



# AGORA REPORT

## The 2026 Uganda General Elections

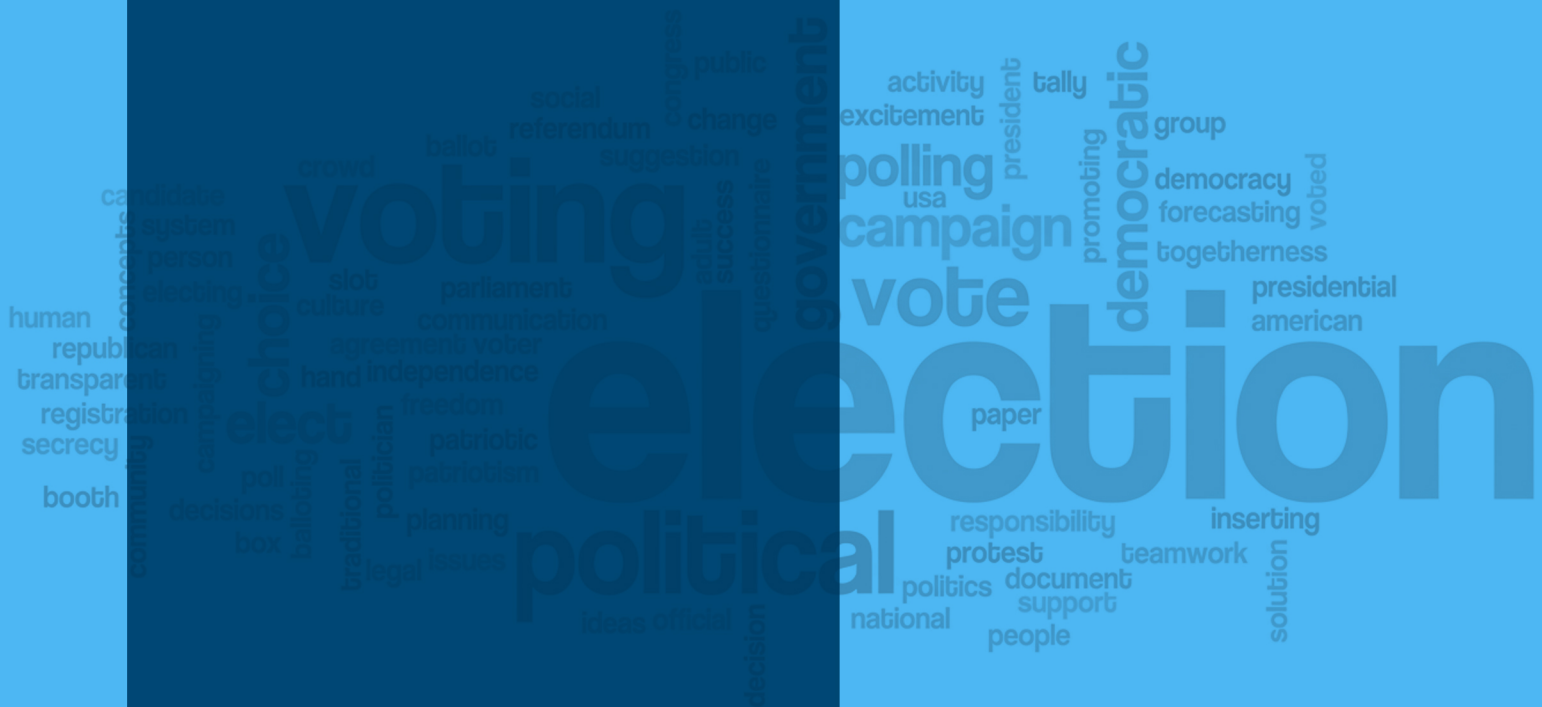


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# 2026 Election Issues

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# Methodology



This report is based on field monitoring, interviews, legal case documentation and desk research conducted before, during, and after Uganda's 2026 general elections. Its purpose is to document patterns of electoral violence, human rights violations, and other irregularities and to assess them against Uganda's constitutional and legal framework as well as relevant regional and international standards.

Agora used a country-wide evidence-gathering approach that combined direct observations with follow-up interviews and documentation. The organisation worked with a network of election monitors in different parts of the country that tracked developments during the campaign period, polling period, and immediate aftermath of the elections. These monitors documented incidents as they occurred or soon after and submitted reports on violence, arrests, abductions, intimidation, rigging, bribery, restrictions on civic actors, and other incidents affecting the electoral environment.

The monitors' reports were followed up with interviews with victims, survivors, eyewitnesses, family members, lawyers, and other persons with direct knowledge of the incidents. These interviews were used to verify reported events, clarify timelines and understand the broader human impact of violations. In cases involving death, disappearance, injury, or detention, relatives and other persons with first hand information were interviewed to help reconstruct the events and capture them accurately.

The report also draws from Agora's direct legal work during the election period. Agora was directly involved in the representation of most of the arrested and detained people mentioned in the report. This gave the research team access to firsthand legal documentation, including charge sheets, police bond forms, remand warrants, bail applications, court proceedings, and related correspondence. These materials were important in assessing patterns of arbitrary arrest, the use of criminal charges during the elections, compliance with due process, and the treatment of detainees.

In addition to field and legal documentation, the report is informed by a review of relevant documentary sources, including the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, the Presidential Elections Act, the Parliamentary Elections Act, the Local Government Act, applicable regional and international human rights instruments, court records, statements by public officials and institutions, reports by civil society organisations and election observers, and credible media and open-source materials.

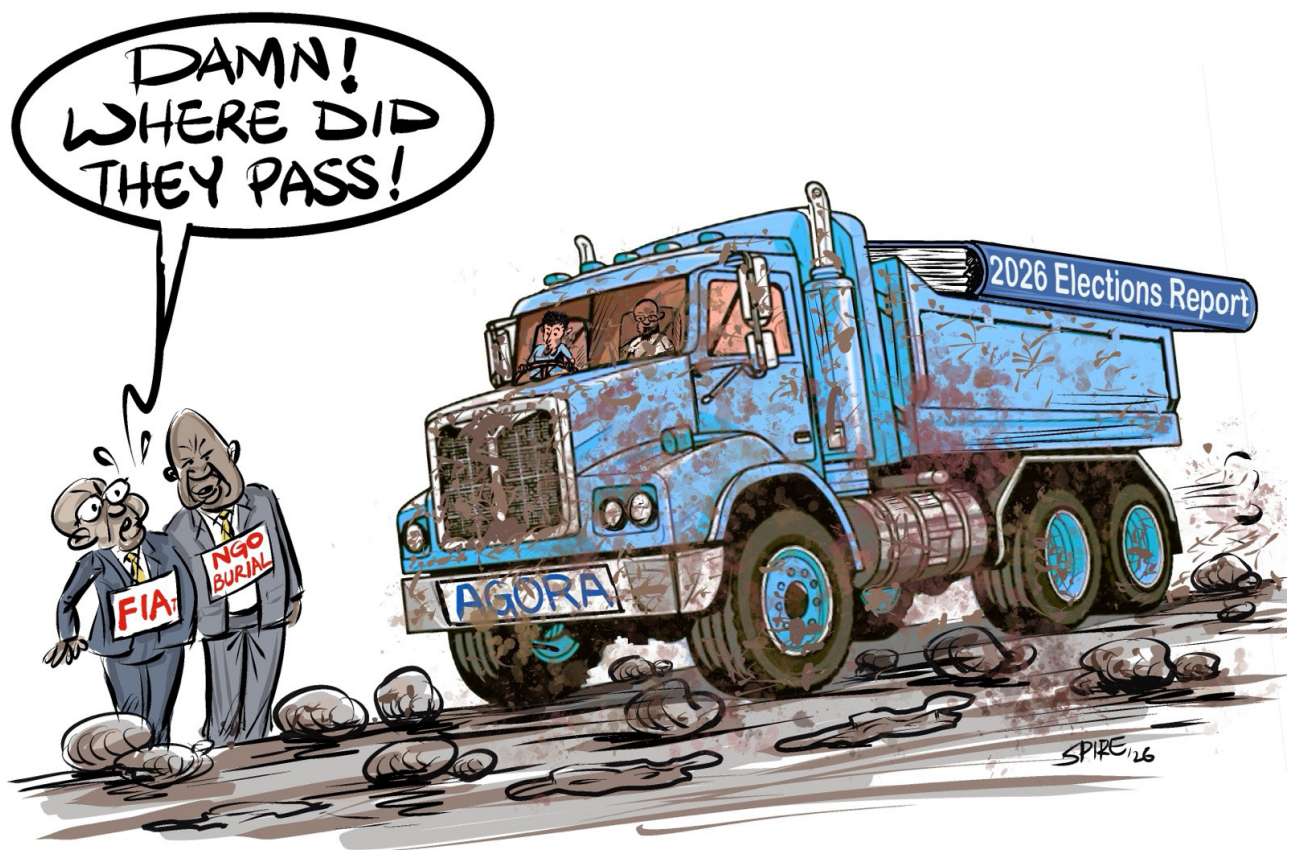
The information was further verified through triangulation wherever possible. Reported incidents were cross-checked against more than one source, including monitor accounts, interviews with victims or family members where victims are dead or disappeared, legal records, media reports, photographs, videos, medical or burial information, and other documentary evidence.

Where full verification was not possible because of fear among witnesses, restricted access to official records, delayed reporting, or communication challenges arising from the internet shutdown, the report left the anecdotal information out and we will continue to verify and update it.

The report covers incidents documented during the period leading up to the elections, on polling day, and in the immediate aftermath. It is national in scope, though the depth of documentation varies depending on where information was available and where victims,

families, witnesses, monitors, and lawyers were able to safely share evidence. The report does not claim to provide an exhaustive account of every violation that occurred, but presents documented and credible cases that illustrate broader national patterns.

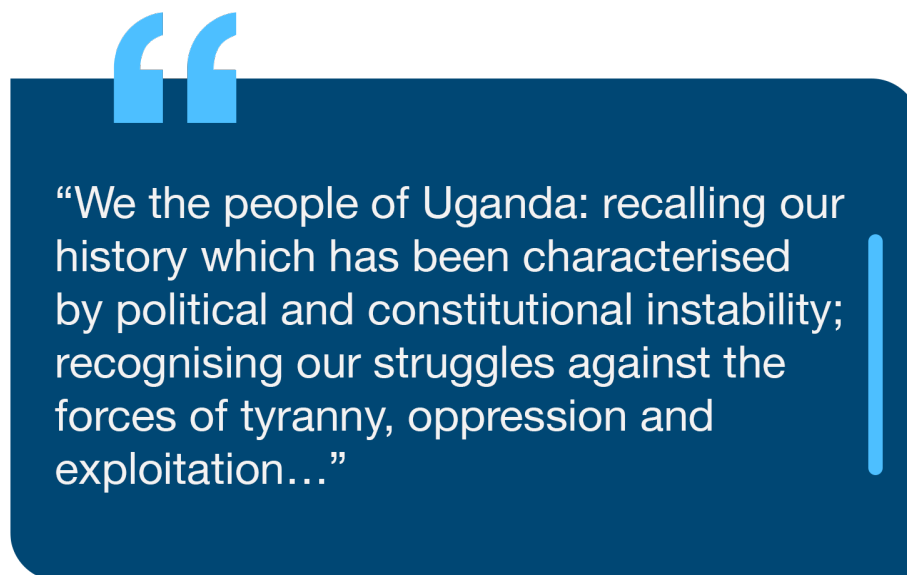
The research was conducted in a difficult and often hostile environment. Fear of reprisal, insecurity, restrictions on access to information, and the internet shutdown all affected the ability to document violations fully and in real time. Some incidents may therefore have been underreported or could not be conclusively quantified at the time of writing. Throughout the research and documentation process, attention was paid to the safety and dignity of victims, witnesses, and their families. In some instances, identifying details were withheld or limited where disclosure could expose individuals to further harm. This methodology was designed to ensure that the report's findings are grounded in direct observation, victim and witness testimony, legal documentation, and careful verification.





On January 15, 2026, Ugandans went to the polls for the 7th time under the 1995 Constitution. Article 1 of Constitution places all power in the hands of the people who shall exercise it in accordance with the Constitution. On elections, clause 4 of Article 1 is particularly instrumental. It states that the people of Uganda shall express their will and consent on who governs them and how they should be governed through regular, free, and fair elections of their representatives through elections and referenda.

During the presidential and parliamentary campaigns – on October 8, 2025 – the 1995 Constitution, by far Uganda’s longest running constitution turned 30. The framers of this Constitution intended for it to be the shield that prevents Uganda from sliding back into the past political turbulent that was characterised by massive destruction and bloodshed. Hence the reminiscent preamble that says:



“We the people of Uganda: recalling our history which has been characterised by political and constitutional instability; recognising our struggles against the forces of tyranny, oppression and exploitation...”

Despite these provisions, elections held under the age of the 1995 Constitution have not always adhered to it. This report looks at the 2026 elections in the context of the Constitution, international instruments, and practices that Uganda is a party to.

It concludes with recommendations for how Uganda can organise better elections in the future.



The 1995 Constitution is the first point of reference on the law that provides for elections in Uganda. It provides for a right to vote for Ugandan citizens.<sup>1</sup> **“Every citizen of Uganda of eighteen years of age and above has the right to vote.”** To ensure the realisation of this right, the Constitution makes it a duty for all Ugandans aged 18 and above to register as voters for public elections<sup>2</sup> and mandates the state to ensure that all citizens qualified to vote register and exercise their right to vote.<sup>3</sup> Under Article 60, the Constitution established the Electoral Commission (EC), whose main function is to ensure that regular, free and fair elections are held.<sup>4</sup>

In addition to the Constitution, Parliament has enacted specific laws to govern the conduct of elections in Uganda. The Presidential Elections Act, 2005 (as amended) to govern presidential elections, the Parliamentary Elections Act, 2005 to govern parliamentary elections, and the Local Government Act to govern lower local council elections.

Internationally, Uganda is party to several international instruments. Key among these is Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) of 1948. Article 21 (3) of which stipulates:

***The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.***

Uganda is also party to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) whose Article 25 provides:

***Every citizen shall have the right and the opportunity, without any of the distinctions mentioned in article 2 and without unreasonable re-strictions:***

***(a) To take part in the conduct of public affairs, directly or through freely chosen representatives.***

***(b) To vote and to be elected at genuine periodic elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret ballot, guaranteeing the free expression and the will of the electors.***

<sup>1</sup>Article 59 (1) of the 1995 Constitution.

<sup>2</sup>Article 59 (2) of the 1995 Constitution.

<sup>3</sup>Article 59 (3) of the 1995 Constitution.

<sup>4</sup>Article 60 (a) of the 1995 Constitution.

Uganda is also a state party to the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance (ACDEG) that it signed in 2008. The charter stipulates that state parties shall hold regular, transparent, free and fair elections.<sup>5</sup> In addition to this, it adds that “State parties shall recognize popular participation through universal suffrage as the unalienable right of the people.”<sup>6</sup>



<sup>5</sup> Article 3 (4) of the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance.

<sup>6</sup> WArticle 4 (2) Supra.



# 1 | Human Rights Violations

Thirty years since its promulgation, the 1995 Constitution remains one of the most progressive when it comes to human rights. It has an entire chapter – Chapter Four – dedicated to human rights and set up institutions like the Uganda Human Rights Commission (UHRC) to ensure those rights are respected.

However, in practice, the respect of these rights is not always the norm. Election periods specifically tend to escalate human rights violations in Uganda. While campaigns for the 2026 elections started differently from the two previous elections where presidential candidates were blocked from even having consultation meetings that are required before elections – Amama Mbabazi was arrested<sup>7</sup> on his way to Mbale for consultations in 2015 as part of an exercise to launch his 2016 presidential bid and Bobi Wine<sup>8</sup> blocked in 2020 ahead of the 2021 election. It's mainly for this reason that the relatively peaceful start to the 2026 elections got some commentators declaring it the “most peaceful” after the first couple of rallies but it wasn't long before blatant human rights violations became too commonplace to ignore and then went out of hand. By polling day, these violations spiked to the point that the 2026 elections can now be classified as one of the most violent in Uganda's history. The main violations included:

## i) Extrajudicial Killings

Article 22 of the Constitution provides for the right to life with the exception being cases of “execution of a sentence passed in a fair trial by a court of competent jurisdiction”. The UN Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Summary or Arbitrary Executions defines these killings as “the deliberate killing of individuals outside of any legal framework.”<sup>9</sup>

Extra judicial killings started almost 7 months before the country went to the polls, during campaigns. By the time Ugandans went to the polls, at least 9 people had been killed at campaign rallies, three of these during the NRM party primary elections, two by the body guards of a junior minister on the eve the elections and at least four at the rallies of opposition Presidential candidate and eventual runner-up, Robert Kyagulanyi Ssentamu, also known as Bobi Wine.

It is hard to conclusively put a figure on the number of those extrajudicially killed in relation to the elections because of the internet shutdown but information of individuals that are still unaccounted for is still trickling in. In the weeks leading to the election, the

7 See: <https://chimpreports.com/mbabazi-suspends-consultative-meetings-program/>

8 See: <https://nilepost.co.ug/news/64269/bobi-wine-set-to-meet-electoral-commission-boss-over-blocked-consultations>

9 See: <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures/sr-executions>

## INCIDENTS OF EXTRAJUDICIAL KILLINGS RELATED TO THE 2026 GENERAL ELECTIONS

NO.	NAME OF DECEASED	PLACE	INCIDENT
1	Fred Ssemuusi	Lwemiyaga	On June 26, 2025, Fred Ssemuusi was shot dead in Lwemiyaga county in Sembabule district where supporters of parliamentary candidates' Theodore Ssekikuubo and his rival Emmanuel Rwashande clashed. In the end, an unidentified security officer shot dead Fred Ssemuusi, a supporter of Ssekikuubo. Rwashande, a retired senior army officer was repeatedly accused of using the army to brutalise the supporters of his opponent.
2	Ruben Ngurusi and one other	Isingiro	Ruben Ngurusi and another unidentified person were killed when a mob beat them to death when a fight erupted between the supporters of Byarugaba Bakunda and Maari Mujuni Asensio during NRM primaries.
3	Meshach Okello	Iganga	On November 28, 2025, Meschach Okello was shot dead in Iganga municipality where presidential candidate Kyagulanyi Ssentamu alias Bobi Wine was scheduled to hold a campaign rally that the police was dispersing with teargas and live bullets.
4	Leon Joshua Otim	Gulu	On December 10, 16-year-old student, Leon Joshua Otim succumbed to injuries he sustained after a beating in Bar-Dege-Layibi Division in Gulu district where police unleashed brutality on the supporters of Presidential candidate Kyagulanyi. Many eye-witnesses reported that the student sustained the injuries after a beating by the police/army and non uniformed armed men who attacked

NO.	NAME OF DECEASED	PLACE	INCIDENT
			<p>supporters of the opposition National Unity Platform (NUP) candidate and those suspected to have attended his rally. The police later claimed that Leon was beaten on suspicion that he had stolen a phone. <i>“...it is important to note that claims circulating on social media suggesting that the deceased died due to a scuffle involving security agencies and Hon. Robert Kyagulanyi are false and baseless.”</i> Read part of the police statement issued on December 9, 2025.<sup>10</sup> Many people familiar with the matter – including some of Leon’s family – dispute the Police statement.</p>
5	Edward Mukwaaya	Nsangi	<p>On December 25, 2025, Nabende Moses, was killed in political violence. It is alleged that the killing resulted from clashes between two camps, that of John Faith Magolo and his rival Ms Shafiga Wanyenya, the NRM flag bearer.</p>
6	Nabende Moses	Mbale	<p>On December 25, 2025, Nabende Moses, was killed in political violence. It is alleged that the killing resulted from clashes between two camps, that of John Faith Magolo and his rival Ms Shafiga Wanyenya, the NRM flag bearer.<sup>11</sup></p>
7	Saidi Eteru	Amuria	<p>On January 2, 2026, Saidi Eteru was shot dead in Orungo County in Amuria district. According to eye witnesses, the shooting was by soldiers attached to Foreign Affairs Minister General Jeje Odong, a candidate in the Orungo County election during a gathering organised by Teddy Anyik Osire, the opponent of Jeje Odongo.</p>

<sup>10</sup>See: <https://upf.go.ug/clarification-on-the-death-of-otim-leon-joshua-our-attention/>

<sup>11</sup>See: <https://ntv.co.ug/news/politics/nrm-chairperson-killed-while-intervening-in-fight-between-his-two-sons>

NO.	NAME OF DECEASED	PLACE	INCIDENT
8	Denis Sibira	Kamuli	On January 1, 2026, Denis Sibira was beaten to death in Kamuli allegedly by newly recruited special election police constables. His family are still demanding for justice. <sup>12</sup>
9	Aaron Mukisa	Busia	On January 6, 2026, Aaron Mukisa, was shot dead in the Eastern district of Busia. It is alleged that the shooting was by the guards of John Mulimba, the State Minister for Foreign Affairs in Charge of Regional Affairs during a clash between Mulimba's camp and that of his opponent.
10	Furugensio Mutagubya	Magere - Wakiso	On December 13, 2025, Furugensio was shot and killed, allegedly by the Police Officer in charge of Magere Police Station in Wakiso as he and others accompanied Bobi Wine to his home – which is in Magere after a campaign rally.
11	a) Sarah Nagayi b) Ibrahim Sserubiri c) Robert Sseninde	Luweero	On election night January 15, 2026, three people were fatally shot in Luweero, following protests where the police and army were accused of barring people from observing vote counting. The deceased were Sarah Nagayi, a 36-year-old resident of Kikubajinja, Ibrahim Sserubiri, an 18-year-old resident of Mbabbale Zone, and Robert Sseninde, a resident of Lumu Zone.
12	a) Nagayi Sarah b) Nampereza Milly c) Aisha Nabukenya d) Miro Shafiq e) Nsamu Nuru Abdul	Butambala	The killings and injuries in Butambala. On the night of January 15 and 16, 2026, a group of police and military officers raided the home of the outgoing Butambala MP and NUP Vice President for Central Uganda, Muwanga Kivumbi and fatally shot at least ten people . Eye-witness accounts vary with some putting the figures way

<sup>12</sup>See:<https://www.monitor.co.ug/uganda/news/national/family-of-kamuli-teen-beaten-to-death-by-election-police-constables-seeks-justice-5320130>

NO.	NAME OF DECEASED	PLACE	INCIDENT
	g) Ruth Nakanjako h) Nabukenya Aisha	Butambala	<p>higher than that. The police and president each blamed Muwanga Kivumbi for the incident saying his supporters attacked the police and the shooting was in self-defence. An investigation done by Agora confirmed that these people were shot in the house of Muwanga Kivumbi and not at any police or polling station, all of them were unarmed, and they were all residents of the area. Some of the people that lost their lives include: Nagayi Sarah aged 32; Nampereza Milly who was survived by 5 children, Aisha Nabukenya aged 41 survived by 3 children, Nsamu Nuru Abdul, Basaliza Davis, Miro Shafiq, Davis Basaliza, Ruth Nakanjako and Nabukenya Aisha. Those injured as a result of shooting include Nantongo Sarah, Namukasa Janat, Nakabaale Edirisa and Ssebyala Fahad.</p>
13	Ali Ramsey	Njeru-Buikwe	<p>On January 16, 2026, Ali Ramsey, a resident of Njeru-Buikwe died due to suffocation after police threw teargas at him and others during a campaign rally.</p>
14	Luwero Suzan and others whose number is still unconfirmed.	Bulenga	<p>Several people whose number and identification is still unconfirmed were fatally shot and killed in Bulenga, a suburb of Kampala on Jan 17 after the declaration of Yoweri Museveni as the winner of the election with 71% of the vote. Agora managed to confirm and identify one victim named Luwero Suzan whose family members we interviewed. A source from Wakiso police says seven people were killed in what the security agencies say was a protest but residents say about 15 people were killed by the army and the bodies cleared by police. The residents and families of the victims are still afraid to share more details because of the threats from the army.</p>

NO.	NAME OF DECEASED	PLACE	INCIDENT
15	a) Gerald Katumba b) Frank Muyingo	Kalungu	On 14 January 2026, Gerald and Frank were shot dead in Kalungu. According to the testament of an eye witness – the driver of the vehicle the group was travelling in – who spoke at the burial, the shooting was allegedly done on orders of Minister of State for Water, Aisha Ssekindi. A bodyguard of the Minister, Ssenyonga, has since been charged for the murders.
16	Ali Ssekajja	Njeru-Buikwe	On January 16, 2026, Ali Ssekajja was shot and killed by the state security operatives in Kayunga district during campaign related activities.
17	Samson Wamimbi	Bukedea	On February 5, 2026, Samson Wamimbi, an NRM chairperson in Bukedea district was killed by a mob that accused him of ballot stuffing in favour of the ruling party.
18	Meddie Malei	Ssembabule	On February 5, 2026, Meddie Male was shot and killed by armed men belonging to either the police or army during local council elections in Sembabule district.
19	Susan Luwero	Ssebabule	On January 17, 2026, Susani Luwero was shot and killed in Bulenga during election related activities.
20	Johnson Agondeze aka Black	-	On January 17, 2026, Johnson Agondeze alias Black of Hardware City was shot and killed by security operatives. He was latter buried in Hoima.
21	Adupa John Baptist	Pallisa	Adupa John Baptist, a 30-year-old polling agent for one of the candidates, was shot, brutally beaten, and denied medical care by police on polling day, 15th January 2026, in Pallisa District.  After arriving at Kagoli Polling Station to observe voting, he and his colleague were

NO.	NAME OF DECEASED	PLACE	INCIDENT
			<p>met with hostility, and police were called. Instead of de-escalating, officers turned violent. Adupa was shot in the leg, then beaten, dragged, and left bleeding for hours without treatment.</p> <p>He was not given timely medical assistance and was instead moved around while critically injured. By the time he finally received help, he had lost too much blood.</p> <p>He died from his injuries.</p> <p>To date, there has been no investigation, no accountability, and no justice for his death.</p>



army spokesperson released a statement where he wrote that, **“The country’s armed forces, and the UPDF in particular, are highly capable, organised, proficient and lethal. There is no threat we cannot deal with, and it will be very bad news for those who do not heed the warnings.”** One of the warnings and orders was for the citizens to return home after the elections and not stay at the polling stations. The law doesn’t prohibit people from remaining at the polling station and allows them to stay 20 metres from the polling desk.

To NUP in particular he wrote that **“If the NUP leader is in doubt about the capabilities of our armed forces, he should consult the al-Shabaab in Somalia, the ADF and CODECO in DRC, or Joseph Kony and his defunct LRA in CAR, as well as other violent and negative groups in the region.”** The statement he likened NUP, a registered political party and its leadership, to terrorist and rebel groups. It is not surprising therefore, that the army got deeply involved in the elections and the casualties were that high.



## ii) Abductions and Kidnaps

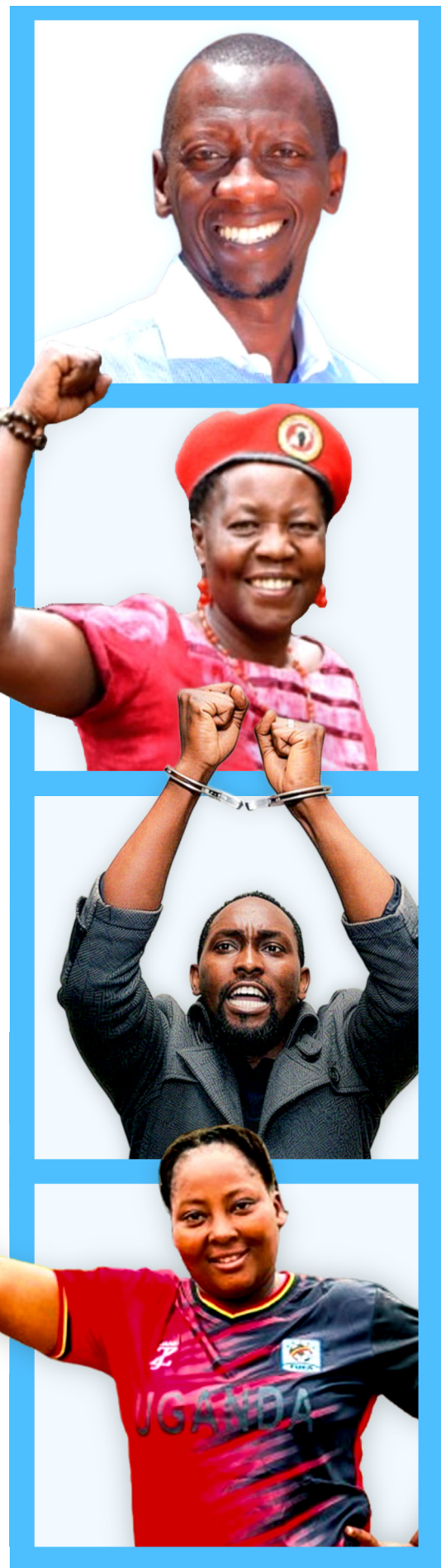
Since 2020, abductions targeting members of the opposition and their supporters became commonplace in Uganda. There was a pattern to it, in the months and weeks leading to the 2021 election where armed men driving Toyota Hiace vehicles would track, waylay, and grab their victim(s) before making off with them to unknown destinations.

This pattern became so common that the vehicles used in the abductions were christened “drones”. Officially, the government describes these as “arrests” with the claim that “a state cannot abduct”, however, the said arrest does not follow the stipulated procedure for lawful arrest. In some instances, it takes several days, even weeks and months before the person who was disappeared is produced in the courts of law. Some victims from 2019, 2020 and 2021 have never been seen again.

NUP puts this figure at 18 and questions have been asked to Parliament, the Uganda Human Rights Commission and habeas corpus applications in courts of law but no answers have been provided.

This vice continued in the run up to the 2026 general election where several members of the opposition were vdisappeared. Some were later produced in courts while others -were simply dumped on the roadside but others, at least one known individual, have never been seen again.

**Some of the identified ones include:**



## INCIDENTS OF ABDUCTIONS AND KIDNAPS RELATED TO THE 2026 GENERAL ELECTIONS

NO.	NAME	INCIDENT DETAILS
1	Lina Zedriga	Lina, the NUP vice president for northern Uganda, was abducted from her home in Gayaza on the day of election and disappeared. The state initially denied having her but later charged her in Gulu Magistrate's Court with Incitement of violence.
2	Jolly Jackline Tukamushaba	Jolly, the NUP Vice President for Western Uganda was abducted from her home in Mbarara and disappeared for days. Even when a video of her abducted by armed men in military fatigue appeared, the state denied knowledge of her whereabouts. She was later produced by the state and charged for incitement of violence and released on bail.
3	Charles Bukenya Muvawala	Charles, the Vice President of Uganda North America Association (UNAA) was abducted on December 15, 2025. He was remanded to Luzira prison on a charge of unsolicited information under Section 26B (1) and (2) of the Computer Misuse Act, the alleged Act being recording of security officers during clashes at an election rally.
4	Bitumu Hussein	On December 18, Hussein, the political assistant to Kawempe North MP, Erias Nalukoola was abducted from Namere Kawempe and held incommunicado for two days before he was dumped on Kawempe bypass in Kampala.
5	Mukibi Denis	On January 5, 2026, Denis, a candidate for Kawempe South Lord Councillor under the NUP was abducted by heavily armed men. His status remains unknown.
6	Aguuda Moses	Moses, a supporter of the National Unity Platform was allegedly abducted on January 12, 2026, and his whereabouts remain unknown.
7	Harriet Chemutai	Harriet was abducted at her place in Kapchorwa on February 5, 2026 and briefly detained at Kapchorwa police station where she says she was accused of hiding Bobi Wine. She was later released that same day.
8	Promise Ndinawe	Promise was abducted on January 28, 2026, with her baby and later released.

NO.	NAME	INCIDENT DETAILS
9	Salim Isabirye	Salim was abducted from Luuka district on January 31, 2026. It remains unclear whether he was charged in court in the end.
10	Shaban Mwanje	Shaban was abducted from Kitto sub-county in Nakaseke district on February 1, 2026.
11	Bright Muhumuza	Bright, an NUP coordinator for Ankole sub-region and candidate for parliament in Mbarara was abducted on January 14, 2026, in Mbarara. He was later charged in court and later released on bail.
12	Alex Waiswa Mufumbiro	Alex, the deputy spokesperson of National Unity Platform was abducted on September 8, 2025, by armed men in plainclothes. He was later taken to court and several charges slapped on him.
13	Edward Ssebufu aka Eddie Mutwe	Eddy Mutwe, Bobi Wine's Chief bodyguard was abducted in April 2025 and held incommunicado before being charged.
14	Sauda Madaada	Sauda, a member of the NUP and aspiring councillor was abducted and later charged in court alongside Alex Waiswa and other.
15	Calvin Tasi aka Bobi Giant	Calvin, a popular supporter of the NUP was abducted from Kawempe and later charged in court.
16	Achileo Kivumbi	Achileo, also a body guard of Bobi Wine and supporter of NUP was abducted and later charged in court. He remains in jail and his applications for bail have been rejected.
17	Oliviya Lutaaya	Olivia, also a supporter of Bobi Wine, was abducted in November of 2025 in Mbarara and later produced in court and charged. She remains in jail.
18	Doreen Kaija	Doreen, the Principal of NUP leadership school was abducted from her house and charged with running a school without a license. She remains in jail.

NO.	NAME	INCIDENT DETAILS
19	Sam Mugumya	Sam was abducted on August 26, 2025, at NIM Hotel in Mbarara City and his whereabouts remain unknown. At the time of his abduction, Sam had declared his intentions to run for Rukungiri Municipality Parliamentary seat. 7 months later, Sam's whereabouts are still unknown, and the army has repeatedly denied him being in their custody despite witness accounts that say soldiers in UPDF uniform took him from the motel at around 11 am.
20	Robert Lugya Kayingo	On August 4, 2025, Robert who is a senior member of Uganda Federal Alliance, a political party in Uganda was abducted from Entebbe Airport on his way to the country for a burial. He was detained incommunicado for months and later deported back to South Africa.

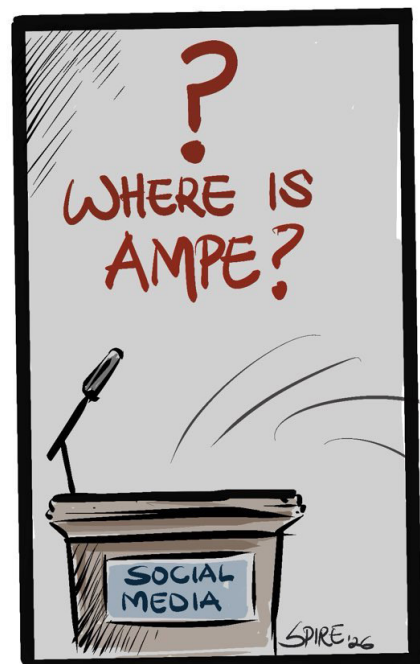


**SAM  
MUGUMYA**  
—  
**STILL MISSING**

NO.	NAME	INCIDENT DETAILS
21	Bob Njagi and Nicholas Ayo	<p>Bob Njagi and Nicholas Ayo: the Kenyan activists that came to attend Presidential candidate, Kyagulanyi's first rally were kidnapped from Kireka on 1st October 2025.</p> <p>The state denied having them when lawyers applied for habeas corpus. The Judge dismissed the application saying he can't squeeze blood out of a stone. The same state released them over a month later and President Museveni admitted to the state having them all that while that they were held incommunicado</p>
22	Ampe Lawrence	<p>Ampe Lawrence was kidnapped from his home district in Ibanda and held incommunicado for three weeks. His parents were told he was taken to Mbuya and that he was arrested by CMI. This was also confirmed by the police in Ibanda.</p> <p>Ampe was on Feb 5 released on Police bond but has never been charged in court.</p>



YOU EXPELLED ME,  
NOW I HAVE A NEW  
UNIFORM AND WILL  
CONTINUE SPEAKING





### iii) Cases of Non-Fatal Shootings and Brutality by the Police

Throughout the campaign season, there were several cases of people shot and wounded by the police and army. In other cases, people, mostly supporters of opposition candidates, or journalists going about their work, were brutally attacked and beaten by soldiers, police officers or militias.

At one of Kyagulanyi's rallies, police canine dogs were unleashed on his supporters and others pushed into a deep trench. These are some of the people that were injured in some of these incidents.

#### CASES OF NON-FATAL SHOOTINGS AND BRUTALITY BY THE POLICE

NO.	NAME	INCIDENT
1	Edward Nyanzi	On January 16, 2026, 14-year-old Edward was shot in the right leg during campaign activities in Kayunga district.
2	Musa Ndifuna	On January 17, 2026, 22-year-old Musa was shot in both legs during campaign activities in Kayunga.
3	Modi Jackson	Modi, the driver to Nandala Mafabi, a presidential candidate was shot in the arm and injured during campaigns in Mbale district.
4	Charles Matovu	On December 24, 2025, Charles was violently assaulted by soldiers as he returned from a campaign event.
5	Dean City	On December 15, Dean was brutally assaulted by the military during Bobi Wine's rally.
6	Natuma Samuel	On December 6, 2025, Samuel was brutally beaten by soldiers in Gulu where Bobi Wine had a rally that was blocked and he attempted to walk to the venue.
7	Dan Magic	On December 6, Dan was brutally assaulted and left bleeding by soldiers who attacked Bobi Wine as he walked to his rally venue in Gulu.

NO.	NAME	INCIDENT
8	Okello	A gentleman identified only as Okello was assaulted on December 6, 2026, in Gulu where he had gone to attend Bobi Wine's rally.
9	Hamza Lubulwa	Hamza was shot in Mbale district and sustained severe injuries by officers linked to JATT.
10	Shadrack Odong	Shadrack was shot by police officers who disrupted Bobi Wine's rally in Sironko district.
11	Ben Sekajja	Ben was beaten into a coma by police during campaign related activities in Bukwo.
12	Joseph Odong	The West Nile-based UBC correspondent was assaulted by police officers as he went about his work.
13	Ivan Kyeyune	On January 15, 2026, the Nakasongola MP elect was assaulted by security operatives in Nakasongola.
14	Andrew Cohen Amvesi	The journalist based in Arua was assaulted by security operatives as he covered campaign related activities in the district.



**DAN MAGIC**

## iv) Arbitrary Arrests

Throughout the electoral process, hundreds of people were arbitrarily arrested from different parts of the country. Most of these were members of the leading opposition party, NUP. They were arrested and charged with different offences including common nuisance, public nuisance, obstructing police officers, unlawful assembly among others. Most of the victims were arrested without conducting any investigation or any evidence and without following any due process. Most of these were bystanders at polling stations or passers-by in trading centres, or motorcycle taxi (boda boda) riders at a boda boda stage. As a result, many people, over 800 were put prison, and while about half of these have been released so far, others are still in prisons.

These rampant arrests started months before the elections during the campaigns but heightened on election day and the days and weeks that followed. By November 2025, the NUP stated that at least 450 of its members had been arbitrarily arrested and scattered across various jails in Uganda.<sup>10</sup> By the end of the campaign period, the NUP Secretary General stated that the number had grown, and in addition to those already in jail, it had hit “at least 3000” scattered in various jails across the country.

These figures from the NUP are the closest we have to an actual figure in this regard as our attempts to track them have given us above 800 but we are yet to check all prisons. The nature of arbitrary arrests is a lot of times hardly documented since it is done in total disregard of all due process and in the cover of the dark.

### NUP Supporters Arrested in Mbarara City

November 07, 2025

## ARRESTED

### NUP SUPPORTERS

**38 NUP supporters arrested on November 07, 2025 along Mbarara-Ibanda road accompanying Robert Kyagulanyi to a rally in Bwizibwera charged with Obstruction.**

1   Moses Arinaitwe	20   Shanitah Karungi
2   Richard Nuwamanya	21   Ronah Atuhaire
3   Joshua Elwelu	22   Ben Byamukama
4   Lyton Agamba	23   Jean Akorekwa
5   Gordon Ssebagala	24   Sarah Kiconco
6   Fostin Wankina	25   Arnold Mugesira
7   Moreen Mugde	26   Dismus Ndamiye
8   Emmanuel Kihembo	27   Sarah Tayebwa
9   Prince Tugumisire	28   Peace Kyomuhangi
10   Dirisa Kibirige	29   Rose Asingwire
11   Enock Aine	30   Wimaana Mutoni
12   Hassan Musasizi	31   Zawadi Nabukeera
13   Aisha Nabukenya	32   Meira Karungi
14   Maria Gorret Alimpa	33   Shabiba Nalubega
15   David Nuwaherera	34   Daphine Nabimanya
16   Lauben Nimumanya	35   Ingrid Akanjirira
17   Fred Akandwanaho	36   Brenda Kamperu
18   Zadoki Ahereza	37   Augustine Matsiko
19   Paskali Ayesigamukama	38   Hajara Namazzi

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10 See: <https://ntv.co.ug/news/over-450-nup-supporters-arrested-amid-controversial-charges>

## INCIDENTS OF ARBITRARY ARRESTS

NO.	NAME	CHARGE
1	Ssebowa Ivan	Taking part in unlawful assembly
2	Tamale Musa	Taking part in unlawful assembly
3	Muwoya Abudallah	Taking part in unlawful assembly
4	Akilewo Julius	Taking part in unlawful assembly
5	Batambuze Bakar	Taking part in unlawful assembly
6	Manisulu Anikwa	Taking part in unlawful assembly
7	Kiwanuka George W	Taking part in unlawful assembly
8	Lubwama Richard	Taking part in unlawful assembly
9	Jjemba Shafik	Taking part in unlawful assembly
10	Nyanzi Abdu Karim	Taking part in unlawful assembly
11	Monday Julius	Taking part in unlawful assembly
12	Kayizi Muhammed	Taking part in unlawful assembly
13	Ssemujju Marvin	Taking part in unlawful assembly
14	Wasswa George	Taking part in unlawful assembly
15	Katongole Shafik	Taking part in unlawful assembly
16	Majidu Gidudu	Taking part in unlawful assembly
17	Mubiru Rayan	Nuisance on public road
18	Wetaka Hassan	Nuisance on public road
19	Niwamanya Charles	Nuisance on public road
20	Kitimbo Hamisi	Nuisance on public road
21	Musubire John	Nuisance on public road
22	Ssemujju Medi	Nuisance on public road
23	Mugusha Henry	Nuisance on public road
24	Yiga Richard	Nuisance on public road
25	Kawesa Paul	Incitement to violence
26	Ssempagama Isma	Incitement to violence
27	Aturinda Alex	Incitement to violence
28	Kibirige Musa	Incitement to violence
29	Mukiga Isma	Incitement to violence
30	Kanabi Noah	Incitement to violence
31	Adupa Richard	Incitement to violence
32	Wamala Umaru	Incitement to violence
33	Kagwa Livingston	Incitement to violence
34	Kasujja Imran	Incitement to violence
35	Kasirye Umaru	Incitement to violence
36	Kasule Amiri	Incitement to violence

NO.	NAME	CHARGE
37	Kiyuka Malifu	Incitement to violence
38	Malawa Madie	Incitement to violence and obstruction on public road
39	Kamya Hakim	Incitement to violence and obstruction on public road
40	Kulabiraho Obedi	Incitement to violence and obstruction on public road
41	Ndayize Dominic	Incitement to violence and obstruction on public road
41	Adrot Julius	Incitement to violence and obstruction on public road
43	Mandolo Bumari	Incitement to violence and obstruction on public road
44	Mayugwe Ronald	Incitement to violence and obstruction on public road
45	Waiswa Sale	Incitement to violence and obstruction on public road
46	Katonda Ayebare	Incitement to violence and obstruction on public road
47	Kemba Muzamiru	Incitement to violence and obstruction on public road
48	Ssekikubo Ibrahim	Incitement to violence and nuisance on road
49	Mayanja Luke	Unknown
50	Ssembusi Sulaiman	Incitement to violence
51	Ampeire Joseph Ssek	Incitement to violence
52	Akatujuna Dickson	Obstruction on road 2- nuisance on road
53	Dhabagamu Yusuf	Obstruction on road 2- nuisance on road
54	Kayondo Michael	Obstruction on road 2- nuisance on road
55	Muganda Philip	Obstruction on road 2- nuisance on road
56	Akankwasa Philimon	Obstruction on road 2- nuisance on road
57	Nasasira Junior	Obstruction on road 2- nuisance on road
58	Mulindwa Emmanuel	Obstruction on road 2- nuisance on road
59	Kasirye Abdu	Undertaking petroleum operations without an environmental and social impact assessment certificate
60	Mugarura Benjamin	Undertaking petroleum operations without an environmental and social impact assessment certificate
61	Gitta Vikram	Undertaking petroleum operations without an environmental and social impact assessment certificate
62	Sserumaka Ronald	Undertaking petroleum operations without an environmental and social impact assessment certificate
63	Sserugo Bashir	Incitement to violence
64	Ssenyondo Juma	Incitement to violence
65	Sserwada Fahad	Incitement to violence
66	Ssemwezi Martin	Incitement to violence
67	Bukenya David	Incitement to violence
68	Kalyesubula Ian	Incitement to violence
69	Kakande Michael	Incitement to violence

NO.	NAME	CHARGE
70	Kirisanga Willy	Incitement to violence
71	Oweyesiga Huzaifa	Incitement to violence
72	Obanda Livingston	Incitement to violence
73	Kiniri Akram	Incitement to violence
74	Mila Ibra	Obstruction of public road
75	Mowonge Kalodiya	Obstruction of public road
76	Omuloni Dauglas	Obstruction of public road
77	Kamuhangire Caleb	Obstruction of public road
78	Mukwaya Ramathan	Obstruction of public road
79	Lukanga Saulo	Obstruction of public road
80	Kalisa Ronald	Obstruction of public road
81	Niwahereza Jordan	Obstruction of public road
82	Kisambira Kasim	Obstruction of public road
83	Kyaze Bulayi Daniel	Obstruction of public road
84	Kizula Godfrey	Unlawful assembly
85	Kibuuka Robert	Unknown
86	Kukiriza Joseph	Unknown
87	Matovu Jimmy	Unknown
88	Mukara Ayub	Unknown
89	Kawesi Suman	Unknown
90	Mugoya Raymond	Unknown
91	Twahirwa Derick	Unknown
92	Mawanda Patrick	Unknown
93	Aturinde Alex	Unknown
94	Kalulu Hakim	Unknown
95	Niwamanya Charles	Unknown
96	Sunday Kakooza	Unknown
97	Katende Gatar	Unknown
98	Mukambwe Jessy	Unknown
99	Maseraka Simon	Unknown
100	Masereka Kenneth	Unknown
101	Kabuye Hakim	Unknown
102	Ssuna Faruk	Unknown
103	Niwamanya Ronald	Unknown
104	Katende Shafik	Unknown
105	Judini Rajab	Unknown
106	Itege Mike	Unknown

NO.	NAME	CHARGE
107	Masiiko Timothy	Unknown
108	Nokutanga Isaac	Unknown
109	Kayiwa Calton	Unknown
110	Sali Yusuf	Unknown
111	Hamis Ssekaja	Unknown
112	Mulinda Nathan	Common nuisance
113	Kavuma Stephen	Common nuisance
114	Kikomoko Joshua Will	Common nuisance
115	Isabirye Ezekiel	Common nuisance
116	Mukasa Chris	Common nuisance
117	Oboth Joseph	Common nuisance
118	Kaziba Ben	Common nuisance
119	Kamoga John	Common nuisance
120	Lubega Charles	Common nuisance
121	Wasswa Jovan	Common nuisance
122	Kyagera Musisi Karim	Common nuisance
123	Ssebakijje Reagan	Common nuisance
124	Mugume Patrick	Common nuisance
125	Muyima Akram	Common nuisance
126	Sserunkuma Zaidi	Common nuisance
127	Ssegoba Joseph	Common nuisance
128	Kula Zakayo	Common nuisance
129	Isma Yahaya	Common nuisance
130	Ssemudu Shafic	Common nuisance
131	Kanamwanje Abudalla	Common nuisance
132	Lubega Pius	Common nuisance
133	Kalyesubula Newton	Common nuisance
134	Najuko Hadijah	Common nuisance
135	Mukombozi Shafiq	Common nuisance
136	Muhimbisi Harriet	Common nuisance
137	Kawooya Nasiif	Common nuisance
138	Mugarura Nicholas	Common nuisance
139	Mugaga Deo	Common nuisance
140	Lubega Emmanuel	Common nuisance
141	Katumba Joseph	Common nuisance
142	Felix Kalyango	Common nuisance
143	Tusiime Ivan	Common nuisance

NO.	NAME	CHARGE
144	Muhamad Kabazi	Common nuisance
145	Lubwama George	Common nuisance
146	Lwera Andrew	Common nuisance
147	Kiwenda Francis Xavier	Common nuisance
148	Olinga Moses	Unlawful assembly
149	Natawasa Hassan	Unlawful assembly
150	Ndaiseyi Domisiyo	Unlawful assembly
151	Turyasiima Robert	Unlawful assembly
152	Natunda Herbert	Unlawful assembly
153	Bwanika Hadadi	Unlawful assembly
154	Ndihokubwayo John	Unlawful assembly
155	Ssekandi Benjamin	Unlawful assembly
156	Wasswa Ben	Unlawful assembly
157	Mulemba Francis	Unlawful assembly
158	Mayanja Emmanuel	Unlawful assembly
159	Makumbi Michael	Unlawful assembly
160	Kyerimba Godfrey	Unlawful assembly
161	Kayemba Moses	Unlawful assembly
162	Lukwago Issa	Unlawful assembly
163	Rugaju Frank	Unlawful assembly
164	Mugaga Ashirat	Unlawful assembly
165	Mathias Kakeeto	Unlawful assembly
166	Makato Joseph	Unlawful assembly
167	Kasibante William	Unlawful assembly
168	James Mukasa	Unlawful assembly
169	Kariyo Vincent	Unlawful assembly
170	Kisitu Ronald	Unlawful assembly
171	Bwabye Denis	Taking part in a riot, rioters injuring building, machineries etc
172	Katumba Goefrey	Taking part in a riot, rioters injuring building, machineries etc
173	Wasuze Charles	Taking part in a riot, rioters injuring building, machineries etc
174	Ssenyonga Ismail	Taking part in a riot, rioters injuring building, machineries etc
175	Oketcho Musa	Taking part in a riot, rioters injuring building, machineries etc

NO.	NAME	CHARGE
176	Luyimbazi Magidu M	Taking part in a riot, rioters injuring building, machineries etc
177	Lukwago Emmanuel	Taking part in a riot, rioters injuring building, machineries etc
178	Kamoga Erick	Taking part in a riot, rioters injuring building, machineries etc
179	Kalungi Ssaka	Taking part in a riot, rioters injuring building, machineries etc
180	Kakumba Ramathan	Taking part in a riot, rioters injuring building, machineries etc
181	Kiiza Musa	Taking part in a riot, rioters injuring building, machineries etc
182	Kiswe Shafik	Taking part in a riot, rioters injuring building, machineries etc
183	Mawejje Ivan	Taking part in a riot, rioters injuring building, machineries etc
184	Mweisgwa Isma	Taking part in a riot, rioters injuring building, machineries etc
185	Ssegoga Godfrey	Taking part in a riot, rioters injuring building, machineries etc
186	Ssemakula Hassan	Taking part in a riot, rioters injuring building, machineries etc
187	Kasamba Isima	Taking part in a riot, rioters injuring building, machineries etc
188	Ssekanjjako Eddy	Taking part in a riot
189	Senjogo Hassan	Taking part in a riot
190	Kasule Jamiru	Taking part in a riot
191	Mutawe Sharifa	Taking part in a riot
192	Nuwamanya Steven	Taking part in a riot
193	Byaruhanga Allan	Taking part in a riot
194	Katende Fred	Taking part in a riot
195	Ssemujju Umaru	Taking part in a riot
196	Kaweesa Ivan	Taking part in a riot
197	Cherirahda Ayebale Gen	Taking part in a riot
198	Sselibobwe Johnbosco	Taking part in a riot
199	Nyanzi Yasin	Taking part in a riot
200	Waswa Jimmy	Taking part in a riot

NO.	NAME	CHARGE
201	Odoi Ismael	Taking part in a riot
202	Kiryowa Patrick	Taking part in a riot
203	Tumwebaze Alex	Taking part in a riot
204	Ojok Sudi	Taking part in a riot
205	Mukasa Badru H	Taking part in a riot
206	Kasozi Reagan	Taking part in a riot
207	Abaho William	Taking part in a riot
208	Katumba Goefrey	Taking part in a riot
209	Musinguzi Bright	Taking part in a riot
210	Kisule Charles	Taking part in a riot
211	Ssenyonga Ismail	Taking part in a riot
212	Okecho Musa	Taking part in a riot
213	Kamezire Julius	Taking part in a riot
214	Mugoya Raymond	Public nuisance
215	Asiimwe Alex	Public nuisance
216	Benjamin Nabasha	Public nuisance
217	Oryema John Bosco	Public nuisance
218	Ochen Bonny	Public nuisance
219	Martin Mubiru	Incitement of violence
220	Sserugo Travor	Malicious damage to property
221	Nyombi Simon Peter	Unknown
222	Frank Sabiiti	Unknown
223	Augustine Tumwesigye	Unknown
224	Muriisa Kofi Brian	Unknown
225	Emmanuel Mugume	Unknown
226	Kanyesigye Moses	Unknown
227	Nyombi Cliff	Unknown
228	Kasule Kirumira	Unknown
229	Mugisha Chris	Unknown
230	Nyishu Benon	Unknown
231	Lubega Akram	Unknown
232	Kayemba Aloysious	Unknown
233	Kiwanuka Joseph	Unknown
234	Kabasa James	Unknown
235	Nsereko Edwin	Unknown
236	Kibirige Mutwalibu	Unknown
237	Ssebagala Ali	Unknown

NO.	NAME	CHARGE
238	Matovu Richard	Unknown
239	Ssendinda Robert N	Unknown
240	Emmanuel Mubiru	Nuisance on a public road and common nuisance
241	Ronald Muhanguzi	Nuisance on a public road and common nuisance
242	Ali Katongole	Nuisance on a public road and common nuisance
243	Denis Kitimbo	Nuisance on a public road and common nuisance
244	Sylvester Nyandwe	Nuisance on a public road and common nuisance
245	Paskali Gatama	Nuisance on a public road and common nuisance
246	Christine Defao	Nuisance on a public road and common nuisance
247	Shafik Katende	Nuisance on a public road and common nuisance
248	Senvume Steven	Unknown
249	Goloba Angel	Unknown
250	Magembe Alex	Unknown
251	Isaac Muhire	Unknown
252	Bannet Mucunguzi	Unknown
253	Sadam Tumwine	Unknown
254	Mugaga	Unknown
255	Joseph Musinguzi	Destroying roads
256	Patrick Mawanda	Destroying roads
257	Henry Ssebuffu	Destroying roads
258	Nyukuru Vianney	Destroying roads
259	Hassan Wasswa	Destroying roads
260	Godfrey Balaba	Destroying roads
261	Joseph Munoba	Destroying roads
262	Shafic Mubiru	Destroying roads
263	Alex Mugambe	Destroying roads
264	Onesmus Rukundo	Destroying roads
265	Jesse Sserwada	Destroying roads
266	Bonny Kabonge	Destroying roads
267	Ismail Kayira	Destroying roads
268	Ayub Mukasa	Destroying roads
269	Eric Kasumba	Destroying roads
270	Yasin Masaba	Unknown
271	Emmanuel Ajuda	Unknown
272	Jackson Katanzi	Unknown
273	Peter Kalungi	Unknown
274	Mubiru Ronald	Unknown

NO.	NAME	CHARGE
275	Kawuma Michael	Unknown
276	Issa Ssemakula	Unknown
277	Haruna Ndawula	Unknown
278	Brian Lukwago	Unknown
279	Jackson Mungonot	Unknown
280	Joseph Lomwa Lopeya	Unknown
281	Joseph Basajjabalaba	Unknown
282	Robert Muhairwe	Unknown
283	Hakim Mutekanga	Unknown
284	Christopher Kajimu	Unknown
285	Pascal Ssebuye	Unknown
286	Abubakar Wallex	Unknown
287	Paul Ssemwaka	Unknown
288	Owen Ntarindwa	Unknown
289	Awali Layoby	Unknown
290	Herbert Mulekwa	Unknown
291	Jackson Ssevume	Unknown
292	Herbert Mulekwa	Unknown
293	Sudais Ssemwanga	Unknown
294	Male Solomon	Unknown
295	Pius Lubega	Unknown
296	Muhimbise Herbert	Unknown
297	Nasif Kawoya	Unknown
298	Lwebuga Emmanuel	Unknown
299	Joseph Katumba	Unknown
300	Lwere Andrew	Unknown
301	Shadia Nyanzi	Unknown
302	Kasim Ssematimba	Unknown
303	Bashir Matende	Unknown
304	Ssebalinga Ronald	Unknown
305	Nakanwagi Annet	Unknown
306	Nakalule Robinha	Unknown
307	Nasazi Joan	Unknown
308	Irakunda Faridah	Unknown
309	Mutesi Shamimu	Unknown
310	Bwoowe Shafick	Unknown
311	Agaba Ibrahim	Unknown

NO.	NAME	CHARGE
312	Wafula Anthony	Unknown
313	Nankoola Ziiru	Unknown
314	Wamusi Stephen.	Unknown
315	Oketcho Francis	Unknown
316	Kidega Jovan	Unknown
317	Bawuye Matia	Unknown
318	Lewcule Alex	Unknown
319	Tumuhairwe David	Unknown
320	Talemwa Jonathan	Unknown
321	Ssemujju Elvis	Unknown
322	Mambo Fred	Unknown
323	Byekwaso Henry	Unknown
324	Mutebi Ronald	Unknown
325	Byansi Charles	Unknown
326	Waswa Rashid	Unknown
327	Lwanga Raymond	Unknown
328	Mwebaze Gerald	Unknown
329	Kaggwa Roland M	Unknown
330	Mugabi Ibra	Unknown
331	Ssendege Vicent	Unknown
332	Kanane Ramathan	Unknown
333	Muzamuzi Richard	Unknown
334	Nalubega Elizabeth D	Unknown
335	Jingo Frank	Unknown
336	Habib Buwembo	Common nuisance
337	Ronald Batega	Common nuisance
338	Josephine	Common nuisance
339	Walugembe Emma	Unknown
340	Kalumba Yahaya	Unknown
341	Bright Success	Unknown
342	Kintu Aloysius	Unknown
343	Kigozi Steven	Unknown
344	Serugo Zamira	Unknown
345	Nkabale Hassan	Unknown
346	Rogers Mutebi	Unknown
347	Mucunguzi Bannet	Unknown
348	Muwanika Fahad	Unknown

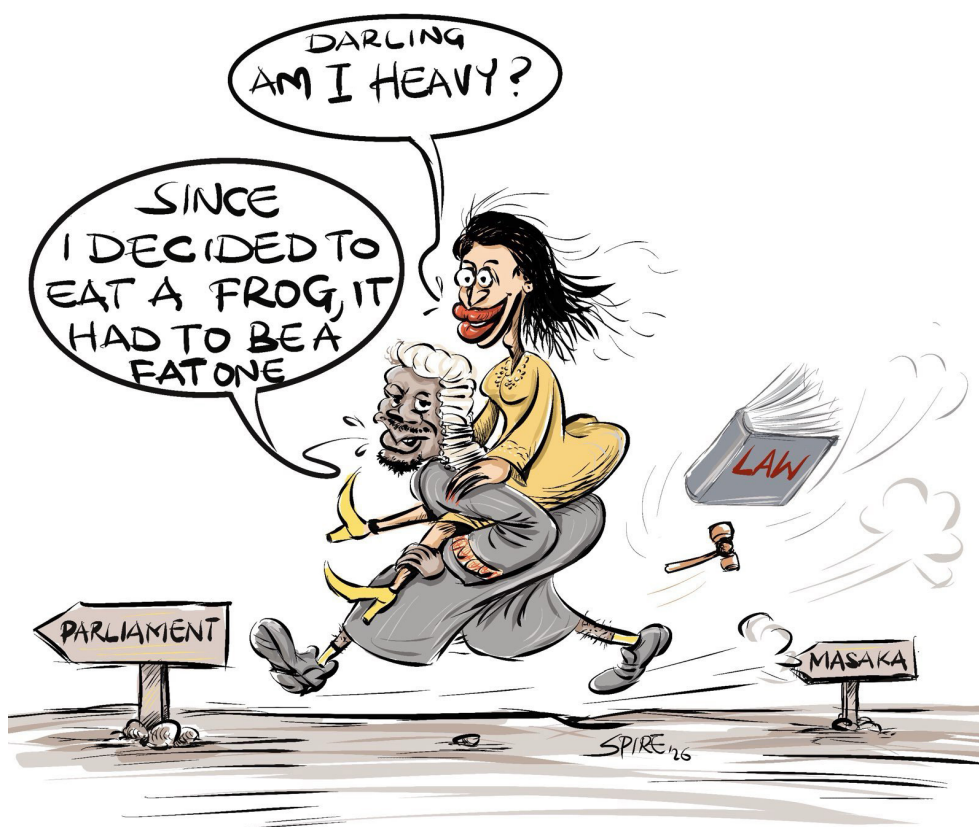
NO.	NAME	CHARGE
349	Mathius Senoni	Unknown
350	Hassani Ndahaya	Unknown
351	Basalide Mugaga	Unknown
352	Tumwine Sadam	Unknown
353	Sam	Unknown
354	Nakabale	Unknown
355	Ssentongo	Unknown
356	Makubuya	Unknown
357	Akram	Unknown
358	Akankwatsa	Unknown
359	Muhereza	Unknown
360	Kintu	Unknown
361	Tusenge Andrew	Unknown
362	Senteza	Unknown
363	Mubiru Dan	Unknown
364	Ssenkungu	Unknown
365	Ssenkabala	Unknown
366	Hamba	Unknown
367	Kyambadde John	Unknown
368	Duraka Charles	Unknown
369	Kyazze	Unknown
370	Namagembe	Unknown
371	Buloba	Unknown
372	Duraka Charles	Unknown
373	Buyaki	Unknown
374	Ssebina	Unknown

## 2 | Erosion of Democracy

### a) Vote Rigging

In the aftermath of the 2026 general elections, several videos made rounds on social media showing cases of violence and election rigging by the army, other security officers and the electoral commission officers. In some of the videos, there were people stuffing ballots, ticking ballot papers in favour of the National Resistance Party (NRM), or military men appearing at polling stations and disrupting the exercise. These videos, most of them verifiable as authentic, showed that the election was massively rigged, especially against the opposition.

After the elections, there were several places where voters argued that the person eventually announced as winner for parliamentary seat, was not the person who won the elections as per declaration of result forms. In one incident, the Masaka Magistrate announced a recount of the votes cast for Woman Member of Parliament even when some ballot boxes were found to have been tampered with. The victory of NUP's Rose Nalubowa was overturned and NRM's Justine Nameere was declared winner.





NO.	UNOPPOSED CANDIDATE	DENOMINATED CANDIDATE	REASON
1	<b>Anne Anita Among</b> (Incumbent Speaker of Parliament)	a) Florence Asio b) Mercy Alupo c) Hellen Akol Odeke d) Susan Norma Otai	All were accused of not being registered voters in Bukedea – despite the Parliamentary Elections Act only saying one must be a registered voter to run.
2	<b>Thomas Tayebwa</b> (Incumbent Deputy Speaker of Parliament)	Osbert Kato	Osbert is alleged to have failed to provide proof of payment of nomination fee, and possession of a national ID.
3	<b>Moses Magogo</b> (Husband to Anita Among)	Daniel Mulirire	The Electoral Commission alleged that Mulirire did not attach proof of his resignation from the Uganda Police Force. Despite ruling that such attachment was not a legal requirement, the High Court later maintained the position on grounds that it could not ascertain the authenticity of his resignation letter.
4	<b>Patrick Opolot Isiagi</b> (Uncle to Anita Among)	Charles Ongelech	Accused of forging signatures of seconders for his nominations and not being from the area.
5	<b>Phiona Nyamutoro</b> Incumbent Minister of State for Energy and Mineral development)	Mercy Rebecca Abedichan	The Electoral Commission claimed that the signatures of Mercy's seconders, Godfrey Ongiera and Jimmy Bediic were forged. Mercy denied these allegations saying this was a case of witch-hunt against her.
6	<b>Bright Rwamirama</b> (Minister of State for Animal Industry)	a) Best Arnold Ankunda b) Sharif Ntanda	Both would be opponents of Rwamirama were accused of forging signatures of their seconders. Both denied the allegations and blamed their disqualification on witch-hunt.
7	<b>Ofwono Opondo</b> (former government spokesperson and ED of Uganda Media Centre)	Mpande Joram Kigenyi	Mpande allegedly forged signatures and falsified some of his nomination documents.
8	<b>Jacqueline Mbabazi</b>	Patrick Mutabwire Kyamukaate	Patrick allegedly did “not meet the minimum requirements for nomination”.

Each of the above cases involved an NRM candidate sailing through unopposed because their would-be opponents were disqualified by the electoral commission.

In the case of Anita Among and Thomas Tayebwa – the incumbent Speaker and Deputy Speaker of parliament respectively – the opponents were denied nomination from the onset. In the alleged cases of forgery, which is a crime under Ugandan law, there is no proof that any prosecution was commenced against those who were accused of committing the crime as should be the case if these allegations had any grounds.

However, as the data also shows, many of these candidates were in a way related to the speaker of parliament. From our investigations, we found that the speaker in particular claimed and told those close to her that going unopposed was “advantageous” to the NRM and President Museveni as it gave her ample time to spend on his (Museveni’s) campaign trail instead.



**ANITA ANNET AMONG**  
for Bukedea District Woman MP



**THOMAS TAYEBWA**  
for Ruhinda North Constituency,  
Mitooma District



**PHIONA NYAMUTORO**  
for Nebbi District Woman MP



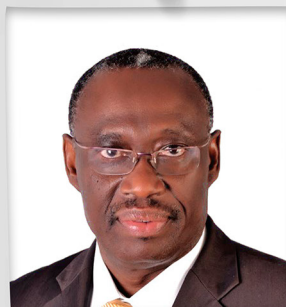
**BRIGHT RWAMIRAMA**  
for Isingiro North Constituency  
in Isingiro District



**MOSES MAGOGO**  
for Budiope East Constituency in  
Buyende District



**OFWONO OPONDO**  
for Elderly Persons Eastern Uganda



**PATRICK OPOLOT ISIAGI**  
for Kachumbala County MP  
in Kachumbala District



**JAQUELINE MBABAZI**  
for Elderly Persons Western Uganda

In addition to the above, there were two other categories of NRM unopposed candidates. The first are cases where a would-be opposition to the NRM candidate withdrew from the race reportedly after being bribed or intimidated. In at least one of these cases – involving the Vice President – she was quoted by the Daily Monitor saying the would-be opponent stood the opportunity of being given a government job following their withdrawal and added that the same had been done for those who withdrew earlier.<sup>11</sup>

NO.	UNOPPOSED CANDIDATE	CANDIDATE WHO WITHDREW	CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE WITHDRAW
1	Fred Byamukama (Incumbent Minister of State for Transport)	Fred Mwesigye	Fred withdrew following a negotiated agreement involving Robina Nabanjja, the Prime Minister.
2	Jessica Alupo (Incumbent Vice President)	Angella Anuken	Angella submitted her withdrawal application to the EC, during receipt of her certificate of unopposed candidate, the Daily Monitor quoted Alupo as saying other would-be opponents of hers that withdrew from the race had been “absorbed into various government departments as a gesture of good will” and she added that Angella too could be “absorbed due to her academic qualifications”.
3	Annah Kansiime	a) Molly Asiimwe Musiime b) Sarah Kiconco	Molly, independent-but-NRM-leaning candidate withdrew following an agreement brokered by the First Lady and Minister of Education and Sports. Sarah was arrested in the course of campaigns, then she was arrested at Kyagulanyi’s rally in Mbarara remanded. Weeks later, she was released from jail, crossed over to the NRM and withdrew from the race. Her party, quoting Section 36 (3) of the Parliamentary Elections Act pointed out that her withdraw was invalid since the party did not approve as per provisions of the law. The EC ignored that plea, Annah was declared unopposed.

11 See: <https://www.monitor.co.ug/uganda/news/national/alupo-secures-unopposed-victory-in-katakwi-after-rival-withdraws-5307916>

The Final group of unopposed candidates are those where the NRM candidate was the only candidate nominated by the close of business at the time it closed. There is no evidence of foul play, however, the fact that several constituencies have only an NRM candidate picking applications 20 years since the country returned to multiparty democracy is telling of the nature of Uganda’s multiparty democracy.

NO.	CANDIDATE NOMINATED SOLELY	CONSTITUENCY AND DISTRICT
1	Emily Kugonza	Buyanja East Constituency – Kibaale District.
2	Catherine Akumu Mavenjina	Elderly Persons MP – Northern Uganda.
3	Emmanuel Banya Natal	Koboko County – Koboko District.
4	Boniface Okot	Kole South Constituency – Kole District.
5	Ruth Rujoki Mushabe	Kiruhura District Woman MP – Kiruhura District
6	Lillian Paparu Obiale	Arua District Woman MP – Arua District.
7	Peggy Joy Wako	National Female MP for Older Persons.

### c) Brutality, intimidation and harassment of the opposition during campaigns

The police and the army used excessive force to illegally interfere in the campaigns of NUP presidential candidate Robert Kyagulanyi on several occasions. The police targeted supporters of NUP that were beaten, tortured, teargassed, and shot at during the presidential campaigns. These cases were registered in several districts with Ssembabule, Gulu, Arua, Iganga, Kawempe, Kiruhura, and Mbale being places with several cases reported during the campaigns. There were several injuries recorded while in extreme cases there was loss of lives.

### d) Disfranchising of Persons with Disabilities (PWDS)

The 2024 National Housing and Population Census established that Uganda has 4 million adult PWDS. These require special care and attention that the Electoral Commission was unable to offer during the voting process. Persons with visual and hearing impairments were not sufficiently supported to listen to manifestos of different candidates. An investigation by Agora has established that most of the polling stations were in places that are not easily accessible by persons with walking disabilities. PWDS with visual disabilities were not provided with braille paper for them to vote. In addition,

the campaigns were tainted with violence and therefore most PWDs stayed away for fear of violence due to their inherent vulnerability. The practice of PWDs being escorted by supporters to cast their vote violates their right to a secret ballot.

## d) Closure of Non-Governmental Organisations

Over since 2016, elections in Uganda have always come at a very high cost for civil society organisations, particularly, the Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs). A few days to the 2016 elections – the president assented to the Non-Governmental Organisations Act, 2016.<sup>12</sup> The law had been in the making, but the most vigorous debate, passing and assent to it happened just in time to use the law against civil society organisations in the 2016 elections. At the time the law was introduced and debated, several NGOs: Advocates Coalition for Development and Environment (ACODE), The Citizens Election Observers Network Uganda (CEON-U), and the Greatlakes Institute for Strategic Studies (GLISS) had been very active in attempts at having a single opposition candidate to take on the NRM candidate, Yoweri Museveni. The organisations led to the formation of The Democratic Alliance (TDA) but did not achieve the aim of a single opposition candidate in the end.

In rather vague terms, the NGO Act, under Section 44 (g) – special obligations – provides that NGOs “must be non-partisan and shall not engage in fundraising or campaigning to support or oppose any political party or candidate for an appointive office or elective political office, nor may it propose or register a candidate for elective political office.” The Act also created a watch dog for NGOs – the NGO bureau – under Section 5 and gave it special powers to monitor the activities of NGOs, and grant or deny them operating permits. It further created District Non-Governmental Monitoring Committees (DNGMC), and Subcounty Non-governmental Organisation Monitoring Committees (SNMC), adding more layers to the regulation and reporting requirements of NGOs. On September 20, 2017, the police and army raided the offices of Action Aid Uganda and GLISS on allegations that they were engaged in “activities to cause political instability”. At the time, the debate on the removal of presidential age limits that would remove the age limit to allow President Museveni who had clocked 75 years, to run again in 2021, was in high gear. The Act was used to block the accounts of the NGOs and effectively ground their operations to a halt.

Months before the 2021 elections, on August 20 that year, the NGO bureau wrote to fifty-four organisations stopping their operations. Key among the organisations were GLISS,

12 See: <https://mia.go.ug/sites/default/files/resources/The-Non-Governmental-Organisations-Act-2016.pdf>

and Chapter Four Uganda.<sup>13</sup> In the weeks leading to that election, Chapter Four founder and Executive Director, Nicholas Opiyo, was arrested on charges of money laundering<sup>14</sup> which were later dropped months after the elections and didn't proceed.<sup>15</sup> In the course of the 2021 elections, the police raided Hotel Africana in Kampala and arrested several NGO leaders and staff who were there on an observer mission about the elections.<sup>16</sup>

The 2026 election was not different. On December 30, 2025, less than two weeks to the elections, Sarah Bireete, the executive director of Centre for Constitutional Governance was arrested from her home, detained, and later charged with unlawfully obtaining or disclosing personal data at Buganda Road Court. The data in question, according to the prosecution's case, is voters' information. She was released on bail after the elections. In addition to this, several local and international NGOs said they applied for election observation permits but were denied the same without response from the Electoral Commission. These include the National Election Watch Uganda (NEW-U) and the Centre for Constitutional Governance (CCG).

Two days to the presidential election, ten civil society organisations: Centre for Constitutional Governance, Chapter Four Uganda, Uganda National NGO Forum, African Centre for Treatment and Rehabilitation of Torture Victims (ACTV), the Network of Public Interest Lawyers (NETPIL), the National Coalition of Human Rights Defenders Uganda, Alliance for Finance Monitoring, African Centre for Media Excellence, the Human Rights Network for Journalists, and Agora Centre for Research received letters from the NGO bureau informing them that their operations were suspended pending investigations. The letter said the organisations' licenses were suspended on "allegations that they were engaging in activities prejudicial to the security and laws of Uganda" without divulging further details. To this day, there is no communication from the NGO Bureau on the progress of the investigations, or a letter lifting the suspensions. The bank accounts of these organizations were also frozen.

## e) Internet shutdown

In the 2016 and 2021 elections, the government of Uganda shutdown social media and the internet respectively. As such, most people believed that the internet would be shut

13 See: <https://www.article19.org/resources/uganda-stop-intimidating-ngos/#:~:text=ARTICLE%2019%20is%20concerned%20by,of%20the%20suspended%20NGOs%20dispute>.

14 See: <https://www.frontlinedefenders.org/en/case/arrest-advocate-nicholas-opiyo-and-four-colleagues>

15 See: <https://www.lawyersforlawyers.org/uganda-drops-money-laundering-charges-against-nicholas-opiyo/>

16 See: <https://www.monitor.co.ug/uganda/news/national/police-raid-hotel-africana-scores-arrested-over-illegal-vote-tallying-3257848>

down in the days leading to the 2026 election. On January 5, 2026, the government, through the Ministry of ICT and National Guidance and the Uganda Communications Commission (UCC) dismissed these fears as “misinformation and disinformation”, saying that there was no plan to shut down the internet during the elections. When she addressed the press on the issue, the ministry’s permanent secretary ministry warned against such disinformation.<sup>17</sup> However, in a memo dated December 19, Uganda Revenue Authority (URA) wrote to customs control to restrict the importation of Starlink to Uganda without the authorisation of the Chief of Defence Forces (CDF). The CDF Muhoozi Kainerugaba is President Museveni’s son. This came at a time when many people had thought they would use Starlink as an alternative if the internet was shut down.<sup>18</sup> The government went further and wrote to Starlink – which complied – to block all users of Starlink in the country.<sup>19</sup> For many, the writing was on the wall that the government wanted the elections conducted in an environment of total internet blackout.

Seven days later, on January 13, a memo from UCC said that the government had instructed Internet Service Providers (ISPs) in Uganda to shut down the internet at 6 pm local time on that day. It came to pass that at 6 pm on January 13, the internet was shut down and the country sent into a near-total nationwide internet black out with a few exceptions like government departments. In addition to the internet shut down, there were interruptions with mobile money services, and even some attempts to block any use of Virtual Private Networks (VPNs) to access the internet. The government, through UCC, warned people using VPNs at the time that they would be tracked down and punished. In their statement issued after the elections, the East African Community Election Observation Mission noted that the internet black out “had a direct impact on the compilation and analysis of field reports” which made their work – and that of other observers presumably – very difficult.<sup>20</sup>

With the blackout in place, cases of human rights violations, such as extrajudicial killings, disappearances, arrests, brutality, and torture also went up. As reported above, these cases were widespread especially in parts of Buganda, and yet it was hard to verify the reports in real time without the internet.

17 See: <https://ict.go.ug/media/news/government-clarifies-position-on-internet-access-during-the-election-period>

18 See: <https://www.monitor.co.ug/uganda/news/national/uganda-restricts-importation-of-starlink-devices-ahead-of-polls-5305826#story>

19 See: <https://www.citizen.digital/article/starlink-blocks-ugandan-users-after-governments-request-n375272>

20 See: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hPTbra05YNI>

## f) Stay away from the polling station orders

One of the main controversies around the 2026 election was whether or not voters could stay at the polling station after casting their ballots. Legally, Sections 31 (4) and 30 (4) of the Presidential Elections Act, and Parliamentary Elections Act respectively provide that voters who cast their ballot may stay at least 20-meters away from the polling booth. However, in an address to the press, the Electoral Commission Chairperson, Justice Simon Byabakama called on voters, once done with casting their ballot, to leave the polling station immediately. These orders were repeated by the CDF Kainerugaba and many other army officers. The police and army acted on these statements, in total disregard of the law and “advised” people to leave the polling stations immediately with NTV running a story wherein, an army officer in Gulu said those who stay at the polling station “may be shot”. Even then, there was no serious clarification from the government on the issue, and in the end, it is one of the reasons perhaps many voters decided to stay away altogether leading to the voter apathy and the reason many were brutalized (some killed) and arrested at polling stations.





In light of the foregoing, we recommend the following measures be taken ensure accountability and observance of human rights in future elections.

## 1 - Keep the Army out of National Elections

Article 208 (2) of the Constitution states that the UPDF must be nonpartisan, and professional, and disciplined. However, the army completely disregarded this, with several senior officers of the UPDF – especially the Chief of Defence Forces – openly declaring their loyalty to the incumbent president and the ruling party. They went further to threaten members of the opposition especially the NUP. In the end, many of the violations such as the kidnaps, abductions and killings were directly attributable to the army going against this provision of the law.

## 2 - Arrests should be conducted by the police as part of their mandate to keep law and order

The 2026 election was filled with cases of armed forces openly targeting the opposition and making unlawful arrests. The constitutional mandate of the Uganda Police Force is to keep law and order. The army, which should be dealing with external enemies of the state is always in the habit of usurping the police's role in total disregard of the law on arrest.

## 3 - The Independent Electoral Commission, Uganda Communications Commission (UCC), the NGO Bureau must adhere to the law in the exercise of their mandates

Throughout the 2026 election period, the Electoral Commission, UCC, NGO Bureau and other agencies of government acted like parties with vested interest against the opposition and Ugandans with a divergent view. This led to threats against media houses that covered opposition activities by UCC, the internet shutdown, and created an environment that generally made it impossible for the opposition to fairly compete. For their part, the NGO bureau closed ten CSOs without any fair hearing or right of reply given to them. In relation to the Electoral Commission, the chairperson made statements about voters staying away from polling stations that was taken up by the army and used in a way that directly interfered with the freedom of voters and transparency of the process. In future, these bodies should play their role independently and follow the law.

## 4 - The judiciary must assert its role in ensuring independent, impartial and speedy trials

The 2026 election saw a number of politically motivated charges brought against members of the opposition who, in some cases, were abducted, tortured and held incommunicado for days. In cases where the applications of habeas corpus were made, state agents lied on oath and denied having these individuals in their custody but later produced them in court without any explanation or accountability. Most of these people were produced before judicial officers who went ahead to remand them, despite the flouting of due process, the torture subjected to them and denied them bail without a justifiable reason. This clearly erodes the independence of the judiciary and public confidence in it and is contravenes many provisions including provisions of the constitution; article 21, 23, 24, 28 and 44, among others. It also contravenes section 11 (2)(a) and (b) of the Human Rights Enforcement Act, 2019 which stipulates.

***“Whenever, in any criminal proceeding, a) it appears to the judge or magistrate presiding over a trial, or (b) it is brought to the attention of the competent court – that any of the accused person’s non-derogable rights and freedoms have been infringed upon, the judge or magistrate presiding over the trial shall declare the trial a nullity and acquit the accused person.”***

The judiciary needs to assert its role in ensuring independent, speedy and fair trials for Ugandans by sticking to the principles of justice as stipulated under the international laws it is subject to, the 1995 Constitution of Uganda and other laws like the Human Rights Enforcement Act, 2019 to ensure that such people whose fundamental rights are abused are not remanded but given their freedom as should be the case and perpetrators punished.

## 5 - Election Observation should be treated as a process not an event

While many countries and missions sent observer teams for Uganda’s 2026 election, it is unlikely that they captured the full extent of the disregard of the law, given their time of arrival. In future, Observer Missions should look at elections beyond the voting days and the few days leading to it. That way, the violations and breaches that happen well before the few days to election and election day will be well captured.

## 6 - Amendment of the law

There is a need to amend different laws especially the Presidential Elections Act. We noted that one of the issues that keeps on coming up every election is on the privileges of incumbency. It is hard to draw a line between an incumbent president while performing his duty as an officer holder and a presidential candidate. Often the president has abused this and taken advantage of the same to the disadvantage of other candidates. For example, while on his country tours under the different government programs such as PDM and Emyooga, President Museveni tactically campaigned way before campaigns started. To give a level playing field, the incumbent should step down at least 6 months before elections.

## 7 - Effective inclusion of PWDs

To effectively include PWDs in the electoral process, there is a need to address barriers limiting their participation. The Electoral Commission should collaborate with the National Union for Persons with Disabilities (NUDIPU) on the election of PWDs. There is also a need to abolish the electoral college and adopt the regional system that is used by youths. Under this system, each region will elect their representatives. This will minimize on the resources spent by PWD candidates while traversing the whole country campaigning.

## 8 - Participation of Prisoners

Considering the 2020 decision of Steven Kalali versus Attorney General and Electoral Commission<sup>21</sup>, prisoners and Ugandans leaving in diaspora should be effectively facilitated to enable them to participate in elections.

## 9 - Increase time for filing presidential election petitions

In the 2016 presidential election petition, Amama Mbabazi vs Museveni and others<sup>22</sup>, the Supreme Court recommended the 10-day period for filing presidential election petitions under Article 104 (2) and (3) of the 1995 Constitution and Section 59 (2) and (3) of the Presidential Elections Act is rather short and recommended an increase to 60 days. This recommendation has never been adopted, a decade later and yet it would tremendously improve the conduct of elections in the country.

21 (Miscellaneous Cause No. 35 of 2018) [2020] UGHCCD 172 (17 June 2020).

22 Supreme Court of Uganda, Presidential Election Petition No. 01 of 2016.

## 10 - Legal and Policy Framework for Use of Technology

On the day of election, several areas reported a malfunction of the Biometric Voter Verification Kit (BVVK) that was supposed to be a key technology in the conduct of elections. This delayed the process for several hours in some areas with the electoral commission later issuing a verbal statement that voting should proceed without them. In the Amama Mbabazi case quoted above, the Supreme Court recommended that a law be passed for the use and regulation of such technologies in the conduct of elections. That recommendation remains relevant.

## 11 - Equal use of State-Owned Media

During the 2026 presidential campaigns, there were claims of the Uganda Broadcasting Corporation (UBC), and other state media not giving Bobi Wine adequate time and negatively covering him when they did. During one of Bobi campaign rallies, the crowd ordered a UBC journalist to leave over this alleged bias.<sup>23</sup> In light with another recommendation from the Mbabazi case, the electoral laws, especially Article 67 (3) and Section 24 (1) of the Presidential Elections Act should be amended to punish state owned media houses that do not give adequate time to all candidates.

## 12 - Involvement of Public Officials in Campaigns should be punished

Finally, in line with the recommendations in Amama Mbabazi's case, the law should be amended to explicitly prohibit public servants from involvement in the political campaigns. During the 2026 electoral period, many public servants, especially Resident District Commissioners, were accused of using their offices to campaign for the incumbent president. Unless this changes, Uganda cannot have free and fair elections given the process does not provide a level playing field for the opposition against the incumbent.



23 See: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wc4fCrThwXc>



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