RADICAL NEW BAR

UGANDA LAW SOCIETY

EXECUTIVE ORDER RNB NO. 7 OF 2026

CHIEF JUSTICE DR. FLAVIAN ZEIJA DESIGNATED AS A GLOBAL JUDICIAL PARIAH AND A THREAT TO THE RULE OF LAW IN UGANDA

RECALLING that the Uganda Law Society (ULS) has consistently defended and promoted the foundational principles of constitutionalism, judicial independence, and the rule of law as essential pillars of a just, free and democratic society;

RECALLING FURTHER that, in line with Executive Order RNB No. 2 of 2024 and Executive Order RNB No. 5 of 2025, the Radical New Bar has pledged to pursue progressive reforms within the legal profession, to establish robust judicial accountability mechanisms, and to disengage from any processes that compromise or undermine judicial integrity;

AWARE THAT the ULS, in its public statement issued on 23 January 2026 and entitled "Flavian Zeija's Chief Justice Appointment: A Recipe for Disaster," expressly cautioned that the accelerated and irregular elevation of Dr. Zeija to the position of Chief Justice heightens risks of political interference in the judiciary, increases vulnerabilities to corruption, and hastens the overall decline of judicial independence;

COGNIZANT THAT Chief Justice Zeija's initial actions upon assuming leadership of the judiciary included the deliberate exclusion of ULS leadership from the Ceremonial Opening of the New Law Year on 5 February 2026, thereby perpetuating a pattern of hostility towards an autonomous Bar; and this echoes his earlier conduct while serving as Deputy Chief Justice, as evidenced by his letter dated 7 July 2025 in which he acknowledged directing the removal of four significant ULS appeals from the Court of Appeal cause-list and imposing an administrative prohibition on scheduling ULS-related matters "as long as I still have the breath to head the Court of Appeal," thereby obstructing the adjudication of Constitutional Petition 12 of 2025 and related applications challenging aspects of the judicial appointment process—from which he personally derived direct benefit;

MINDFUL THAT during his address at the Judiciary's Ceremonial Opening of the New Law Year on 5 February 2026, Chief Justice Zeija issued threats of "ruthless" measures against individuals expressing criticism online, thereby revealing an unwillingness to accept legitimate public oversight and suggesting a preference for alignment with executive authority rather than the impartial administration of justice;

CONCERNED THAT such conduct collectively reflects an unacceptable facilitation of executive and legislative overreach, a persistent silence in the face of documented human rights violations, and a refusal to acknowledge or denounce the extent to which Uganda's judiciary has become subject to external capture and influence;

RECOGNIZING the grossly illegitimate and non-transparent nature of the appointment process itself, which proceeded in a shadowy and hurried fashion without disclosure of applicants, shortlisting criteria, recommendations from the Judicial Service Commission (JSC), or opportunities for public participation; noting further that the JSC was irregularly constituted due to the absence of ULS representatives, rendering the entire process profoundly defective, discrediting the judiciary as an institution, and severely eroding the public trust and confidence indispensable to the effective delivery of justice;

BEING CONVINCED that this flawed process has irreparably compromised judicial independence and the doctrine of separation of powers, effectively transforming the judiciary into an appendage tainted by the illegitimacy afflicting the executive and legislative branches, thereby disabling it from serving as an effective counterbalance to abuses of power and instead enabling the consolidation of executive dominance and the spectre of military rule;

NOTING WITH GRAVE CONCERN—as highlighted in part by Dr Busingye Kabumba in his valedictory contribution as columnist for *The Observer* on 12 February 2026—the symbolic and substantive dimensions of alignment with illegitimate authority, exemplified by the swearing-in ceremony conducted at the President's private farm in Kisozi rather than at an official venue such as State House, the President's hailing of the appointment unmistakably as "judicial convergence" meaning "executive-aligned stability", as well as the timing of the appointment amid a deeply flawed 2026 electoral cycle marred by violence, impunity, arbitrary arrests, and military involvement—parallels that recall historically discredited judicial appointments and signal complicity in sustaining an illegitimate regime, contrary to the ethical obligations incumbent upon jurists;

FURTHER AWARE that early decisions under Chief Justice Zeija's leadership—including the rapid constitution of a Supreme Court panel to handle a nominal presidential election petition (subsequently withdrawn, thereby facilitating the President's swearing-in) and the pursuit of criminal prosecutions against critics such as Male Mabirizi on charges of disseminating "malicious information" and "hate speech" directed at Zeija—combined with the ongoing exclusion of the ULS from key judicial events, collectively indicate a judiciary oriented toward suppressing dissent, imposing pre-trial hardships, perpetuating impunity, and advancing executive objectives rather than safeguarding constitutional rights and preserving institutional integrity;

EMPHASIZING that numerous legitimate grievances from members of the Bench, the Bar, and the wider public—grievances that a genuinely transparent appointment process with meaningful public participation could have surfaced and addressed—remain unventilated due to the absence of accountable governmental institutions capable of providing effective remedies;

CONVINCED THEREFORE that, in the current absence of transparent and accountability-driven state institutions where such concerns can be meaningfully adjudicated with real consequences, the imposition of high-impact, targeted Bar-led sanctions represents a necessary and proportionate measure to make complicity in the erosion of the rule of law unsustainable;

NOW, THEREFORE, BY THE AUTHORITY VESTED IN THE ULS GOVERNING COUNCIL under Articles 3, 29, 38 and 126 of the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda and Sections 3 and 10 of the Uganda Law Society Act, **WE DECREE AS FOLLOWS:**

ARTICLE I: GLOBAL JUDICIAL PARIAH DESIGNATION

Effective immediately, Dr. Flavian Zeija, Chief Justice of Uganda, is hereby declared a **Global Judicial Pariah** and an active threat to the rule of law in Uganda.

This designation shall remain in force until there is clear, verifiable, and independent restoration of judicial autonomy and impartiality in the Ugandan judiciary.

ARTICLE II: COMPREHENSIVE SANCTIONS AND RESPONSE FRAMEWORK

1. **Domestic Bar Actions**

Members and allies of the Uganda Law Society (ULS) shall adopt and maintain the following measures indefinitely:

a. Institute a policy of **perpetual "Zero Engagement"**: boycott all non-compulsory ceremonial, consultative, or collaborative engagements with Chief Justice Zeija or his direct office. No appearances before him in non-mandatory matters.

b. Publicly characterise any interaction with Chief Justice Zeija as conferring legitimacy on judicial capture in all local and international forums.

c. File parallel affidavits or formal notices in relevant proceedings highlighting documented conflicts of interest and impartiality concerns regarding Chief Justice Zeija.

d. Contribute to and support the production of **ULS Rule of Law Reports and Annual Shadow State of the Judiciary Reports,** which shall systematically contrast Chief Justice Zeija's tenure and judicial conduct against constitutional standards and benchmarks. These reports shall be disseminated nationally and internationally.

2. **International Advocacy and Diplomatic Isolation**

ULS members and allies shall:

a. Immediately and persistently petition the following bodies for urgent scrutiny of Chief Justice Zeija and broader threats to judicial independence in Uganda:
- UN Special Rapporteur on the Independence of Judges and Lawyers
- African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights
- International Bar Association
- East Africa Law Society
- Relevant foreign bar associations

b. Request formal notation of Chief Justice Zeija's record and reputation by:
- Commonwealth Magistrates and Judges Association
- East African Magistrates and Judges Association
- International Commission of Jurists
- Africa Judges and Jurists Forum (AJJF)
- International mediation and arbitration bodies

c. Advocate for the inclusion of Chief Justice Zeija on international judicial integrity watchlists and for the imposition of visa restrictions or travel bans in jurisdictions that prioritise judicial independence.

d. Lodge complaints, amicus curiae interventions, or supporting submissions before:

- International Criminal Court
- African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights
- East African Court of Justice
- Other competent regional and international tribunals

highlighting systemic complicity risks within the Ugandan justice system under Chief Justice Zeija's leadership.

3. Digital Accountability Campaign

3.1 Zeija Accountability Dossier

The ULS shall establish and maintain a publicly accessible, evidence-based **"Zeija Accountability Dossier"** hosted on uls.or.ug and mirrored on allied platforms. The dossier shall permanently archive statements, silences, decisions, and credible criticisms concerning Chief Justice Zeija for global reference.

3.2 Social and Public Accountability Measures

ULS members and allies shall:

a. Participate in coordinated, evidence-driven social media and public awareness campaigns, tagging diplomatic missions, international legal organisations, and global rule-of-law bodies to emphasise that no credible rule of law exists under Chief Justice Zeija's leadership and to highlight attendant complicity risks.

b. Promote ethical suspicion and rigorous public scrutiny of every judicial ruling, appointment, administrative decision, or inaction issued or taken under Chief Justice Zeija's superintendence.

ARTICLE III: WHISTLEBLOWER PROTECTION AND REWARD PROTOCOL

The ULS Council and its allies shall implement and maintain:

a. A secure, anonymous, encrypted reporting channel (e.g., dedicated ULS whistleblower portal) for submission of evidence of impeachable conduct by Chief Justice Zeija, including but not limited to bias, corruption, facilitation of human rights violations, and executive interference.

b. Financial rewards and legal aid stipends for submissions that are independently verified and lead to formal complaints, petitions, or escalations to the Judicial Service Commission, Parliament, or international oversight bodies.

c. Comprehensive whistleblower protections, which may include:
- Pro bono legal representation
- Referrals for international asylum where credible threats exist
- Public solidarity campaigns
- Procurement of non-retaliation assurances

d. Clear guidance and processing protocols: All submissions received through ULS channels shall benefit from a good-faith presumption, followed by thorough internal investigation and independent corroboration. Credible claims shall be escalated to the Cabinet, Parliament, Judicial Service Commission, and relevant global watchdogs. The whistleblower programme shall undergo an annual independent audit to assess impact, effectiveness, and risk mitigation.

ARTICLE IV: ETERNAL VIGILANCE MANDATE

All stakeholders—including lawyers, civil society organisations, media practitioners, and citizens—are called upon to maintain permanent, evidence-based scrutiny and suspicion towards Chief Justice Zeija, the Ugandan Judiciary, and other captured institutions.

The ULS shall regularly conduct public and professional education programmes to equip both legal professionals and ordinary citizens with the knowledge and tools to identify and document signs of judicial capture in rulings, statements, appointments, or institutional inaction.

ARTICLE V: IMPLEMENTATION

a. This Executive Order takes effect immediately. All ULS members and allies, in consultation with the ULS Secretariat, shall take necessary steps to implement and strengthen its provisions.

b. The Order shall automatically renew each year unless judicial independence is demonstrably and verifiably restored through transparent, non-partisan, and irreversible reforms.

c. Implementation shall be carried out in a manner consistent with applicable law and subject to the availability of resources.

ARTICLE VI: PUBLICATION

This Executive Order shall be published forthwith on the official ULS website (uls.or.ug) and disseminated via official email, social media platforms, and other communication channels to all ULS members, stakeholders, and allies.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, we have hereunto set our hands at ULS House, Kololo, and caused the seal of the Uganda Law Society to be affixed this **13th day of February, 2026.**

Isaac K. Ssemakadde, S.C.
President, Uganda Law Society



Ssali Babu
Ag. Secretary, Uganda Law Society