law is not about Ugandans; it is about agents of foreigners.

Madam Speaker, the question should be put to Members to decide whether or not they are ready to deal with the issues in the Bill. I beg to submit.

THE SPEAKER: Honourable members, I put the question that Rule 214 (14) and (15) be suspended to enable the House to deliberate on the report of the committee on the Protection of Sovereignty Bill, 2026, without having to wait for the three days as per the rules.

(Question put and agreed to.)

THE SPEAKER: Honourable members, can you sit?

6.01

THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION (Mr Joel Ssenyonyi): Madam Speaker, the rules allow them to stand, and I want to quote for you the rule. Rule 107 of our Rules of Procedure provides for Division.

Rule 107 (1) states: "*A division may be ordered by the Speaker or Chairperson, where – (b) the Speaker has announced the results of the voice voting, and immediately forty or more Members stand in their places signifying their disapproval of the outcome of the vote*".

Madam Speaker, from what we heard, the "Nays" had it. However, you announced that the "Ayes" had it. Now, more than 40 Members have stood up to say, "put this to a Division so that we count per head." It is the Rules of Procedure. Some of you do not read the rules. Actually, you need to start reading the rules.

Madam Speaker, the rules allow for voting by a Division when 40 Members stand up. These here are more than 40 Members. Therefore, I would like to implore that we do the casting by Division so that we can ascertain. As it stands now, we do not believe the announcement you made, Madam Speaker.

THE SPEAKER: Honourable members, I will not speak until you are seated.

MR SSENYONYI: Madam Speaker, you have to rule on the 40 Members who are standing up.

THE SPEAKER: Okay, but sit.

MR SSENYONYI: Madam Speaker, the rule says you first ascertain that these are 40 plus Members -

THE SPEAKER: Honourable members, I do not need to ascertain. Even if you are 50 Members, I am going to allow a Division. I am going to allow it, and then we will decide.

One thing I would like to tell you is that whether you play tactics of delay or not, we shall finish.

Honourable members, the Leader of the Opposition is the appointed teller for the “Nays” and Hon. Obua appointed teller for the “Ayes”. The “Ayes” move this side and “Nays” move the other side. Go to the lobby. Hon. Majegere, and the ones abstaining can remain with me here.

(Members voted by a Division.)

THE SPEAKER: Honourable members, can everybody get out? Hon. Zaake, go. All of you, go out. I am the only one supposed to remain here. Register yourselves from out. I will call all of you back after you have registered.

I want all Members out. I will call you to come back. It is only ex-officio members who can stay in. Hon. Rose, can I see you out? I do not want the process to be challenged. Hon. Baba, go to the lounge there. Hon. Nambooze, first get out. We are going to call you one by one.

Honourable members from the Opposition who have registered can pass through the rear door; it is the one where I have one of my staff. Read the name as the person enters. Where you see Aisha, that is where the rear door is. Members of the Opposition enter through the rear door.

Those on the Government side who have registered, start coming from the rear door - Hon. Amero, go back to where you sit - honourable members, can we settle now?

As we wait for the numbers, in the Very Important Persons’ (VIP) Gallery this evening, we have:

1. Hon. Kahima Moses Mugabe from Ruhaama East. Welcome back. He used to be with us in the 10th Parliament. *Karibuni sana;*
2. Hon. Ilukol Emmanuel from Bokora, Napak;
3. Hon. Achia Lokiru from Jie County; and
4. Hon. E tiro Margaret from Amuria. You are most welcome.

Honourable members, can I receive my numbers from the clerks?

The question was on suspension of Rule 214 (14) and (15), and the Leader of the Opposition raised an issue. He wants to exercise his duty and mandate by having a division and lobby. I hereby announce the results.

I congratulate the Opposition. You got 54 votes. The NRM got 286 votes. *(Applause)* Therefore, the 286 against 54 have it. The “Ayes” have it. What I had said that the “Ayes have it” was correct. I heard it very well. Thank you.
Hon. Obua?

MR OBUA: Madam Speaker, having ascertained the numbers in compliance with rule 107 as raised by the Leader of the Opposition, I beg to move under Rule 17(1) that in the consideration of the report on this Bill, Rule 107 be suspended. I beg to move.

THE SPEAKER: Is it seconded? Seconded by the Prime Minister, Hon. David, Hon. Baka, Hon. Nsibambi, and by the whole 286. Would you justify?

MR OBUA: Madam Speaker, my justification is as follows:

1. Again it is that Rule 107 is not entrenched, and as such, it can be suspended.

2. It appears that even when we have the numbers beyond the third required for passing a Bill such as this, our good friends in the Opposition would want to continue taking refuge under Rule 107 of the Rules of Procedure, and as such, I am justifying that the rule be suspended in the consideration of the report on this Bill. *-(Interjection)-* You are taking refuge; you are not a refugee.

THE SPEAKER: I put the question that rule 107 be suspended to aid the efficient consideration of the Bill.

(Question put and agreed to.)

Rule 107, suspended.

MR SSENKYONI: Madam Speaker. Again, in consonance with rule 107, 40 members are standing up because we believe it is the “Nays” that have it.

THE SPEAKER: The rule has already been suspended.

MR SSENKYONYI: Madam Speaker, if you could listen to me for a minute. Actually, we are challenging the result you have declared. We should ascertain what you have declared because you have declared that the Ayes have it. We are saying, no, the Nays have it. So, we still need to divide to ascertain what you have declared. It is very simple because it is the rules. So, we need to ascertain what you have declared, according to rule 107.

THE SPEAKER: You go.

MR SSENKYONYI: So, we are dividing again.

THE SPEAKER: Yes, we will not get tired of it.

MR SSENKYONYI: Thank you for not getting tired, Madam Speaker. Even us, we shall not get tired. I hope our colleagues on this side are not tired.

THE SPEAKER: Prime Minister - this is the last one, and we shall have it.

MS NABBANJA: Madam Speaker, as a commander on this side, I just want to use this microphone to tell my people that we shall not get tired; it is going to be done today. Whatever play -

MR SSENKYONYI: They told you to get out, not to come to the microphone and make noise.

MS NABBANJA: So, you go.

THE SPEAKER: Go to your sides.

(Voting by divisions.)

THE SPEAKER: Members who have registered, come back. Honourable members, can we now settle down?

(Registration continued_)

THE SPEAKER: Honourable members, can we have you in? Have you signed? Did you sign? Honourable members, can we settle down? The Members who have signed, please enter, and do not squeeze yourselves. It is free seating. Hon. Peace, there is a seat here. Hon. Ssolo - where is the Leader of the Opposition? No, I already have my book.

Honourable members, can I have order? The question to be put is for the suspension of Rule 107 that was moved by none other than Hon. Hamson Obua, the Government Chief Whip. Those in favour are 292. Those against are 52. The abstainer is one.

(Question put and agreed to.)

THE SPEAKER: I have your books. The books have been delivered. I have not been involved. Yes, Hon. Nsibambi.

6.57

MR YUSUF NSIBAMBI (NUP, Mawokota County South, Mpigi): Thank you for the opportunity.

THE SPEAKER: Honourable members, can you listen to the senior counsel?

MR NSIBAMBI: Madam Speaker, I move a motion that we move to the committee stage, and I have only one reason: the Bill has been discussed over and over. We have seven reports before us, and we are ready to discuss clause by clause. I move that the House goes to committee stage so that the question is put.

THE SPEAKER: Is the motion seconded? *(Members rose_)* It is seconded by Hon. Akampurira, the whole Front Bench, Hon. Aciro Menya, Hon. Mulimba, Hon. Bahati, Gen. David Muhoozi, Hon. Baka, Hon. Yusuf, Hon. *Maama w'abaana*, Hon. Lugoloobi, Hon. Aber, Hon. Ogwang, Hon. Okaasai, MP representing the Elders, Dr Aceng, the Deputy Attorney-General, Hon. Paul, MP representing Ibanda, Brig. Gen. Bainababo, Col. Nekesa, Hon. Adoa, Hon. Rwakajara, Hon. Olobo, Hon. Chemonges, Hon. Werikhe, Hon. Mugema, Hon. David, Hon. Muwuma, Hon.

Iddi Isabirye, Hon. Apolot, Hon. Sekindi, the whole House on this side, and the majority on the other side.

Honourable members, can I have some silence? I put the question that the Protection of Sovereignty Bill, 2026, be read the second time.

(Question put and agreed to.)

BILLS
COMMITTEE STAGE

THE PROTECTION OF SOVEREIGNTY
BILL, 2026

THE CHAIRPERSON: Honourable members, the quorum that we have is eight Members on Zoom, plus those in the House, giving us 353 Members. Therefore, we have the quorum.

Clause 1

THE CHAIRPERSON: Clause 1 is on the interpretation. We can come back to the interpretation after.

Clause 2

MR SSENKYONYI: Madam Chairperson - *(Hon. Baka rose)* - that chairperson, not you. Madam Chairperson, I want to give you some feedback. I would like to give you feedback. I am sure you will take it in good faith. *(Member rose)* This feedback is not for you. It is for the Chairperson. You need to calm down - *(Interjections)* - I see there is a lot of excitement. I am giving feedback to the Chairperson, not to you, yellow girl or anyone else.

Madam Chairperson, let me give you the feedback -

THE CHAIRPERSON: Honourable Leader of the Opposition, we know how we always get feedback. You and I shall discuss. For now, I am working for the whole House.

MR BAKA: Madam Chairperson, the committee proposes to amend - *(Interruption)* *(Hon. Ssenyonyi rose)* -

MR SSENKYONYI: Madam Chairperson, you allowed my point of procedure.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Can I look at clause 2 first, then I will give you time.

MR SSENKYONYI: It is about clause 2. Please listen to the point of procedure and then rule. It is you going to rule.

THE CHAIRPERSON: No, let him first -

MR SSENKYONYI: Madam Chairperson, please listen to the point of procedure and then rule. It is you going to rule. The point of procedure is even about the clause he wants to embark on.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Please wait and give us his - switch on.

MR SSENKYONYI: Thank you, Madam Chairperson. That was not too hard. You see and this is the procedural matter that I want to raise. I have said here severally that the majority can have their way but the minority must have their say; it is very important.

Madam Chairperson, Rule 215(2) is about dissent from decision of the majority and it says: *"A member of the committee dissenting from a decision of the majority shall be given time to present the statement of reasons referred to..."*

Madam Chairperson, we were here battling literally for space. Hon. Odur hardly read his report. I think he had read a quarter way. A number of the others you were saying two minutes.

Madam Chairperson, this rule does not refer to two sides. It refers to a member of the committee with a dissenting opinion. There can be 10 or 20 dissenting opinions. Each of those members is accorded space in these rules. I am asking procedurally, are you saying that the

views on our end; you do not want to entertain them? You do not think we add value because of the way the haggling has been happening?

You were saying the minority reports will be uploaded. However, our colleagues the other side used 40 minutes to present their majority report.

Each minority report is meant to be accorded similar space and that is all we are asking for. You people have got the numbers to do anything. You can even choose that tomorrow the sun will not rise because you have the numbers, after all. I do not know why you panic too much. Our end has always just been asking, Madam Chairperson, accord us space and that is what we have been asking for but it has been a fight

THE CHAIRPERSON: What is the procedure?

MR SSENYONYI: My procedural question to you, Madam Chairperson, are you saying our views on our end are irrelevant, they do not add any value? We want to know because of the way we are being treated.

In the committee, you have heard the testimonies of our colleagues, Madam Chairperson.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Can I respond?

MR SSENYONYI: Let me finish in a minute, Madam Chairperson. You heard our colleagues on the committee. Even then, they were struggling to get space there. We thought that when we come here, our leader, who is the leader for all of us, will be able to accord space to all of us. When you sit in that Chair, you become a referee. You are not even supposed to descend into the arena to participate in debate and we feel like you are not protecting us, to air out our views. Are we irrelevant to you and to this House? We would want to know?

THE CHAIRPERSON: Honourable members, Hon. Ssenyonyi is a very good friend of mine, but I do not want and love people who play double standards.

When you came and told me thank you for giving my members time, as I asked – I - he thanked me for giving his members time. That is number one. Number two, I want you to listen to this: you know me, you do not whisper to me because I call a spade a spade.

Two, a member of the committee dissenting from the decision of the majority shall be given time - time is not specified. I gave Hon. Niwagaba less than five minutes. He presented and finished. Hon. Gilbert, also presented - I am the one speaking, Hon. Gilbert did not complain, everybody - at this time, we are past there. We are at committee stage. Can we go to committee stage?

Three, you go to committee stage.

7.09

THE CHAIRPERSON, COMMITTEE ON LEGAL AND PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (Mr Stephen Baka): Thank you, Madam Chairperson, the committee proposes to amend clause 2 of the Bill as follows:

The first amendment in Sub-clause (1), by deleting the words “any person who acts as”

The second one by substituting for Sub-clause 2, the following - “(2) For avoidance of doubt, this Act applies to an agent of a foreigner who engages in any of the following activities through any means including the use of digital platforms to –

- (a) engage in political activities in Uganda to further the interests of a foreigner.
- (b) solicit, collect, disburse, or dispense contributions, loans, money or other things of value for the purpose of financing or sponsoring political activities to further the interests of a foreigner.
- (c) represent the interest of a foreigner before any agency or official of the Government of Uganda for the purpose of engaging in political activities in Uganda.

- (d) Recruit, contract, engage, enter into a partnership or sponsor any person in Uganda to promote the interests of a foreigner for the purpose of engaging in political activities in Uganda.
- (e) agree, consent, assume or purport to act as or who is or holds himself or herself out to promote the interests of a foreigner against the interests of Ugandans. (*Hon. Oguzu rose*)
- (f) without the approval of Cabinet, influences the development of a policy of the Government or implements a policy of Government.
- (g) influence the public to oppose the policy of Government.”
- (e) faith-based organisations for activities that are connected with the mission of the faith-based organisation.

Another amendment under Clause 2 reads: (5) Nothing in this Act shall be construed as prohibiting or requiring compliance with this Act for lawful foreign direct investment, portfolio investment, diaspora remittances, export proceeds, trade finance, commercial loans, humanitarian assistance, technical assistance, grants, concessional financing, development assistance or any other lawful foreign exchange inflow or outflow and related activities.”

The justification is to harmonise the provision with the scope of the Bill as provided in clause 2 and to clarify the scope of the Bill to avoid a possibility of extending the Bill to any person and activity beyond the scope of the Bill. I beg to move.

Another amendment, Madam Chairperson, by inserting immediately after Sub clause 3, the following-

“(4) For avoidance of doubt, and notwithstanding the provisions of this section, this Act shall not apply to monies or funding received from a foreigner by-

- (a) a supervised institution or a person or institution regulated by a regulatory body under an Act of Parliament for purposes of meeting its regulatory requirements or for purposes of undertaking its commercial, licensed or permitted activity under an Act of Parliament;
- (b) a health or medical facility for purposes of performing an activity permitted under the laws of Uganda to be undertaken by a health or medical facility;
- (c) an academic or research institution for purposes of funding, research and innovation or any other educational activity permitted under the laws of Uganda to be undertaken by an academic or research institution;
- (d) a person for commercial, domestic or family use;

THE CHAIRPERSON: Honourable Minister.

GEN. MUHOOZI: Madam Speaker, I concur.

MREKANYA: Thank you very much, Madam Chairperson. We did not have the opportunity – first of all, I want it to be on record that the committee has done great work, compared to the original Bill. (*Applause*)

Madam Chairperson, I engage a lot on international issues and finance. You have opted to leave it out, but if we had handled the interpretation clause, it would have made it easy for us to move smoothly. However, you have opted like that. It is now going to create for us – the interpretation means a lot. It is virtually 90 per cent. Issues of “a foreigner” and “a foreign agent” are what have disturbed us all this time.

I request, Madam Chairperson, that after handling Clause 2, we go back to Clause 1 and handle the interpretation because it sorts out the Bill entirely and, really, closes the matter.

THE CHAIRPERSON: I agree with you.

MR EKANYA: Thank you.

THE CHAIRPERSON: I put the question that Clause 2 be amended as proposed.

(Question put and agreed to.)

Clause 2, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 1

MR BAKA: Madam Chairperson, the committee proposed to amend Clause 1 -

(a) By substituting for the definition of “agent of a foreigner”, the following –

“agent of a foreigner” means a person who engages in any of the activities referred to in section 2 –

- (a) as an agent, representative or employee of a foreigner;
- (b) on the order, request, supervision or under the direction or control of a foreigner; or
- (c) while being financed or subsidised by a foreigner;”

(b) In the definition of “disruptive activities”, by deleting paragraph (e).

(c) By substituting for the definition of “foreigner”, the following-

“foreigner” includes-

- a. a non-Ugandan citizen who engages, undertakes, supervises, controls, finances or subsidises the activities specified in section 2(2);
- b. a foreign government, consulate, high commission, embassy or other diplomatic mission which engages, undertakes, supervises, controls, finances or subsidises the activities specified in section 2(2);
- c. a corporation, non-governmental organisation or other legal entity incorporated, unincorporated or registered outside Uganda which engages, undertakes, supervises, controls, finances or subsidises the activities specified in section 2(2);
- d. an international or multinational organisation which engages, undertakes, supervises, controls,

finances or subsidises the activities specified in section 2(2);

(d) By deleting the definition of “person”;

(e) By inserting the following definitions in their appropriate alphabetical order -

(f) “political activities” means any activity aimed at influencing the enactment of legislation, the formulation of policy or the decision-making of Government or of the people of Uganda and includes –

- a. fundraising, sponsoring, registering, nominating, supporting or campaigning for a candidate in an election;
- b. registering, funding and campaigning for a political party in an election;
- c. fundraising, campaigning, canvassing for support, supporting or opposing a political party or candidate in an election;
- d. any activities aimed at influencing the outcome of an election;
- e. any activities aimed at influencing the will and consent of the people of Uganda to determine who shall govern them and how they should be governed;
- f. any activities aimed at influencing, imposing or normalising ideologies which are inconsistent with the Constitution or which conflict with any cultural, culture, customs or norms of any of the communities listed in the Third Schedule of the Constitution.

“Interest of a foreigner” means interests of a foreigner that are not aligned with principles and laws adopted by Government;

“Interests of Uganda” means the national interests of Uganda based on the principles of national interest and common good enshrined in the National Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy as provided for in the Constitution, laws of Uganda and Government policy.

“Foreign policy” means a policy developed by a foreigner;

“Government policy” means a statement, decision or actions of Government on how a sector is regulated or governed, issued in accordance with the Constitution and laws of Uganda;

“Interest of Ugandans” means the interests of Uganda;”

Justification

- i) To limit the application of the Bill to only agents of foreigners and not any other person.
- ii) The amendments are intended to harmonise the definitions with the scope of the Bill, as provided in Clause 2.
- iii) The amendment under the definition of “foreigner” is to exclude the application of the Bill to Ugandan citizens residing outside Uganda.
- iv) To remove the power of the minister to declare any person a foreigner under the definition of “a foreigner”.
- v) The amendment under the definition of the phrase “disruptive activities” is to remove the restriction on recruitment and employment of persons, which was broad.
- vi) To define words and phrases, which are used in the Bill, in order to enhance clarity.

I beg to move, Madam Chairperson. *(Applause)*

THE CHAIRPERSON: Thank you. Hon. Baka, where would you place the honorary consuls such as the Kirumiras and Wavamunnos, who represent other countries in our country?

MR BAKA: They are “diplomatic missions”, Madam Chairperson.

THE CHAIRPERSON: If they are diplomatic missions, then, are you going to consider them “foreigners”?

MR KIRYOWA KIWANUKA: Madam Chairperson, naturally, a diplomatic mission has an interest of a foreign state. That is their interest here. So, if I take up that job as an honorary counsel here, I am here to represent the interest of the other country. Therefore,

they will be covered by that, but only if they do the activities in the proposed section 2(2).

THE CHAIRPERSON: Yes?

PROF. MUSHEMEZA: In the definition, we have talked of “foreign policy” to refer to the policy of foreigners. Are we sure, in the whole law, that we do not mention “foreign policy of Uganda”?

I believe there is where we say we are also protecting our interests – like foreign policy. If we limit “foreign policy” to mean policy of the outside, what about our foreign policy?

MR KIRYOWA KIWANUKA: That is qualified later on in the Bill. It is clearly stated as “foreign policy of Uganda”. Everywhere else, where you have “foreign policy”, it means a foreign government. Foreign policy of Uganda is clearly set out.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Hon. Elijah?

MR OKUPA: Thank you, Madam Chairperson. Can the Attorney-General also help me in cases where we have dual citizenship? I know there are Ugandans who have acquired dual citizenship. How do we handle them, regarding this issue of “foreigner”?

I know even in this House – *(Laughter)*

MR KIRYOWA KIWANUKA: Even those are citizens of Uganda. So, they are excluded.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Yes?

MR EKANYA: Thank you very much, Madam Chairperson. The issue of having political parties – the purpose of this Bill is to deny political parties and civil society from receiving resources that are not declared.

The NRM has been receiving funding from partner parties like China. With this, they are putting a rope on their neck – *(Interjection)* - This is true. I am just telling you that you are putting a rope on your neck.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Honourable member, if I heard it well - We have the Political Parties and Organisations Act and all these are entitled, including the Forum for Democratic Change (FDC). You are not excluded. You can receive your money from wherever because you have an Act of Parliament that supports you.

GEN. DAVID MUHOOZI: Madam Speaker, I want to agree with the chairperson except, I want to refer Members to “interest of a foreigner” and edit out “principles” and replace it with “policies” and laws adopted by the Government. The word is “policies”, not “principles”.

MR OLANYA: Thank you. Madam Chairperson, as you consult, I would like the Attorney-General to clarify this. Thank you, Madam Chairperson.

THE CHAIRPERSON: The honourable minister was making an amendment. Can you rephrase the amendment you made?

GEN. DAVID MUHOOZI: We were on Clause 2.

THE CHAIRPERSON: On the definition -

GEN. DAVID MUHOOZI: And I referred honourable members to – “interest of a foreigner” to mean, “interests of a foreigner that are not aligned with the policies and laws adopted by Government”. Not principles.

MR KIRYOWA KIWANUKA: We agree with the principle that has been set out in the amendment. The issue is that Government has policies not principles. We want to amend that to read, “policies and laws developed and adopted by the Government of Uganda.”

THE CHAIRPERSON: Thank you. I put the question that Clause 1 be amended as proposed by the committee and further amended by the Attorney-General.

(Question put and agreed to.)

Clause 1, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 3

MR BAKA: Madam Chairperson, the committee proposes to amend Clause 3 as follows:

Clause 3 of the Bill is amended by inserting immediately before the word “ministry” appearing in the third line, the word “relevant”.

The justification is to require the department to consult the relevant ministry while implementing the Act. I beg to move.

GEN. DAVID MUHOOZI: No objection.

MR EKANYA: There is a Bill we passed recently, Madam Chairperson, about financial flows. When you say relevant ministry - why don't we say ministry responsible for finance so that it is very clear? When you leave it vague like this, we will have a challenge.

MR KIRYOWA KIWANUKA: Madam Chairperson, this Bill is not about financial flows. It is about influencing policy-making in Uganda. Every ministry has its own policy that it is entitled to handle. This Bill is not about money; it is about influencing policy-making decisions in Uganda.

THE CHAIRPERSON: I put the question that Clause 3 be amended as proposed.

(Question put and agreed to.)

Clause 3, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 4

MR BAKA: Madam Chairperson, the committee proposes to amend Clause 4 as follows:

Clause 4 of the Bill is amended in subclause (1) –

(a) in paragraph (d) by inserting the words “or foreign nationals”; (b) in paragraph (h) by inserting the word “perform”, immediately before the word, “any”.

The justification is to restrict the Bill to only agents of foreigners as prescribed in Clause 2. I beg to move.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Honourable minister?

GEN. DAVID MUHOOZI: No objection.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Attorney-General?

MR KIRYOWA KIWANUKA: No objection.

THE CHAIRPERSON: I put the question that Clause 4 be amended as proposed.

(Question put and agreed to.)

Clause 4, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 5

MR BAKA: Madam Chairperson, the committee proposes to amend Clause 5 as follows:

Clause 5 of the Bill is amended -

- a. in subclause (3) by substituting for the words “a person”, the words “an agent of a foreigner”;
- b. By substituting for subclause (4) the following:

“An agent of a foreigner who intentionally promotes the interests of a foreigner against the interests of Uganda commits an offense and is liable on conviction –

(a) in the case of a legal entity, to a fine not exceeding one hundred thousand currency points;

(b) in the case of an individual, to a fine not exceeding fifty thousand currency points or imprisonment for a term not exceeding ten years or both.

Justification

- i) To restrict the Bill to only agents of foreigners as prescribed in Clause 2.
- ii) To make the penalty and fine proportionate to the offense.

- iii) To provide for criminal intent in the commission of the offense.

I beg to move, Madam Chairperson.

GEN. DAVID MUHOOZI: Madam Chairperson, our original provisions were for deterrence knowing that we have the safeguard of court discretion. They were the maximum but middle ground is okay. We can have the amendments proposed by the committee.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Regarding who intentionally promotes, how do you gauge intention - The burden of proof?

MR KIRYOWA KIWANUKA: The burden of proof always lies on the State which alleges. He who alleges must prove. So the State must prove that it was done intentionally.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Are you okay with the wording?

MR KIRYOWA KIWANUKA: Yes.

MR EKANYA: I request that we rephrase “interest of a foreigner”. For example, if we promote the interest of Kenya that wants the Standard Gauge Railway (SGR) to pass via Tororo and head to the North and the Government of Uganda maybe wants the SGR to come to Kampala – I, who comes from the east wants it to go to the North to promote trade - Now if it is being promoted by the Government of Kenya, I will support that idea yet I might be criminalised.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Hon. Ekanya, you are reading this in isolation. It says “... of a foreigner against the interest of Uganda...”. SGR is not against the interest of Uganda. It is in favour of Uganda. Do not read in piecemeal.

MR EKANYA: I am not reading in piecemeal. In that case, the interest of Uganda will be SGR to come to Kampala while Kenya’s interest is for it to go to the North and I will defend that -

THE CHAIRPERSON: I put the question that Clause 5 be amended as proposed.

(Question put and agreed to.)

Clause 5, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 6

MR BAKA: Madam Chairperson, the committee proposes to amend Clause 6 as follows:

Clause 6 of the Bill is amended –

- (a) In subclause (2), by deleting the words “a person or”;
- (b) In subclause (3), by deleting the words “any person or”;
- (c) By substituting for subclause (4), the following- “(4) An agent of a foreigner who intentionally performs the functions or offers services for which the Government is responsible for without the approval of the relevant Government agency, commits an offense and is liable, on conviction –
 - a. in the case of a legal entity, to a fine not exceeding one hundred thousand currency points; and
 - b. in the case of an individual, to a fine not exceeding fifty thousand currency points or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding ten years or both.”
- c. In subclause (5), by substituting for the word “a person”, the words “an agent of a foreigner”.

Justification

- i) To restrict the Bill to only agents of foreigners as prescribed in Clause 2 and to make intention, an element of the offense.
- ii) To make the penalty proportionate to the offense.

I beg to move.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Honourable minister?

GEN. DAVID MUHOOZI: I concur, Madam Chairperson.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Attorney-General?

MR KIRYOWA KIWANUKA: No objection, Madam Chairperson.

THE CHAIRPERSON: I put the question that Clause 6 be amended as proposed.

(Question put and agreed to.)

Clause 6, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 7

THE CHAIRPERSON: Committee chairperson?

MR BAKA: Madam Chairperson, Clause 7 of the Bill is amended -

- a. In subclause (3), by deleting the words “a person or”;
- b. By substituting for subclause (4), the following –

“(4) An agent of a foreigner who knowingly develops a policy without the approval of Cabinet commits an offense and is liable, on conviction -

 - a. in the case of a legal entity, to a fine not exceeding one hundred thousand currency points; and
 - b. in case of an individual, to a fine not exceeding fifty thousand currency points or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding ten years or both.”
- (c) In subclause (5), by deleting the words “and implementing.”

Justification

- i) To restrict the Bill to only agents of foreigners as prescribed in Clause 2.
- ii) To provide for criminal intent in the commission of the offense.
- iii) To make the penalty proportionate to the offense.
- iv) To harmonise Clause 7(5) relating to development of Government policy and Clause 8(8) relating to implementation of Government policy.

I beg to move.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Honourable minister?

GEN. DAVID MUHOOZI: I want to draw the attention of Members to subclause (4): “An agent of a foreigner who knowingly develops...” - I want to add – “and implements a policy without the approval of Cabinet commits an offense and is liable on conviction” blah, blah, blah.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Attorney-General -

MR KIRYOWA KIWANUKA: I concur with the amendment given by the minister.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Have you looked at Clause 5 from the report where they say the minister may, by regulation, prescribe the procedure and the requirements for formulating and implementing the policy of Government. So, you are deleting that, by implementing?

MR KIRYOWA KIWANUKA: We are adding to subclause (4), where they say, “An agent of a foreigner who knowingly develops...” You may develop it and keep it in your mind but we want to add “and implements.” If you develop it in your mind and attempt to implement it here, that is when you commit an offense. In Clause 5, we are saying that if you want to implement a policy that you have come up with, you go and tell Government what policy you have and they will tell you how to implement it in Uganda.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Yes, Hon. Christine Kaaya.

MS KAAYA: Madam Chairperson, I am of the view that knowingly developing a policy and implementing it - what would happen to institutions like the Red Cross that come in during disasters and they don’t need that other approval. We could qualify it other than -

THE CHAIRPERSON: The Red Cross is not an agent of foreigners. They are funded by Government.

MS KAAYA: It is a legal entity that sometimes represents foreigners.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Not unlawfully.

MR EKANYA: Madam Chairperson, I am making a proposal that we amend and replace the words “*without the approval of Cabinet*” and say “*without the approval of Government*” because sometimes we debate here and the courts and other Government agencies - When we restrict and tie ourselves only to Cabinet, we are surrendering too much power and making Cabinet to be - so I am proposing that instead of Cabinet, we say “*without approval of Government*”. That is a better definition. Government is broad and includes Cabinet.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Government is vague.

MR KIRYOWA KIWANUKA: Government is not the policy-making organ. It is Cabinet by Constitution.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Hon. Christine, the Red Cross is a creation of the Geneva Convention and we are bound to abide by it. So it is not a foreign entity. Yes?

MS OPENDI: Thank you very much, Madam Chairperson. A policy is a plan, it can be some frameworks and some of these institutions may come up with these frameworks and run to implement them, especially in the local governments without Government approval. I do not see any problem with maintaining what the committee has presented with the amendment of a foreigner developing and implementing a policy without the approval of Cabinet. Government is too broad. Let us leave it as Cabinet because it is Cabinet’s responsibility to actually approve policies in this Government. The policy must be approved by Cabinet.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Honourable members, policy formulation is an Executive role so, by the time it is put there that Cabinet should do it - when you put Government, even us Parliament will also do the same, even local governments.

MR KIRYOWA KIWANUKA: Madam Chairperson, the committee proposed to amend Clause 7(4) to read, “an agent of a

foreigner who knowingly develops a policy.” We are saying that “an agent of a foreigner who knowingly develops and implements a policy” and we are proposing in subclause (5) that “implementing” remains. That is the amendment.

THE CHAIRPERSON: I put the question that Clause 7 be amended as proposed by the committee and further amended by the Attorney-General.

(Question put and agreed to.)

Clause 7, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 8

MR BAKA: Madam Chairperson, it is proposed by the committee to amend Clause 8 as follows:

1. By deleting subclause (1) and in subclause (3) by deleting the words “a person or”.
2. By deleting the word “implement”.
3. In subclause (4), by deleting the words “a person or” wherever the words appear in the provision.
4. By deleting subclause (5).
5. In sub-clause 6, by deleting the words “a person or”.
6. By substituting for the words “the person or agent”, the words “an agent of a foreigner”.
7. In subclause (7), by substituting for the words “a person”, the words “an agent of a foreigner”.

Justification

1. To restrict the Bill to only agents of foreigners as prescribed in Clause 2.
2. Subclause (5) is deleted in order to remove unnecessary bureaucracy in implementation of policy.
3. To harmonise Clauses (3) and (4) of the provision. I beg to move.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Attorney-General, after reinstating implementation, this becomes consequential so we cannot delete it.

MR KIRYOWA KIWANUKA: Madam Chairperson. If it is a policy that has been adopted by the Government, anyone can implement that policy in Uganda so long as it is a government policy. If you write here that an agent of a foreigner shall not implement government policy, then that will be contradictory. Anyone can implement government policy, but it must be a policy of the Government. We have friends who are in the humanitarian community. They come to assist us in building schools and boreholes, which is okay because it is Government policy, but you cannot implement a policy which is not government policy. I agree with the committee on their proposed amendment.

THE CHAIRPERSON: You agree with the committee on the deletion of implementation?

MR OGUZU: Madam Chairperson, what happens when the Government does not have a policy?

MR KIRYOWA KIWANUKA: Madam Chairperson, that has been provided for as well. If Government does not have a policy on a particular matter, then you should take that bright idea to Cabinet to adopt the policy and then implement it.

THE CHAIRPERSON: I put the question that Clause 8 be amended as proposed.

(Question put and agreed to.)

Clause 8, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 9

THE CHAIRPERSON: Foreign policy.

MR BAKA: Madam Chairperson, the committee proposes to amend Clause 9 as follows:

Clause 9 of the Bill is amended –

1. In the head note by inserting immediately after the word “policy” the words “of Uganda”.
2. In subclause (4) by deleting the words “a person or”.

Justification

1. To restrict the Bill to only agents of foreigners as prescribed in Clause 2.
2. To provide clarity on the head note.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Minister?

GEN. DAVID MUHOOZI: I agree, Madam Chairperson, because we need to distinguish between Uganda’s policy and the foreign policy of other countries.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Attorney-General?

MR KIRYOWA KIWANUKA: No objection.

THE CHAIRPERSON: I put the question that Clause 9 be amended as proposed.

(Question put and agreed to.)

Clause 9, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 10

MR BAKA: Madam Chairperson, the committee proposes to amend Clause 10 as follows:

1. In the head note, by deleting the words “of another country”.
2. In subclause (1), by substituting for the words “a person”, the words “an agent of a foreigner”.
3. By substituting for subclause (2), the following: “An agent of a foreigner who engages in any activity, solicits, receives or obtains any assistance from a foreigner to sponsor or organise a meeting or any function with the aim of promoting foreign policy in Uganda that has not been adopted by Cabinet as government policy commits an offence and is liable on conviction, in the case of a legal entity, to a fine not exceeding one hundred thousand currency points and in the case of an individual to a fine not exceeding fifty thousand currency points or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding 10 years or both.”

4. By inserting immediately after subclause (2) the following: “The Minister may, in consultation with Cabinet, by regulations, prescribe the procedure for adopting foreign policy”.

Justification

1. To restrict the Bill to only agents of foreigners as prescribed in Clause 2.
2. To empower the Minister to prescribe the procedure for adopting in Uganda the foreign policy of another country.
3. To make the penalty proportionate to the offence. I beg to move.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Minister?

GEN. DAVID MUHOOZI: No objection, Madam Chairperson.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Attorney-General?

MR KIRYOWA KIWANUKA: No objection, Madam Chairperson.

THE CHAIRPERSON: I put the question that Clause 10 be amended as proposed.

(Question put and agreed to.)

Clause 10, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 11

MR BAKA: Madam Chairperson, the committee proposes to amend Clause 11 as follows: Clause 11 is amended by substituting for subclause (3) the following: “An agent of a foreigner who intentionally influences the will and consent of any person to decide on how he or she shall be governed contrary to subsection (1) commits an offence and is liable on conviction, in the case of a legal entity, to a fine not exceeding one hundred thousand currency points and in the case of an individual to a fine not exceeding fifty thousand currency points or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding 10 years or both.”

In subclause (4), by substituting for the words “a person”, the words “an agent of a foreigner”.

Justification

To restrict the Bill to only agents of foreigners as prescribed in Clause 2 and to make the penalty and fine proportionate to the offense. I beg to move.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Minister?

GEN. DAVID MUHOOZI: No objection, Madam Chairperson.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Attorney-General?

MR KIRYOWA KIWANUKA: No objection.

THE CHAIRPERSON: I put the question that Clause 11 be amended as proposed.

(Question put and agreed to.)

Clause 11, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 12

MR BAKA: Madam Chairperson, Clause 12 is proposed to be amended as follows: Clause 12 of the Bill is amended in subclause (1) by deleting the words “a person or”.

By substituting for subclause (2) the following: “An agent of a foreigner who engages in an activity or solicits, receives or obtains any assistance from a foreigner to sponsor, organise a meeting or any function with the aim of interfering with the operations of the Government, commits an offence and is liable, on conviction –

- a) in the case of a legal entity, to a fine not exceeding one hundred thousand currency points; and
- b) in the case of an individual, to a fine not exceeding fifty thousand currency points or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding 10 years or both.

By inserting immediately after subclause (2), the following: “For purposes of this section, an agent of a foreigner interferes with operations of Government if the agent of a foreigner intentionally obstructs, impairs, hinders or prevents a public officer or any other person occupying a public office from performing his or her functions.”

Justification

- i) To restrict the Bill to only agents of foreigners as prescribed in Clause 2,
- ii) To define what amounts to interfering with the operations of the Government in order to comply with the legality principle enumerated under Article 28(12) of the Constitution,
- iii) To make the penalty and fine proportionate to the offence.

I beg to move, Madam Chairperson.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Minister?

GEN. MUHOOZI: No objection.

MR KIRYOWA KIWANUKA: I have no objection.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Hon. Okwalinga?

MR OKWALINGA: Thank you, Madam Chairperson. The clarification I seek from the learned Attorney-General relates to the matter that concerns the sanctions that we have mentioned in the law against somebody who has attempted to influence our policy, especially when it comes to an embassy.

For a legal entity, we can follow up with the directors and if it is a foreign individual, we can follow the individual. What about if it is an embassy or a foreign government that has sponsored or influenced our foreign policy; whom do we sanction? Do we impose sanctions and dismiss them from Uganda? We need to clarify that.

MR OCHERO: Additional information: Madam Chairperson, in this very House, it is

on record that there are persons who attempted to promote foreign policies, like homosexuality – (Laughter) – Maybe, let me leave that.

Secondly, there are – (Interjections) - I withdraw that one.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Honourable member, I said we needed a legitimate debate at the time of the Bill on homosexuality. Hon. Fox Odoi-Oywelowo is married to two beautiful women. He is not a homosexual and does not promote it - withdraw it - not in this House.

MR OCHERO: Madam Chairperson, I beg to withdraw that on the basis that he is married to two women.

Lastly, this one is a bit complicated because many churches are coming up in Uganda. Some of them in particular, instruct citizens not to go to the hospital to get formal medication. People eventually stay and die in churches – (Interjections) – I am just seeking clarity because we do not know whether the Bible is foreign -

THE CHAIRPERSON: There was one called Kibwetere; do you remember?

MR OCHERO: Yes. They block Ugandans, through faith, from going for medication.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Mention the name “Kibwetere”.

MR OCHERO: Like Kibwetere - (Laughter) - they are blocking citizens of this country. My dear learned Attorney-General, I would like to know if these are foreign interests. Where does the Bible belong? We need to know whether they are agents of foreigners or not.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Hon. Moses?

MR MOSES ALEPER: Thank you, Madam Chairperson. I would like to seek the indulgence of the Attorney-General. Instead of saying “intention,” can we say, “knowingly” influence?

THE CHAIRPERSON: That is what I said at the beginning.

MR MOSES ALEPER: Yes, it is Clause 12. The words are not the same. Can they be used interchangeably?

THE CHAIRPERSON: Attorney-General, what is your comment on this?

MR KIRYOWA KIWANUKA: Yes, we can use the word “knowingly”. I have no objection to that. We can say “knowingly” or “intentionally”.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Yes. “Knowingly” wherever “intentionally” appears?

MR KIRYOWA KIWANUKA: Yes, I agree.

MR OGUZU: Madam Chairperson, the Attorney-General needs to clarify this. I am a bit lost on what amounts to disrupting the Government operations. For example, our policy here is that citizens must be treated here. However, we have several well-to-do Government officials who choose to go for medication out of the country. It means they will be promoting the foreign interests of that country - (Laughter) - So, it would be good that we understand -

THE CHAIRPERSON: Honourable members, I put the question that Clause 12 be amended as proposed and the word “knowingly” replaces the word “intentionally” wherever it appears.

(Question put and agreed to.)

Clause 12, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 13

THE CHAIRPERSON: Prohibition of economic sabotage.

MR BAKA: The committee proposes to amend clause 13 as follows: “13. Prohibition of economic sabotage

An agent of a foreigner who knowingly publishes false information or participates in any disruptive act or activity that weakens, undermines or damages the economic system or viability of the country to cause economic disruption, insecurity, or instability, commits an offence of economic sabotage and is liable on conviction –

- (a) in the case of a legal entity, to a fine not exceeding one hundred thousand currency points; and
- (b) in the case of an individual, to a fine not exceeding fifty thousand currency points or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding 10 years or both.

Justification

- i) To restrict the Bill to only agents of foreigners as prescribed in clause 2;
- ii) To provide for criminal intent in the commission of the offence; and
- iii) To make the penalty proportionate to the offence.

I beg to move, Madam Chairperson.

GEN. MUHOOZI: No objection.

MR KIRYOWA KIWANUKA: No objection.

THE CHAIRPERSON: I put the question that Clause 13 be amended as proposed.

(Question put and agreed to.)

Clause 13, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 14, agreed to.

Clause 15, agreed to.

Clause 16

MR BAKA: Madam Chairperson, we propose to amend clause 16 –

- (a) in subclause (1) by deleting all the words appearing after the word “applicant”;
- (b) by inserting immediately after subclause (1), the following: “The Department

shall within 14 days from the date the application is forwarded to the Department under subsection (1), conduct inquiries to ascertain the suitability of the application and the applicant and make a recommendation to the minister.”

- (c) In subclause (2),
 - (i) in paragraph (a), by deleting the words “mental and physical health”;
 - (ii) by substituting for paragraph (b), the following:
 - “(b) in the case of an applicant who is:
 - (i) an individual, whether the applicant has been convicted of an offence and sentenced to a term of imprisonment without the option of a fine;
 - (ii) a company or any other legal entity, whether a director of the applicant has been convicted of an offence which renders him or her incapable of being appointed director, in accordance with the applicable law.”
- (d) by inserting immediately after subclause (5), the following: “The Department shall, in considering an application under this section, comply with the rules of natural justice.”

Justification

- i) To harmonise the requirement to conduct a mental health and physical health examination on a person applying to be an agent of a foreigner, since a person’s mental and physical health have nothing to do with his or her ability to be an agent of a foreigner.
- ii) Subjecting an applicant to mental and physical health examination when he or she is not suffering from a mental illness, conflicts with the Mental Health Act.
- iii) To prescribe the timeframe within which an application shall be determined by the Department, and
- iv) To ensure rules of natural justice are complied with during the application for a certificate.

I beg to move.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Honourable minister, where they say, “The Department shall within 14 days from the date the application is forwarded by the Department...”, why don’t we say, “received by the Department”? If it is forwarded, say by email, it can take more time and then you will not have any evidence of receipt.

GEN. MUHOOZI: I agree, Madam Chairperson.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Therefore, make an amendment.

GEN. MUHOOZI: We shall substitute “forwarding” with “receiving”.

THE CHAIRPERSON: “Received by the Department”.

GEN. MUHOOZI: By the Department.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Yes, Hon. Isaac?

MR OTIMGIW: Thank you, Madam Chairperson, 17(3), we seem to be limiting our inquiries, like, “the Department in the process of conducting the inquiries after Section 2 will require any person, department, or agency of Government to furnish information...” Why are we limiting this information to be given only within the country? For example, we are trying to register a company and this company has also operated in other countries, why can’t we expand our information and we include that those countries can also give us information? Why are we limiting only –?

THE CHAIRPERSON: We have other laws that can be used to get that information.

MR MOSES ALEPER: Thank you, Madam Chairperson. In my opinion, clause 16 seems to be an operational matter. This is what would come with instructions or guidelines that would operationalise this Act. When you talk of the process, these are processes of carrying out registration. It is more operational than making it appear in the Act here. I would request that

this be done away with, and then when you get the guidelines that will operationalise this Act, you include that operational activity. This is just operational.

THE CHAIRPERSON: It is just for the avoidance of doubt and to limit discretionary powers. Let it be in the law. I hope I am not responding for you.

MR SIMON OPOLOT: Just a short clarification, Madam Chairperson. I was concerned, in the process of obtaining a registration, the Government issues a certificate. Are there any fees for this person coming to register? I do not see this captured.

THE CHAIRPERSON: That is operational. Regulations.

MR SIMON OPOLOT: It will come under that. Okay. Another concern is, if we try to prevent somebody from registering as a foreign agent, won’t we be encouraging people to operate underground? We should open it up and they just all come and register. We should lure them to register so that we get to know all these agents, other than restricting.

THE CHAIRPERSON: That will still come under procedures.

MR KIRYOWA KIWANUKA: Thank you, Madam Chairperson. Actually, the law is asking them to register; that is what the law is doing. I agree with the minister’s proposal that where we had “forwarded to”, be deleted and the clause read that “the Department shall within 14 days from the date the application is received by the Department”. I beg you to submit.

THE CHAIRPERSON: I put the question that clause 16 be amended as proposed by the committee and further amended by the minister.

(Question put and agreed to.)

Clause 16, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 17

MR BAKA: Clause 17, Certificate of Registration

Madam Chairperson, the committee proposes to amend Clause 17 as follows:

- (a) by substituting for subclause (1), the following; “The minister shall within 14 days from the date of receipt of the recommendation of the Department, consider the recommendation, and may, if satisfied that the application and the applicant meet the requirements of Section 16, issue a certificate of registration to the applicant to act as an agent of a foreigner.”
- (b) in subclause (2), by deleting all words appearing after the word “necessary”.

Justification:

- i) To harmonise clauses 16 and 17 in order to ensure that the minister only considers the recommendation of the department when making a decision to grant a certificate of registration rather than opening up the application afresh.
- ii) The amendment of subclause (2) to bring finality to the application and conditions applicable to the certificate.

I beg to move.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Minister?

GEN. MUHOOZI: No objection.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Attorney-General?

MR KIRYOWA KIWANUKA: No objection, Madam Chairperson.

THE CHAIRPERSON: I put the question that Clause 17 be amended as proposed.

(Question put and agreed to.)

Clause 17, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 18

MR BAKA: Madam Chairperson, the committee proposes to amend Clause 18 by substituting for subclause (1), the following:

- “(1) The minister may refuse to issue a certificate of registration if:
- (a) the Department recommends to the minister to deny the application, or
- (b) the minister is not satisfied that the application or the applicant meets the requirements of Section 16”.

By substituting for subclause (2), the following:

“(2) Where the minister refuses to issue a certificate of registration under subsection (1), the minister shall within 14 days from the date of making the decision, inform the applicant in writing, stating the reasons for the refusal.

Justification

- i) To harmonise the provision with clauses 16 and 17 to remove additional grounds for refusal of a certificate of registration, which grounds are not considered at the time of application.
- ii) To require the minister to make a decision on the basis of the recommendation of the Department.
- iii) To provide for a time frame within which the minister has to act on a recommendation from the Department.

I beg to move.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Minister?

GEN. MUHOOZI: No objection.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Attorney-General?

MR KIRYOWA KIWANUKA: No objection.

THE CHAIRPERSON: I put the question that Clause 18 be amended as proposed.

(Question put and agreed to.)

Clause 18, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 19

MR BAKA: Madam Chairperson, clause 19 is proposed to be amended as follows:

Clause 19 of the Bill is amended by inserting immediately after subclause (2), the following-

“The minister shall consider the application for renewal of a certificate of registration and make a decision within 14 days from the date of receipt of the application for renewal. The minister shall, in considering an application under this section, comply with the rules of natural justice.”

Justification

- i) To prescribe the timeframe within which an application for renewal of a certificate of registration shall be made.
- ii) To ensure rules of natural justice are complied with during the renewal processes of a certificate.

I beg to move.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Minister?

GEN. MUHOOZI: I concur.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Attorney-General?

MR KIRYOWA KIWANUKA: No objection.

THE CHAIRPERSON: I put the question that Clause 19 be amended as proposed.

(Question put and agreed to.)

Clause 19, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 20

MR BAKA: Madam Chairperson, Clause 20 is proposed to be amended as follows-

- a) in subclause (2), by deleting paragraph (c),
- b) by inserting immediately after subclause (2), the following- “The minister shall, while exercising any powers in this section, comply with rules of natural justice.”

Justification

- i) A consequential amendment arising from the amendment in Clause 18.
- ii) To ensure compliance with the rules of natural justice during revocation and suspension of a certificate of registration.

I beg to move.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Minister?

GEN. MUHOOZI: No objection.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Attorney-General?

MR KIRYOWA KIWANUKA: No objection, Madam Chairperson.

THE CHAIRPERSON: I put the question that clause 20 be amended as proposed.

(Question put and agreed to.)

Clause 20, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 21

MR BAKA: Madam Chairperson, the committee proposes to amend clause 21-

- a) in subclause (1), by deleting the words “or other person receiving any funding from a foreigner”;
- b) by deleting subclause (2); and
- c) in subclause (3), by substituting for the words “A person”, the words “An agent of a foreigner”.

Justification

- i) To restrict the Bill to only agents of foreigners as prescribed in Clause 2,
- ii) Subclause (2) is proposed for deletion since it infringes on the right to privacy and data protection laws.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Minister?

words “the agent of a foreigner”.

GEN. MUHOOZI: No objection.

d) In subclause (4), by substituting for the words “obtaining the written approval”, the words “declaring the funds”.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Attorney-General?

MR KIRYOWA KIWANUKA: No objection, Madam Chairperson.

Justification

THE CHAIRPERSON: I put the question that Clause 21 be amended as proposed.

- i) To restrict the Bill to only agents of foreigners as prescribed in Clause 2.
- ii) To substitute the requirement to seek for the approval of the minister every time an agent of a foreigner receives funds from abroad of more than twenty thousand currency points, with the requirement to declare the funds to the minister.
- iii) Provide for the penalty and fine proportionate to the offence.

(Question put and agreed to.)

Clause 21, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 22

MR BAKA: Madam Chairperson, the headnote for Clause 22 is “Restrictions on funding from foreigners.”

I beg to move, Madam Chairperson.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Minister?

It is proposed to be amended-

GEN. MUHOOZI: No objection.

- a) in subclause (1), by-
 - i) deleting the words “A person or”;
 - ii) deleting the word “solicit”;
 - iii) inserting immediately after the word “without”, the words “declaring the funds to”;
 - iv) deleting the words “the written approval of”;
- b) by substituting for the subclause (2) the following-
 - (2) “An agent of a foreigner who obtains or receives directly or indirectly funds, financial support, donations, loans, or other assistance from a foreigner without declaring funds, in accordance with subsection (1), commits an offence, and is liable, on conviction-
 - a) in the case of a legal entity, to a fine not exceeding one hundred thousand currency points and;
 - b) in the case of an individual, to a fine not exceeding fifty thousand currency points, or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding 10 years, or both.”
 - c) in subclause (3),
 - i) by deleting the words “the person or”;
 - ii) substituting for the words “any person”, the

THE CHAIRPERSON: Attorney-General?

MR KIRYOWA KIWANUKA: No objection, Madam Chairperson.

MR EKANYA: Madam Chairperson, under the current legal regime, the Anti-Money Laundering Act, the Bank of Uganda guideline instructions to commercial banks, every fund you receive, you have to submit all the documentation for the banks to clear you and they keep record. To us, this is a small amount of money to seek approval of a minister, and it is going to create and block investment and trade. It is a serious matter.

THE CHAIRPERSON: First of all, it is not approval, and secondly you must put the issue “intent”. What is the intention of this money coming in?

Yes, Hon. Moses Aleper?

GEN. MUHOOZI: Hon. Ekanya, we wanted to limit the discretion of the minister that was talked about by removing approval. You just have to declare.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Okay.

MR MOSES ALEPER: Madam Chairperson, mine is just for consistency's sake. Clause 22: Restriction of funding from foreigners. This time you are calling them foreigners. In most other instances you are calling them a foreigner. We would still have to use the word "a foreigner", instead of using "foreigners" this time, for consistency.

THE CHAIRPERSON: For consistency. Yes. "Foreigner".

GEN. MUHOOZI: I agree.

THE CHAIRPERSON: I put the question that clause 22 be amended as proposed, and further amended by Hon. Moses Aleper.

(Question put and agreed to.)

Clause 22, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 23

MR BAKA: Madam Chairperson, clause 23 is amended as follows-

- a) in subclause (1)-
 - i) by deleting the words "A person or";
 - ii) by substituting the words "one hundred", the word "fifty";
 - iii) by substituting the word "twenty", the word "ten";
- b) in subclause (2), by substituting for the word "person", the words "agent of a foreigner".

Justification

- i) To restrict the Bill to only agents of foreigners as prescribed in clause 2.
- ii) To provide for the penalty and fine proportionate to the offence.

I beg to move.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Minister?

GEN. MUHOOZI: No objection, Madam Chairperson.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Attorney-General?

MR KIRYOWA KIWANUKA: No objection.

THE CHAIRPERSON: I put the question that clause 23 be amended as proposed.

(Question put and agreed to.)

Clause 23, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 24

MR BAKA: Madam Chairperson, the committee proposes to amend Clause 24 as follows-

Clause 24 is amended by deleting subclause (2).

Justification

- i) The disapplication of the Public Finance Management Act contravenes Section 28 of the Public Finance Management Act.

I beg to move.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Minister?

GEN. MUHOOZI: I concur.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Attorney-General?

MR KIRYOWA KIWANUKA: I concur.

THE CHAIRPERSON: I put the question that clause 24 be amended as proposed.

(Question put and agreed to.)

Clause 24, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 25

THE CHAIRPERSON: Committee chairperson?

MR BAKA: Madam Chairperson, the committee proposes to amend Clause 25 as

follows-

(a) by substituting for subclause (1), the following-

“(1) A supervised institution shall not pay out any money to an agent of a foreigner without the agent of a foreigner-

(a) declaring the source of funds; and

(b) submitting proof of declaration of funds.”

(b) in subclause (2), by substituting for the word “Minister”, the words “relevant regulator”;

(c) by substituting for subclause (3) the following-

(3) A supervised institution that contravenes subsection (1), commits an offence and liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding two hundred thousand currency points.”

Justification

i) This is a consequential amendment arising from the amendments made to clause 22.

ii) To make subclause (3) a penal provision, breach of which attracts a penalty.

iii) To comply with the Public Finance Management Act in relation to payment of funds into the Consolidated Fund.

I beg to move.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Minister?

GEN. MUHOOZI: No objection.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Attorney-General?

MR KIRYOWA KIWANUKA: No objection.

THE CHAIRPERSON: I put the question that clause 25 be amended as proposed.

(Question put and agreed to.)

Clause 25, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 26

MR BAKA: Madam Chairperson, the committee proposes to amend clause 26 by substituting for clause (2), the following-“(2) An agent of a foreigner who fails to

submit returns to the minister as required by subsection (1) commits an offence, and is liable on conviction-

(a) in the case of a legal entity, to a fine not exceeding one hundred thousand currency points; and

(b) in the case of an individual to a fine not exceeding fifty thousand currency points or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding 10 years, or both.

I beg to move.

Unfortunately, we do not have the justification. I think it is a consequential amendment as a result of our earlier amendments.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Minister?

GEN. MUHOOZI: No objection.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Attorney-General?

MR KIRYOWA KIWANUKA: No objection. Madam Chairperson, maybe -

THE CHAIRPERSON: It is a consequential amendment.

MR KIRYOWA KIWANUKA: Madam Chairperson, the reason that we were dealing with this was that the committee reported that they were trying to reduce and rationalise the penalties. That is what they have done.

THE CHAIRPERSON: I put the question that clause 26 be amended as proposed.

(Question put and agreed to.)

Clause 26, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 27, agreed to.

Clause 28

THE CHAIRPERSON: Committee chairperson?

MR BAKA: Madam Chairperson, clause 28 is amended-

- a) in subclause (1) by-
- (i) inserting immediately after the word “may”, the words “upon obtaining a court order”;
- (ii) deleting the words “that appears to him or her”.
- (b) in subclause (2), by substituting for the words “A person”, the words “an agent of a foreigner.”

Justification

- i) To restrict the Bill to only agents of foreigners as prescribed in clause 2 and;
- ii) To require an authorised person to obtain a court order before inspecting premises of an agent of a foreigner.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Minister?

GEN. MUHOOZI: No objection.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Attorney-General?

MR KIRYOWA KIWANUKA: No objection, Madam Chairperson.

THE CHAIRPERSON: I put the question that clause 28 be amended as proposed.

(Question put and agreed to.)

Clause 28, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 29, agreed to.

Clause 30

THE CHAIRPERSON: Committee chairperson?

MR BAKA: Madam Chairperson, the committee proposes to amend clause 30-

- (a) by inserting immediately after the word “may”, the words “in consultation of the minister responsible for finance”;
- (b) by numbering the existing provision as subclause (1) and inserting immediately after subclause (1), the following- “The statutory instrument referred to in subsection (1) shall be laid before Parliament for approval.”

Justification

- i) To require the Minister of Finance to be consulted before amendment on the value of a currency point.
- ii) To require the statutory instrument to be approved by Parliament.

I beg to move, Madam Chairperson.

THE CHAIRPERSON: Minister?

MR KIRYOWA KIWANUKA: Madam Chairperson, we propose that clause 30 stands part of the Bill as it were to read: “The minister may by statutory instrument with the approval of Cabinet amend the schedule to this Act.”

The currency points are not determined by a single minister. A currency point is a unit created for complete public consumption and use. The moment the Cabinet has approved it, it must be brought here, the currency point must be changed and then the amendment of the schedule would be done. I beg to submit.

THE CHAIRPERSON: It actually has ripple effect on so many laws. I put the question that clause 30 stands part of the Bill.

(Question put and agreed to.)

Clause 30, agreed to.

The Schedule

THE CHAIRPERSON: I put the question that the Schedule stands part of the Bill.

(Question put and agreed to.)

The Schedule, agreed to.

Title

THE CHAIRPERSON: I put the question that the Title stands part of the Bill.

(Question put and agreed to.)

The Title, agreed to.

MOTION FOR THE HOUSE TO RESUME

8.31

THE MINISTER OF STATE FOR INTERNAL AFFAIRS (Gen. David Muhoozi): Madam Chairperson, I beg to move that the House do resume and the Committee of the whole House reports thereto.

THE CHAIRPERSON: I put the question that the House resumes and the Committee of the whole House reports thereto.

(Question put and agreed to.)

(The House resumed, the Speaker presiding.)

REPORT FROM THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE HOUSE

THE SPEAKER: Please have a seat.

8.32

THE MINISTER OF STATE FOR INTERNAL AFFAIRS (Gen. David Muhoozi): Madam Speaker, I beg to report that the Committee of the whole House has considered the Bill entitled, “The Protection of Sovereignty Bill, 2026” and passed clauses 14, 15, 27, 29, and 30, the Schedule and Title, passed with amendments clauses 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26 and 28. I beg to move.

MOTION FOR ADOPTION OF THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE HOUSE

THE SPEAKER: Moses, what do you want?

MR MOSES ALEPER: Clause 28, where you need a minister to get a court order to go and inspect. I just want to give you an example: We have agencies like NEMA: When they have to inspect the premises of persons that they have a matter of concern, they do not need to seek a court order. This will bog down the operations of that particular activity. Thank you.

THE SPEAKER: The minister will abuse those powers. Honourable members, I want to

be fair to everybody. Okay? I am putting the question as to whether we go for recommitment on clause 28.

(Question put and negatived.)

MOTION FOR ADOPTION OF THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE HOUSE

THE SPEAKER: Honourable minister?

8.35

THE MINISTER OF STATE FOR INTERNAL AFFAIRS (Gen. David Muhoozi): Madam Speaker, I beg to move that the House adopts the report of the Committee of the whole House.

THE SPEAKER: I put the question that the report of the Committee of the whole House be adopted by this august House.

(Question put and agreed to.)

Report adopted.

THE SPEAKER: Honourable members, do not mind about that. Some Members are doing accountability. So, it is just prudent enough for one to do accountability.

BILLS
THIRD READINGTHE PROTECTION OF SOVEREIGNTY
BILL, 2026

8.36

THE MINISTER OF STATE FOR INTERNAL AFFAIRS (Gen. David Muhoozi): Madam Speaker and honourable members, I beg to move that the Bill entitled, “The Protection of Sovereignty Bill, 2026” be read the third time and do pass into law.

THE SPEAKER: Honourable members, my quorum still stands at 353. I now put the question that the Protection of Sovereignty Bill, 2026, be read a third time and do pass.

(Question put and agreed to.)

A BILL FOR AN ACT TITLED, “THE
PROTECTION OF SOVEREIGNTY ACT,
2026”

THE SPEAKER: The Title has been settled, and the Bill has been passed. *(Applause)*

Honourable members, I thank you for the good work you have done. However, I also thank God for the patience that He gave me; that was “World War” patience.

I thank all of you for being here to pass this Bill. And you have stayed here up to this time. Madam Vice-President, the Prime Minister, the Front Bench; we are forever grateful. Attorney-General, you have done a great job with the minister, together with the committee members.

The committee members, and all the Members of Parliament, we want to thank you. Hon. Obua, you are an amazing person; good job. I told you all I needed were the numbers, and you gave me the numbers. You have done your work.

8.38

THE CHAIRPERSON, COMMITTEE ON DEFENCE AND INTERNAL AFFAIRS (Mr Wilson Kajwengye): Thank you, Madam Speaker and honourable colleagues. This has been a monumental achievement, to say the least. The record needs to be put right. Madam Speaker, we were accused unfairly. We gave sufficient time to every Member. We were stretched to the limit. I am happy that the Bill has finally passed.

THE SPEAKER: Thank you. Honourable members-

MR KAJWENGYE: We thank you, Madam Speaker, for the guidance. We thank the Leader of Government Business, the Government Chief Whip, the Attorney-General and the Minister, the sponsor. But, particularly, your committees, the Committee on Defence and Internal Affairs and the Committee on Legal

and Parliamentary Affairs, have gone an extra mile. We put in a lot of time. Thank you.

THE SPEAKER: This is a historic Bill because it is our last Bill in the 11th Parliament. And because it is historic, I am saying you are all wonderful people. I thank you so much, and may the Good Lord bless all of you. House adjourned *sine die*.

(The House rose at 8.40 p.m. and adjourned sine die.)