Student Power in Africa's Higher Education

A Case of Makerere University

Frederick Kamuhanda Byaruhanga

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To the Memory
of
My parents
Mr. Paschal Kamuhanda (1924–2002) &
Mrs. Catherine Kamuhanda (1934–2003)

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List of Acronyms & Abbreviations

AMSA	Acholi Makerere Student Association
BLIS	Bachelor of Library and Information Science
CMC	Common Man's Charter
CMS	Church Missionary Society
CP	Conservative Party
CPS	Central Police Station
DP	Democratic Party
EC	Electoral Commission
FHRI	Foundation for Human Rights
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/ Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KCC	Kampala City Council
KISA	Bunyoro Kitara Student Association
KY	Kabaka Yekka
LASO	Lango Student Association
MAK	Makerere University
MESA	Makerere University Medical Students Association
MTA	Metropolitan Transport Authority
MUASA	Makerere University Academic Staff Association

MUK	Makerere University Kampala
MUKISA	Makerere University Kiboga Students Association
MULSA	Makerere University Luwero Students Association
MUMSA	Makerere University Masindi Students Association
MUSA	Makerere University Statistics Association
MUVA	Makerere University Veterinary Association
NRM/A	National Resistance Movement/Army
NUSU	National Union of Students of Uganda
PSU	Public Safety Unit
SAP	Structural Adjustment Policies
SAREC	Swedish Agency for Research and Cooperation with Developing Countries
SASO	South African Students Organization
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SRB	State Research Bureau
TEA	Teachers for East Africa
TPDA	Tanzania People's Defense Army
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
ULS	Uganda Law Society
UNC	Uganda National Congress
UNLF/A	Uganda National Liberation Front/Army
UNSA	Uganda National Students Association
UPC	Uganda People's Congress
UPM	Uganda People's Movement
UPU	Uganda People's Union
US	United States
USEAA	University Students of East Africa Association
Ush	Uganda Shillings

VP	Vice-President
WB	World Bank
WBS	Wava Broadcasting Service

Foreword

This remarkable book underscores Margaret Mead's observation, "Never doubt that a small group of concerned people can change the world. Indeed it's the only thing that ever has." In this book, Dr. Byaruhanga, crafts a story of great significance for Uganda, but also for every other nation in the world. It is a story of 41 men and women who were once student leaders at Makerere University and who went on to reshape higher education and the country.

Dr. Byaruhanga describes the first student protest in 1952, a conflict that erupted over the seemingly innocuous issue of the quality of food, and then goes forward through the next 53 years and 17 student uprisings. From interviews with former student leaders, Dr. Byaruhanga shows how they learned to take power from repressive authorities and use it to make Makerere University—and other universities that they would influence—more responsive to students and to society. Dr. Byaruhanga traces the influence of these former student activists from the university to leading Uganda out of its anti-colonial consciousness to a new Pan African identity, and ultimately independence.

As one who for many years identified Uganda with the bloody rein of the dictator Idi Amin, I found this book to be one of immense hope. Dr. Byaruhanga takes Makerere University—and Uganda—out from Amin's shadow and shows it as part of a world-wide pattern of student activism, change and hopefulness.

For four years, Dr. Byaruhanga shuttled back and forth between libraries in the United States, England, and Uganda where he painstakingly pieced together data from original documents. He brings his keen analysis of these documents alive with the voices of the men and women whom he was able to find and interview. Most of them have now ascended to the highest positions in the country as members of parliament, cabinet officers, and

bank presidents where they can exercise influence in positive social directions. One cannot help but be struck by the courage of these individuals who faced dire consequences for their actions as students. It is a reminder that gaining freedom from oppression is never without great cost.

This is a thoroughly documented, original, and thought provoking book. It is also an enjoyable read. Dr. Byaruhanga writes with a gentleness and respect for his country and its people that serves his message of hope. The book is sure to have a significant impact on higher education and well beyond.

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Preface

Students around the world have played a significant role in transforming the university and to a certain degree, society. They have been among the groups most responsive to changing conditions and taking center stage in advocating social transformation. It, therefore, becomes quite evident that education has, and continues to be, at the forefront of the modern power struggles.

Examples of the impact of student power (activism) on university transformation in various countries include curricular reforms, structural changes that resulted in the inclusion of students in the echelons of university governance, and various social reforms.

On the political front, students have often taken center stage in sociopolitical transformation. Examples are numerous; these include, but are not limited to, students' success in mobilizing popular support in the French and Austrian revolutions of 1848; revolutionary movements in Russia; student participation in the civil rights movement in the United States; student agency in forcing government reforms in China and South Korea; and student leadership in bringing about often revolutionary change in South Africa, Ethiopia, Burma, Indonesia, Argentina, and Uruguay. In more extreme cases, they even helped to bring down governments. Examples include the Marcos Jimenez government in Venezuela in 1958; the Nobusuke Kishi government in Japan in 1960; the Adnan Menderes government in Turkey in 1960; the Syngman Rhee government in South Korea in 1960; the Victor Estenssoro government in Bolivia in 1964; the Emperor Haile Selassie government in Ethiopia in 1974; the Bokassa regime of Central African Republic in 1979; and, most recently, the Suharto government in Indonesia in 1998.

Uganda is largely ignored in this literature. Despite this silence, Makerere University students played a significant role not only in bringing about change in the education process but also, under severe repression, in attempting to challenge successive governments' policies.

This book highlights the history of student activism and its role in shaping Uganda's higher education by analyzing critical incidents, specifically, protests and demonstrations staged by Makerere University students between 1950 and 2005. The purpose is to underscore the role of student activism via a historical analysis of the incidents: what caused them, what triggered them, who organized them, how the university administration and the government responded to them, and what changes occurred at the university following these crises. And since student activism at Makerere has tended to develop along the country's political and social changes, the book also highlights its influence on society. The years between 1950 and 2005 are of great significance: 1952 is the year when the first recorded major student strike (against the quality of food) took place; and 2005 is when the last protest (examination re-take fee) occurred. To better capture the story and the issues related to student protest, the book includes eyewitness accounts provided by a select sample of past and present student leaders and activists. These individuals tell their story, in their own words, as they remember the critical events that occurred in their presence.

Higher education researchers interested in research on students have tended to focus more on the impact of college on students. A plethora of research exists that tells us about the impact of college on students' intellectual, moral, social, political and psychological development, but little is known about how students affect college. Yet the centrality of students in the academic process remains indispensable; as Altbach, (1993) admits, "they [students] are the defining characteristic of higher education: without them, colleges and universities would be only research institutes or faculty clubs" (p. 203).

Studies have been done on student movements, student activism, and, to an extent, student culture and attitudes; but they have focused mainly on industrialized nations and less on developing countries.

This book seeks to make an original contribution by analyzing, in a historical context, the place of student activism in non-Western settings, particularly in Uganda.

In Uganda's higher education, little is known about both the impact of college on students and vice versa. Perhaps this paucity of research can be explained by the fact that in Uganda, as in many other African countries, higher education has not been fully recognized as a field of study in its own right, and has, therefore, not been considered a crucial target for government research funding.

The dearth of research may also be explained by many funding agencies' shift of funding priority (especially in the 1990s), to basic education—the

foundation for literacy—thus leaving higher education deficient of resources and highly dependent on governments, whose economies were already feeble.

This book, the first of its kind in the history of Uganda's higher education, underscores the need for higher education research, establishes a narrative chronology of student protests at Makerere University and highlights, via historical analysis, the impact of student activism on Uganda's higher education system and society.

Obviously, the book makes no attempt to cover the entire tapestry of student politics at Makerere University, given their breadth and the fact that they have always reflected the political intricacies of the government in power. By way of delimitation, the book employs a critical incident approach. This crisis methodology focuses on major critical incidents of student protestation. Although selective, the approach was found to be richly informative because people's beliefs and values tend to be manifested more profoundly in a crisis situation.

In this light, student activism is generally understood to denote the individual or collective student voice in demand for social change. Some scholars have used the term interchangeably with student protest, student revolt, student rebellion, student politics, student movement, and student unrest. This book simply defines student activism as an external manifestation of students' needs and socio-political values. Student power, therefore, constitutes the impact of student activism.

ORGANIZATION OF THE BOOK

The book is organized as follows: Chapter One provides a brief summary of Uganda's history in order to position student activism within the country's history and its socio-political life. Chapter Two recapitulates the history of Uganda's education systems. Chapter Three briefly discusses the concept of student activism and its international manifestation. The next six chapters (Chapters Four through Nine) narrate the story of student protest at Makerere, following a generational approach, beginning with the 1950s generation of students (Chapter Four), and followed by the 1960s generation (Chapter Five), the 1970s generation (Chapter Six), the 1980s generation (Chapter Seven), the 1990s generation (Chapter Eight) and the 2000s generation (Chapter Nine). At the end of each of these six chapters is an interpretive reflection on events. Chapter Ten summarizes the impact of student power on the university and society. The final chapter (Eleven) draws some conclusions and discusses the book's implication of higher education research and policy.

About the Author

Frederick Kamuhanda Byaruhanga is a lecturer at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), Education Department. He holds a PhD degree in Higher Education from UCLA, and Master's degrees in School Administration and Counseling from Loyola Marymount University, Los Angeles. Dr. Byaruhanga is the author of *Higher Education in sub-Saharan Africa and the Labyrinth of Dependency: Who will Unravel the Threads?*

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To have been a member of the University of California, Los Angeles Department of Education scholarly community was an inestimable opportunity. I owe a great deal to my professors and colleagues who offered unreserved support to my academic growth during my graduate schooling, and particularly in shaping my thinking on this book. I owe my deepest gratitude to my advisor and mentor, Professor Wellford Wilms for his inspiring wisdom and generous intellectual commitment, not withstanding his benevolent offer to foreword this book. I cannot forget Professors Edward Alpers, John Hawkins and Alexander Astin, whose scholarly contributions also were invaluable and crucial for this book's progress and completion. I feel privileged and highly honored to have shared the wisdom of these world renowned and esteemed scholars.

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With profound gratitude, I would like to acknowledge the forty-one individuals located in Uganda, the United States, and Canada who offered their precious time and wisdom to participate in the study as interview subjects, and whose contribution was indispensable to its success.

While conducting research many other people contributed in no small way towards the study's progress. However, I feel that certain individuals

deserve special mention for their kindness and assistance. Among them is Dr. Daniel Babigumira of Makerere University who inspired and supported me to pursue graduate studies and was very instrumental to my gaining access to Makerere University. Dr. Carol Sicherman who so generously shared her wealth of information about Makerere University and Uganda in general. I also want to thank Ms. Dinah Muhangi at Uganda Parliament who was tireless in identifying and contacting potential interview subjects, the majority of whom are members of parliament. Gaining access to these important people would have been very difficult without her help. My special thanks to Dr. Jiliet Kiguli of Makerere University for her gracious offer to proofread the manuscript. She provided precise and crucial feedback. To Mr. Godfrey Kigozi, the archivist at Makerere University library and his team of researchers, who spent countless hours searching all kinds of historical documents, I'm very grateful.

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Last, but obviously not least, I want to express my most heartfelt love and gratitude to my family: My dear parents Mr. & Mrs. Paschal and Catherine Kamuhanda who passed away during the course of my research for this book. I owe everything to them. May they rest in peace. I'm also grateful to Mrs. Virginia Dodt and her late husband Mr. Tom Dodt who copiously opened their home and family to me and continue to be a great source of encouragement and love. And my brothers and sisters in Uganda and here in the United States. Their love and support remain invaluable.

Chapter One

Uganda: An Historiographic Summary

This chapter provides a brief summary of Uganda's political history, highlighting the different waves of transition across time. Since campus politics has been for the most part rooted in the country's political manifestation, understanding such manifestations helps to provide a backdrop for the phenomenon of student activism.

PRE-COLONIAL SOCIETY

The pre-colonial setting of what, after the delineation of the present boundaries, came to be known as Uganda, was a tapestry of about 30 different independent ethnic communities. Scholars have categorized these communities into four linguistic strands:

a) The Bantu-speaking, covering the southern one-half of the country, and including the following tribes: Baganda, Basoga, Banyankole, Bakiga, Batooro, Banyoro, and Bagisu.
b) The Nilotic-speaking, covering the northern and eastern parts, comprising the Acholi, Langi, Alur and Jonam, Jophadola tribes.
c) The Sudanic-speaking, found mainly in the northwest, and comprising Lugbara, Madi, and Kakwa.
d) The Nilotic speaking, located in the eastern and northeastern areas, and consisting of the Karamajong, the Jie and the Iteso (Karugire, S. R. 1980; Ofscansky, T.O. 1996; Gakwandi, A. (Ed), 1999; & Mugaju, J. (Ed) 1999).

Their political organization was varied: Some ethnic groups, especially, the Baganda, the Banyoro, the Batooro as well as the Banyankole, lived under a centralized, monarchic style of political governance. The king

was the head of the organization and the different constituencies within the kingdom played various roles.

Other communities were organized under small chiefdoms and principalities such as, those found in Bukedi, Bugisu and between the Kiga and Karamajong. Although in all the ethnic groups political leadership was hereditary, non-monarchical power echelons were not characteristically absolute as in the case of, for example, the Buganda monarchy. In some of these communities, especially those in the northern and eastern parts of the country, final decisions were reached after consultations with and approval by the council of elders—a democratic practice that would be absent in a monarchy (Gakwandi (Ed), 1999).

The general economic milieu had two salient elements: agriculture and pastoralism. In agriculture (covering mainly the southern parts) food was produced for both consumption and trade, mainly via the barter (goods for goods) exchange system. Agricultural products would normally include millet and sorghum, and later coffee, maize, and bananas, among others.

Pastoralism, which consisted mainly of peripatetic cattle raising and grazing, was practiced in some parts of the west, mainly in Ankole and Bunyoro as well as in the northern and eastern areas, mainly in Teso. Like in agriculture, the animals were a source of food (meat, milk, and butter) as well as goods for trade exchange. On a smaller scale, and mostly in a domesticated way, other animals, such as sheep and goats, were raised. Poultry too, was part of the domestic source of food and trade.

Other areas of economic engagement, but obviously on a smaller scale, would include fishing, especially on the shores of Lake Victoria and the Nile River, as well as small scale manufacturing, such as iron smelting and boat building. Hunting and arts and crafts were additional strands of the economy.

In the social arena, all the tribes subscribed to the patrilineal [1] lineage system based on the extended family splice. In Buganda, however, royal succession was based on a prince's maternal clan. Respect for elders, especially those in positions of leadership was a *sine qua non*. Values and skills were imparted mainly via informal education to be passed on to the next generation. There were also cross-tribal relationships developed mainly through trade, friendships—not withstanding occasional conflicts, which would result in skirmishes and sometimes open war.

COLONIAL PENETRATION

The proliferation of external influence—colonial, commercial or religious traces its roots in the following: Islamic contact; European exploration and missionary activity; and Egyptian aggressive expansionist agenda.

The first identifiable foreign contact has been traced to a contingent of Arab traders looking for trade opportunities with the King of Buganda, [2] culturally known as Kabaka. They arrived in 1844 under the leadership of Ahmad Bin Ibrahim. Another team is reported to have arrived in 1846 led by Snay Amir (Gakwandi, 1999). While their impact was not identifiably significant, they exposed the Kabaka to the rudiments of the Islamic culture, (which he adopted for a decade), and more importantly, to the effectiveness of the gun as a military weapon. He would find the gun instrumental during his incessant conflict with his enemy and neighbour, the kingdom of Bunyoro (Sefter, 1994. Gakwandi, 1999).

Years later, European explorers in pursuit of the source of the Nile River also came to Uganda. This historical landmark was discovered on Lake Victoria in 1862 by John Speke, and confirmed by Henry Morton Stanley in 1874.

During the same period (the 1860s) Khedive Ismail, the ruler of Egypt developed an expansionist imperial campaign, whose goal was to annex the Nile valley from its mouth in Egypt all the way to its source in Uganda. This was, obviously, a strategic move since the river was a trade route as well as reservoir of such resources as food and water. Most importantly, the Egyptian king was worried that should the Nile valley and its source fall into the hands of one of his enemies, the waters could be diverted, thus delivering Egypt into economic suffocation.

In 1869 Khedive granted Sir Samuel Baker, his Regional Governor of Equatorial Province, (in modern Sudan), the mandate to launch a slave trade blockage campaign in the Great Lakes (Victoria) areas, and to eventually bring them under the Egyptian Empire. Baker annexed Bunyoro in 1872 but his victory was short lived, for Kabalega the king of Bunyoro overran him on June 8, 1872, at the battle of Masindi (Ofcansky, 1996).

Charles Gordon, who succeeded Baker, embarked on the same mission, defined thus: suppress slave trade; create military establishments from Gondokoro to Buganda; annex Buganda; and launch steamers from Lake Albert to Lake Victoria (Ofcansky, 1996). But even his strong persuasive acumen, coupled with military power, would bring neither Bunyoro nor Buganda into submission. King Ismail was compelled to abandon his dream in 1887 when Emin Pasha, the new governor, was decisively defeated during the 1883 Sudanese Mahdist revolt against Egyptian imperialism (Karugire, 1980).

The arrival of Christian missionaries was another fibre of early external influence. Protestant missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, hailing from Britain arrived in 1877. Two years later, (1879) French-born Roman Catholic priests of the order of the White Fathers followed. Given

the well-known and long-time Anglo-French and Catholic-Protestant antipathies in Europe, antagonism was inevitable—a divide that would significantly influence the country's political life even up to today.

The manifestation of Catholic-Protestant animosity occurred almost immediately upon the arrival of the missionaries—fighting for converts and rushing to influence the Kabaka. Initially, the Kabaka (Mutesa) welcomed both groups, but later became suspicious; and by the time of his death in 1884, he had begun to exhibit some distaste. His son Mwanga, who took over as Kabaka was less tolerant and his animosity led to the murder of the Protestant Bishop Hannington, as well as the massacre of 32 Christian converts (Catholic and Protestant) at Namugongo near Kampala in 1886 (Safter, 1994).

It is important to note, however, that although the Christian missionaries were constantly involved in denominational strife—a controversy that was reflected in politics as well, (given British Protestant bias), missionaries as a whole laid the foundations of education and literacy, among other things.

Colonial political penetration per se began when Carl Peters laid claim to parts of Northern Tanganyika as a German sphere of influence while Britain acquired Kenya. The Anglo-German agreement of 1886 officially handed Kenya to the British and Tanganyika to the Germans. Carl Peters then rushed to Buganda and signed a "treaty of protection" with Kabaka Mwanga in 1889. But the Anglo-German agreement of 1890—the Heligoland Treaty, reversed the events ceding Uganda to Britain.

Reluctant to commit itself to the inevitable intricate economic demands, the British government handed the affairs of their new sphere of influence to the Imperial British East Africa Company under Captain Lugard. In 1890 Lugard signed a treaty with Buganda, an agreement that accorded him not only access to the affairs of the kingdom but also the right to intervene whenever the security of the kingdom was at risk. Lugard's might and influence was displayed during the Protestant-Catholic open conflict of 1892. At the battle of Mengo in Kampala, Captain Lugard intervened with his army, but sided with the Protestant party, and the Catholics were defeated. This victory marked the beginning of Protestant ascendancy and dominating presence in Uganda's politics.

Due to financial constraints, Lugard urged the British government to declare Uganda a British Protectorate. Britain sent Sir Gerald Portal in 1893 to carry out a feasibility study; and upon his recommendation, Uganda was declared a British Protectorate on June 18, 1894.

In 1900 the British government signed an agreement with the Kingdom of Buganda, a landmark treaty that came to be the watershed of colonial

expansion. The agreement recognized British sovereignty—its power and prerogative to control the governance of the protectorate without hindrance. In return, the Kabaka of Buganda retained control over Buganda parliament (the Lukiiko), as well as the kingdom at large; and—most significantly for the kingdom—the 1900 agreement recognized its sovereign status as a state independent of the rest of the protectorate.

CENTRIFUGAL PROTECTORATE EXPANSION

The second phase of Britain's colonial influence in Uganda was the outward push to the rest of the country. With the protectorate declared, and having reached the landmark agreement (1900) with Buganda, the question was how to proceed with limited personnel and financial resources. To this end, the colonial government opted for indirect rule, a strategy designed to employ local Baganda agents as auxiliaries in territory acquisition and grassroots governance across the country. Indirect rule was viewed not only as a cost-effective strategy but also as a way of minimizing the image of foreign domination.

Although other ethnic groups attempted to defend their ethnic and territorial identity, and largely resented the Baganda agents, the colonial government was by 1914, able to bring the entire country under its protectorate.

INTERNAL POLITICS

Important as it appeared, the British/Buganda agreement of 1900 was not without detractors. Some among the Local Baganda felt sidelined by the agreement, which in their view, was designed to serve the interests of the Kabaka and his chiefs. In 1920, they formed a political movement called the Bataka Movement. Most crucial among their grievances was the issue of land ownership. The agreement had placed much of the land in the hands of the royal chiefs who made it available to the rest of the population on rental basis.

During the same period, other political movements emerged, some of them outside Buganda. They were formed mainly to enlist the African voice in the protectorate government, a voice that was noticeably absent on the legislative council, which was created in 1921. Its representation was exclusively European and Asian, Ugandans being allowed membership only in 1945 (Saftel, 1994).

As time went by, the Kabaka came to realize that his position and that of his kingdom as an independent entity within Uganda was slowly being cast into the background. The protectorate government began to implement its agenda of creating a government of national unity in which Buganda

would eventually forfeit its special independent federal status for a position as one of the many tribes within the protectorate. In addition, during early 1950s there were discussions on the possibility of forming an East African federation to embrace the three East African countries: Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika. Buganda's government as well as civil society within the rest of the country vehemently resented the idea, decrying the white settler-dominated politics of Kenya.

Buganda's discontent with the protectorate government eventually developed into a crisis when the Kabaka demanded a timeline for Buganda's independence, as well as the transfer of the affairs of the kingdom from the British Colonial Office to its Foreign Office. In addition, he openly rejected the looming idea of an East African federation and issued an ultimatum for the protectorate government to leave Buganda—the location of the central government headquarters.

In 1953, as a response, the Protectorate Governor, Andrew Cohen deposed the Kabaka to London. The absence of the Kabaka in his kingdom created heightened bitterness among the Baganda, resulting in a crisis—a controversy that, eventually, compelled Governor Cohen to return the Kabaka in 1955.

In the rest of the protectorate, nationalistic sentiments were growing despite Buganda's separatist overtones. Ignatius Musaazi, a Muganda, formed the first political party—the Uganda National Congress (UNC) in 1952. Although Musaazi made all the effort to project a national unity agenda, his party was dominated by Baganda-Protestant-educated elite. This sectarian characterization obviously deflected support from the other regions and Catholics. Later, in 1959 a cleavage occurred within the UNC party, leading to the creation of a breakaway faction led by Milton Obote, a non-Muganda hailing from Lango in Northern Uganda.

In 1954 Matayo Mugwanya (a Muganda), formed another party—the Democratic Party (DP), which was dominated by Baganda Catholics. Although the DP was projected as a national political party, its main political strategy was aimed at attenuating the dominant Protestant political presence.

In 1959 William Nadiope, a non-Muganda, formed the Uganda People's Union (UPU) party, whose main agenda was to counteract Buganda monopoly. The following year, the UPU merged with Milton Obote's UNC splinter faction to form the Uganda People's Congress (UPC)—a party that was national in character, but Protestant-dominated (Gakwandi, 1999).

Despite the inevitable move toward national politics, Buganda maintained its intransigence, demanding ever more its separation from the rest of the country. In this vein, the Kabaka declared his opposition to legislative

council elections slated for 1961. But the Protectorate government maintained the election program, which Buganda boycotted.

On December 31 1960, however, the British Colonial Government stated its intention to grant full independence to Uganda. Following this monumental declaration, the legislative council elections took place as planned and Benedicto Kiwanuka's Democratic Party won the elections, defeating Milton Obote's Uganda People's Congress. Kiwanuka then became the head of the Legislative Council and first Prime Minister. From September to October 1961, a conference was held in London to develop a national constitution. The new constitution granted Buganda federal status and the three western kingdoms of Bunyoro, Ankole and Toro semi-federal status (Seftel, 1994).

In 1962 the legislative council was transformed into a unicameral national assembly with 82 elected members, and mandated to prepare for general elections, which took place the same year. This time the Uganda People's Congress formed a coalition with the small exclusively Buganda-based party called Kabaka Yekka (the Kabaka Alone) and won the general election. Milton Obote became Prime Minister, with the Kabaka as president. On March 1, 1962, the country gained full internal self-governance, and Milton Obote in effect, became independent Uganda's first Prime Minister (Ofcansky, 1996).

It is important to note here that, unlike other nations such as Kenya, where independence was achieved through a formidable and sometimes bloody nationalistic struggle, Uganda is one of those African countries whose independence was achieved via a peaceful transition. Nationalistic politics were in many ways hampered by Buganda's separatist and parochial ideology.

IMMEDIATE POST-COLONIAL POLITICAL CLIMATE

The first few years of independence were halcyon ones for the new Prime Minister, Milton Obote, as the country was celebrating self-governance and nursing hopes for a prosperous future. But this political honeymoon was soon over, as Buganda heightened its long-standing demand for independence. Also contentious was the 1961 constitutional assembly's proposal for a referendum due to take place two years after independence. Its purpose was to determine the fate of the "lost counties" of Bugangaizi and Buyaga. These were long disputed territories formerly belonging to Bunyoro (Buganda's long-time enemy) but were ceded to Buganda as a punishment for Kabalega's (King of Bunyoro) rebellious behaviour (Seftel, 1994).

Despite Buganda's bitter protestation, the government went ahead with the referendum, which took place in 1964. As a result, the two counties

were returned to the Kingdom of Bunyoro, a decision that infuriated the Kabaka. A major rift between the Uganda government and the Kingdom of Buganda occurred, resulting in an immediate rupture of the UPC/Kabaka Yekka coalition that had helped Prime Minister Obote to win the 1962 elections, and a political crisis ensued.

THE CRISIS

The political environment within Prime Minister Obote's UPC party was also beginning to manifest some cleavages. Most evident was the growing ideological rift exhibited during the 1964 UPC delegates' conference in the Northern Uganda town of Gulu, when the party's Secretary General—John Kakonge, a known left wing enthusiast, was replaced by Grace Ibingira, a right wing conservative. As well, a potential North-South divide was arising based, especially on the fact that people from northern Uganda (particularly Obote's own tribe, the Langi and their Acholi neighbours) dominated the national army.

The triggering moment, however, occurred in 1966 when the new secretary general and an Obote critic, Grace Ibingira, convened a special cabinet meeting while Obote was on a tour of Northern Uganda. Daudi Ochieng, a Kabaka Yyekka member of parliament, implicated Prime Minister Obote and Deputy Army Commander, Colonel Idi Amin, as well as two other prominent cabinet ministers from the North—Adoko Nekyon and Felix Onama—of involvement in the Congo gold smuggling scandal. He then proposed to suspend Col. Amin from the army as parliament investigated the matter (Gakwandi, 1999; Ofscancy, 1996).

Upon his return, Prime Minister Obote convened a cabinet meeting (February 22) in which he took a radical decision to silence his critics. He arrested five "detracting" ministers (Grace Ibingira, Emmanuel Lumu, George Magezi, Balaki Kirya, and Mathias Ngobi), and proceeded, in defiance, to promote Col. Idi Amin to the position of Army Chief of State. Furthermore, he declared a state of emergency and abrogated the 1962 Constitution, thereby overriding the position of the Kabaka as president, and assumed the powers of Executive President (Ofcansky, 1996).

Buganda reacted by demanding that Obote and his cabinet leave Buganda's territory, on which the capital city (Kampala) and the government headquarters are located. In addition, the Kabaka appealed to the United Nations to take action against the looming crisis.

As a counter measure, Obote responded by launching a military campaign led by Col. Idi Admin on the Kabaka's palace on May 24, 1966. The Kabaka's forces were defeated, leading him into exile in Britain, where he

died in 1969. This military victory, coupled with Obote's move to consolidate his power, marked the beginning of civilian dictatorship and the elevation of Idi Amin as a potential power in Uganda's politics (Mugaju, 1999).

With the Kabaka out of the way, now-President Obote made major political decisions to further consolidate his power. In 1967 he abolished traditional kingdoms, developed an alternative constitution, and declared Uganda a republic. Ideologically, the president attempted to create a socialist state by declaring a "move to the left" agenda, delineated in his "Common Man's Charter," which was a presidential decree affirming the importance of the citizenry in forging the country's destiny. But his ambition to form a one-party socialist dictatorship was short lived.

Army Commander Idi Amin, now elevated due to his contribution to the defeat of the Kabaka, took the opportunity to promote his own political ambition. He immediately began to multiply promotions for officers hailing from his Kakwa tribe and the neighbouring northwestern ethnic groups, a move that was aimed at counterbalancing the Langi/Acholi dominance in the army.

This resulted in tension and suspicion, which led to the 1969 assassination attempt on Obote at Lugogo in Kampala. Two years later, in 1971, while president Obote was attending a conference in Singapore, Idi Amin staged a bloodless military coup, which overthrew the government, and sent the president into exile in neighbouring Tanzania.

IDI AMIN'S MILITARY DICTATORSHIP (1971–79)

As already noted, Idi Amin's coup was bloodless, and was viewed by many Ugandans as an opportunity for positive change. The majority in the population was appalled by President Obote's divisive sectarian politics. The new president quickly promised democratic change and rule of law, referring to himself as a caretaker professional soldier who would, in a short time, hand over power to a democratically elected government. Initially, President Amin enjoyed the backing of the British and Israeli governments, whose interests in Uganda Obote had threatened.

But Idi Amin's image as a beacon of hope for Uganda was only ephemeral. He quickly turned against former president Obote's supporters, especially members of Langi/Acholi tribes in the army. His vengeful repression was accompanied by massive killings and disappearances, especially following the abortive coup of 1972. The main target was not only members of the Uganda Peoples Congress (UPC) party, but also the educated class across the board. One such example was the murder of Makerere University vice-Chancellor, Frank Kalimuzo, in October 1972.

It is believed that during Idi Amin's eight-year rule, well over a half a million people lost their lives and a comparable number fled the country seeking asylum in different countries in Africa and overseas.

Any hope for democratic governance was cast into oblivion as Idi Amin eventually declared himself life president—a symbol of blatant military dictatorship that resulted in countrywide political disillusionment.

The military dictatorship had a devastating impact on the national economy as well, especially following president Amin's 1972 declaration of "Economic War" which involved expelling the Asians, who had been the backbone of the economy. This economic downturn was further exacerbated by Idi Amin's fall-out with his former friends, the British and Israelis, and other donors who withdrew their support due to gross human rights violations. This resulted in galloping inflation and breakdown of infrastructure, such as roads, hospitals and educational institutions. This period marked the beginning of Makerere University's path to deterioration due to cutbacks on it funding.

Idi Amin's reign of terror was terminated in 1979 when his army was defeated by a combination of Tanzanian forces (who joined the struggle in retaliation to Amin's invasion of Kagera in Tanzania) and the exile-based Uganda National Liberation Army.

THE POST-AMIN UGANDA NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT GOVERNMENT

The post-Amin period was itself not without controversy. Uganda National Liberation Front (UNLF), the immediate post-Amin governing conglomerate was a loose composite of factions with different political agendas. Most prominent of these was former president Milton Obote's UPC Acholi/Langi-dominated faction, whose goal was to return him to power. Other groups were opposed to this move, advocating a new broad-based political landscape. UNLF was, however able to elect a Muganda president perceived to be somewhat neutral, former Makerere University Vice-Chancellor, Yusuf Lule. But his tenure as president lasted only 68 days. He was removed from power amid accusations of taking unilateral decisions, often ignoring the national consultative council, as well as lack of national will, while pursuing a hidden Ganda ethnic agenda instead.

Former Attorney General, Godfrey Binaisa, (also a Muganda) replaced President Lule. Like his predecessor, Binaisa's tenure was brief. He was accused, among other things, of corruption, unilateralism, and embracing policy considerations that were out of touch with the political realities of the time. As well, there was much opposition to his anti-political party

stance based on his "UNLF umbrella," whereby he incessantly demanded that the upcoming presidential and parliamentary election be held under the UNLF national patronage based on individual merit, not party association.

President Binaisa was removed from power after serving just a few months and was placed under house arrest, to be replaced by Paulo Muwanga, who was appointed not as president, but as Chairman of the Military Commission. The appointment of Paulo Muwanga, a UPC enthusiast, was seen by many as a clear pathway for the return of former president Obote. Muwanga quickly lifted the ban on political parties and began preparations for multiparty general elections, which took place December 10, 1980. Former president Obote and his UPC party won the elections, which were widely considered rigged and fraudulent. As a result, many of Obote's opponents, including the current president Yoweri Museveni, took up arms to wage guerrilla warfare against the government.

MILTON OBOTE'S SECOND PRESIDENCY (1980–1985)

Just like his predecessor, Idi Amin, President Obote's initial moments were accompanied by much hope and enthusiasm on the part of the population. Amin fatigue, as well as the obvious substandard performance exhibited by the successive interim governments, provided a positive political environment for the new government. President Obote's immediate approach was to jump-start the economy and to re-establish relations with his neighbours. He made an immediate move to attract foreign investment, especially by encouraging and facilitating the return of Asians, his long time allies, whom Idi Amin had expelled in 1972. In addition, the president was able to obtain financial support from bilateral and multilateral funding organizations, such as the World Bank, IMF and European Economic Community, which identified prospects for economic growth.

Evidently, the country's economy began to show positive signs—up to 5% growth by 1982 and 1983, leading to the first recorded balance of payments surplus in 1984 (Furley, 1987). But the economic gains were eclipsed by reports of gross human rights violations. The army, which was President Obote's most formidable power base, used its military power and privilege to suppress any kind of opposition—often with massive brutality, resulting in killings and disappearances, as well as a colossal outflow of asylum seekers, reminiscent of Idi Amin's dictatorship.

One of President Obote's major challenges was the multiple rebel forces, most portentous of which was National Resistance Movement led by Yoweri Museveni (the current president of Uganda). This aura of uncertainty was further exacerbated by the growing rift between Obote's trusted

factions in the army—the Langi (his own tribe), and the Acholis, their neighbour. The Acholis accused the president of sectarianism—favouring his own tribe (Langi) by awarding them with frequent promotions, and intentionally putting the Acholis and other tribes in harm's way during the incessant combat engagements with the rebels. It was against this background of power struggle within the army, that President Obote was overthrown, July 27 1985 by Acholi army officers led by General Tito Okello, who became President.

But the Okello military government lasted only a few months, a period that was characterized by violence and political uncertainty. Meanwhile, as the Nairobi-based peace negotiations with Yoweri Museveni's National Resistance Movement failed to reach fruition, Museveni and his National Resistance Army overrun the capital of Kampala and took over power January 25, 1986. Yoweri Museveni then became president and has been at the helm of power to date.

PRESIDENT YOWERI MUSEVENI AND CONTEMPORARY POLITICS (1986-PRESENT)

President Museveni and his National Resistance Movement came into power surrounded by massive popular support, especially as a result of his army's demonstration of high-level discipline. For the first time in more than a generation, Ugandans felt secure in their own country, an aura that has buttressed President Museveni's popularity, especially, in the rural areas.

Threads of political, social, and economic initiatives across the spectrum have punctuated his almost twenty years of power. On the political arena, the Movement government maintained (until this year, 2005) [3] its no-party (Movement) umbrella political stance, arguing that political parties had only served to divide the people mainly along religious and tribal lines. Instead, a new form of democracy, reflected in bottom-up grassroots governance, was introduced. This democratic triangle begins on grassroots local councils (Local Council I, II, III,) to city mayoral council (LC IV), then district (LC V)—and ultimately, the national parliament and the presidency. All these positions are elective based on individual merit.

A new constitution was promulgated in 1994 and in 1996 Yoweri Museveni was chosen (by universal suffrage) as the first constitutionally elected president (Mugaju, 1999).

The second presidential elections were held in March 2001, which gave Museveni the presidential mandate for a second and last constitutional five-year term. In both presidential elections, constituency-based parliamentary

elections were held a few months later, forming a British-style constitutionally mandated legislative branch of government.

Despite occasional imbalance caused mainly by rebel incursions from the northern and western parts of the country, and most recently, political instability in neighbouring Rwanda and Democratic Republic of Congo, Uganda has enjoyed relative political stability.

In regard to the economy, the Movement government has since 1980s abandoned its near socialist stance, and embraced the World Bank/IMF-mandated Structural Adjustment Policies. The economy has for the most part been liberalized, resulting in considerable institutional privatisation. In conjunction with these economic reform measures, an economic growth index of around 6% has been realized, a trend that has been projected to continue well into the future.

Other reform highlights include decentralization of governance, allocating more power and resources to district leadership; educational reforms as exemplified by the introduction of free Universal Primary Education; various public civil service reforms; and the women's empowerment movement (Mugaju, 1999).

Also, as noted earlier, recent political developments include opening space for multi-party politics and lifting presidential term-limits.[4] In this new political order, President Yoweri Museveni has been able to contest the presidency for a third term.

Other challenges, however, remain. These include, but are not limited to the alarming presence of corruption in the high places; the need to forge a climate of lasting peace with neighbouring countries; the reality of poverty, especially in rural areas; and the HIV/AIDS epidemic, among other things.

Chapter Two

Education in Uganda: An Overview

PRE-COLONIAL EDUCATION

Any kind scholarship on African education that excludes the role of indigenous education would, obviously, tell an incomplete story. Education in Africa was not a colonial invention; it pre-existed, though for the most part, as an informal knowledge transfer.

In traditional Africa, education was a life-long experience aimed at integrating the young into society and transmitting culture and knowledge. Instruction was informally done mostly in the family, especially through the mothers. Formal training existed as well. It was a curricular-oriented educational process designed to provide general education, vocational training, and career development. General education comprised what everyone was expected to know, such as cultural history, simple arithmetic, some knowledge of geography, botany and zoology, while vocational training comprised specialized knowledge in such trades as pottery and boat-making, among other things (Tiberondwa, A 1978; Ssekamwa, 1997).

Career development included military training, mixing and dispensing medicine, and several other skills. Instruction for career development was provided by professionals, who required students to take an exam at the end of the course. Exams comprised of quizzes for memory test and practical knowledge. Having satisfied the exam requirements, students would graduate to enter the class of adult and certified professionals—ready to pass on the skills to the next generation (Ssekamwa, 1997).

Within formal education there existed a form of higher education, which was a preserve for future rulers and priests. Curriculum for rulers in the making comprised formal instruction in history, warfare, customs and traditions, leadership, human resource management, and relationship with neighbours. And for the priest-to-be, knowledge of communication with the divine, dispensing of medicine, and counseling.

At the heart of the curriculum in all its ramifications, was character formation, most especially, in the value of respect for elders. Elders commanded unquestionable respect and were considered the only repository of knowledge because age was believed to be a representation of wisdom and rectitude. Parents, especially, played an indispensable role in shaping the character and the life of their children.

This may well explain the controlling nature of African society, a reality that may carry implications for student activism as administrators often employed repressive means in handling student protests, accusing them of miscreant behaviour.

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

The foundation for Western formal education in Uganda was laid by Christian missionaries (Anglican-Protestant and Roman Catholic) who, as mentioned earlier, came to Uganda during the late 1800s. Education during this early period of colonial era was aimed at imparting basic knowledge of reading, writing, and simple arithmetic. The missionary educators found such skills necessary for reading and understanding the Bible (evangelisation was the root of missionary education), and for acquiring some general knowledge, as well as inculcating the values of Western civilization.

In addition, there was a great need for acolyte manpower to help serve as teacher's assistants, catechists and builders. This need for assistants was also felt by the colonial government due to deficiency of personnel needed to handle the complexities of governance.

Ssekamwa (1997) traces the first schools to 1898 when the real structure of primary and high school education was designed—a four-tier structure composed of village schools, vernacular schools, central schools and high schools.

Unlike in French colonies where the colonial government maintained a tenacious grip on education, the main conduit for its assimilation agenda, the British government on the other hand took a hands-off stance initially, leaving the entire education enterprise in the hands of the missionaries, but supporting them with grants and subsidies.

In the 1920s, however, the British protectorate government in Uganda acknowledged the need to review its policy on education. There were questions about the missionaries' preference for academic education, while neglecting the practical component, an educational segment the government considered crucial for economic development. Skills in such areas as agriculture, veterinary, and carpentry were found indispensable for rural development where the majority of the people lived.

In 1924 the government assumed direct control of education in Uganda by establishing the first department of education, thus breaking the monopoly of missionary influence.

A new primary and secondary education structure was formed which comprised central schools for practical and vocational skills, middle schools for essentially academic pursuit—and secondary schools for literacy education (Ssekamwa, 1997). But practical education was always denigrated for its perceived lack of potential for social upward mobility.

Later, in the 1950s education across the board was further redesigned to include six years of primary (elementary) education; two years of junior secondary education (Junior I and Junior II); four years of secondary education (Ordinary Level); two years advanced level secondary education; and then post secondary education (Ssekamwa, 1997).

Also in existence was a strand of professional and vocational education comprising teacher training colleges (Grade II and Grade III), technical colleges, farm schools, home craft schools, and rural trade schools.

Today's pre-higher education structure includes seven years of primary and six years of secondary education. Grades II and III teacher training colleges, including technical schools were upgraded into higher education institutions in the same field, while farm, rural and trade schools were for the most part eliminated.

Primary and secondary education systems, a replica of the British authoritarian educational establishment, played into the African controlling philosophy of education. This connection could well explain the frequent occurrence of strikes, especially in secondary schools. The majority of these demonstrations occurred during the 1970s and 1980s reflecting students' resistance against the controlling nature of secondary education, food quality and frequent tuition hikes, among other things.

In recent times, a new wave of secondary school strikes has emerged in secondary schools across the country. While some observers have identified the same old causes of strikes, which include student indiscipline, food riots, school fees increases and alcohol consumption, some educational administrators and policy makers have began to take a more critical stance when analysing issues relating to student unrest.

Yusuf Nsubuga, a commissioner for secondary education in the Ministry of Education and Sports, argued that one of the major causes of student unrest lies in ineffective leadership and governance in schools, especially on the part of head teachers and members of the boards of governors. He cautioned that the wave of globalisation, which underscores democratic thinking, requires a new kind of leadership and administration in schools (as reported by Kameo, E. 2001, *The New Vision*). Kameo further reports

the same line of argument as stated by Steven Kamuhanda, a headmaster of one of the major and prominent secondary schools in Western Uganda:

> The increase in strikes is due to poor administration in schools, which breeds discontent among students. Unless school administrators learn to work with students, they will misunderstand each other thereby causing strikes. . . . strikes are organized over a long period of time, they do not just happen. But since head teachers have no communication system, they fail to know of a pending strike and in this way, fail to stop it (Kameo, E. (2001). *The New Vision.* p.1).

In the same light, Martha Wamala, a parent, believes that among the major causes of unrest in secondary schools is their authoritarian tradition which places all the power in the hands of administrators, leaving students disempowered and uninvolved. She observes:

> The prefects and student council bodies, which would otherwise help students air out their grievances, are dormant in most schools. And yet if these bodies were functioning students would have a platform through which they can express their problems so that they are solved by the school administrators . . . the more school administrators restrict students, the more the children fight back to exercise their 'rights of freedom' (as cited by Kameo, E. (2001) *The New Vision.* p.1).

A recognizable nexus exists between secondary school and higher education activists. Secondary school activists often take up roles in student politics and leadership upon entering college.

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

Until the 1980s Uganda had only one University—Makerere University, which opened in 1922 as a government-sponsored vocational and professional training institution with 14 boys. Makerere College, as it was known then, started off as a kind of vocational higher school, offering courses in carpentry, telegraphy and clerks' courses, as well as some courses in simple mechanics (Goldhorpe, 1965).

The period of stability following the end of the First World War created a desire for advancement in education. With the persuasive effort of Uganda's Governor Robert Coryndon, Secretary of State Winston Churchill approved the request to establish a native technical school, which started at Makerere hill near Kampala in 1922.

One underlying reason for establishing an institution of higher education at this time deserves mention. In the 1920s, a youth association composed of members of the Ganda ethnic group (the Young Baganda Association) presented its demand that the government secularise education and grant them scholarships to study abroad. The protectorate government considered the idea of studying abroad a dangerous one for fear of their exposure to outside influence (Ssekamwa, 1997). Hence the need to establish a local institution of higher learning, to divert these young people from seeking "insalubrious" education from abroad (Tiberondwa, 1978; Montani, 1979).

The few who were granted permission attended mostly British universities where they would be under surveillance. These were encouraged to pursue careers in medicine or engineering, rather than law or general arts courses to insulate them from political ideas in order to focus on "development of the protectorate." The government's trepidation was that political ideas as drawn from liberal education would give the students the necessary armoury to begin to question the colonial establishment (Montani, 1979).

Student enrollment at Makerere grew to 53 students by 1924, and 76 by 1925—and 142 students by the end of the 1930s (Tiberondwa, 1978). The preferred curricular offering was, for the most part, vocational rather than literacy training; as Montani (1979) maintains, "to create an industrious but politically acquiescent peasantry and artisan class" (p.364).

In 1933, the college began to offer courses leading to Cambridge School Certificate (three year courses), marking the beginning of purely academic courses (Goldhorpe, 1965).

In 1936, a commission, which took up the name of its head, De La Warr, was set up by the colonial government to examine the state of higher education in East Africa. Among the commission's recommendation was that Makerere should later on become a full-fledged university to serve the entire region of East and Central Africa. At this time, the college was enrolling students from Uganda, Kenya, and Tanganyika, and its main purpose was to produce a cadre of natives who were to serve as assistants to colonial officers in such areas as governance and teaching (Sicherman, 2005; Ssekamwa, 1997; Tiberondwa, 1978).

In 1944, the Asquith Commission, established to assess the development of higher education in the colonies after the war, recommended the elevation of Makerere to a university status, affiliated (Special Relations) with the University of London. In this relationship, curriculum, examinations and even faculty, were determined by the University of London (Sicherman, 2005; Goldthope, 1965;). It is important to note that up until this time, the student body was composed of only men, the first women being admitted in 1945.

In 1949, Makerere was granted a university college status and its name was changed to Makerere College, University of East Africa. Instruction for the University of London program started in 1950 and in 1953 the first-degree examination was offered (Goldhorpe, 1965). The idea was to set the standards and qualifications at the level of those at the University of London.

Up until 1956, Makerere was the only institution for higher education in East Africa; but later other colleges developed: the Royal College of Nairobi in Kenya (1956), and University College of Dar-es-Salaam in Tanzania (formerly Tanganyika) in 1961.

The early 1960s were years of transition to self-rule (independence) in the three countries: Tanganyika became independent in 1961, Uganda 1962, and Kenya, 1963.

It is important to note that Makerere University students, unlike those in Kenya for example, played little political part in Uganda's transition to independence—a transition that occurred without political mayhem that was quite evident in Kenya's independence politics. Noteworthy also was the near absence of a student movement.

Mudoola (1993) suggests that Makerere University students' quiescence was mainly due to the small size of the student population (around two hundred students at the time), the heterogeneous composition of students—from all over East Africa, as well as the controlling nature of British education.

In 1963, the year after Uganda became independent, all the three colleges: Makerere University College, University College of Nairobi (Kenya), and University College of Dar-es-Salaam (Tanzania), terminated their affiliation with the University of London and formed a new unit called the University of East Africa, whereby each institution became a constituent college of the University of East Africa. Students from the region were free to attend any of the three colleges.

To avoid duplicating resources, the three colleges specialized in different programs except for general education, which was offered in all of them. Makerere held the faculties of Medicine and Agriculture, Nairobi, Engineering and Veterinary Medicine, and Dar-es-Salaam, Law. This arrangement lasted only up to 1970, when the conglomerate was disbanded due mainly to the ideological differences among the national leaders: President Nyerere of Tanzania opted to create a socialist state; Obote of Uganda maintained a capitalist stance, mixed with socialist notions; and Kenyatta of Kenya possessed an uncompromising proclivity toward capitalism (Ssekamwa, 1997). The three countries felt that it was time to design their own national development agendas. Thus, in 1970 Makerere became a full-fledged independent national university, inaugurated October 8, 1970.

The years immediately following independence were quite favourable for Makerere University, upon which the young independent government heavily relied for crucial manpower training. The country was, obviously, in dire need of professionals following the departure of a great number of colonial administrators and expatriates. Hence the close attention accorded the university, which resulted in a significant growth in enrollment.

But this period of vitality was brief because in 1971 Idi Amin overthrew the government, marking the beginning of the university's spiral of deterioration. As mentioned earlier, President Amin's military dictatorship was characterised by economic, political and institutional degradation. Makerere University, in particular, fell victim due to cutbacks in its resources, resulting in the flagging quality of its education. But while resources dwindled, the demand for higher education (enrollment) continued to increase.

Government repression also resulted in low faculty morale as the twin values of university autonomy and academic freedom were heavily compromised. In addition, the scarcity of teaching materials and poor remuneration led to a steady outflow of professors to countries abroad in search of freedom and greener pastures.

The post–Amin era was not favourable to the university, either. During the late 1980s the World Bank and IMF began to favour basic education, that being the foundation for literacy with higher rates of social returns than higher education. Under the World Bank/IMF Structural Adjustment Policies, higher education, therefore, received scant attention, and was subjected to budget cuts, as well as removal of some subsidies formerly accorded to students—decisions that resulted in the 1990 student protest, which left two students dead.

Under these circumstances, enrollment has continued to grow, (more than doubling) since 1980, making up today's student population of well over 34,000—in an institution that was initially designed to accommodate about 7000 students. To provide for the increasing demand for higher education, coupled with the need to generate income, the university has opened its doors to self-sponsored and returning part-time students, and has introduced the semester system to make greater use for the available space. The new policy admits qualified students[1] who in the past would not have gained access into the university due to its competitive nature.

But according to some critics, the question remains: at what cost? They contend that the quality of education is being compromised, as the desire to raise funds seems to be prominent. Some claim that self-sponsored private students are offered preferential treatment in regard to access to the limited resources as well as grade offering. To this effect, Kilinaki (2000) wrote:

> Double standards on academic matters have been variously cited at Makerere University. There is talk of attempts to favour privately sponsored students on the evening program. For many government-sponsored students, lecturers ask them to research about certain [issues] but when it comes to the evening classes, they simply give them the material. No back-breaking research, just notes . . . In some departments, students in the same academic year and same course do different papers . . . this shows the double standards that are threatening the academic pillar of Makerere University. How can you graduate a bunch of students with the same degree when they have actually read and sat exams in different papers? Are the evening students being favoured to make them pass with high grades thus attract more students to those money-making programs . . . Is a degree from Makerere University worth anything any more, if it still is, who is a better graduate, one from the evening, or the day program? (Kilinaki, D. 2000, *The New Vision.* pp1–2).

The question of increasing demand for higher education explains the proliferation of private universities, whose number has grown to well over 10 since 1988 when the first one (the Islamic University of Mbale) was opened. Others wait accreditation. Although these universities have attracted some students, their enrollments are still low because of their limited resources, and their high tuition charges (Kasozi, A. B. K. 2003).

The year 2000 kindled renewed hope and optimism for revitalization of Africa's higher education. World Bank's Task Force on higher education and Society admits that, "urgent action to expand the quantity and improve the quality of higher education in developing countries should be a top development priority." (World Bank Task Force, 2000 p.10). The Task Force further points out that given the on-going 21st century knowledge revolution, "higher education institutions, as the prime creators and conveyors of knowledge, must be at the forefront of the effort to narrow the development gap between industrial and developing countries" (p. 33).

In the same light, different foundations, notably the Rockfeller Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation of New York, have renewed their commitment to African higher education and are providing financial support for institutional capacity building in quality improvement and promotion of educational relevance (Bollag, 2000).

Makerere University is one of the selected institutions for such support and has received substantial funding not only from the above institutions, but also from other donor sources. These include the Italian government in support of research in technology for small and medium enterprises; the Swedish

Agency for Research Co-operation with Developing Countries (Sida/SAREC), to facilitate Ph.D. research and supervision; and the Bill and Mellinda Gates Foundation, whose funding is to support the implementation of the Global Leadership Development Program in Reproductive Health in Uganda.

MAKERERE UNIVERSITY GOVERNANCE LANDSCAPE

University Chancellor

Until recently, the position of the University Chancellor was a de facto preserve for the Head of State. However, "The Universities and Other Tertiary Institutions Act," promulgated in 2001, changed the university governance structure by designating the Head of State as "Visitor" and reserving the position of Chancellor for an academic who assumes the role of the titular head of the university, to preside on all university functions (University and Other Tertiary Institutions Act, 2001).

Vice-Chancellor

The Vice-Chancellor is the university's chief administrative officer coordinating not only internal administrative and academic affairs, but also public liaison with the government and the outside world. Two Deputy Vice-Chancellors assist the Vice-Chancellor: First Deputy Vice-Chancellor in charge of academic affairs, and Second Deputy Vice-Chancellor for finance and administration.

Secretary

The University Secretary is charged with the institution's general administration, which includes finance, supervising university assets and service units, planning and institutional development, university council affairs, and keeping custody of the university seal, among other things.

Academic Registrar

The Academic Registrar is responsible for all academic matters, which include admission, study protocols, examinations, and research and publication.

Librarian

The University Librarian is charged with the management and functioning of the university libraries and information services.

Bursar

The University Bursar manages all the financial systems, which include planning, income and expenditure.

Dean of Students

The Dean of Students co-ordinates student affairs, which include halls of residence, sports and recreation, religious services, student counseling services, and student guild affairs.

University Council

The University Council is supreme governing and policy-making body. It is composed of a cross-section of members of the university administration, student leadership, alumni, as well as ministries of education, finance and planning.

Senate

The University Senate handles all academic matters. It is chaired by the Vice-Chancellor, and its composition includes, Deputy Vice-Chancellors, the academic deans, directors of schools and institutes, heads of departments, the librarian, halls of residence representatives, student representatives, non-academic staff representatives, as well as individuals appointed by the ministries of education, finance, planning and economic development, among others.

Appointments Board

This is a nine-member human resource committee of the university council charged with personnel appointment, promotion and discipline.

Table 1. Makerere University Principals and Vice-Chancellors (1922–2005)

Term of Office	Name
1922–1924	Mr. Saville, H.O. (Principal)
1924–1939	Mr. Tomblings, D.J. (Principal)
1939–1946	Mr. Turner, J.C. (Principal)
1947–1949	Dr. Lamont, W.D. (Principal)
1950–1963	Sir Bernard de Bunsen (Principal)
1964–1970	Mr. Lule, Y.K. (Principal)
1970–1973	Mr. Kalimuzo, F. (Vice-Chancellor)
1973–1975	Professor Wandira (Vice-Chancellor)
1975–1977	Professor Lutwama, J.S. (Vice-Chancellor)
1977–1979	Professor Kajubu, W.S. (Vice-Chancellor)
1979–1986	Professor Wandira (Vice-Chancellor)
1986–1990	Professor Kilya, G. (Vice Chancellor)
1990–1993	Professor Kajubi, W.S. (Vice-Chancellor)
1993–2004	Professor Ssebuwufu, P.J.M. (Vice-Chancellor)
2004–present	Professor Livingston Luboobi (Vice-Chancellor)

Source: Makerere University Prospectus 1999/2000- 2000/2001

ACADEMIC INFRASTRUCTURE

Libraries

Makerere University operates eight libraries, six of which (including the main library) are located on campus. Two of them, Sir Albert Cook Library for the faculty of medicine, and one for the institute of agricultural research are located off-campus.

Book Bank

Established in 1990, the book bank is a collection of essential textbooks available at each academic department. These books are loaned to students and are returned at the end of the course.

Other Facilities

Additional facilities include the university bookshop, press, guesthouse, and computer services, among others.

CONDUITS OF STUDENT EXPRESSION AT MAKERERE UNIVERSITY

The Guild

The student guild serves as the official student representative governing body. Its objectives comprise not only providing student leadership, but also official liaison between students and the university administration, the government and other organizations. It also serves to perpetuate the university's academic and social culture. All current registered students, graduate and undergraduate, have automatic membership.

The guild's governance configuration comprises the executive and legislative branches. The executive includes the guild president, guild vice-president, general secretary, deputy general secretary, and cabinet ministers. The legislative branch includes the guild speaker, deputy guild speaker, and the guild representative council (GSR), composed of elected student representatives from halls of residence.

Cabinet portfolios comprise the following ministries: finance, production, social affairs, culture and mobilization, academic affairs, international affairs, transport, campus affairs, off-campus affairs, information, constitutional affairs, health and security.

The guild operates information resources, such as radio/TV programs and newspapers. It also runs social programs, such as balls and dinners, as

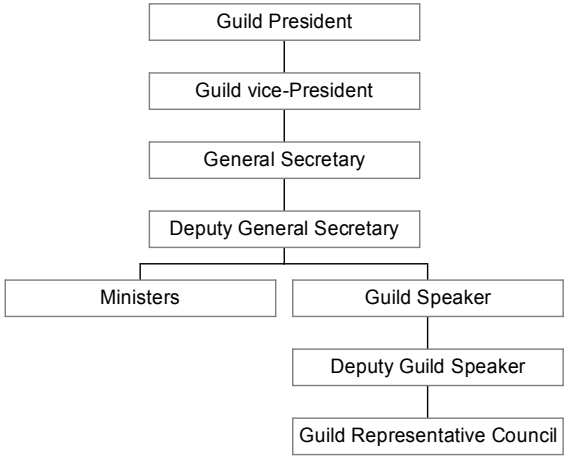

Figure 1. Makerere University Guild Leadership Structure

well as income generating projects, which include a fast food restaurant and a canteen.

Games Union

The Games Union coordinates all of the university's sporting activities, which include inter-hall competitions in a range of sports. Among these, soccer competition attracts the greatest excitement, and has on many occasions incited prankish behaviour, which often results in physical confrontation among competing halls.

Student Organizations

There is a plethora of student organizations at Makerere University. For the purpose of delimitation, the following broader categories are presented: academic, regional (district/county), ethnic, and secondary school alumni associations.

Academic Associations

The main objective of academic associations is to pull together students of the same scholarship and career aspirations. Examples include Makerere Law Society (MLS), Makerere Medical Students Association (MESA), Makerere University Veterinary Association (MUVA), Makerere University Mass Communication Student Association, Makerere University Statistics Association, and Makerere University Environmental Students Association (MUEMA)

Table 2. Makerere University Guild Presidents (1964–2005)

UK Academic year	*Guild President*	*Hall of Residencer*
1964/65	Kaloba Shija	Mitchell
1965/66	Akiiki Mujaju	Mitchell
1966/67	Nyambala, Paul M.	NA
1967/69	Miguda, Noa M.	Michell
1968/69	Butime, John R.	
1969/70	Anyang Nyon'go, Peter	NA
1970/71	Opira-Ekwaro, James	NA
1971/1972	Mutebire Tumusiime, Emmanuel	Nkrumah
1972/73	Olara-Otunu	University
1973–1980	No elections	
1980/81	Opiyo Oloya, Joseph	Nothcote
1981–83	No elections	
1983/84	Sebyala Badru	Livingstone
1984/85	Otunnu-Ogenga	Northcote
1985/86	Okurapa, George	Mitchell
1986/87	Semayizi Mugabe, J.	Mitchell
1987/88	Njuba, Julian Nora	Africa
1988/89	Kasura, Andrew	C.C.E
1989/1990	Owor, Wilbrod H.	Northcote
1990/91	Mao, Nobert	Mitchell
1991/92	Dombo, Lumala E.E.	Northcote
1992/93	Rwomushana, Charles	University
1993/94	Kazungu, David A.	Nkrumah
1994/95	Taligoola, Issa B.	Lumumba
1995/96	Opoka, James	University
1996/97	Galogitho, Stephen R.	Lumumba
1997/98	Kagingo, Sarah	Mary Stuart
1998/99	Ojur, Christopher	Nsibirwa
1999/2000	Mukuye Ronnie	Lumumba
2000/2001	Basalilwa Asumani	Livingstone
2001/2002	Mbidde Mukasa	Nsibirwa
2002/2003	Okema, Dennis	Nkrumah
2003/2004	Karanda Yusuf	University
2004/2005	Ssenkubuge Mukasa, Ronald	Nkrumah
2005/2006	Kibalya, Henry Maurice	Mitchell

Source: Sunday Vision, April 2001

DISTRICT/COUNTY ASSOCIATIONS

This category of organizations unites students hailing from the same district[2] or county and the purpose is not only to create awareness of the development efforts in those districts or counties, but also to facilitate student involvement in the affairs of their home areas. Examples of district association include Makerere University Luwero Students Association (MULISA), Makerere University Kiboga Students Association (MUKISA), Makerere University Masindi Students Association (MUMSA), and numerous others.

Kazo Students Association, Omoro Student Association, Rujumbura County Student Association exemplify county associations, which are more numerous, among others.

District/county associations are usually very active during political campaigns, serving as campaign bases for prospective members of parliament. It is therefore not surprising to find that most of these associations have political patronage.

ETHNIC ASSOCIATIONS

Ethnic-oriented associations are aimed at uniting students of the same ethnic/tribal heritage, to enhance their culture and rally student voice on ethnic issues involving their districts of origin. Examples of such organizations include Nkoba Za Mbogo Student Association, Acholi Makerere Student Association (AMSA), Lango Student Association (LASO) Bunyoro Kitara Student Association (KISA), Busoga Nseete Student Association, and Nebbi Student Association.

SECONDARY SCHOOL ALUMNI ASSOCIATIONS

Secondary school alumni associations were established to perpetuate student alumni linkages with their former secondary schools, to serve as role models and to propagate their alma maters' ideals. Through these associations Makerere University students organize social events and participate in fundraising functions to support those schools. Examples of such organizations include Kibuli Old Boys Association-Makerere Branch, Namagunga Old Girls Association, Namilyango College Old Boys Association, Kabalega Old Boys Association, Bweranyangi Old Girls Association, Makerere College Old Boys Student Association, and Ntale Old Boys Association.

It is important to note that student organizations have played an exiguous role in promoting student activism. Most student protests and demonstrations have hatched around the guild and halls of residence.

STUDENT HALLS OF RESIDENCE

Halls of residence play a central role in student campus life. Significant social and political activities such as meals, sports and student politics, centre on halls of residence. Each hall maintains unique cultural and historical norms, and its student constituency is expected to subscribe to those ideals. Halls of residence were particularly crucial in providing student leadership when the Guild was banned in 1973 and again in 1981.

Because of the current enrollment explosion, well over 80% of the students admitted at Makerere reside off-campus, most of them in hostels. But they remain attached to the halls of residence assigned to them upon admission.

Table 3. Makerere University Halls of Residence and Their Composition

Male	Female	Mixed
Livingstone Hall	Africa Hall	CCE Complex Hall
Lumumba Hall	Mary Stuart Hall	Dag Post-graduate Hall
Mitchell Hall		Galloway House Mulago
Nkrumah Hall		MUARIK Hostel Kabanyoro
Nsibirwa Hall (former Northcote)		
University Hall		

Chapter Three

Student Activism and Higher Education

This chapter briefly explores the concept and presence of student activism in higher education, and its international manifestation. The purpose is to review its character, some theoretical debates, as well as its impact in both developing and developed countries, based on selected samples.

THE CHARACTER AND THEORIES OF STUDENT ACTIVISM

As noted earlier in the book, student activism is generally understood to denote individual or collective student voice demanding social change. The concept is often used interchangeably with student protest, student revolt, student rebellion, student politics, student movement, and student unrest.

Student activism in its manifestation is multifaceted; however, according to Altbach (1993), there is a common thread of themes that touch the phenomenon across the board. He presents the following summary:

- Student activism almost always manifests itself as a minority phenomenon, rarely engulfing the entire student body.
- Student activism is almost always sporadic and sometimes spasmodic; it rarely goes on for a long period, given the transient nature of campus life, examination demands, and academic programs.
- Students are a force that is easily mobilized, given their awareness of issues, their locale as a group on one campus, and their relatively easy access to media and to a significant elite.
- Across the board student activists seem to belong more in the social sciences than in the professional oriented disciplines.

- Students from institutions located in urban centres appear to be more politically aware, and hence more prone to activism than those in institutions located in rural areas.
- In most cases, student activism appears to be concerned more with issues pertaining to the larger society—political, economic, social—and less with campus-specific issues.
- Often, students team up with other organizations, such as trade unions, to form a more formidable force in their demand for social change.
- With some exceptions, students usually lean towards the left in the demand for reform.
- In the context of their elite self-concept—viewing themselves as the conscience of the people, Third World students appear to be more politically involved than those in industrialized nations.
- The outcomes of student activism take different forms: social and political transformation, as well as university reform.
- Student activism has often resulted in attitude change on campus and in civil society. Examples include the attempts to redress racism and inequity, among things.

Extant literature contends that no unifying framework exists that pulls these theories together, thus leaving a fragmentary tapestry of theoretical threads, based primarily on Western experience.

One of the earlier theoretical strands of student political activism were the psychological theories, most notably that of Conflict of Generations propounded by Lewis Feuer (1969). According to this concept, which is based on Sigmund Freud's Oedipus complex theory, the underlying force in student activism is the unconscious Oedipal hatred of one's father, which is transferred to all middle-aged authority figures. The student's manifestation of activism–prone behaviour is discounted as mere disguises of the primary unconscious motivation of the death wish against the father. The university, therefore, becomes a conducive arena for student radical behaviour because it "constituted a surrogate father against whom all the emotions of generation revolt could be channelled . . . the university provided a substitute target, psychologically in loco parentis" (p. 444).

Taking a social stance, Richard Flacks (1970), whose research is primarily based on American students, posits identifiable characteristics of students who involve themselves in student activism: participating students often come from the social sciences and rarely from the natural sciences;

they tend to be more "academic" than non-participants; they tend to come from highly educated families—the majority being of Protestant or Jewish background. He notes that the typical activist family is secular, although a significant minority of activists comes from families with a strong religious background—and the typical parents are politically liberal, providing a home environment that supports a relatively democratic and egalitarian child-rearing ideology.

Keniston (1967), a cultural alienation theorist, makes a distinction between what he calls the "culturally alienated" youth that have not adapted to contemporary society. Such students exhibit non-conformist attitude. According to him, there is a category of student activists who are socialized, politicised and involved.

Keniston underscores activists' strong personalities as a result of adequate socialization and integration, while those culturally alienated have a psychological problem, resulting from difficult interpersonal childhood familial relations.

Smith, Haan and Block (1970) identified five groups of student activists in their topology of students' orientation to socio-political action: the constructivists, who prefer to remain very close to traditional values; dissidents and activists, who tend to reject traditional values and revolt against the socio-political system; the inactive, who take a passive approach; and the conventionalists, who tend to adhere to conventional norms.

In the developing countries, few analyses have been done to determine the causes and motivational contingencies behind student activism. In his study of student political activism in Zambia, Burawoy (1976) proposes an interplay of functions of the university and students' political consciousness as determinant factors that may explain the emergence of activism:

> The university performs not just a single function but a multiplicity of functions and it is the relationship among these functions that determines at the structural level the propensity to engage in political activity. Second, the political consciousness of the institution's members is determined not merely by their roles within the university but by other roles they held in the past, hold in the present, or anticipate occupying in the future. Third, the outbreak of student protest must therefore be understood as the outcome of the interaction of a specific student consciousness and the structural contradictions, which inhere in the functions of the university (as cited by Rulati, 1989, p. 45).

Burawoy has singled out three functions of the university: The intrinsic function (training indigenous manpower), the symbolic function (the

university symbolizing attainment of status toward nationhood) and the solidarity function (the university performing "an integrative role supporting the dominant political organs and abstaining from opposition to government positions"). He maintains that the contradictory nature of these functions often breeds conflict in developing nations that "tend to have a low level of institutionalisation and hence are unsuited to the management of potential conflicts" (p. 44).

In his article Elite Perception and Politics in Ghana, Tanzania and Uganda, Barkan (1971) underscores a major characteristic of African university students: their "expectant upper middle class" consciousness associated with scholastic credential achievement. Barkan maintains that African students view their education privilege as a conduit for upward social mobility, as well as modernity of ideas and forms of living. He states:

> It would seem that East African students should not be regarded as a presumptive elite so much as an emergent upper-middle class. They will achieve this status because entrance into most East Africa's higher status and high salaried occupations is virtually dependent on high educational qualification alone (Barkan, J. 1971. p. 194).

This view is further accentuated by Hanna and Hanna (1975), who maintain that African university students are conscious of and celebrate their elite status associated with the opportunities of scholarship.

Writing about Makerere University students' political behaviour, Kenneth Prewitt (1971) postulates that Makerere University students have portrayed a less confrontational political stance than many African universities:

> In stressing that Makerere students have a non-agitation political style, I imply two things: first, the students tend to support existing policies or incremental changes in those policies. The general model of modernization, which has been established since independence, and the particular system of privilege it guarantees has not come under any sustained attack. Second, the students pursue political goals by working within rather than in opposition to prevailing models of political organization. Thus with this respect both to general views and types of political activity, the climate on the Makerere campus is generally conservative and quiet (Prewitt, K 1971. p. 143).

In his comparative assessment of the political ideological stance of the three sister universities, Makerere, Dar-es-Salaam, and Nairobi university colleges, Musoke, D. (1968) observed that although the three universities

pursue the same educational goals and work together under the University Student Association of East Africa (USAEA), they exhibit marked political and ideological differences. He stated:

> Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi University College student Unions are radical, revolutionary, and have socialist tendencies. Student from these two colleges are proud of wearing Mao Tse-tung badges, putting on Chou En-Lai suits, and nourishing themselves on 'Mao's Thoughts.' On the other hand, Makerere Students' Guild is conservative, rather reserved, uncommitted, peaceful, and sometimes annoyingly indifferent to the national as well as world affairs. The recent Makerere students' demonstration in the streets of Kampala broke the ice of Makerere's impartiality and took everyone by surprise . . . the Makerere Students' Guild was accused by the other two sister guilds of being neo-colonial and being politically impotent . . . the two sister unions, therefore thought Makerere was not dynamic enough to house the secretariat of USAEA . . . Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi [students] feel at home with the international Union of Students based in Prague, Czechoslovakia, whereas Makerere is suspicious of it and more inclined to the student unions of the West (Musoke, D. March 21, 1968 Uganda Argus p.4).

The above observations of Makerere's quiescence would, however, be put to question by a series of often-violent protests that occurred at the university during the subsequent generations.

STUDENT ACTIVISM OUTSIDE AFRICA

The literature on student activism outside Africa is, indeed, very extensive and multifarious, rendering its encapsulation almost impossible. Therefore, only a summary of its influence on the university and society is provided.

In the United States, the diversification of the curriculum, the feminist and other movements, increased participation of students in university governance, inception of Affirmative Action, among others, were all significantly influenced by the 1960s student movement (Altbach, 1971; Barlow, 1991).

In many European countries as well, especially, France and Germany, the 1960s student activism resulted in university reform, sensitivity to social issues, and increased involvement of students in university governance.

In Asia, apart from playing a transformational role at the university, students have been at the base of the nationalist movement. In China, for example, students were central to the playing out of the Cultural Revolution

and provided both leadership and mass support to the 1989 Tiananmen Square demonstration (Altbach, 1993). Indonesia, Burma, Bangladesh, and South Korea are examples of the student revolution of the 1980s and 1990s that shook the political economy of some of those countries to the extent of bringing down the government as in the case of Bangladesh in 1990 and Indonesia in 1998.

STUDENT ACTIVISM IN AFRICA

The phenomenon of student activism on the African continent is a complex one; it has taken many forms, and has quite often been radicalised along Leninist and Marxist ideologies. Student activism has not only brought changes at the university, but it has also had an impact on national politics—even to the extent of helping to bring down governments.

As Altbach affirms, student activism in Africa portrays two distinguishing characteristics: Its enduring presence in higher education, as well as its socio-political influence (As cited by Munene, I. 2003).

Students played a pivotal role in shaping and propagating the anti-colonial movement not only on the African continent but also abroad, a sentiment that inspired the first African leaders, such as Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Kamuzu Banda of Malawi, and Nelson Mandela of South Africa, among others (Munene, I. 2003).

The 1970s and 1980s saw an upsurge of student protest all over the continent. Nkinyangi (1991) reports that between 1970 and 1979 major student protests occurred in some twenty-nine countries, comprising three quarters of the countries of sub-Sahara Africa. From 1980 to 1989 student protests occurred in twenty-five countries, comprising three-fifths of the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa.

The issues that have galvanized student activism in Africa appear to be varied; but for the most part, they have centred on the following two strands: national politics and demand for university reform.

On the political front, major protests have underscored issues of African nationalism (independence), pan-Africanism, governments' dictatorial policies, corruption in high places, struggle for democracy and academic freedom, among things. University based issues include mainly removal of subsidies, food deficiency, repressive governance and freedom of speech infringement.

Here, again, due to the complexity of the phenomenon and its frequent occurrence, only a few African countries have been sampled. Government strategies for managing campus crisis, as well as their consequences are also explored.

Table 4. Reported Incidents of Student Protests in Sub-Saharan Africa by Year and by Country (1970–1998)

1970	Nigeria, Cote d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Central African Republic, Sudan.
1971	Nigeria, Congo, Zaire, Ethiopia, Sudan, Ghana, Madagascar, Benin, Mauritius, Senegal, Cote d'Ivoire.
1972	Nigeria, Ghana, Madagascar, Niger, Sierra Leone.
1973	Nigeria, Zaire, Comoros, Cameroon, Sudan.
1974	Nigeria, Ethiopia, Congo, Tanzania, Sudan, Benin, Niger, Kenya.
1975	Nigeria, Ethiopia, Zaire, Kenya, Lesotho.
1976	Zambia, Uganda, Tanzania, Botswana, Kenya.
1977	Niger, Swaziland, Central African Republic, Ethiopia, Mali, Ghana, Kenya.
1978	Tanzania, Swaziland, Botswana, Ghana, Madagascar, Seychelles.
1979	Central African Rep., Mauritius, Mali, Liberia, Cameroon, Ghana.
1980	Nigeria, Kenya, Mali, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Seychelles, Liberia, Burkina Faso.
1981	Nigeria, Kenya, Madagascar, Mali, Gabon.
1982	Nigeria, Kenya, Ghana, Niger, Zambia, Sudan.
1983	Nigeria, Ghana, Niger, Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire.
1984	Nigeria, Zambia, Central African Republic, Mauritius, Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire.
1985	Nigeria, Kenya, Zaire, Benin, Burkina Faso, Congo, Guinea, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Tunisia.
1986	Nigeria, Kenya, Zambia, Liberia, Central African Republic, Tunisia, Madagascar.
1987	Nigeria, Kenya, Ghana, Madagascar, Cameroon, Guinea, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sudan.
1988	Nigeria, Kenya, Sudan, Mali, Benin, Cote d'Ivoire, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Senegal, Ghana, Liberia.
1989	Nigeria, Zaire, Congo, Cameroon, Benin, Senegal, Sudan, Zimbabwe, Kenya, Uganda, Somalia, Lesotho, Botswana.
1990	Nigeria, Niger, Algeria, Guinea, Kenya, Sudan, Tunisia, Uganda, Swaziland, Zaire, Zambia.
1991	Zambia, Zimbabwe, Benin, Tunisia, Botswana, Cote d' Ivoire, Zaire, Nigeria, Kenya, Sudan, Senegal.
1992	Comoros, Gabon, Cote d' Ivoire, Tanzania, Togo, Benin Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Niger, Zambia.
1993	Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Mali, Benin, Cote d' Ivoire, Ghana, Mozambique, Sudan, Chad.
1994	Cameroon, Niger, Mali, Malawi, Nigeria, Congo, Togo, Uganda, Cote d' Ivoire, Gabon, Ghana, Kenya, Guinea, Nigeria, Benin, Burkina, Faso.
1995	Burkina Faso, Zimbabwe, Sudan, Mali, Kenya, Nigeria.
1996	Mali, Cameroon, Zaire, Nigeria, Kenya.
1997	Cote d' Ivoire, Burkina Faso, Kenya, Zambia, Congo, Central African Republic, Togo.
1998	Togo, Zimbabwe, Kenya, Benin, Comoros.

Source: Nkinyangi (1991); Federici, L. & Caffentzis, G. (1996).

One pronounced example of African student activism was their participation in South Africa's struggle against apartheid. Bundy (1989) argues that although South Africa's student activism was propelled, in part, by the common youthful character of outward self-expression, it was "ultimately and inextricably bound up with an older and larger struggle for democratic rights, social justice, and national liberation"(p.22). He goes on to highlight the central themes that have embraced student voice in South Africa:

- Historically, (before the demise of apartheid) student activism has been strongly shaped by a political context in which power, privilege, and resources (including education) have been unevenly distributed along racial lines.
- Occurrences of student activism have corresponded closely to the phases of broader social and political mobilization among black South Africans.
- Student protests have typically been rooted in specific educational grievances, but have increasingly been intermeshed with the broader political demands.
- A major development since 1976 has been the conscious entry by students into alliances with other organized elements, especially, locally based community bodies and trade unions.

South Africa's student protests can be traced as far back as the 1920s when students at Lovedale and Kilnerton schools rioted over food. More incidents of student militancy occurred, which exhibited a connection between students and the working class in the rural areas, especially, after the Second World War.

Bundy further states, "school riots and ghetto struggles shared a political agenda beyond their immediate grievances: they were inchoate protests against Africans' overall lack of status and power" (p.26). Further outbursts of student protests occurred during the 1960s and 1970s after the formation of Black Consciousness, a gospel enshrined in the black-dominated South African Student Organization (SASO).

In the 1980s, student activism heightened as students joined other interest groups in a more vigorous manner, demanding an end of the apartheid policy and release of Nelson Mandela. They also formed an alliance with high school students to form a popular political front, which was involved in open protest and clandestine efforts to raise consciousness within the population (Bundy, 1989). These activities played a big role in the demise of apartheid, and the move toward popular democracy.

Student activism continues in today's South Africa. Although national socio-political issues remain part of the agenda, greater emphasis is laid on reforming the academy aimed at augmenting access and equity.

In Zimbabwe (former Rhodesia), as well, students were at the heart of the struggle for independence. Not unlike South Africa, Zimbabwean student activism was a struggle against social and political injustices, injustices that found a home in the academy, and resulted in incessant clashes between black and white students, especially in the 1960s. Students unequivocally rejected Ian Smith's Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) as being racist—an oppressive machinery—and continued to sensitise the public—a move that played a leading role in shaping African nationalism which, eventually, led to independence.

Chideya, (1989) contends that, the pre-independence character of student activism was dominated by "a period of white student ascendance and nascent black protest against individualized discrimination, a middle period of intense student conflict along racial lines, and a third period of black student ascendancy with student protests directed against the institutionalised racism of society." (p.66).

After independence (1980), student activism waned, at least, for a while, as institutions were placed in the hands of black majority. In addition, the University of Zimbabwe Act sanctioned student participation in university governance—to serve on the senate and faculty boards.

But since the late 80s, protests have rejuvenated, with students demonstrating against government control of the university, cutbacks on student subsidies, and privatisation of some entities of the university, following the stringent Structural Adjustment Policies of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund.

African governments' response to student activism has been for the most part severe. Atter (1996) reports that in Nigeria, about 21 major riots took place between 1948 and 1979, and about 30 since 1980, which resulted in frequent closure of the university, arrest and detention of both students and professors, among other occurrences. He states that between 1985 and 1993 police killed more than 100 Nigerian students, and about 1000 others were imprisoned—and hundreds more suspended or even expelled from the university.

In Kenya, since its inception, the University of Nairobi has been closed more than seventeen times—each closure, accompanied by severe repression, arrests and expulsions.

Governments have employed other means to induce compliance among students. Strategies to this end often include co-optive measures of extending benefits to students demonstrating "good behaviour," such as

being part of the presidential or ministerial entourage on overseas travel; establishing a youth wing of the ruling party at the university as in the case of Uganda in the 1960s, where President Milton Obote maintained a youth appendage of his Uganda Peoples Congress party at Makerere University under the guise of National Union of Students of Uganda (NUSU). Other countries, such as Tanzania, have introduced national youth service programs to "politicise" students towards good citizenship (Nkinyangi, 1991).

In general, state reaction to student activism has been draconian: Students have been arrested and imprisoned, while the most unfortunate ones have lost their lives; professors have been arrested and imprisoned, while others have fled the country in search of academic freedom and better pay; universities have been closed numerous times, severely disrupting the education process; and as Nkinyangi (1991) affirms, student activism has become one of the major contributing factors to the current deterioration of higher education in Africa—a reality that, obviously, deserves scholarly attention.

STUDENT ACTIVISM IN UGANDA

In the case of Uganda, no empirical studies have been done to trace the evolution of student activism and its place in the development of higher education.

The literature on Uganda indicates that student activism is largely a post-independence phenomenon. Pre–independence students have been referred to as pacific, possessing a high "sense of maturity" (McPherson M, 1964; Langlands, 1977). The 1970 report of the Visitation Committee to Makerere University College stated that it was "greatly impressed by the sense of nationalism and responsibility already existing among students at Makerere . . . Makerere has been fortunate in that it has not been troubled by 'student Power' problems, which have disrupted normal life in so many universities throughout the world" (pp.7–8).

The absence of a formidable student movement for such a long time resulted from the vocational nature of colonial education, which offered students little opportunity for independent political thinking; the authoritarian character of British education; the heterogeneity of student population, hailing from Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika, and India; and the students' understanding that they would be heirs of colonial power after independence, thus opting to refrain from agitation (Mudoola, 1992).

But Makerere University students have on numerous occasions made their presence felt; and as in many other cases in Africa, with severe consequences—a story this book endeavours to tell.

Chapter Four

Student Activism at Makerere—The 1950s Generation

This chapter begins the story of student voice at Makerere University. The narrative is punctuated by eyewitness accounts of past and present student leaders/activists. For the sake of delimitation, only major critical incidents of student protest are explored, following a generational approach, and beginning with the 1950s generation of students. It is during this generation that the first strike (1952) occurred at Makerere University.

POLITICAL CONTEXT

As described in Chapter one, the early 1950s was an era characterized by renewed independence sentiments, with the Buganda kingdom still demanding its sovereignty and independence as a political entity within the protectorate. There was also a growing sense of nationalism on the part of civil society elsewhere. The first national political party (Uganda National Congress) was formed in 1952.

Despite all the attempts by the college administration to restrain student political consciousness, Makerere campus continued to act as a potential breeding ground for active politics. Wilson Lutala, a 1950s student leader, career civil servant, former cabinet minister, and now a commissioner recalls:

> That was just the beginning as, far as I'm concerned, of some kind of student movement, but it was influenced more by the politics of the outside, the national politics . . . the Uganda National Congress, I think that was the party at the time which had a lot of influence even on the students, a lot of students were drawn in to become members and to be

> youth wingers [youth branch of a political party] and so some students at Makerere were members of the Uganda National Congress and were playing part . . . mobilizing people and having communication with the leaders outside (Interviewed August 7, 2002, at his office in Kampala).

THE 1952 FOOD STRIKE

Precipitating Events

According to *The Uganda Herald* newspaper (August 19, 1952), the strike occurred not as an impulsive display of frustration, but after several attempts by students to bring to the attention of the college administration the food condition at Northcote. De Bunsen (the college principal) admits that although the major point of student dissatisfaction was food quality, other compounding food-related issues existed:

> The electric cooking apparatus was not in working order for a fortnight and the cooks were a scratch lot, inexperienced and sometimes drunk. Under these circumstances, and with only one Domestic Supervisor for three Halls of Residence, the necessary continuous supervision for cooking has been impossible. A second supervisor has been sanctioned but not yet found. Northcote Hall has been without its substantive Warden for the last six weeks; he fell ill and was removed to hospital. The Dean has equally been insufficiently accessible in other words, on the domestic side there has not been essential accessibility and a thorough study is necessary (De Bunsen, 1952 p.4).

Prior to the strike, the student guild president had met with the principal on several occasions to discuss the food question; and just the day before the strike took place, De Bunsen had met with the guild's mess chairman, and accordingly the representatives had agreed on the proposal to experiment with a common diet deemed agreeable for all students. But the rest of the students could wait no longer, hence the general assembly that resulted in the mass boycott.

Also, as students later confirmed, the food question was just the trigger point; other background issues compounded the crisis. Examples that students pointed out included the administration's refusal to "take responsibility for the security of their bicycles . . . the fact that the students were booked back at the end of term third class instead of the usual second class, owing to too late action with the Railway Authorities," among other reasons (De Bunsen, p.3).

It is important to note that although Makerere students were generally regarded as apolitical given the colonial government's deliberate move to avoid such exposure, students had begun to show some degree of political assertiveness. In April of the same year, just a few months before the food strike, students had participated in a small demonstration on campus, which was staged by the College Political Society to protest South Africa's racial discrimination. Although this was by all standards a minor and orderly demonstration, it served as an eye opener, especially to the college administrators. Indeed, the political jitters evident in the rest of the population were having a tangential impact at Makerere campus as well.

THE STRIKE

The 1952 food crisis was not only the first major protest to occur at Makerere campus, but also the only critical incident during the 1950s. The crisis events began on the morning of Monday August 11, 1952 when a group of students approached the college principal at his residence and presented to him a document they had named the "Mammoth Petition," signed by 206 out of 250 undergraduate students.

In the petition students were expressing their dissatisfaction with the quality of food, maintaining that it had become "intolerable," and demanded that they be served a European diet since the African diet of soup served with matooke (green bananas), rice and sweet potatoes was not well prepared. But the kind of European diet or its composition was not specified. They further insisted that the principal attend to their grievances in a week's time and threatened to strike if he failed to do so (De Bunsen, 1952).

In response, the principal agreed to read the petition, but refused to honour it, declaring it unofficial, because it was presented by some group of students, not the officially elected student representative body, the guild council.

On the afternoon of Sunday, August 17 1952, De Bunsen held a meeting with college Vice-Principal, Dean and Assistant Dean, during which the members decided that he (De Bunsen) put in writing the official position of the college administration, restating his refusal to handle official matters with an unofficial student group.

Following this decision, De Bunsen issued a definitive statement maintaining that he would only consider those concerns that were presented through the student guild council. He reiterated, "There is a Student's Guild elected by the students, with whom authorities have official relations and this Guild has a messing committee through which all questions regarding diet should be discussed" (1952, August 19). *The Uganda Herald,* p.1.

Upon reading the statement, students reacted by convening a general assembly, which gathered at around 9.45 P.M. that night (Sunday). They immediately resolved to suspend the guild council and its subcommittees, as well the guild constitution. Furthermore, the assembly decided to boycott classes and meals, and other college activities stating that "all undergraduates found it impossible to feed on the food that the college provides. They are now going without food, and this has inevitably incapacitated them from attending their lectures and other college activities" (1952, August 19). *The Uganda Herald,* p.1.

The strike, which students maintained would be a peaceful one, was set to begin the following day (Monday) at lunchtime. As planned, the majority of the students stood by their boycott resolution and refused to enter the dining hall for lunch on Monday. A number of them even attempted to block the dining hall entrance at Northcote[1] to prevent any student from entering. One student, however, was able to succeed "in penetrating the Dining Hall by a side door to get his meal, but two picketers followed him in, manhandled him and threw him out . . . there were two other similar cases at Mitchell Hall, one at lunch time and one at tea-time that day, and both in the presence of tutors, involving three further students" (De Bunsen, 1952).

By turning physical, the students had, in effect, violated their earlier stated non-violence resolution, a breach that caused much anxiety within the college administration. The principal then summoned all the students for an emergency meeting during which, in the presence of the vice-principal, he restated his position that he was ready to attend to their requests, but only through student representatives—the guild council officials.

De Bunsen further decried students' violation of college regulations and freedom of their colleagues who wished to follow the college rules. He also announced that the two student picketers (one from Kenya and another from Tanganyika) who had applied compulsive force to yank a student out of the dining hall were being sent down.[2] He then ordered the rest of the students to return to class for lectures the following day, cautioning them to desist from preventing those students who wished to participate in the college activities. But only a few students heeded the order, while the majority stuck to their decision to protest.

The following morning (Tuesday), students held a meeting, during which they denounced De Bunsen's decision to expel the two students, and resolved to stick together. Thereafter, they marched on to his residence to submit their position on the fate of the two students who had been sent down, a position that "regarded the sending down of two students as unfair, and that the situation was the common concern of all students. If the two

were sent down, others would feel they had to leave as well" (1952, August 21). *The Uganda Herald*, p.1.

In the meantime, the Principal had reached the decision to close the college. He was, in fact, holding a draft notice to that effect, which he read to students:

> In view of the fact that the many of the Undergraduates have not responded to instruction given at last night's meeting to return to lectures forthwith and to cease obstructing those who chose to attend Dining Halls, I must close the College. No Undergraduates may remain in College beyond midday tomorrow (20th August) without special permission signed by myself. Application to remain in residence must be made through the Dean and will only be granted in very exceptional circumstances. Each Undergraduate will receive by post a letter informing him individually whether or not he will be re-admitted to the College next term (1952, August 21). *The Uganda Herald,* p.1.

After issuing the order, De Bunsen arranged a private meeting at his residence with six students whom he believed to be the main architects of the strike. According to him the meeting was held in "complete frankness and I believe friendliness" (De Bunsen, 1952, p.3). At the meeting students acknowledged their involvement and maintained that in the event that the administration decided to send down any student, they should be among those expelled.

The following day, (Wednesday August 20), the college was officially closed and the students went home "without incident" (De Bunsen, p.3). The principal confirmed that none of the college authorities felt that their life was in danger, and as the students were leaving, he indicated to the press that close attention would be given to the matter in close collaboration with London, and stated that the administration's intention was not in favour of "wholesale disciplinary action. If there are other students, who after careful consideration have to be sent down, we hope the list will be an extremely small one." He affirmed that the college would continue to uphold the institutional values of freedom of speech, but insisted, "It must all depend on observance of the college constitution" (1952, August 21). *The Uganda Herald,* p.1.

AFTERMATH

On August 29, 1952, De Bunsen wrote readmission letters to all but the six students who were expelled, but not without a proviso. Those students

who wished to return to college were required to write a personal letter of intent addressed to the principal himself and including the following two admissions:

- That the methods used by the students had been wrong, whatever their strength of feeling and whatever legitimate complaints might have been advanced.
- That, as in any university, authority resides wholly with the "college"—meaning the principal, advised by his colleagues (East African High Commission Makerere College, October 6, 1952, p.1).

The six students who were sent down included the two (one from Kenya and one from Tanganyika) who were expelled before closing the college, two others from Kenya as well as one from Uganda and Zanzibar, respectively.

The college reopened September 19, and all the students except one, had accepted the readmission conditions as laid down by the principal. The atmosphere at the college was calm, rendering a favourable environment for events evaluation. A few days after returning to college the students held a meeting, during which they acknowledged and accepted responsibility for their role in the crisis, and as a way forward, they agreed to reinstate the student guild council.

In the meantime the administration was also engaged in evaluating its positions. A college council meeting was convened on October 2nd and the principal gave a full account of the crisis events. The council endorsed the way he had handled the crisis and acknowledged that the aftermath of the strike was, indeed, a moment of reflection and change, where necessary. For example, the council highlighted the fact that the undergraduates were undergoing a transition from secondary to college academic environment, and given their young age, they were quite deficient in maturity. In a more debasing manner, the council underscored "the need for a clear recognition of the limitations of the mental background of African students" and called upon the administration to offer more guidance (East African Commission, Makerere College, 1952, p.2).

The council also noted with concern the growing political consciousness among students, reminiscent of the earlier anti-apartheid protest, a manifestation that called for closer vigilance (East African High Commission, 1952). The dean of students resigned and the position of the hall warden was restructured to facilitate more attention to student welfare.

As the period of evaluation progressed, the administration came to realize the sentimental value undergraduates attached to their status as

college students. Makerere had just been elevated from a higher college or higher school to a status of a university college, an elevation that was accompanied by a state of euphoria among students, as they basked in their newfound elite status. Abu Mayanja, a 1950s student activist who played a leading role in the food strike reflects:

> I think we were a bit silly because we were big, because we had graduated from school children to undergraduates we were really big people . . . previously students at Makerere used to wear school uniform, with even green stockings . . . now we were putting on long trousers, dressing as we liked, and we thought we would be treated really differently . . . there was also a transition from regimentation of a secondary school into freedom. We used to share a room two per room in a hall, but when we went to Northcote Hall we had rooms for ourselves. We used to go out to dance, even we used to get bands from outside to come and play (Interviewed September 4, 1999, at his Law office in Kampala).

In a very unusual twist of events, four of the six expelled students actually received some unexpected benefits—a quintessential display of colonial diplomacy. These were Abu Mayanja from Uganda, and Josephat Karanja, Isaac Omolo, and Said Hamdun from Kenya. Considering these students to be "young men of real worth" De Bunsen used his connections within the Governor's office to obtain scholarships for the four students to study abroad, as Mayanja confirms: "I was expelled at the end of the second term 1952 and was sent to England in 1953. I started off at Cambridge, I read part I history for 2 years and part II Law for two years. I got an Upper Second class degree at Cambridge in 1957 and then went on to Lincoln to read Law" (Majanja).

Karanja and Omolo were sent to India, and Said Hamdun to the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies. Of the four, Mayanja, Omoro and Karanja had long careers in politics and government service, while Said Hamdun taught at Makerere University (Sicherman 2005).

INTERPRETIVE REFLECTION

As I analysed data, the following issues regarding student activism of the 1950s emerged: First, the central role of status and rights consciousness associated with education privilege; second, students' feeling of maturity, following their transition to college status. Hence their need to be treated accordingly.

A close examination of the 1952 food strike attests to a central fact: Unlike in most bread-and-butter strikes that have occurred at Makerere and other universities in Africa, this particular strike was not about the lack of food. Joyce Mpanga, a 1950s student leader, and former Uganda Cabinet Minister admits that food was plentiful—three course meals on a daily basis. She reminisces: "I remember in Mary Stuart [female hall of residence] we used to have plenty of bread for breakfast, plenty of bread for tea, and we used to carry food to our rooms to eat when, you know, at night you get hungry you would take your bananas and lots of them from the dining room" (Interviewed June 16, 2002, at National Theatre in Kampala).

Lutala also remembers:

> Oh I must say that the diet was excellent. We were fed almost entirely on rice and meat nearly every day and tea with bread, butter and the rest of it, all the time. When I left Makerere I had no appetite for rice having had it for five years. I lost my appetite for rice and the only alternative we had was sweet potatoes, but otherwise most of the time lunch and supper, rice and meat, bread and jam, and things like that.

The underlying cause of the 1952 food strike seems to have arisen from students' elevated sense of self-concept because of the privileges they had been accorded, which I have referred to as the psychology of esteem. As Balkan (1975) points out, African college students presume a certain degree of elite status, a perception that is accompanied by a sense of ownership, to the extent of demanding a new style of cuisine (European diet). Students were obviously cognizant of their privileged status within the young adult population, the majority of whom would never dream of attending college.

This kind of self-perception is associated with the British colonial system of education—a competitive, pyramidal system, designed to open the doors of college for only a few, thus creating a position of privilege and high esteem for most of those who actually made it. Students' newfound elevation in prestige and status was further bolstered by their self-perception as mature college students. As Mayanja admitted, this state of euphoria resulted from the freedoms and privileges associated with college status. And Lutala makes a similar observation:

> From Nabumali High School, where I attended my secondary education, to Makerere, my experience was that everything was new, the way of life was new because at school we were treated like children, and you were guided in everything, but when I came to Makerere, I found that everybody was free, I mean there was nobody to rely on . . . we

> had to grow up and be able to take our own decisions . . . we were the first to live in Northcote. Prior to that we had only Mitchell Hall. Northcote was a brand new Hall, new facilities; it was very difficult for us who had come from up country to get settled in an atmosphere of that kind.

The students' esteem consciousness portrayed above also ties into Balkan's characterization of African college students as agents of modernization. The occasional dances that Mayanja remembers, as well as the fascinating living condition at Northcote that Lutala describes above are some of the images of modernization, images that represented student distinction in society.

This sense of elation was not without limitations. Most prominent of its limitations was the hierarchical and subordinating power structure at Makerere and the often expressed sense that Africans were academically inadequate, as exemplified by the college council's post-crisis denigrating recommendation that the college remains cognizant of the "limitations of the mental background of African students."

Clearly, the 1952 food strike does not represent any student movement nor was it grounded in any ideological thought. Although, as noted before, the 1950s were years of heightened independence-related political activity, Makerere students participated only minimally, due perhaps to the heterogeneity of its student body, drawn from all across Eastern and Southern Africa, as well as the administration's known apprehension about student political consciousness. Also, the creation of vocational education, whereby students were, in a way, programmed to acquire the knowledge needed for certain specific middle class leadership roles, may have played a part in forestalling student political participation.

Chapter Five

The 1960s Generation

POLITICAL CONTEXT

The 1960s was a time of great political activity in Uganda, highlighted especially by the following landmark events: Independence from British colonial control; a multi-party political marathon, eventually leading to the emergence of Milton Obote as Uganda's first constitutionally elected Prime Minister; the 1966 crisis resulting from the rift between Obote and his "ally" the king of Buganda (Kabaka), which resulted in his (Kabaka) exile in London; Idi Amin's ascendance into the echelons of military power; and President Obote's "Move to the Left" socialist politics.

Makerere campus was not insulated from this era of political metamorphosis. Students were as engaged as the rest of the population. President Obote's "Move to the Left" socialist agenda buttressed the student movements' socialist stance. Ruhakana Rugunda, a 1960s/1970s student activist and President, National Union of Student of Uganda (NUSU), currently serving as Cabinet Minister affirms: "We were committed socialists, very committed radicals who denounced imperialism and all forms of oppression" (Interviewed July 25, 2002, at his office in Kampala).

Their socio-political voice was mainly transmitted through organized associations as Omara Atubo, another 1960s/1970s student activist, a career politician, former Cabinet Minister, and currently, Member of Parliament recalls:

> There was a very active student movement through mainly two organizations, one was the national one called NUSU; you might have heard that this is the National Union of Students of Uganda, whose leadership was dominated by university students mainly from Makerere although we had other Ugandan students as well and those from

> Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi universities as part of NUSU. Then we had our own university organization called Uganda Makerere Students Association UMSA; you know at that time Makerere was still an East African university, so we had something like 60% Ugandan students and the other 40% was shared between Kenya, Tanzania, Zanzibar and other nationalities . . . we also had what was called the Makerere University Guild . . . yes it was through these institutions that we were pretty active (Interviewed July 29, 2002, at Speke Hotel Garden restaurant in Kampala).

NUSU was evidently a formidable conduit for president Obote's UPC political aspirations, not only on campus but also in the rest of the country. Makerere students were often dispatched to different upcountry stations to articulate to the masses the meaning of socialism, and in particular, President Obote's 'Common Man's Charter.' Atubo further recalls:

> NUSU had a lot of impact and I must say both the university and the government respected us. The UPC government supported NUSU. Since were unrelenting believers in socialism, the Obote government used us to translate and propagate his Common Man's Charter across the country; and mind you, a Makerere student was very highly respected, because we were very few at the time, and the name Makerere itself carried a lot of esteem in the whole of Eastern Africa, being the only university then. We were very big and people in the villages had to listen to us.
>
> Although NUSU was supposed to be non-partisan, I must admit that we had a lot of sympathy for UPC government and we supported it very strongly, but we were also critical from within . . . we would condemn the government where we felt it had gone wrong (Atubo, 2002).

Students' Guild politics were also reflective of the different ideological orientations evident in the country's political spectrum. Avitus Tibarimbasa, a 1960s/1970s student activist, former Makerere University Secretary, and currently Member of Parliament vividly recalls:

> The race between Butime and Kiggundu [contestants of the Guild presidency] was very hot. Butime won because he stood on the ticket of the progressives while Kiggundu stood on the ticket of the conservatives. Progressives believed in republicanism whereas the conservatives believed in Kingdoms. For me I was associated with republicanism, the progressives. We [progressives] were very much in support of Obote's 'Move to the Left' agenda (Interviewed July 11, 2002, at his Parliament office).

In the 1960s time frame, two critical incidents occurred: The 1965 Anti-America and the 1968 Anti-Smith demonstrations.

THE 1965 ANTI-AMERICA DEMONSTRATION

On the morning of Tuesday, February 16, 1965, Makerere University students marched toward the American Embassy in Kampala to demonstrate their opposition to "America's involvement in Congo's violation of Uganda's boarder" (1965, February 23). *The Makererian,* p.1.

The newspaper reports that students were infuriated by Congo's acts of aggression, which occurred Saturday, February 13th. Mounting a U.S.-made military aircraft, Congo bombed two Ugandan territories of Goli and Paidha located in the northwestern district of West Nile. America was implicated for complicity in the bombing campaign.

As the militant crowd matched along Kampala streets, bawling, "Yankees go home," some non-university city residents joined them, while others cheered them along. Upon reaching the American embassy, located in Kampala city centre, two demonstrators grabbed the American flag, which they dismounted and shredded into pieces.

Immediately, the government deployed a phalanx of Special Police forces armed with tear gas, which managed to diffuse the demonstration. During the stampede, some students lost their shoes while others lost their eyeglasses. The demonstrating students eventually found their way back to campus and classes resumed normally the following day. No property damage was reported, and demonstration ended without much consequence. But in the students' view, its objective was achieved: to make a statement of disapproval to the U.S. government.

In his open letter to the U.S. ambassador in Kampala, the student guild president Mr. Kayobo Shija stated, "We join Uganda and Africa as a whole in upholding the policy of non-alignment which does not tolerate any form of foreign intervention or any form of violation of Uganda's and Africa's independence and sovereignty" (1965, February 23). *The Makererian,* p.2.

THE 1968 ANTI-SMITH PROTEST

Precipitating Events

Makerere students' long-time vexation toward Britain's unwavering support to Prime Minister Ian Smith's regime in Rhodesia reached its climax when his government executed three African nationalists by hanging. Three years earlier (November 1965) Makerere Guild President, Akiiki Mujaju, had convened a student general assembly to discuss British policy on Rhodesia.

During the meeting, students had issued a strong condemnation of Britain's enabling support to the Smith regime, a regime that had gained a reputation all across Africa for being reprehensible and racist.

Mujaju stated that the student leadership had obtained "conclusive evidence to justify their conviction that the British government is following a policy of favouritism in Rhodesia." He further underscored the Rhodesia question to be "a very crucial one and the British government was unwilling to use force against their lunatic racial kin." Several other student leaders voiced their opinion as well: The Tanzania student leader affirmed that it was high time that "Africans started facing the responsibility of mobilizing their own energies to fight for the cause of justice on the continent," while the Zambian student leader charged: "Zambian students would climb the earliest plane to Zambia if called upon to fight for the country" (1965, November 17). *The Makererian,* p.1.

The Secretary General of the University Students of East Africa Association (U.S.E.A.A) issued a letter to the British government with the following demands:

> To restore order and tranquillity in Rhodesia by imposing a military intervention against the rebel regime . . . put Smith and his fellow idiots under effective house arrest pending the trial of high treason against the Crown . . . release all African nationalist leaders now in detention and in prison, and establish a new and workable constitution, which will guarantee immediate majority rule on the Colony (1965, November 17). *The Makererian.* p.1.

The above display of outrage and similar demands from Pan-Africanists based in other parts of the continent did little to compel Britain's policy review on Rhodesia. These were the portents of what was to occur in Uganda and elsewhere, three years later.

ON TO KAMPALA (1968)

The hanging of three anti-colonial African nationalists in Rhodesia opened the wounds of indignation, prompting the students to vent their anger via open protest. On Thursday March 14, 1968, Guild President Noah Miguda convened a student general assembly in search of a student collective voice to condemn the heinous act.

During the assembly, Miguda called upon the students to observe a moment of silence in remembrance of victims. Two British students (Duncan and Cain) on the Teachers for East Africa (TEA) program ignored the

remembrance call, and were immediately expelled from the assembly. Their behaviour infuriated the rest of the students so much that the authorities made arrangements to keep the two students under police protection for fear of retribution against them. The student leaders issued a demand that the duo be deported immediately to their home country, Britain.

Meanwhile the assembly resolved to demonstrate by marching to the British high commission office in Kampala, to seek an audience with the commissioner. Guild officials then presented the government with a formal request to demonstrate, which was granted. In addition, the deputy high commissioner indicated that he would be available to listen to students' concerns. The demonstration was slated for Saturday morning March 16, 1968.

As planned, the protest march began Saturday morning immediately after breakfast, with over 600 students heading toward the main gate, and wending their way to the city centre, where British High Commission offices were located. Their central sticking point was the British government's "failure to tame Smith" (1968, March 20). *The Makererian,* p.1.

Clad in their red academic gowns, students marched, waving placards denouncing Ian Smith and his Rhodesian government, and reverberating the following slogan epithets: "Hang Smith for Murder," "Ian Smith go home," "Queen—toothless," "Britain where is thy honour," "Bulldog stop howling," "Hang Wilson and Smith, and save Africa," "Smith is a murderer—hang him," "Prepare Wilson's coffin." Other students were waving tree branches, with the effigy of Ian Smith tied to the back of a scooter. (1968, March 20). *The Makererian,* p.1.

Police marched along to keep order, and made no attempt to constrain the crowds. Along the way, the students attracted an enthusiastic crowd of Kampala residents who were prodded by the anti-colonial sentiments. The residents immediately joined in and the march went on. "We were no longer individuals: we were then part of an angry group. We had been told there would be someone from the embassy to talk to us and that the building would stay open. But the British embassy had voted for safety first—as though we were after their blood" (1968, March 20). *The Makererian,* p.1.

The closed Embassy doors, without anyone to address the students, served only to intensify the crowds' anger and frustration. Some demonstrators then began to throw stones at the embassy building, breaking a couple of windowpanes. Police officers tried but in vain to assuage the crowds. Stone and rotten-egg throwing continued, while the rest of the crowd cheered at the sound of the breaking glass.

At one point some students spotted two Uganda Argus newspaper photographers trying to take pictures. They yanked the camera from one of

them, breaking it in the process, and assaulted the other journalist, but not severely (1968, March 18). *Uganda Argus*.

Eventually, the chief of police managed to enter the building, but his attempts to convince the embassy official to meet the student delegation were unsuccessful. The deputy high commissioner had declined to meet the delegation, charging that by turning violent, students had violated their promise to stage a peaceful demonstration.

Upon further cogitation, however, the deputy high commissioner indicated to the police chief that he would only be willing to accept the guild's written statement. The police chief then relayed this new concession and ordered the crowds to leave the embassy premises. In the mood of exasperation, the students set Smith's effigy on fire, with the crowds cheering at its incineration. "Finally, all hope of getting into the Embassy was given up and Miguda handed the letter of petition to the Embassy representative at the door, he then gave a press release to numerous pressmen. After that, there was nothing else to do but to head back to the college" (1968, March 20). *The Makererian,* p.8.

The student's protest statement to the High Commission read thus:

> We the members of Makerere Student Guild Have followed with great concern and deep sorrow the shameful, flagrant blinded denial of the African people of Zimbabwe of their right to self-determination and existence. This denial of human rights has recently culminated in a cold-blooded hanging of several Africans, at the horror and cry of Africa and the world at large.
>
> The absurd fact is that Smith and his regime have completely closed their ears to peaceful and reasoned protestation. It is our belief that the British Government has not told the truth about her stand on the Rhodesian issue. While claiming to have sovereignty over Rhodesia, the British government has been defied openly and shamelessly before the whole world.
>
> Her Majesty's Government, to deceive the world, declared to the United Nations Organization that this was an internal problem she was capable of solving, and yet she sat back to watch the situation deteriorate rapidly.
>
> One now begins to wonder whether the U.D.I. [Unilateral Declaration of Independence] was not connivance between the British Government and the White minority in Rhodesia, and whether the racist policy in Rhodesia was not a direct reflection of British racist policy elsewhere.
>
> The world has been deceived once into believing the declared British intentions but at a great disappointment. The sanctions have failed and

> your authority has been defied and the myth of her Majesty's sovereignty over Rhodesia is unveiled.
>
> It is an absurd claim to a lost cause. Is it not time the British Government took up arms and showed the world that she is not a toothless bulldog by bringing down the Smith government? Or else, let the British Government declare that she is incapable of solving the Rhodesian rapidly deteriorating situation, so that the helpless Africans could look elsewhere.
>
> We should like to ask whether the British monarchy is still what it used to be. The Queen dismissed Ian Smith and his ministers during the U.D.I., and recently reprieved the three Africans but all in vain.
>
> It is a sad fact but one wonders whether the British people have any respect left for their Queen. Who is greater, Smith or the Queen? Despite the gloomy picture, we should like to assure you that humanity will eventually triumph. The murder of the Africans in Rhodesia is just another spur to the human plight the world over. The forces of oppression will be crushed, the pretenders will be exposed and the African people will sing with joy at the arrival of real freedom (1968, March 18). *Uganda Argus,* p.3.

On their way back to the college student protesters vented their frustration on white residents.

> Kampala is one of the cities in independent Africa where no colour is an automatic passport for danger. But the angry students, reinforced by the indignant public turned the race back to college into something of a racial riot between Africans and Asians against the unprepared whites that happened to be driving along the Main Street. What started as a mere gesture of anger turned into a nasty situation in which white-skinned passers-by were either pushed about or had their cars damaged—though not seriously. African and Asian boys and girls, moved on like a menacing heat wave, and the hearts of white drivers and passengers leapt in fear" (1968, March 20). *The Makererian,* p.8.

However, students maintained that their behaviour toward white residents was a mere reaction to British policies toward Rhodesia, and had nothing to do with individual white persons. Some of the students even expressed pity and regret, urging restraint. "Our anger was not directed at any individual, nor at any skin colour—we are angry with what is happening in Zimbabwe, while Britain is moving backwards like a threatening

dog that is so frightened that it [sic] can hardly bare its teeth—if it has any" (1968, March 20). *The Makererian,* p.8.

In regard to property damage, the *Uganda Argus* (March 18, 1968) reported that fifteen people were assaulted and thirty cars damaged. The U.S. embassy official also reported smashed windows on their information service centre building.

Tempers had somewhat cooled down by the time the students re-entered the college campus after almost two hours of mayhem. They immediately called upon Mr. Yusuf Lule, the college principal, to address the situation, while renewing their demand that the two Britons, who had refused to join the rest of the students in a one-minute moment of silence for the executed victims, be deported. He addressed the agitated students assembled at Main Hall and urged them not to victimize individuals.

After the principal's address, the students retired rather peacefully to their halls of residence. And a week later the principal held several meetings with academic staff, as well as students to discuss Saturday's events.

AFTERMATH

At a meeting with Senior Academic Staff Association members on Monday 18, 1968, Lule discussed the demonstration. He underscored the sticking issues of discontent, their immediate causes, and the regrettable acts of violence that had ensued. The Association meeting then issued the following resolution:

> While reaffirming the right of students to demonstrate peacefully on major issues, which offend their sensibilities, and without prejudice to the main cause of this recent demonstration, the college regrets the violent incidents, which marred that demonstration. Acts of violence against defenceless individuals were the unplanned and unintended outcome of the demonstration. They do not represent the attitude or carry the approval of the vast majority of the university community (1968, March 20). *Uganda Argus,* p.2.

Also, the members proposed a compensatory fund for individual victims, a proposal that was endorsed by the students as well.

On Tuesday, March 19, Mr. Lure gave a press conference, where he again narrated the highlights of the demonstration coupled with the association's resolutions. He stated that student leaders had attempted to maintain peace during the demonstration, but were simply overrun by the angry crowds composed of both students and Kampala residents.

Mr. Lule also underscored the role of the resident participants, whose presence crystallized the mayhem. He, however, indicated to the press that the students had regretted the turn of events and had sent out letters of apology, especially, to the white victims (1968, March 20). *Uganda Argus.*

A few days later, the *Uganda Argus* newspaper leadership presented to the guild president its damages claim of 180 Uganda shillings to repair their broken camera; and Mr. Miguda offered the following response to the claimant: "bring the students who damaged your camera before the Guild, we would be able to talk a little more sensibly" (1968, March 19). *Uganda Argus,* p.1.

INTERPRETIVE REFLECTION

The 1960s depicts a shift in student activity, from relative political reticence to increasing participation, especially in the pan-African movement associated with the politics of independence. Both demonstrations rallied around the Anti-colonial stance of the time, thus rendering credence to Nkinyangi's (1991) argument that student protests in Africa are not always about bread and butter; that students have on many occasions cared about and articulated issues that go beyond campus.

Within the pan-African motif, a new student's movement was emerging, not only at Makerere but also across Africa. But again, as compared to students in other countries like those in Kenya, who were directly involved in their country's struggle for independence, Makerere University students appeared to maintain their modest political stance.

Enshrined in the new movement was the banner of ideological thought based on the 1960s anti-imperialist African socialism. The obvious antithesis of the socialist drive was capitalism, which was blamed for the existing gulf between the educated wealthy minority and the impoverished majority as, Atubo describes:

> We seriously believed that socialism was the solution to Africa's backwardness, and we believed that governments must spearhead change and you know, those who would benefit from capitalism were mainly Asians and Europeans; and for the Africans, because their level of education was low, their participation in governance and business was low as well; and we were not ready to maintain the status quo which allowed Asian and Whites to continue expanding, while Africans are systematically marginalized. Our understanding of political independence was supposed to be economic independence meaning that Africans would take charge of the economy and that in this early

> stage, the Africans must be assisted by government to go into that field, and that could only come through socialist policy—and you know who were benefiting from capitalism (Atubo, 2002).

African students were drawn to socialism because of their strong belief in the values of equality and democracy, and the politics of grassroots empowerment. African socialism emerges as a hybrid of scientific socialism upheld in Eastern Europe and African traditional forms of social organizing.

For African students, the socio-political motif of Africanization carried continental legitimacy, hence the massive 1968 Anti-Smith demonstrations at most college campuses all across Africa.

It is noticeable that African student political consciousness of the 1960s, whose focus was on issues of social justice coincides with the civil rights movement in the United States, which quite significantly, benefited from student participation.

Evidently, student activism of the 1960s was not concerned with bread-and-butter issues, partly because of the obviously growing sense of political maturity among students, and partly because student welfare at the time was quite satisfactory, with three-course meals still available, as well as a whole slew of student allowances.

Chapter Six
The 1970s Generation

The 1970s generation was punctuated by a series of events at Makerere, each of them contributing to the escalation of student resentment of President Idi Amin's regime—and culminating in the infamous "Black Tuesday" backlash. Here we notice a shift toward national and campus specific issues as compared to the previous generation, when ideology (African socialism) and pan-African issues dominated campus politics. Idi Amin's military dictatorship was so much of a clear and present danger to the country including Makerere University, that students were more concerned about survival than either ideology or pan-African identity.

POLITICAL CONTEXT

The 1970s period was marked by the following major events: The 1971 Idi Amin military *coup detat* which forced president Milton Obote into exile in Tanzania; President Idi Amin's 1972 decision to expel Indians; the failed 1972 Anti-Amin invasion impelled by Ugandan exiles; the 1976 Israeli raid of Entebbe airport aimed at rescuing Israel hostages held by Palestinian plane hijackers; and the 1979 political demise of president Idi Amin.

The period immediately following Idi Amin's ascendancy to power was perceived by many, including Makerere University students, as auspicious, given the obvious fatigue with Obote among some sections of the population, especially, those in the opposition block. Most critical among his detractors were the Baganda, whose King (Mutesa) he had deposed in 1966. Also the anti-socialists (pro-capitalists), and those who felt excluded from the country's political life, saw the coming of Idi Amin as a portentous opportunity for political change. Gaetano Rubarema, a 1970s student and currently a secondary school headmaster recalls:

> There was a lot of sectarianism, a lot of tribalism, corruption, and therefore people were generally unhappy . . . you can see there are some tribes who were beneficiaries of the government, especially the northern tribes were really the beneficiaries of the scheme and some of these western tribes were really having it rough . . . they were not very much favoured and even the Baganda were also disillusioned, you know, about the 1966 crisis when Obote abrogated the constitution and promulgated one man rule, and abolished the kingdoms. I think people were generally unhappy because Obote was becoming very slippery in his dealings with people and you couldn't really trust him (Interviewed May 31, 2002, at his school office near Kabale town).

Despite Obote's departure, however, the wave of socialist thought that had captured the conscience of the university community remained. Its main conduit, NUSU, attempted to keep its voice alive, at least for a while. But by and large, the change of government and Amin's "liberation" rhetoric enraptured the university community particularly during the early days of his new government. Just like his predecessor (Milton Obote), President Amin quickly acknowledged that Makerere University was an indispensable force in national politics. He made frequent visits addressing the students and staff, and making tantalizing promises of a new and propitious era in the history of Uganda. Choosing the path of expediency, Idi Amin was able to step into students' ideological minds, by positioning himself as a revolutionary pan-Africanist committed to destroying all forms of imperialism and Zionism. All along he was relentless in assuring the nation that he was a professional soldier not a politician, maintaining that it was only a matter of time for the a new civilian government to emerge via national election—once the country had gained its stability.

The radical socialist students, however, remained sceptical and critical of the new government—and somehow maintained some ties with their old protagonist Milton Obote, now in exile in Tanzania, ties that the new government was not willing to ignore.

Eventually, Idi Amin began his move to fully ensconce himself in the seat of power, first by militarising the government. In 1971, he suspended the cabinet and appointed semi-educated military officers to fill the cabinet positions—a move that many perceived to be a mockery of their intelligence and democratic values.

Makerere University students were particularly outraged and openly demanded immediate elections, and a return to democratic governance. To maintain his tenacious grip on power, President Amin orchestrated a

labyrinthine spy network not only at Makerere University but also across the country. Makerere was replete with State Research Bureau agents,[1] deployed especially to quell the NUSU-based pro-Obote sentiment. The militarization of politics and governance resulted in arbitrary arrests and brutal murders of prominent individuals perceived to be anti-government. For fear of President Amin's retribution, some radical student leaders eventually fled into exile following threats of arrest. These include former NUSU president Ruhakana Rugunda in 1972, and Guild President Olara Otunu, who in 1973 openly excoriated the military government for its political ineptitude. Following Otunu's departure, the guild was banned, sending its activities into abeyance. But clandestine student politics remained, based mainly in halls of residence.

Particularly devastating to the university community was the brutal murder of its Vice-Chancellor, Frank Kalimuzo in 1972, allegedly by government operatives. He was accused of being one of former president Milton Obote's agents. The murder presented itself as a resounding reminder that Makerere was not immune to Idi Amin's pursuit of absolute power. In addition, the university was dealing with a deeply distressing academic reality—that sitting at the pinnacle of the institutional echelon, the University Chancellor, was Idi Amin himself, barely a third-grade graduate.

THE AMIN-MAKERERE TRACTION

Although the beginnings of President Idi Amin's regime were accompanied by some degree of merriment, the Makerere University community, as noted earlier, was quick to realize the ominous portents of his presence as the national leader. He was not only despised for his lack of education but also for his political ineptitude. Some critical issues were particularly distressing to the student community: their vice-chancellor had been murdered in 1972; their pocket money allowance commonly known as "boom" had been removed in 1973; the university had become a haven for military intelligence. In addition, Idi Amin, a Moslem himself, had began to implement his dream of turning Uganda into an Islamic state, following his bruised relationship with Britain, Israel and the United States.

To sell his agenda, President Amin occasionally invited Moslem leaders, such as King Faisal of Saudi Arabia and President Gadaffi of Libya, to address the university community. During one such visit Gadaffi enraged the students, causing an immediate walkout, much to the chagrin of his host, when he stated, "imperialism used Christianity to conquer and exploit Africans. This is why Africans hate Christianity. In the academic world people ought to refer to the Quoran [sic] and study" (Guweddeko,

F. May 24, 1998, *Sunday Monitor,* p.15). In the meantime the Anti-Amin tensions were rapidly growing as exemplified by the three critical incidents described below.

THE 1976 ANTI-AMIN MAKERERE IMBROGLIO

The year 1976 was particularly critical at the university, punctuated by a string of demonstrations. Most prominent among them were the "Sserwanga" and "Black Tuesday" demonstrations. One of the precipitating events occurred On February 15, 1976, when one female student, Esther Chesire, a Kenyan, and a resident of Africa Hall, was reportedly abducted by the Uganda government's State Research Bureau operatives and murdered. The incident resulted in bitter acrimony between the two neighbouring countries, and Uganda's incessant denials only served to deepen Kenya's aggravation.

THE SSERWANGA DEMONSTRATION

Almost four weeks after the death of Chesire, (March 6, 1976), Public Safety Unit police gunned down a Law student by the name of Paul Sserwanga around 3:00 A.M. in the morning, after a night out with friends. He was shot and killed instantly as he entered the small campus gate near University Hall. Reportedly, the shooting was a result of a romantic affair because Sserwanga was dating a young lady whom one of the police officers desired (Kyemba, H. 1977; Avirgan, T. & Honey, M. 1982).

But the government's version of the story was totally different, as exhibited by the following statement issued by the Ministry of Internal Affairs:

> Police patrol car, while on duty patrolling Wandegeya near Kampala came across four people breaking into a house situated in a place known as Katanga Village, within Wandegeya area. When the four people saw the car, they started running away and they were chased. During the chase, the officer in charge of the police patrol car ordered the four people to stop but they disobeyed, and fire was opened, one of them was shot dead. The other three run away and escaped. Later the one who was shot at was found dead and the body was taken to Mulago hospital mortuary. It was later on discovered by police that the deceased was a student of Makerere University.
>
> When the police contacted the university authorities on the matter, the university authorities confirmed that a boy called Paul Sserwanga was one of their third-year students in the faculty of Law . . . and confirmed that it was most unusual for students to

> leave at such odd hours . . . this case was a clear case of Kondoism (theft) . . . according to the law security officers on duty had powers to open fire at any kondo particularly when caught red-handed stealing property . . . (1976, March 8). *Uganda Argus,* p.1.

Upon receiving the tragic news, students immediately started developing plans for a public demonstration against the government. The demonstration commenced on the morning of Sunday, March 7, 1976. Daudi Migereko, one of the demonstration's main protagonists, and a cabinet minister in the present government, vividly recalls:

> So I met with Kagata Namiti and I also met with Sabiiti and Tumwebaze and we reflected on the shooting that had taken place by the State Research fellows outside University Hall. We agreed at that time that we go and do our exams and that as soon as we are through with the exams, we send a message to all students in the halls of residence. We had student leaders like Specioza [former Vice-President of Uganda] in Mary Stuart, Tondo in Livingstone, and as I have told you there was Kalule in Northcote . . . and so forth. We said no, we would have to gather at the freedom square and we go to demonstrate in town. So, as soon as we finished our examination, and had our lunch, we gathered at 2 o'clock at the Main Hall.
>
> We then decided to go and notify the vice-chancellor, who was Professor Lutwama at that time—that we were dissatisfied with the state of affairs in the country, which had led to the killing of Sserwanga, our student. So we moved to Sserwanga's home in Kibuli. We caught Idi Amin unaware—he didn't know what was happening but as we were coming back his forces at the main hall confronted us. They started carrying out a search of those who were suspected to have been in the lead, and this was really Kagata Namiti. We put him on the train and he left the country via Kenya. From Kenya he went to Mozambique and later we linked up as he moved to Tanzania.
>
> His moving to Tanzania helped us because it gave better support and encouragement to the student movement because we started receiving phone calls from the people in Tanzania and we continued on . . . (Interviewed June 18, 2002, at his office in Kampala).

In a rather elaborative way, Guweddeko (1998), a freelance writer reports:

> Makerere students were mobilised by Kagata Namiti (RIP) and Chapa Karuhanga to demonstrate against the two murders. Some students

> were reluctant but they were persuaded that it was only a march to pay last respects to the late Sserwanga's body at his parents' home in Kibuli. Most students thought they were matching to Kibuli to mourn for Paul Sserwanga. According to Yafeesi Bbossa, a statistics student and one of the genuine mourners, they were surprised to see other students with anti-Amin cards and calling the public to join them end Aminism. Bbossa was in the second group led by Chapa Karuhanga, which was stopped at City Square by the Education Minister brigadier Kili and the military police. The first group from Kibuli, with Kagata Namiti, joined the students. Brigadier Kili made a short speech to which Namiti replied, openly castigating the military government as gangs of killers unfit to rule any country. The organizers of the student demonstration thought that since Amin was unpopular, the general population would join them. They had got assurances from contacts that the army, instead of suppressing them, would support them and remove Amin (Guweddeko, F. June 28, 1998, *Sunday Monitor,* p.15).

The next day President Amin went to address the university community, an address that the vast majority of the students boycotted. Only a few students and members of the academic and administrative staff attended. During his address the president expressed concern about the loss of life, and promised to appoint a commission of inquiry to investigate Sserwanga's death and look into the entire university tapestry, warning that the "culprits" would be brought to justice. His speech however, reinforced the government's earlier report that the incident was a result of a robbery gone bad and reiterated that government would do all in its power to "stamp out theft, because thieves broke into houses and killed people in the houses they broke in" (1976, March 9). *Voice of Uganda,* p.18.

The aura of unrest persisted for some time, with students venting their anger in various ways, such as tearing down President Amin's pictures and mounting roadblocks at the campus, among other things. In the end, some semblance of normalcy returned as the community waited on Amin's promise to launch a commission of inquiry.

AFTERMATH

On Monday of March 15, 1976, President Amin made a public pronouncement stating that his government, as promised, had set up a commission of inquiry to investigate Sserwanga's death in accordance with Section 2 of the Commissions of Inquiry Act. He, however, maintained that the subject of the inquiry was Sserwanga's death coupled with the university administrative

apparatus, not Chesire's murder, as many had demanded. Inevitably, the announcement caused quite a furor in the Kenyan government.

The commission team was composed of the following officials: Professor Langlands from the Makerere University Geography department, to serve as Chairman, with Elly Karuhanga, a state attorney in the ministry of Justice as Secretary. Other commissioners on the team included John Dixon, the bursar of Lubiri Senior Secondary School, Mengo Kampala; Obonyo, Senior Superintendent of Police; Odwe, Provincial Police Commander, Masaka; Ruba, Assistant Superintendent of Prisons and the Assistant Superintendent of Police Special Branch, Mbale. Legal experts appointed to provide counsel were Mulenga, a private attorney and Atare, a senior state attorney in the Ministry of Justice.

In his announcement Amin stated that he had granted full legal power to the commission—to summon witnesses and subpoena any documents that it would deem germane to the case. He promised government's full cooperation (1976, March 16). *Voice of Uganda.*

The Inquiry was, however, off to a rocky start as its Chairman, Professor Langlands, demanded that the commission extend its investigating arm into Chesire's disappearance, a demand that the Amin government continued to resist, being implicated in the murder. Eventually, the government reluctantly gave in, following the March 26 joint press release by Sally Gethire, a Makerere student from Kenya, and Kenya's ministry of foreign affairs, reproaching the Uganda government for its alleged involvement in Chesire's disappearance (Guweddeko, 1998). Guweddeko further reports that because Gethire was back in Kenya, and could not, for political reasons, travel to Uganda to testify, the Kenyan government relied on Mrs. Nanziri Bukenya, the warden of Africa Hall where Chesire resided. She was to provide the implicating testimony. Guweddeko further states:

> On June 23, Sally Gethire and the Kenyan foreign ministry telephoned Mrs. Nanziri Mukasa-Bukenya, the Africa Hall warden and briefed her on what to say of the death of Esther. State Research Agents who shortly after picked Mrs. Nanziri and accused her of being an agent of Kenya monitored the call. They shot her twice through the neck and dumped her body in River Ssezibwa. To the annoyance of the military government, the body of the Africa Hall Warden was retrieved and laid in state in the University Main Hall where students paid their respects (Guweddeko, F. July 5, 1998, *Sunday Monitor,* p.15).

A few months after the Commission's launching, Professor Langlands began a listening visitation to students in their halls of residence. But he

would not go far with the process, because the government viewed his student contact with much suspicion. He was eventually expelled from the country, as Guweddeko confirms:

> Professor Langlands's tour of the students' halls began July 23, 1976 after touring four halls, Professor Langlands was arrested by SRB and accused of inciting students against the government during his rounds. Professor Langlands's captors drove him to a deserted busy site by Lake Victoria where they waited for instruction for the whole day. A message was sent that Langlands was given 24 hours to leave Uganda. Professor Langlands, who finally died in Lockerbie air-crash in 1998, said that the initial intention of taking him to the bush was probably to kill him (Guweddeko, F. July 12, 1998, *Sunday Monitor*, p.15).

THE BLACK TUESDAY BACKLASH

Although the commission of inquiry kept limping along, the atmosphere at Makerere was far from pacific. Open agitation had fizzled out, but not the outrage toward the military government. Disturbing memories of the Amin government's repressive and sometimes atrocious behaviour at Makerere remained alive in the minds of students: the death of Vice-Chancellor Frank Kalimuzo (Oct 1972); the banning of NUSU in 1972; the banning of the Guild in 1973 following Guild President Otunu's flight into exile; the removal of student pocket money allowance (boom); the Feb 15 disappearance of Chesire; the Paul Sserwanga murder; and the brutal Murder of Mrs. Nanziri, among other incidents.

To vent their exasperation, students had on March 19th boycotted almost en masse the university ceremony at which President Idi Amin was granted an honorary doctorate in Law. Furthermore, on July 8, 1976, students demonstrated their frustration, charging that up to that time the commission of inquiry had failed to produce its report on death at the university (Langlands, 1977).

Immediately after Mrs. Nanziri's burial, some students started designing plans to incite a massive popular revolt against the military government. One of the inspiring forces was students' success in initiating popular rebellions in several countries, such as Sudan (1964) and Ethiopia (1974), rebellions that brought down those governments (Guweddeko, F. June 28, 1998, *Sunday Monitor)*.

Other sources of motivation comprised the following: The ongoing compatriot support provided by former Makerere University students who had fled into exile, especially those living in Tanzania; material and moral

support from Ugandan politicians living in exile; and the deteriorating national economy, which served to fuel frustration within the general population. Reflecting on this political environment, Migereko further narrates:

> We really wanted to be done with Idi Amin; we thought we would bring him down, and the temperature in the country gave us the feeling that the ground was fertile: the population was getting fed up with this man, the army was dissatisfied and the Israel invasion had taken place, so we thought we would build on all this and get this guy out. And there was a fuel crisis at that time so we thought we would be able to take advantage of all of this, to get the guy out of our way; we were taking advantage of the developments in the country (Migereko, 2002).

The Day

Guweddeko (1998) reports that the students' surreptitious plans to overthrow Idi Amin's military government were designed in Lumumba Hall (room C 25), following Mrs. Nanziri's burial. Chapa Karuhanga, one of plan's chief architects was charged with making external contacts and Daudi Migereko for internal liaison. Karuhanga, who is a former Presidential candidate and currently a Business Consultant, confirms:

> We would hold meetings in halls of residence and we were doing some underground recruiting. I was linking with people who were trying to fight Idi Amin, I would go out and hold meetings with them, they would send me a vehicle to pick me and we would at times meet in Nabugabo—we would go to that resort as if we were enjoying ourselves yet we would be there to plan against the government (Interviewed June 27, 2002, at his office in Kampala).

The plot to overthrow the government was slated for August 3, 1976, and was preceded by a great deal of networking both within and outside the country. Events that occurred during the month of July 1976 served to fuel emotions: the commission of inquiry was stalling, following Professor Langlands's abduction and eventual expulsion, and on July 4, 1976 Israelis raided Entebbe airport and successfully rescued their hostages.

Furthermore, to Idi Amin's personal mortification, Makerere students demonstrated their opposition to his attempt to have his own son, Taban, a high school dropout, admitted into the university's undergraduate program. Taban was all the same admitted under his father's orders and provided with an apartment normally reserved for faculty lecturers. About the same events Migereko goes on to narrate:

> When Nanziri was killed, we tried to demonstrate but we did not get a lot of support from the students and even people from outside. But also we wanted to take advantage of the Israeli Invasion—we were also talking to people outside including, soldiers who had told us that if we demonstrated, Idi Amin would send them out to come and quell the strike, and in the process that would give them the opportunity to throw him out, but it never worked out. . . . We had meetings in my room which was C25 Lumumba Hall, we met all night and did not allow people to walk out of that hall until the time for alerting various halls came . . . and by the time students woke up, we told them that we shouldn't go for classes; we actually stopped them from going for classes—we were set for the demonstration, but the soldiers we were expecting never came. So when we went to the freedom square, and we found that Idi Amin had sent in his forces, and they were very, very rough with us, they treated us very harshly, very harshly, quite a number were hurt, most of them students who were not even involved in the planning and did not even know what was going on–the innocent ones.
>
> Many of my colleagues ran away and some left the country, like Richard Buteera, Etima Arunga, Onek, and a number joined the University of Nairobi, others University of Dar-es-Salaam. We had hoped that this would be a big uprising similar to the student uprisings that had taken place in Khartoum and brought down a government and that type of thing, but it didn't work.

Days before the slated date for the massive rebellion, students had secretly disseminated anti-government information to the public via leaflets. But as Guweddeko reports, the population was so intimidated by Amin and his brutal spy network that they generally remained indifferent.

As a trigger point, just the day before the rebellion, students strategically chose to underscore university-based grievances, directed, specifically, at the vice-chancellor. They pinpointed the following demands: that the vice-chancellor make a statement on President Amin's demand that the university provide the names of the purported anti-government students; that the student guild and boom must be reinstated; and that food diet should be greatly improved, among other things.

In issuing the above demands, students called upon their colleagues to boycott classes until the university administration would attend to their concerns (Guweddeko, F, July 26, 1998, *Sunday Monitor)*.

According to Guweddeko, the majority of the students were not aware of the furtive plan to initiate a protracted rebellion against the government.

Later during the night, some students began to unravel the plan by distributing the following anti-government circular:

> No lectures tomorrow! We want a new government in Uganda! Everybody is behind us; the civilians, the police, the air force and non-Kakwa soldiers. All these people are waiting for us (students) to strike off. No working tomorrow. We meet at Freedom Square at 8:00 A.M. to move. Uganda has suffered enough (Guweddeko, July 26, 1998, *Sunday Monitor,* p.20).

Guweddeko (1998) further narrates the day's events:

> On the morning of August 3, 1976, students gathered at the Freedom Square. Unfortunately some were impatient and started chanting anti-Amin statements. Professor Lutwama tried to address the students at 10:00 A.M., but he was booed down by accusations like 'Amin's puppet; Amin's dog'! . . . Meanwhile they were being surrounded by troops carefully selected from Lubiri, Makindye [army barracks], the Public Safety Unit, Marines and the State Research Bureau. There were no non-Kakwas or non-Sudanese soldiers who were expected to support the students. As the students moved towards the university main-gate at about 11:00 A.M. the troops commanded by Brig. Taban Lupaayi and Major Minawa (both Sudanese) Lt. Col. Itabuka and Kasim Obura charged from two sides shooting in the air. Some frightened students fled, while those who took cover, military style, were arrested.
>
> The arrested students were first made to move on their bare knees from University Main Hall up the main gate [about 150 yards], from where they were taken to different military units-Lubiri, Makindye, Bugolobi, Mbuya and Nagulu (Guweddeko, July 26, 1998, *Sunday Monitor,* p.20).

At the prisons, students were subjected to severe torture, as Karuhanga painfully remembers:

> I was arrested with many others and taken to Makindye, the others were released and six were left, no we were seven, and I was the seventh. I was tortured alone . . . and then they went to Makerere and told the dean of students, George Kihuguru, that they only had 6 students but among the people who I think they assigned to kill me, one was sympathetic with me. He said don't worry, so when they came to release the six, they also told me to lie down in the middle of the Land Rover,

> and when we reached Makerere, we found there intelligence people and now, instead of six (my name was not there) we were seven, and they finally saw me. The Dean also saw me. He sent for me, and I went there . . . he gave me money, and I ran into exile in Kenya. Unfortunately at that time some people within the Kenya government wanted to repatriate me back to Amin and I had my luck. I was staying with Akena P'Ojok who is from Acholi; he was looking after me, and actually protecting me . . . he smuggled me out of Kenya took me to the Airport, and I flew to Tanzania . . . I went to University of Zambia and I continued the struggle as well as my studies until we came back in 1979.

Writing on the same incident Guweddeko states:

> In the evening of that day soldiers returned to campus led by Idi Amin's son Taban, Lt. Col. Itabuka, Major Minawa and the SRB officer Lt. Amir, attacked Mary Stuart and Lumumba Hall. The boys were caught unawares, paraded outside Lumumba and ordered to crawl on their knees up to St. Augustine Church. Itabuka accused them of being guerrillas and agents of Israel . . . the Mary Stuart girls first barricaded themselves inside. From the balcony, they abused the soldiers while chanting Lumumba Oyee! [Lumumba Thumbs Up!] Amin Zee! [Amin Thumbs Down] Israel Oyee! [Israel Thumbs Up] Kakwa Zee! [Kakwa (Amin's tribe) Thumbs Down] "Nubi Zee! [Nubi (Amini's Sudanese associates) Thumbs Down!] Soldiers broke the gate and entered the hall . . . the girls were thoroughly raped.
>
> These activities ended when Cardinal Emmanuel Nsubuga [Roman Catholic] and Archbishop Janan Luwum [Anglican] arrived in the company of VC Prof. Lutwama, to see if any students had been killed. Many girls were however treated for multiple rape and infection (Guweddeko, F. July 26, 1998, *Sunday Monitor,* p.20).

The day ended on a very sad note as Amin's military wrath claimed many injured victims, while the rest of the students went into hiding, and others fled the country into exile. Thereafter, no student would even dare contemplate challenging the government again, opting for undercover political activity as Frank Byamugisha, a 1970s student, who is currently a Portfolio Manager at the World Bank, Washington, DC recalls: "That was the only strike during Amin's regime, and actually not just in the university, but also country-wide. People were too much scared to rise again" (Interviewed May 4, 2002, on phone from his home in Washington, DC).

And Rubarema maintains:

> With Amin it was not prison or probably going to answer before the court; it would mean the end of your life, they would make you disappear—and what aggravated the matter at the university, is that some of our colleagues, especially his tribesmen [Kakwa] were spying on us, and some—you know in society there are some ambitious people—traitors; those are ever there, you know, they want to gain money, and as a result they will give you up, and eventually you find yourself dead . . . yes everybody feared for his life.

Upon probing the reason for the rebellion's miscarriage Migereko admitted:

> First of all we were dealing with people we had never had time to seriously go through what we were doing; secondly, Amin was very harsh; he always dealt harshly with whoever opposed him and this the soldiers knew. For us as students we still thought we could get away with it. The only time we realized that Idi Amin would spare nobody was when he killed the Archbishop Janan Luwum.
>
> In fact that quieted the student movement and the agitation went down after the killing of the Archbishop, Ministers Oryema and Oboth Ofumbi in February 1977, and so on . . . but the fact of the matter is that the struggle continued clandestinely, arms were really being ferried into the country—and of course we were scared because we knew what was happening with the phone calls we were receiving from Dar-es-Salaam—they were being intercepted. So we had a cease-fire. Later on I had to come back to campus after staying away for maybe two weeks. I had been staying at Nakasero. Upon returning, I found out that many of the people who were close to me had left the country.

INTERPRETIVE REFLECTION

The 1970s nexus of critical incidents centres around one extreme human rights violation: murder. The string of killings that preceded the "Black Tuesday" menace, all of them allegedly by government operatives, represent a major assault, not only on the basic human right to live, but also on education's integrity and the value of university autonomy.

Literature on African student activism reveals how students' rights became a central cause of their antipathy for what they perceived as the use of illegitimate authority. Their claim for their rights is a reflection of self-perceived role as leaders of conscience, and in their minds, any show of weakness would be viewed as a sell-out of society and education's integrity.

But student activism of the Idi Amin era takes on a new and extreme objective—an ambitious attempt to overthrow the government. Students believed that if Idi Amin were to be removed from power, they had a pivotal role to play. After all, the 1972 Anti-Amin invasion launched by the Ugandan exile conglomerate had ended in ignominious failure. Here again, students attempted to claim their elite status as the conscience of the nation.

The 1960s leftist propaganda had left students politically charged and empowered to claim a niche in civil society as an intellectual and political force. It is in this frame of mind that Idi Amin was initially lauded as a liberator because Milton Obote's sectarian and corrupt politics had represented a breach of social trust and manifested what students perceived to be political hypocrisy. The populist gospel that Milton Obote had employed to capture student political consciousness was, ironically, the cause of his political demise when his leadership began to manifest double standards.

The "Black Tuesday" rebellion was the first and only time Ugandan students have ventured the extremities of overthrowing the government—an aberration, indeed, because as Barkan (1975) suggests, Ugandan students have tended to be more of political "insiders" than "outsiders," meaning that their political activism has occurred within the established political system, with few attempts to challenge the establishment. This extreme kind of political idealism has since waned, perhaps due to the bitter memories of "Black Tuesday."

Another strand of student activism relates to what has often occurred elsewhere in Africa, whereby students have on some occasions allied themselves with other activist constituencies to prop up their collective voice, and to give their cause much more legitimacy. In their abortive blueprint to overthrow the Amin government, Makerere University students attempted to enlist the participation of the dissident section of the army, as well as the general population, only to be disappointed at the last moment.

In recent years, this kind of alliance has resurfaced, but is only limited to constituencies within the academy as exemplified by the marriage between students and the academic staff in their vigorous pursuit of allowances.

Also notable during this period was the shift of student rancour from the university administration to the military government. The military government was believed to be a clear and present danger, not only to campus security, but also to the country at large. Given the university's dependency on public funds, it was also subjected to the shifting whims of the military government.

Chapter Seven

The 1980s Generation

POLITICAL CONTEXT

The early 1980s were also politically charged years. President Idi Amin had been overthrown on April 12, 1979 by a coalition of Ugandan exile forces (Uganda National Liberation Army) and Tanzania People's Defense Army, and hope for a return to popular democracy had dawned. But the transitional period following Amin's departure was punctuated by a dramatic turn of events: Professor Yusuf Lule's tenure as interim president would only last 68 days. His successor Godfrey Binaisa, did not survive long, either—only a few months, to be replaced by a military commission headed by Paulo Muwanga.

The December 1980 political campaigns and general elections were characterized by a rejuvenation of contentious political encounters between the Democratic Party and the Uganda Peoples Congress Party reminiscent of the early 1960s. UPC was still the favoured party of the Northern Uganda Luo-speaking Acholis and Langis, Milton Obote's own ethnic background; and this was, obviously, his most formidable constituency, upon which he relied for political survival. Obote won the presidential elections, but in the minds of most Ugandans, UPC's victory came as a result of political manipulation and vote rigging. Clearly, Milton Obote's presidency was off to a challenging start: the Democratic Party, perceived to have legitimately won the election, was outraged as it assumed the opposition status in parliament. Yoweri Museveni (the current president of Uganda) took his exasperation to the bush to begin guerrilla warfare, and the country was left dangerously divided.

On July 27, 1985, Milton Obote was himself overthrown by one of his generals (Tito Okello) but barely one year passed before Yoweri Museveni and his National Resistance Army took over power in January of 1986.

MAKERERE UNIVERSITY AND THE POLITICS OF THE 1980S

Idi Amin's political demise had ushered in a ray of optimism at Makerere. And since the new Uganda National Liberation Front government was composed of technocrats and seasoned politicians, adding to the aura of hope, students envisioned a great opportunity to play a leadership role in transforming the country. Major John Kazoora, a 1970s/1980s student leader/activist, and currently, Member of Parliament, reflects: "Of course as I told you, there were a lot of expectations because we had just left military governance and we expected some democratic reforms both at campus and in the country." (Interviewed June 19, 2002, at his Parliament office in Kampala). And Opiyo Oloya, former Guild President (1980/1981), currently resident in Canada elaborates:

> At that time campus was really the hotbed of politics . . . politics pertaining to Uganda as a whole because as you know, Makerere is a microcosm of Uganda, with almost all ethnic groups represented.
>
> Therefore, at that time politics was the hot topic for discussion, especially, given that Uganda had been liberated from Amin only a few months earlier. So many people were beginning to look optimistically to the new country, Uganda. Many people were thinking that time has come for us to bring back democracy. And I guess in our minds then, you could say that we were idealistic, we were looking at a really democratic system, which is more on the US or British style, where you have opposition parties and people can campaign freely and do whatever they wanted to do. Campus was the focus of that because many of the senior government officials of the day who were hoping to sustain themselves in power or even to campaign in the 1980 elections, which were held in December 1980, were visiting campus, hoping to recruit young student supporters who would be torch bearers . . . so we were not confined to Makerere politics. Local politics were a concern OK, but the overwhelming majority of students were tuned to what was happening in the country. And I think there was an overwhelming sense of optimism—that things had come to change for the better (Interviewed September 7, 2002, on phone from his home in Canada).

Major General Mugisha Muntu (Retired), a 1980s student activist, and currently, Member, East African Legislative Assembly (East African Community) recollects:

> We looked at the country with a lot of hope because we thought that that was the turning point, we thought that the failures of the past would be learned from by the political actors, and lead democracy to its logical conclusion, however, long it would take; but again as I said earlier, it was unfortunate that our hopes were shattered. You could see that most of the political activists were looking for personal gains, looting state resources and not caring about what happens to the country (Interviewed June 16, 2002, at Uganda Parliament cafeteria)

And Eustacius Betubiza, a student activist of the same generation, and a World Bank senior economist, resident in Washington, DC, makes this observation:

> During Amin's time student efforts to assert their democratic rights were always met with stiff resistance. His downfall in 1979 generated a sense of relief, but then, towards the end of 1980 people began to realize that their hopes were being dashed away. There was earlier a sense of liberation and excitement that was building up—finally the dictator is gone, we are going to be free again, and then all of a sudden there comes the December 1980 elections, you realize that we were not as liberated as we thought we were. Certainly at the time guild elections were being held at Makerere, I never would have imagined that students would be arrested and imprisoned, which they were. We thought we had left that stuff behind. We thought that Uganda had changed, that Uganda was different, and such a thing would not happen . . . (Interviewed May 12, 2002, on phone from his home in Washington, DC).

The post-Amin optimism began to ebb, especially when the exiled former president, Milton Obote, returned to campaign for the presidency. The old wounds of tribal, regional, and religious recrimination of the 1960s began to open, and conflicts between Uganda Peoples' Congress and Democratic Party predictably ensued. Yoweri Museveni had formed a new political party—Uganda Patriotic Movement, which attracted young progressives from UPC and DP, the two traditional parties. Also in the mix was the Conservative Party, operational mainly in Buganda, and led by Mayanja Nkangi.

The same political configuration was also reflected at the university, most notably during the guild presidential elections, which were held just before national elections, as Kazoora remembers:

> You may recall that 1980 was a year of heightened politicking for national election but before the national elections we had Guild and Hall

> elections. You know there were political parties mainly the UPC, DP, UPM and the Conservative Party and all these national leaders had embraced the students and they were competing for political influence. Now DP students combined with UPM supporters and won the Guild election and also the Hall elections. UPCs never took any seat, but UPC later won at the national level. Remember at that time Makerere was the only university and there was no way UPC could have allowed to see a university that was anti-government, one that did not support the government.

As if losing Guild and Hall election was not enough of a blow to the UPC, the person who won the guild presidency (Opiyo Oloya) was an Acholi. Although he was from Obote's ethnic background, he was an ardent supporter and campaigner for the Democratic Party (DP), a traditional adversary of the Uganda People's Congress. In the minds of Milton Obote and the UPC, an Acholi joining the Democratic Party, whose constituency was composed mainly of the Baganda from the central region and the different ethnicities in western Uganda, was a complete sellout.

The resumption of the guild immediately following Idi Amin's exit would be quite onerous due to the inevitably partisan political temperature as Oloya recalls:

> The student leader [Guild President] of the time, I believe was Ndamulani Atenyi. He allied himself very closely with the UPC; and I guess the students did not want him to talk on their behalf about the UPC thing, and so they began to move toward removing him. I believe with the vote of no confidence, he was removed. And in his place was put another student by the name of Walike Watua; and this would be now coming closer to August/September of 1980 . . . and again, he too was impeached because of a series of other things, and he was also removed from power.
>
> So now the question was that who would be the next student president? All this time, I did nothing about running. I was not interested in student politics. I had come back from Gulu [Major town in Acholi land]; the students who had gone with Ssemogerere [the DP presidential candidate] had seen me in action. I organized a police escort to make sure that they could be protected in Gulu, but I had forgotten all about it, and I was back on campus—and just continuing with my studies. The next question was who would be the next president, and the deadline was approaching. And a group of students, some of whom had been to Gulu and seen me, said, we want you to run. I said no, listen, I will not run. And they said, you have to run. And I said no—it is not my strong point, and I'm not interested. And I said, look, if you

> still feel strongly about it, on the day that the nominations are due, I will consider it. And so they came back, including the current Minister of Information Basoga Nsaadhu. He was the returning officer to whom we had to make our nominations at campus. So this group of students persuaded me. I remember just within an hour or less to the deadline we took my nomination papers . . . so we put it in, and right away we began to organize ourselves and there was no question that this was really going to be national politics.
>
> It wasn't much about student politics any more. Everybody knew what was at stake. They wanted someone who could reflect popular sentiments on campus. And the popular sentiment on campus was, we better get back to democratic style in our national politics and not this dictatorship. That was the overwhelming sentiment. As you can imagine, that even though UPCs was very vocal and violent, they were not actually that popular. So again, I believe they fielded a student called Kwesiga (I think that was his name). All I know he was a medical student, or something like that. This was about August/September or October, perhaps.
>
> I ran on the ticket of national unity and reconciliation, and making sure that our voices would be heard at the national level. I did not campaign that much; I gave a few speeches here and there; everywhere I went the organization on the ground was very solid. The only hall that I was very careful not to stay in was Lumumba, which was a UPC bastion. But Nkrumah, Northcote, Mitchell, University Hall, and the two women halls of residence Mary Stuart and Africa were all ok. Although the UPC engineered a lot of things to delay my swearing in after I was declared winner, I was sworn in anyway. And in fact, the day that I was sworn in, they distracted the ceremony, not before the swearing in, but just a few seconds after I said 'I do solemnly swear to carry out my duty as a student president.' They came and distracted the whole process. So I was sworn in with a few of my ministers. And we went on to begin work, and this was really difficult (Oloya, 2002).

During the 1980s, a generation that was mostly punctuated by political party slugfest as described above, three major incidents occurred: The 1981 Guild interdict demonstration, the 1985 lecture boycott, and the 1989 allowances protest.

THE 1981 GUILD INTERDICT DEMONSTRATION

The 1981 student demonstration that resulted from government's decision to ban the student guild traces its background in the UPC/DP political cleavages,

which were evident not only at the university but also in the rest of the county. As mentioned above, an Acholi Democratic Party sympathizer had won the guild presidential election, much to the embarrassment the UPC, which had lost not only the presidency but also hall leadership. But as one of the student leaders predicted, after "winning" the national presidential elections, the UPC was not about to let Makerere University remain in the hands of Government detractors. To make matters worse, upon receiving the national election results, the students had issued a stinging statement indicting the UPC party for openly rigging the election, a statement that, obviously, infuriated the new administration, as Oloya vividly remembers:

> We all know that Muwanga delayed the results for over 48 hours. Because, I believe the UPC was soundly defeated, and so, for our part we made a statement that we believe that the election was fraudulent and the results are unacceptable; and that Ugandans were basically denied their rights to free and democratic election. And therefore we do not as student body recognize the installation of Obote as president of Uganda. And this really hurt them. It really hurt them, and it bothered them.
>
> Once the statement came out, they were ready to do everything they could to get me out of office. They brought a lot of procedural wrangling to get me out of power, and I believe they set up a commission of inquiry supposedly to investigate how things were going on in the guild, but the commissioners were our supporters, not so much that they were our supporters, but because they were fair minded people.
>
> There were also a series of supposed raids around Makerere, and the army would suddenly pop up and say, we saw something around the guild offices . . . and so the army would come in and close up the Wandegeya gate . . . there was a time, at least on two occasions, when a group of students came and grabbed the guild files and ran away with them—and in fact one of them was caught and he turned out to be a UPC supporter. He was taken to campus police, and so on. And of course there was nothing that we could do. So things were getting a little bit tense for me. And then sometime earlier they had grabbed two students purported to be supporters of Yoweri Museveni, the UPM leader who had launched guerrilla warfare in protestation of the rigged election.
>
> So the police grabbed two women from Mary Stuart Hall and one of them happened to be Dora Kitaburaza, and she was the basis upon which we launched a rescue mission from the police where the two women had been detained without any charges levelled against

them . . . we went to see Luwuliza-Kirunda, who was, I believe, the minister of internal Affairs at that time. And we met briefly with the minister to ask why these two women were being held without any charges levelled against them, maintaining that it was unconstitutional, and a violation of their rights. And we said that look; we are going to make this a big international issue. We are going to talk, call a press conference and we are going to demonstrate. But we will give you a chance to do something about it.

Well, Kirunda went and released the girls, and I understand President Obote was furious, but I do not know the truth of that, I have no way of verifying that . . . now this would have been around February 20 or so.

And then these guys were getting more furious. Finally they said we have had enough of these people on campus. On the evening of February 24, I recall I was coming from one of the Halls of residence, I think it could have been Africa, returning to Northcote. And on my way back I noticed that I was being followed. You know, there were two people following me and they were talking. And they said, tonight we are going to get him, meaning myself. They knew that I was the one, and they were following me. He is going to be hanged for treason, and they were saying this . . . but I was not disturbed by that nonsense and I got back to my Hall.

About less than half an hour later, John Kakooza, whom I believe is with National Insurance Corporation, rushed into my room and said, 'we must demonstrate,' ' we must demonstrate.' I said to him 'calm down, why do we have to demonstrate?' 'We do not have to demonstrate.' He said, 'did you hear the news'? And I said, ' what was the news?' He said that they have banned the guild government; and I asked him, 'where did you hear that?' He said, 'we heard it on the 7 o'clock news?' And he said, ' you are supposed to report to the nearest police station, with all the guild keys and so forth.'

It was Newton Isaac Ojok, Minister of Education, who issued the statement . . . basically the government was seeing the guild as an effective opposition to the government, because DP by this time was silent, Museveni was in the bush, nobody really cared. But Makerere could speak with some authority. We could actually issue a statement and it would be reported on BBC and all those international news stations. So we were really a thorn in the side of the government, and they did not like that at all—they had to silence us.

So once I got that news I said ok, 'are you really sure?' And he said, 'yes.' I then said, 'just give me a minute to go and talk to some friends

> and I will be right back.' What I understood, and knew very clearly was that if the government was willing to issue that kind of news of banning the guild, it also meant that they were going to move massively with force. And I had no question about that. Now I wasn't afraid of being arrested, but I thought it would be stupid to just get myself killed. And so when I told Kakooza to give me a minute, I took off—jumped through the window from the second floor, and with another friend, we went to the home of one of the professors.
>
> Not more than an hour later, campus was in uproar, there was a demonstration. We could hear the banging, students yelling and people shouting, but we were already in the professor's house. People did not know. And the person leading the demonstration was Olyema and there was another Munyankole guy called Akiza. These led the demonstration. And so we could hear the shouting and we could also hear the gunfire, and students running. The next morning the professor organized someone to take me out of campus in a private vehicle. And so I escaped, and the first place, which I thought was secure, is where the other students had run as well. So we linked up there and we were in a series of different homes and so on. We stayed in Kampala for a while, and March 6 we were driven to Jinja, we changed to public transportation, we drove to Busia and from Busia we entered Kenya March 6 1981. We stayed in Kenya for three months, and June 7 we were air lifted to Canada.

In his book, *The Agony of Uganda: From Idi Amin to Obote,* Francis A. W. Bwengye gives a dramatic representation of the political partisan milieu, as well as the actual protests, following the Guild interdict announcement. He writes:

> On the 20th of February 1981, Obote invited his UPC supporters at the campus, led by George Kihuguru and some student leaders, to meet him at State House Entebbe. This meeting was used to master a plan to overthrow the democratically elected Student Government of Opiyo-Oloya. The next day the UPC students broke into the Guild offices and looted guild files, beat up the guild officials, grabbed the keys and purported to have overthrown the Government. The majority of the students was shocked by such a move and took steps to have the culprits arrested and handed over to the Police . . . It became clear, day after day, that the UPC students were determined to destroy the Guild. They went underground and held secret sessions with UPC Parliamentarians and Ministers
>
> To the utter astonishment of the whole nation, it was announced over the Radio that the Guild Government had been dissolved. The

> new Minister of Education, Dr Ojok made the announcement the night of the very day . . . the Guild offices were invaded by the police and army troops. The students spent sleepless nights as most of them were harassed and beaten by both UPC students and soldiers. A number of students were arrested.
>
> This triggered off a demonstration organized by DP/UPM students' leaders calling upon the Government and the Guild. This was answered by sending in more troops who started beating up students and shooting at them. . . . The UPC supporters, armed with pistols went on rampage stoning non-UPC students, breaking into their rooms, looting and burning their books and property. Real anarchy engulfed the whole campus. Many non-UPC students had to flee for fear of being arrested, manhandled or killed . . . hence forth the Guild was thrown into limbo and campus politics ceased and got replaced by a new network of intelligence system, akin to that of KGB, manned by UPC supporters to carry on spying for Obote and terrorize the opponents of the regime (Bwengye, A W. 1985. pp. 138–139).

Although the government gained the upper hand due to its military advantage, tension and insecurity reigned on, particularly on the side of non-UPC affiliated student. "And this was now the time when people [students] were running to the bush [to join Yoweri Museveni's guerrilla war], like Major General Mugisha-Muntu, and a number of people, like Brigadier Tumukunde, Colonel Biraro, myself and a number of other colleagues who died" (Kazoora, 2002).

This wave of discontent among students persisted well into 1984 giving rise to the mass lecture boycott a year later.

THE 1985 LECTURE BOYCOTT

Backdrop

On October 30,1984, the guild leadership had convened a student general assembly at the freedom square to voice their complaint about the deteriorating condition of the food diet being served in their halls of residence "beans, posho [maize bread] and very bad rice . . . the worst was the marram [combination of maize bread and beans] ever served" (1984, October 31). *The Star,* p. 1–2.

The underlying source of aggravation, however, was not the food, but the students' perception that some university officials were embezzling the funds intended for student welfare. By calling a protest assembly, the students wanted to send a message that the community was aware of the

corrupt behaviour exhibited by some university administration officials, and were not ready to let such unprofessional conduct go unchecked. This wave of discontent led to the 1985 mass boycott.

THE BOYCOTT

One of the immediate vexing issue was the impending guild presidential elections, which had been delayed a number of times. Students perceived the elections' postponement to be a tactic initiated by the some university administrators, especially the dean of students and other UPC supporters, for a UPC-backed candidate to become the new guild president. On this question, *The Star* newspaper reported:

> Trouble is brewing at Makerere University, Kampala due to failure to hold the proposed Guild elections this year. According to information gathered by The Star, several students at the university have threatened to employ 'our own justice' if the elections are not held properly. Students interviewed yesterday at the university said that they have reason to believe that the postponement of the Guild elections on two occasions now, was being done to enable some 'top people' at the university nominate their own Guild President . . . other students at the university said they had learnt that top officials at campus were planning to impose somebody on them as their president (1985, February 14). *The Star,* p.1.

The strike began on Thursday February 14, 1985, when Guild President, Otunnu Ogenga, called a general assembly at Freedom Square, where students unanimously resolved to boycott lectures and other university activities until the university administration would respond to their concerns.

Among the aggravating issues aired at the assembly was the deteriorating state of the bookshop, usually open only half the time during the academic year. The accusing finger was pointed at its manager whom students upbraided for corruption and demanded that the university set up a commission of inquiry to investigate not just the manager's conduct, but also the entire bookshop apparatus.

Also, students revisited the pressing issue of some UPC-driven university officials attempting to manipulate Guild elections in order to impose a guild president of their own, a UPC supporter. Implicated in this supposed manoeuvre was the warden of Nkrumah Hall and the dean of students, a well-known UPC duo at the university.

Edward Wanda, a former student activist, and currently serving as Operational Research Analyst for Metropolitan Transportation Authority

(MTA), New York City, recalls: "We felt that the government should have no hand in student politics at Makerere. And our objective was to have government's hands off the politics of Makerere. The students should be able to elect their own leadership from Hall to Guild level" (Interviewed May 5, 2002, on phone from his home in New York)

After the assembly, students headed for the dean of student's office to demand his endorsement of the assembly's resolutions. Apparently, the dean was unavailable. Students then took their protest around campus, where, at some point the Vice-Chancellor, Professor Asavia-Wandira, came along and commended them for taking the path of non-violence, while requesting them to go back to class as the administration considered their concerns—an invitation that the students firmly rejected. At that point, information reached the demonstrating students that President Milton Obote had, in his capacity as Chancellor, demanded to meet with the student leaders (1985 February 16). *The Star.*

According to the same newspaper, a document originating from the vice-chancellor's office and bearing his signature was circulated all over campus. It contained a peremptory demand that students disband their protest and report back to class immediately, and that all forms of student assemblage were forthwith banned unless sanctioned by the police. As expected, the circular only served to crystallize the students' rancour.

In the mood of defiance, Guild President Otuunu Ogenga called another general assembly on Monday, February 18, to communicate to the students the results of the student leaders' meeting with President Obote. In his speech, Otunnu quickly reaffirmed student's inexorable decision to perpetuate the boycott rigor and amid cheers, he called upon the assembly to resist any attempts by anyone to dictate terms to them. Much more indignation was directed at the dean of students, George Kihuguru, whom the students accused of manipulating their politics in order to install a UPC sympathizer as the guild president. In a rhetorical manner, and as a way of boosting student's morale, Otunnu periodically punctuated his diatribe at the dean with the following Swahili language epithets: "Kihuguru Chini!" (Down with Kihuguru) and the students would respond "Chini Kabisa!" (down indeed!). About this assembly and its consequences *The Star* reported:

> A strong contingent of Special Force policemen as well as the regular police converged on the university campus in the morning hours of yesterday. Commanded by the Inspector of Police himself, police immediately surrounded Students who had gathered at the Freedom Square. . . . When the police arrived at Freedom Square, a high-ranking

> police officer tried to address the students but he was shouted down. It is then that police shot gas canisters in the crowd. Immediately most students ran away, but a small group, which included Otunnu-Ogenga, stood their ground. The police then arrested Otunnu-Ogenga and led him away on a Land Rover off the campus. It was not immediately known where they took him (1985, February 19). *The Star,* p.1.

Because of his blood relationship with some top military officials, Otunnu was later released. And through a great deal of manoeuvring, a UPC supporter became the next Guild president, as Betubiza further narrates:

> So the students were by and large in support of William Otto, while the government had its own candidate, who I remember was a guy named George Okurupa . . . eventually the government sponsored student took over because there was massive intimidation and some students who were not supporting the government candidate were arrested. And there was mass manipulation of the elections themselves, and eventually the government had its way; but that certainly did not sit well with the student community who really wanted democracy in its true sense, and were a bit more idealistic about democratic governance—their freedom to elect their own leaders. But with the government's involvement students knew that the candidate imposed on them was not going to serve in their interest (Betubiza, 2002).

THE 1989 "ALLOWANCES" BOYCOTT

The aura of distrust between students and the administration persisted during this decade, the former accusing the latter of corruption and disregard for their welfare. During the late 1980s dramatic economic reforms were phased in, following the World Bank/IMF Structural Adjustment Policies designed for indebted developing countries and aimed at reinvigorating their economies. Uganda adapted the reform measure in 1987 by, first of all, devaluating the Uganda shilling by two and a half times, followed by other sector-wide reforms, which resulted in massive cutbacks on government spending.

Makerere University, being a government-funded public university, became an obvious target of the Government's rectification agenda. In this light, President Yoweri Museveni appointed a visitation committee to look into the university apparatus and make recommendations for change.

The committee's report, which was released July 1987, attracted much indignation, especially from students, when they came to learn that one

of the recommendations was to remove their allowances. To be abolished were allowances traditionally accorded to students: book and transport allowances, as well as pocket money ("boom"). The government would, however, provide tuition fees.

It was suggested that a system of cost-sharing be introduced at the university whereby the parents would have to share the burden of educating their children, especially towards their room and board expenses.

The committee further recommended that instead of the book allowance, a system of a 'Book Bank" be introduced, whereby enough books would be available to each department for students to borrow and return at the end of the academic year.

To ease the students' financial burden, it was recommended that the university find ways of providing student assistance through loan schemes, bursaries and scholarships, especially for high achieving and needy students. Another recommendation included in the report was that only first and final year students would be provided residency at the university and the rest (second year) would be non-resident (Makerere Visitation Report, 1987).

As expected, the above recommendations were received with much resentment not only by students, but also the academic staff, who were placing their own demands for a living wage. Earlier, in May of 1989, the university teaching staff had gone on strike via their union, known as Makerere University Academic Staff Association (MUASA) to demand an appropriate living wage and allowances to enable them provide sufficient service to the university. Their strike had attracted unwavering support from the students and other university workers—all of them condemning corruption, perceived to be prevalent at the university (Kawule, G. May 3, 1989, *The New Vision.)*

Nobert Mao, former Guild President (1990/1991) and currently, Member of Parliament recollects:

> We came at the wake of the demonstration, which was against the report of a Visitation Committee report that was published by Professor Senteza Kajubi. Among other things, the report recommended the abolition of book allowance, transport allowance, stationary allowance. They also made some proposals, which would result in tighter control of Guild activities by university authorities, and so many other recommendations, and there was a scuffle (Interviewed July 19, 2002 at his Parliament office in Kampala).

In addition, Innocent Rugambwa, a former 1980s student, who is currently, Parliament Librarian states:

> There was also a rumour that the government was planning to scrap off government student sponsorship. We felt that too much was being done in so short a time, whereas from what we had witnessed the government officials were taking a big share of the national cake; we would see them getting really more and having a good time whereas we were suffocating day and night. We didn't see a clear justification as to why the economy could not afford those allowances when we were seeing government officials driving Mercedes Benz and increasing their own allowances and so on. The cutbacks should have began there and not on the poor students (Interviewed July 22, 2002, at his library office in Kampala).

On May 3, 1988, students staged a demonstration on campus to protest the new proposals. Then on August 2, 1989, the permanent secretary, Ministry of Education, Rev. Fr. Pius Tibanyendera, issued a circular to all government-funded higher education institutions stating that the government had removed the following student allowances: transport, stationery, living out for non-resident students, dependants for mature entrants, medical, textbook, and "boom." The announcement resulted in a contagion of indignation, which quickly spread to all government-sponsored institutions. As noted earlier, the academic staff who were demanding a living wage also shared this state of discontent. The commonality of issues resulted in a cognate bond between the two constituencies—students and staff.

THE BOYCOTT

The lecture boycott commenced on the morning of Monday, August 30, 1989, to protest government refusal to restore student allowances. At their general assembly convened at the Freedom Square, Makerere University students unanimously voted to boycott lectures until the government would restore their allowances. The assembly recommended that all lecture halls and libraries be closed. "Getting these allowances was like getting blood from a stone and we knew that they had made their decision once and for all and we decided to make our voices heard in the form of a demonstration," Rugambwa lamented (Rubambwa, 2002).

On Friday of November 5, as the boycott proceeded, Guild President, Wilbrod Owor, received a communication from President Yoweri Museveni (Chancellor), inviting him and other student leaders for a meeting aimed at finding ways of ending the stalemate. But his invitation was accompanied by the following proviso: that the students agree to abandon their strike, maintaining that he was unwilling to engage in any negotiation while the strike was in progress.

Owor again convened a general assembly to communicate to the students the contents of the President Museveni's letter. The assembly resolved to allow a two-day ceasefire—a window of opportunity in which negotiations might have a chance of success. But a group of students within the crowd objected to the idea of suspending the strike, arguing that they had seen nothing from the government, no stationery and no textbooks—to enable them continue with classes.

The proposed meeting with the president, however, did not take place because of schedule conflict. In the meantime, the Vice-Chancellor, Professor George Kirya, issued an order for students to return to class by Monday, November 6, threatening adverse consequences if they did not. In his circular, Professor Kilya demanded that "University students who have been on strike since October 30 must report back to resume classes in accordance with their timetable on November 6, 1989. Failure to do so by any student will lead to stern disciplinary action. Members of staff are hereby informed"(Asedri, V. November 6, 1989, *The New Vision,* p.1).

Meanwhile the student general assembly that was slated for Sunday, November 5, to review the situation, did not take place; instead the guild president issued the following communication:

> I hereby inform you that after more meaningful discussions with the authorities concerned, we have reached an understanding that stationery, being the most urgently required, will be supplied to students as quickly as possible to enable them attend classes normally. You are further informed that the process of consultation still continues very vigorously . . . I consulted the student leaders on Saturday and they agreed that this is the best minimum position at this stage . . . we have also agreed that if normalcy returns, we shall receive a communication from the cabinet, definitely after November 9 1989. As we continue with the process of consulting with the responsible officers and opening up more avenues for fruitful discussions, I hereby kindly request all students to resume classes. The programme of sales of stationery is being worked out . . . (1989, November 6). *The New Vision,* p.1.

The above communication left many students suspicious, as they questioned the guild president's decision to send a written notice instead of calling a general assembly, as earlier agreed upon. In the evening of the same day, the student leaders convened an assembly after receiving President Yoweri Museveni's ultimatum, to either accept the proposed stationery and go back to class, or keep on with the boycott and see the university closed.

Objecting to the president's demand, the students maintained that their outrage was not just about lack of stationery, but a great many other allowances, such as pocket money ("boom"), transport and other allotments towards off-campus residence. At the same general assembly, students issued their own proviso that all of their allowances must be restored before they would resume classes; otherwise "they were ready to go home instead of rotting academically" (Asedri, V & Bakunzi, D. November 7, 1989, *The New Vision*. p.1).

Students were clearly enraged and reiterated their decision to stay the course of the strike, with the guild president promising his support. Prior to the assembly, however, the vice-chancellor's office had issued the following notice: "Student who are stopping others from going to lectures should stop. Any roadblocks on campus by students should be removed. Failing to do so will meet with disciplinary action" (Asedri, V. & Bakunzi, D. November 7, 1989, *The New Vision,* p. 12).

He further indicated that arrangements were being made for the university to distribute the available writing paper but, like President Museveni, he stipulated that no decisions would be taken while the students were still on strike. This statement further infuriated the students, who reiterated that stationery was just one among the many allowances that they were fighting for, and would not disband their strike until they were restored in total.

On the evening of Tuesday, November 7, President Yoweri Museveni convened a meeting of student leaders at his residence (State House), a meeting that was also attended by the vice-chancellor, as well as the state minister for higher education, Mr. John Ntimba. It was agreed upon that guild leaders would communicate the meeting's outcome at a student general assembly due Thursday of the same week. But on Wednesday, just the day before the assembly was convened, Mr. Ntimba issued a statement, threatening that the government would particularly punish the ringleaders if they continued to defy orders.

On Thursday morning, November 9, the guild president, as planned, called the general assembly. He stated that President Museveni had shown concern about students' needs and had promised to review the allowance issue, but had maintained that the government would not negotiate in a charged atmosphere; that students had to call off the strike first and resume classes, and only then would he consider the decision to restore their allowances.

The guild president further stated that the during the meeting, the guild executive had requested the president to put his affirmation in writing for the record, but he had retorted: " If the students cannot trust the Head of State that means you do not have confidence in this Government" and upon their insistence, the President had angrily repudiated the request

stating, "no more conditions on the Head of State" (Asedri V. November 10, 1989, *The New Vision,* p.12).

Dismissing the President's attempted dialogue as a claptrap designed to placate their emotions, the students vowed to continue with the boycott, and returned to their halls of residence without incident.

The following day, Friday November 10, news reached the students stating that the university had been closed and they were being ordered to vacate the campus. About this decision, a *New Vision* reporter narrates:

> The statement ordered students to vacate the campus by nightfall. No students have been allowed to stay on campus except foreign students. After the statement was read around 3:00 p.m the students were told to hand in university properties like mattresses and keys to the custodians of the student halls.
>
> Students were then given clearance chits to enable them get transport allowance to their respective home districts. The hall bursars were paying out the transport allowance yesterday afternoon. There was a heavy police deployment on campus. Before dawn on Friday, at least 50 policemen and women guarded every hall of residence and by daybreak all gates of the halls were put under lock. No student was allowed to leave the hall. All the entrances to the campus were also locked . . . Students from Northcote Hall converged in their yard singing the national anthem, but were ordered to stop by the police. . . . Four NRA (National Resistance Army) Armoured Personnel Carriers (APC) were deployed. The Freedom Square, Lumumba and Nkrumah Halls were each guarded by an APC (1998, November 11). *The New Vision,* p.8.

Following its decision to close the university, the government dispensed a statement describing the reasons and condition that led to the decision. *The New Vision* reported:

> A Government statement issued in Kampala last night said the move followed the spoilt students' arrogant behaviour. The students refused to go to classes in spite of the fact that various meetings with Government officials had taken place. Lately, at a meeting between President Museveni and student leaders, the President told the students to resume classes while their complaints are looked into. Instead of going back to class, the students arrogantly demanded a written statement from the President signed by him and with the official seal guaranteeing that their demands will be met before, according to them, going back to lecture rooms. Contrary to the impression given by the students at

> Makerere, not all allowances were abolished. Even Government has been conducting discussions with them on those abolished and had agreed to reinstate some of the essential ones while others were still being reviewed. It should be pointed out that pocket-money, transport money and such other allowances are not a right but may only be paid if the economy can afford it among other competing needs of society and education (1998, November 11). *The New Vision,* p.1.

Emmanuel Dombo, former Guild President (1991/1992) who is currently serving as Member of Parliament concludes:

> So the university was closed and we were readmitted after filling out specific forms which had certain conditions and you had to take those forms to your local councils all the way to the RDC (Resident District Commissioner) to endorse that 'I promise that I will live by the conditions set by the government, and if I do this, subsequently government will be free to do XYZ . . . ' We did this because we know we had to go back to the university, it was the only way, but I did not think the problem had been solved, because like we discovered later, even after we had gone back and now there had been change of guild administration from Owori to Nobert Mao, this event came up again and there was another strike which culminated into the death of two students" (Interviewed July 2, 2002, at his Parliament office in Kampala).

INTERPRETATIVE REFLECTION

The three major demonstrations that occurred during the 1980s represent a continuation of the acrimonious government/student relationship irrespective of the government in power. Also part of the contentious mix was the university administration, due to some administrators' involvement in partisan politics.

The 1981 Guild interdict demonstration revealed how students at Makerere allied themselves with political parties in their pursuit for political change. The DP/UPC slugfest, which culminated in the banning of the guild, attests to this observation.

As well, although the 1985 lecture boycott was triggered by perceived ineptitude and corrupt behaviour by some of the university administrators, the underlying cause of their aggravation was the university's attempt to meddle in student politics, even to the extent of manoeuvring to impose a government sponsored (UPC) candidate as Guild President.

Partisan politics at Makerere took a more vitriolic character when the dean of students and some other administrators were also recognized as UPC supporters. As a result, the student community was ever more divided along party lines, leading to an era of mistrust between students and the administration. It is important to note that the politics of the government were not as much of an issue to the students as the government's attempts to interfere in their internal affairs.

The 1981 and 1985 demonstrations accentuate students' unrelenting determination to guard their freedoms, as Betubiza again observes:

> The problem was less to do with issues than with government reaction to the independence of student politics. I think the students wanted to assert the independence of their politics. But the government, seeing how instrumental Makerere was in shaping public opinion they felt that they needed to put their man at the helm. And so it was more about the student body trying to assert their independence in the way they chose their own leaders, with the central government wanting to influence who goes on top within the student community.

One connective thread of student/government relationship all across generations is that whenever the government attempted to sponsor a guild presidential candidate, the candidate in question would in most cases lose student popular support.

In regard to the issues that galvanized student politics during the 1980s, a transitional shift from national politics (early 1980s) to campus specific concerns is evident. This shift is exemplified by the 1989 allowances strike, which was purely welfare-driven.

One of the obvious reasons for the shift was the diminution of resources, following the economic downturn which began mid 1970s. Also, the late 1980s ushered a new economic push by the Word Bank/IMF Structural Adjustment Policies (SAP), designed to reduce government spending. At Makerere the SAP-driven decision to remove some of the basic allowances normally accorded to students resulted in the 1989 stir. In the context of allowances and resources, the government viewed students as spoiled youths with unrealistic demands who were only concerned about their welfare and not the general economic condition of the country.

Notably absent during this era is the ideological push that had inspired student politics of 1960s and early 70s. To this end, Betubiza provides the following assessment:

> There wasn't any ideological thinking at this time, and my personal take on this is that whereas probably in the 60s and 70s the student body was more or less united and therefore could focus on something as a united body. One of the unfortunate fallouts of the 1980 elections was that people were split, in a way, along party line; and therefore there were squabbles among them, which stifled any sense of unity to be able to confront issues that were beyond their borders. And I think the 1980 elections left the students divided as the country itself . . . and that tended to get in the way of a united front on an issue like apartheid in South Africa, which should have been an ideal issue for student activism . . . students were confronted with their own national issues, issues that were affecting our daily lives.

As resources continued to diminish, a new and more pragmatic philosophy about survival emerged, leaving little room for ideological thinking.

Student umbrage was aimed at twin targets: The government, because of its interference in their organizational affairs, coupled with student allowance cutbacks; and then the university administration, because of its apparent support of government, as well as its perceived corrupt behaviour.

The alliance between the government and university administration can be explained by the university's dependency on government appropriations and the fact that the vice-chancellor, in particular was a presidential appointee. Students often believed that the administration officials were more concerned about serving the government than the student community.

The 1980s also represent the beginning of a protracted alliance between students and faculty as both constituencies were pursuing the same goal—their own welfare. Attempts at such coalescence had resulted in disappointment in 1970s, when students sought support from civil society and army dissidents to overthrow President Idi Amin's government.

Chapter Eight

The 1990s Generation

NATIONAL POLITICAL CLIMATE

Unlike the previous decades, the 1990s do not represent any critical high point in the country but only political, economic, and social vicissitudes: politically, a new constitution was promulgated in 1994, and was followed by the first constitutionally mandated presidential election in the history of Uganda (1996), which President Yoweri Museveni won in a landslide victory. Amid these political heydays for the Museveni government, however, the rebel insurgency in northern Uganda continued.

The economy of the 1990s was punctuated by the government's implementation of the World Bank's Structural Adjustment Policies, which resulted in cutbacks on government spending, privatisation of public business, military downsizing, and local government decentralization, among other measures.

It was also during this decade that the HIV/AIDS epidemic was at its peak. This epidemic has resulted in massive loss of life.

MAKERERE UNIVERSITY AND THE 1990S

The university was closed in 1989 following the "Allowances" lecture boycott, and was reopened in January of 1990 after each student had signed a government-mandated non-agitation declaration. A few months later a new guild president, Norbert Mao, was elected. His election blazed the trail for renewed demands for student allowances reminiscent of the 1989 crisis. Mao offers the following account:

> We signed those forms because we wanted to go back to class, but it doesn't mean that our problems had been solved. Then there was this thing called SAP [Structural Adjustment Policies] which we used to call

Stomach Adjustment Program, meaning that those who are poor had to adjust their belts inwards because they were getting thinner, while the well-to-do and the corrupt adjusted outward because they were gaining weight at the expense of the poor.

Mainly, the issues revolved around the economy, and mark you, the economy of Uganda was in shambles, the money was virtually worthless, and while we were still freshers [freshmen] the university had been closed because there was a strike in 1989.

And then the university council, on the orders of the minister of education, Mr. Amanya Mushega, had amended the guild constitution without involving the students, and they decided that the students would not meet without permission of the vice-chancellor. They also abolished all the student personal allowances: book allowance, transport allowance, stationery allowance—all were abolished and then they created a book bank without books; they just announced that there was a book bank. We used to say that the book bank was bankrupt.

Meanwhile there was conflict in the northern part of Uganda, which was raising a lot of questions, then the allegations of corruption in high places, and then we felt that the government was being militaristic in dealing with students. We had seen tanks brought to the university when the students were not violent at all . . . I was elected in April of 1990 and a few weeks after I was sworn in, I called a general assembly on the 23rd of May and the vice-chancellor put an announcement all over the national radio saying no student would turn up for the general assembly; that it was illegal and anybody who attends it would be dealt with; and that anybody who addressed it would also face consequences. The previous government was forced to back down from my student assembly, but we decided that we wouldn't blink in spite of all threats. You know our posters were removed and we put them back almost three times. The administration would send their administrative staff to remove all posters from the student dormitories but we kept putting them back.

The assembly was most well attended; in fact, over 4000 students turned up and that was the first time I was addressing the general assembly. So I quickly addressed the issues. I told them that we couldn't accept a constitution imposed on us and that we must govern ourselves. I maintained that the government policies that were being enforced on us were arrived at undemocratically, having debated them with the World Bank, without the input of parliament—the people's representatives.

Then I raised the issue of corruption and the war in the North. We said that if the government was to go on with hostilities, why is it that

> students are always the first to sacrifice, why can't they solve the conflict and save the money. Why can't they deal with corruption and save the money? We believed that the economic problems were not caused by students, but the war and corruption. We therefore demanded that they should re-instate all the monies, the allowances. We also demanded that they fight corruption and we rejected the constitution that had been imposed on us. . . . After several meeting between May and August we sent a memo to the minister of education on August 2, in which we tabled our demands and gave our views. The minister didn't reply to our memo and we called another general assembly and declared a strike; and in fact it was Amon Muzora who nicknamed the "Run Out" boycott. He said we had run out of stationery so we wouldn't go to classes.

Following the "Run Out" boycott were the 1993 "Needy Students" demonstrations and the 1996 Northcote saga. Also worth mentioning was the 1994 MUASA academic staff [faculty] strike, demanding a salary raise. I mention this strike because it represents an on-going alliance between students and academic staff. The commonality of their issues served as a guarantee of support when either constituency was on strike.

The 1990 "Run Out" Lecture Boycott

On Saturday December 1, the guild leadership had convened a general assembly to solicit students' response to a letter from the permanent secretary, Ministry of Education Fr. Pius Tibanyendera, restating the government's decision to abolish students' allowances. His letter was, actually, a response to an earlier memorandum that students had written to the ministry of education demanding restoration of some of the allowances. In the letter, which was addressed to the vice-chancellor, Professor Senteza Kajubi, Tibanyendera stated, "I'm directed to ask you to communicate to the Students' guild that the decision to abolish the allowances was taken after thorough consideration of the entire education system in the country and the capacity of the nation to support that system . . . the decision named above cannot and will not be reversed" (Asedri, V. December 4, 1990, *The New Vision,* p.12).

The contents of the letter enraged the students, who quickly decided to call a general assembly. The vice-chancellor was invited to attend the assembly and listen to students' concerns, but he declined the invitation, charging that he had not been informed ahead of time. Students then passed a vote of no confidence against the vice-chancellor, accusing him of dereliction of duty by prevaricating on student matters. The assembly

then resolved to address a memorandum to President Yoweri Museveni, the university Chancellor, requesting restoration of basic allowances (Asedri, V. December 4, 1990, *The New Vision)*.

The "Black Monday"

At a general assembly, convened on the morning of Monday December 3 1990, students resolved to immediately begin a lecture boycott to remonstrate the government for its decision to eliminate student allowances. Although the front-line issues included the one-way transport subsidy and allowances for non-resident students, the sticking point which dominated the students boycott mantra was stationery; hence the term "run out."

The assembly also renewed its no-confidence resolution against the vice-chancellor and acceded to a prepared memorandum, which addressed the following issues of student inquietude: basic allowances, the book bank without books, and the University Act of 1970, which vested too much leverage in the ministry of education, while stifling student freedom to govern themselves. Students maintained that their boycott was not a strike, but simply a run-out; that they had run out of the most basic and necessary wherewithal for schooling—stationery. They, however resolved to maintain dialogue with the government and the throng disbanded without incident. About these events, Mao further recalls:

> We really attempted to negotiate with the university authorities because I was sitting on the university council with my vice-president. It was difficult to persuade them that it was possible to do it without confrontation. We told them we do not want to go on strike, but you need to do this, and they were extremely arrogant. So when we went on strike, the vice–chancellor kept issuing his abusive statement, and one day we even passed a resolution to dismiss him. Of course we didn't have the powers, but at least we made our stand clear that he no longer enjoyed our confidence. One day we demonstrated around campus you know moving around with slogans and posters: 'What do we want?' 'Stationery' 'When do we want it?' 'Now'! 'What do we want?' 'Peace' and so on. The government as usual instead of addressing the issues they accused us of being manipulated by opposition leaders. In the same way we were in touch with the government officials, we were in touch with party leaders as well—the Democratic Party, UPC, but none of them was bearing influence on me (Mao, 2002).

But according to Vivian Asedri (1990) there was confusion at the university as some students defied the boycott and attended lectures, while

the majority stayed away as meetings and negotiations continued. In the meantime, on Tuesday December 4, the vice-chancellor issued the following warning in view of the planned general assembly slated for Wednesday December 5, 1990. "Students of Makerere University are hereby informed that classes shall continue normally according to the timetable, on Tuesday December 4 1990. All students are required to attend. Any person interfering with these arrangements in any way shall be dealt with accordingly" (Asedri, V. December 16, 1990, *The New Vision.* p.16).

In defiance, the students staged a peaceful demonstration on Wednesday December 5, during which a group of about 3000 students marched around campus sounding their displeasure toward the vice-chancellor, while renewing their demand for allowances. They resolved to press on with their boycott. Vivian Asedri (New Vision) recapitulates the events:

> The demonstration, which ran from 11:15 A.M. to 11:40 am, was one of the four resolutions taken at their general assembly in defiance of a warning given on Tuesday by Prof. Kajubi that students who attended the planned assembly would be doing it illegally and would bear consequences. The students chanted slogans like 'tusonge mbere kukanyaga Kajubi' [kiswahili] meaning, 'let us move ahead to crash Kajubi,' and 'what do we want?' 'Stationery,' when do we want it? 'Now.' They marched from Freedom Square to the Main Gate and back via the Main Administration building to the Institute of Statistics. The demonstration in which the students carried tree branches ended with the National Anthem at the Vice Chancellor's offices . . . the other resolution at yesterday's assembly, said they should continue with the boycott and every student should become a run out police to ensure that no student betrays the boycott by going for lectures (Asedri, V. December 6, 1990, *The New Vision,* p.1).

Meanwhile, over the weekend the minister of education, Mr. Amanya Mushega invited the university RC III chairperson, Mrs. Teresa Kakooza, for consultation.[1] Mr. Mushega agreed to hold negotiation talks with students beginning the following Thursday, talks that would involve not only student representatives but also university authorities and the academic staff. But he insisted that negotiations' success was contingent upon students agreeing to essentially disband the boycott. Mrs. Kakooza was commissioned to present the minister's proposal to the students; and upon returning to campus, she briefed the student leaders. The leaders then decided to convene a general assembly aimed at soliciting student support for calling off the strike in favour of negotiations.

On Monday morning (December 10), students began to converge at the main building for the planned assembly, but suddenly the situation turned sour. Before the guild president arrived, police, who were earlier deployed to intercept the assemblage began to open fire, killing two students. Mao again recalls:

> I was still in my room in Mitchell Hall preparing to go and address a general assembly; and at that general assembly we were actually planning to call off the strike. The Speaker, Jacob Olanya uncharacteristically left me; usually we used to walk together. This time he went ahead and left me. He found that the freedom square had been cordoned off . . . first they kept on chasing us, they chased us from behind the general main hall, they put barbed wire so they stopped us from holding a meeting there, next they stopped us from using the university public address system, so now we used just our natural voices standing on an anthill at the freedom square.
>
> In the most cowardly manner, you know, instead of confronting us directly they kept that until the night of December 10. They brought the police, cordoned off the university, and there was almost a mini curfew. Now Jacob went to wait for students and police beat him up, they kicked him, the vice president of the guild was kicked also; in fact someone stepped on his back with a size 14 boot. He kept his shirt for almost a year without washing it; he said that was his badge.
>
> They were claiming that the general assembly was illegal because we hadn't got permission. So I walked there. I found Jacob and I asked him what is wrong? He said no let's just go back, then I knew there was trouble; in fact, the moment Jacob reached his hall of residence, he just collapsed. He had to be taken to the hospital.
>
> Now I walked, some policeman wanted to beat me up and I ran away from him, and when I left them, I found Okema's dead body. He had been shot from behind, and the other one, Onyango had been shot in the head; in fact, one of his eyes was dangling out. Both of them had been shot from behind, which means they were not confronting the police.
>
> Then I found another student, Stephen Omodoi; some bullets had gone through his belly but he wasn't dead; so I stopped, held his hand and put it over the wound. I said, 'if you can hear me, just put your hand there as I look for transport.' There was a certain pickup passing, which I stopped, put him on, and they took him to Mulago hospital.
>
> Then I met Jim Muhwezi and I said, Jim Muhwezi, why are you doing this and he said, you know if you weren't so confrontational

> all this would not have happened. I said I am not responsible. Who brought the army here? These students were not violent! So we went up to the vice-chancellor's office and I told them this is unacceptable; and of course, BBC was already reporting the news to the whole world.

In the same vein, the *New Vision* of December 11, 1990 provided the following account:

> For no reason, policemen started firing in the air to disperse the students, but then took cover and continued firing. It is not known if the dead students were killed at the start of the confusion or later on. The firing continued for several minutes. The police then broke branches from the trees to drive away the students. The Guild Speaker, Mr. Jacob Olanya, was beaten at this stage and later hospitalised. . . . Two other students and a worker at the University's Guest house, sustained serious injuries during the incident that took place around 8:30 am. The dead were by midday lying in Mulago Hospital mortuary while the injured were hospitalised, One of the dead, Mr. Tim Onyango was a BA student, Faculty of Social Sciences. The second dead student, Mr. Tom Okema, was a first year of Mitchel Hall. The three injured, Mr. Francis Omodoi and the Student' Guild Speaker, Mr. Olanya Okalanyi and the Guesthouse worker, Mr. S Niwagira.
>
> A fifth year student in the Medical School (Mulago) Mr. Luzze Henry said that Amodoi was shot in the stomach and was being prepared for operation by 12:30 P.M. yesterday, while Niwagira, with a bleeding left ear, was admitted in Ward 3 BE. Mr. Luzze said that Olanya had been operated on and was still under anaesthesia (unconscious) by 12:30 P.M. yesterday. The policemen reportedly roughed up the Guild Speaker, Mr. Olanya, during the shooting incident. He sustained chest injuries. However the medical Superintendent of Mulago Hospital, Dr Kihumuro Apuuli, had put him off the danger list by 12:25pm. He said on operation carried out on him by surgeons had proved that his spleen which had been feared ruptured was found to be all right. Earlier on, he had been transferred from Ward 3B to the main theatre (1990, December 11). *The New Vision,* pp.1, 12.

The student-police fray was dominated by one major question: Why did the police decide to open fire on a peaceful crowd? *The New Vision* (December 11) reported that even Kampala Regional Police Commander, Mr. Nabudere himself could not provide any answers. He was as dismayed as anyone else.

AFTERMATH

The state of bewilderment engulfed not only Makerere University, but also the entire nation, all directing their outrage toward the police. The cabinet quickly issued a statement regretting the tragedy and offering condolences to the university and the deceased students' families. In the same statement, the cabinet condemned the shooting and announced the its decision to appoint a juridical commission of inquiry, and informed the public that some police officers involved in the shooting had been arrested, while the inspector general of police and his deputy had been suspended.

Furthermore, the cabinet lashed out at students as well, reproaching them for refusing to follow university regulations. The academic staff also received its share of blame for supporting student rebellion.

Then the cabinet proceeded to provide the following crisis containment measures: first, that the university would remain open as investigations proceeded; second, the vice-chancellor was directed to form a three-member committee to investigate the incident and make recommendation to government in three weeks; third, the students were allowed two days of mourning (Tuesday and Wednesday), and would report for classes Thursday morning; fourth, a warning was extended to those members of the academic staff who were known for conspiring with students, threatening their expulsion if the behaviour persisted (1990, December 11). *The New Vision,*). About the crisis and government's response, Mao recalls:

> With all those surrounding events the government was forced to at least cool down, especially, having shot dead two students. They set up two commissions of inquiry. One was a judicial commission, the other was a visitation committee of inquiry headed by professor Mukibi; but the more interesting one was the juridical one led by Justice Plutt because that is the one that saved us from expulsion; we were all supposed to be expelled because Mukibi's committee recommended our expulsion. But Justice Plutt said that the so-called regulation, which they used to impose a constitution on us, was illegal because there is a requirement that it must be laid before parliament and it was not; so they struck it down. They found out that they had been enforcing a law that was not a law at all (Mao 2002).

Meanwhile the ambience of anger and confusion persisted as the university mourned its fallen students. The main gate remained closed following the removal of regular police. Anti-riot police took over security patrol and all students were ordered to stay within campus. Then the mourning rituals began:

> It was the Medical students who started the mourning with a protest march. On Monday afternoon they went up to the Crested Tower [Ministry of Education headquarters], carrying red flowers. In tearful and sombre state they sang and eulogized the dead; their dead. They knelt at the Crested Tower and prayed. Their placards read: 'Preserve life,' 'God forgive the police,' 'life exchanged for stationery,' etc. . . . A lorry full of police weighed down with tear gas arrived off the nearby Shimoni Primary School. People who had gathered to listen to students were remarking 'why didn't they send the riot police, first they would have prevented the killing?.' . . . On Tuesday, December 11 at 6:00 A.M., a small group of students started at Mitchel Hall and went around the eight halls. The procession grew in number and grief as it went around. Later they marched to Mulago Hospital. They had wanted to pick up 'their bodies' and march with them through Kampala streets. But the riot police outsmarted them. . . . But most solemn was the campfires lit in front of all halls of residence.
>
> Students gathered around the fires, sang funeral songs but most memorable was, . . . 'Kajubi [Vice-Chancellor] our murderer,' 'we shall never forgive.' . . . The candle vigil was moving from hall to hall and observing several moments of silence. Short speeches castigated the police, university administration, but particularly the manner in which they had been handled. Near the Social Science building, several wreaths were piled on the spot where the dead students had lain in a pool of blood. Along the road above 'Freedom Square' wreaths and flowers had been arranged in expressive shapes. The makings of colossal funeral rite were all in place (Serugo, J. December 21, 1990, *Weekly Topic,* p.6).

Department of Agriculture students based at Kabanyolo University farm also boarded their bus and headed for Kampala, with the aim of retrieving the bodies of their dead fellow students, but the police were already on the alert at the city mortuary to prevent them. Meanwhile the university officials were making burial arrangements. The initial plan was to bring the bodies to Makerere campus and then funeral services would be held at the campus chapels—St Francis Chapel (Anglican) for late Tom Onyango and St. Augustine (Roman Catholic) for the late Tom Okema. Then the bodies would be transported to their respective home districts for burial—Gulu (Tom Okema) and Iganga (Tom Onyango).

At the last moment, however, the church services were cancelled, following the university officials' decision that the bodies be transported for burial right away. Students had hoped that they would be permitted to go along and bury their own, but their request was denied.

> I tried to go and attend the burial of Okema who comes from Gulu, they stopped me at the helicopter, actually it was Major John Kazora, who stopped me; he told me 'I am under instruction no to allow you to go . . . ' Onyango's body left two days later . . . students who wanted to go and accompany the body were kept at the gate for two days, and were not to allowed to go and bury their fellow students (Mao, 2002).

Meanwhile the Uganda Law Society (ULS) wrote a protest letter to the minister of internal affairs, Mr. Ibrahim Mukiibi, describing police brutality as a blatant violation of human rights. It decried the use of live ammunition to control students, and echoed the citizenry's "why not riot police?" question. The letter also reiterated the non-violent nature of the student assemblage when the freedom square tragedy occurred.

In the same wave, Makerere University Academic Staff Association (MUASA) condemned the murder of the two students, and in its outrage the association demanded that the university's administrative staff be suspended during the course of investigation. In addition, it called upon the university to set up a memorial fund to facilitate the construction of a monument at the spot where one of the students was killed, while restating its position that obstructing student assemblage was a breach of their democratic rights (Twine, E. & Asedri, V. December 13, 1990, *The New Vision)*.

One week after the "Black Monday" tragedy, (December 17), student leaders called a general assembly to update their constituency on the campus situation and the outcome of a series of meetings and discussions held with the ministry of education officials, the university administration, and President Yoweri Museveni. At the assembly, the students resolved to sustain the boycott for the remaining days till the end of the term, which was due Saturday, December 22, 1990. They chose to spend the remaining time working with the investigating committees. Additional resolutions included requesting that December 10 be declared a memorial day; making T-shirt and cups to memorialise their fellow students; requesting that students be permitted to attend Tom Onyango's funeral at his home in Iganga district; establishing a fund to assist the injured students; and solemnizing the end of the mourning period with a procession.

Then the guild president communicated the outcome of his meeting with President Yoweri Museveni, which had taken place at State House in Entebbe. He stated that the president had reiterated his dismay, and again condemned the acts of indiscipline on the part of students, as well as the police; that the president had agreed to provide transport money to students at the end of the term; and that he had been non-committal

in regard to the Makerere University Academic Staff Association's recommendation that the vice-chancellor be suspended during the course of investigations, opting instead to await the investigation results. MUASA's recommendation had attracted an obvious enthusiastic endorsement from the students.

The guild president further reported President Museveni's suggestion that the contentious issue of student allowances be left pending, to be handled based on the commission's report. And on the issue of postponing the exams to the following term, he reported that the president had promised to discuss the matter with the university administration (1990, December 18). *The New Vision.*

The campus began to slowly return to normalcy, especially, when on Friday December 14, police were withdrawn from campus, following Guild President's reassurance to the university administration that there would be no more violence.

Students celebrated police withdrawal with a procession around the halls of residence, expressing their indignation toward what they referred to as "campus arrest" because they had been under strict orders not to leave the campus grounds. One student characterized the procession as celebrating the end of "psychological terror" (Sensasi, B. & Lugalambi, G.W. December 28, 1990, *Weekly Topic.* p.4). Mao then concludes:

> We didn't go to class; actually, until the term ended, nobody went to class. We remained and continued negotiating; we were able to have our constitution changed, so we won back our alternatives. Secondly, the government decided to introduce something they called a needy students working scheme and we told them, its o.k. If anybody is thinking that we are lazy we are ready to work, but our main aim is to have our education (Mao, 2002).

THE 1993 NEEDY STUDENTS' DEMONSTRATIONS

Although the needy students' demonstrations would not by any standards amount to crisis events, their political ramifications deserve mention because of their far-reaching effects. The needy students' scheme not only captured the university's imagination but also significantly influenced student guild politics at the time. This movement was an outgrowth of the allowances altercation following the 1980s cost-sharing policy adopted by the government. Along this line, the Government White Paper, an education policy statute, which was promulgated in 1992, sanctioned the creation of the "Needy Students' Work Scheme" aimed at providing students with the

financial wherewithal in terms of part-time employment, loan and grant appropriation at the university, and from in their home districts (Government White Paper, 1992).

The university was encouraged to provide work opportunities to the needy students in such janitorial areas as cleaning after meals and the like. Charles Rwomushana, former Guild President (1992/1993) and currently a government security official recalls:

> Now when we came for our first year, we found that they had just abolished government assistance to students in form of what you would call small student allowance: boom to buy student stationery, transport going back home—and we realized that the species of the students from the peasant families was going to be extinct from the university; it was very expensive and the majority were from poor families . . . I therefore mobilized the poor students and we formed a group called 'The Needy Students Association,' and our struggle was two-fold: One, that the university gives us jobs so that we can get some money, or it subsidizes our education. So the president came there; and I raised the matter, and we agreed with the president that if it is agreeable for us or government to look after the poor and the rich pay for themselves, then we would negotiate; and that was the beginning, and so we started the negotiations and then the students elected me their guild president (Interviewed August 24, 2002, at Bamboo Nest restaurant in Kampala).

Several demonstrations, all of them peaceful, took place at the university. Regan Okumu, a student leader/activist of the same generation, and currently, Member of Parliament also remembers:

> I was the publicity secretary at the time; and we were fighting negative government policies within the university. For example government would not release money for non-resident students until there was a strike, the food was poor and lecture halls were so congested; we did not have lights in some of the lecture halls; the campus street light were not working; some lecturers were not treating students well; and so this needy students thing became a force, always ready to rise up and question the authority of the university and even the government.
>
> The university would say government has not released money and so we would move; we would demand a letter from the dean and would move. I remember we used to meet people like Amanya Mushega, Minister of Education, and the rest of them. So we organized several strikes,

> we would close the main gate of the university, close the main building, close the library to make sure that other students join us in the struggle (Interviewed July 31, 2002 at his Parliament office in Kampala).

One such demonstration took place Thursday, March 18, 1993, when the students marched around campus demanding transport money for travel back home for holidays. The demonstration, which lasted about 8 hours, disrupted regular office business at the administration complex. It was, however, disbanded after students agreed to send a delegation to the minister of education, Mr. Amanya Mushega. In the end, the government sent buses to transport students to their various home districts (Bakunzi, D. & Ndyakira, A. March 20, 1993, *Uganda Times*).

With time, however, the scheme suffered many setbacks and is, in fact, no longer functional, partly because identifying those students who were truly needy and those who just wanted to take advantage of the opportunity remained a daunting task; and partly because the scheme eventually turned political as its leadership was accused of using the "needy" as a political tool to garner support for the Museveni government, and to facilitate government infiltration into university affairs. Dorothy Olanya, a former student leader/activist and 1993 Guild presidential candidate, currently an employee of Hope for African Children in Kampala, provided the following recollection:

> The whole needy thing changed completely from how it was originally designed. It became a political issue. The students were now being state sponsored so, obviously, and clearly they were no longer the needy ones. Charles Rwomushana, the protagonist of the needy students scheme, had almost nothing when he campaigned and won the Guild presidency on the ticket of the needy students, but the next time I went to his room he had a carpet, a music system, a television, and I told him, Charles, what happened to the neediness, and he said, I won the election, didn't I? So that was his point and he had these straight lines with the State House and it was alleged that the channels through which he managed to support needy students were no longer official channels . . . It was just like money was given to Charles, and he would dish it out the way he wanted (Interviewed August 28, 2002, at her office in Kampala).

THE MAY 4, 1996 NORTHCOTE IMBROGLIO

The Northcote Saga started around mid-day on May 4, 1996, when the Students of Livingstone Hall were in the heat of preparing for their traditional buddy party with the female Africa Hall. The celebration is

commonly known as the "Afrostone Day." Their rival Northcote Hall students, carrying their Hall flag and garbed in camouflage gear, invaded the Livingstone Hall kitchen where the food was being prepared, and poured pepper and broken glass pieces in the two cooking pots full of matooke (green bananas). Fortunately, the cooks were present to watch the heinous act and were able to forestall a tragedy.

Northcote Hall had gained a traditional reputation of being vociferously rambunctious in behaviour, a behaviour that was enshrined in its belligerent culture.

> The deadly plan by students of Makerere University's Northcote Hall to poison Africa and Livingstone hall meals was hatched the day before by members of the self-styled 'military Council's' secret meeting around 3:00 a.m . . . the plan was allegedly implemented by the hall chairman, Chris Nyeko, a fourth year student of agriculture with assistance of two others . . . the other two suspects were identified as Andrew Etonu, then a first year student in the faculty of Arts, and Edema Taako then a second year student of Education . . . Nyeko who could not be traced for comment allegedly used his money to buy the red pepper used in the act. The 'Military Council' is said to be a clique of students numbering about ten and not even known to most of the hall students. It is allegedly headed by a 'commander in charge of Malice and Sabotage' (Elemu, J. October 11, 1996, *The New Vision,* p.1).

Following the Afrostone event, the university disciplinary committee convened a meeting, whose purpose was to assess the situation and make recommendations to the university council. The committee denounced Northcote's culture of untoward hooliganism and recommended that the Hall be closed and all its students become non-resident.

In the light of the disciplinary committee's recommendation, the university council held its own meeting (August 12–14, 1996) and corroborated the committee's recommendation to close Northcote Hall. The council's decision was predicated on not only Northcote's long-time and well-known prankish behaviour, but also on its students' obduracy in refusing to name the Afrostone culprits. As a measure to curtail Northcote's historical behaviour, the council passed a resolution to the effect that non-resident students attached to other halls of residence were free to apply and become residents of Northcote. And the 720 Northcoters would become non-resident.

When the academic year began in October, the former Northcote students returned to a university that was reluctant to accommodate them.

Even managers of the non-resident hostel accommodation were very hesitant to offer them residence maintaining that they were not ready to inherit the Northcote problem.

In the meantime, some of the students met on Saturday, October 5, and resolved to seek and provide information leading to the Afrostone culprits. Such information would be surreptitiously passed on to university authorities, hoping that their forthrightness would cast off the web of suspicion and resentment. As a result, 16 names were provided and some were apprehended. However, the council's decision to close Northcote was never rescinded, and the hall was designated as Hall X. It was later renamed Nsibirwa Hall.

THE OCTOBER 23, 1996 NORTHCOTE PANDEMONIUM

Northcote's closure, obviously, did not sit well with students, especially its former residents. Around the same time the government introduced a fee of 50,000 Uganda shillings for first year students, which resulted in a great deal of indignation across campus. Some weeks previously, Guild President, Mr. Renny Galogitho, had issued a strong warning to the university council against the proposed fee, charging that the decision was "anti-poor, inhuman and a cruel hoax . . . we are not about to, but we will not accept a situation where only sons and daughters of the affluent, propertied, well endowed, lavish aristocratic crème de la crème in monetary terms will have access to the intelligentsia of this country . . . you cannot rule out the possibility of a fire erupting from a dormant volcano . . ." (As cited by Elemu, J. August 23, 1996, *The New Vision,* p.14).

At their Wednesday, October 23 general assembly, students lashed out at the university council, and declared a sit-down strike to protest the new fee, demanding that students be reimbursed their monies. They also revisited the Northcote question and demanded that the hall be reopened.

In exasperation, a number of students, including Galogitho and other guild officials dashed and forced their way into former Northcote Hall, grabbed the keys from the custodian, causing a pandemonium, which resulted in some damages. Meanwhile, as the students kept vigil at the hall, police were called in, and by the following day, Thursday, October 24, 1996, an epidemic of rioting had spread all the way to Lumumba Hall, where the students had a brawl with the police. Mugisha, A. (1996), et.al of *The New Vision* reports:

> Police used tear gas and rubber bullets to disperse the students who pelted the police with stones and bottles. The students smashed

> vehicle windscreens in clashes in which some policemen and students were injured. A number of students were taken to Mulago Hospital and others were rushed for first aid at the University's sickbay. Police ferried away their injured to an unknown clinic. Policemen wielding batons scampered for cover near Lumumba from a hail of stones. They were rescued by their colleagues firing tear gas at the rowdy students (Mugisa, A., Masiko, G., & Eremu J. October 25, 1996, *The New Vision,* p 1–2).

Property damage estimates were reported to be at 4.3 million Uganda shillings, notwithstanding several injuries sustained by some students and police officers alike. However, by Friday, October 25, the dust had settled and classes had resumed, but not without consequences: 35 students including the guild president, Mr. Galogitho, his vice president, Mr. Nzaana, Northcote Hall chairman, Mr. Nyeko, and Northcote Hall secretary for interior, Mr. Kalule were arrested.

At an emergency university council meeting, which was held on Thursday, the culprits were expelled from the university, and the rest of the students were ordered to return to class or face expulsion as well.

On Saturday, October 26, the guild parliament held its own meeting in which it resolved to end the strike. At the meeting, student leaders acknowledged their culpability and decided to seek pardon from the President Yoweri Museveni, as well as the university administration. One of the students, Mr. John Sentamu, a former guild speaker, wrote and tearfully read the following solo petition at the ministry of education press conference, a petition that was addressed to the president:

> Your excellency, I just can't imagine how this world will be without this degree, which I have so far struggled for, for the last 17 years . . . your excellency, as a future doctor to be, this nation greatly needs me. I have always handled situations with the highest level of integrity . . . (As cited by Sentongo, M. October 27, 1996, *The Sunday Vision,* p.2).

Then he went on to underscored the many resources in terms of money and time that the government had spend on his education, resources that would be wasted if he were to be expelled.

Meanwhile, the court granted bail to the students who had been arrested, but not before each of them deposited 100,000 shillings. They were, however, sent back into custody at Luzira prison because their guarantors failed to produce the court required documentation. These documents were to be requested from local councils based in the students' home

districts. The court issued a restraining order to the fourteen students in custody precluding their entry into the university grounds. They were accused of property damage, criminal trespass and idle and disorderly conduct (Opondo, O. October 27, 1996, *The Sunday Vision*),

The arrested students were, however, released on Sunday, October 27, and the university granted pardon to five them, all first-year students belonging to former Northcote Hall. (Matsiko, G. & Elemu, J. October 28, 1996). *The New Vision*.

INTERPRETIVE REFLECTION

1990s student activism echoes the 1980s survival-driven campus politics accruing from the burgeoning wave of economic restructuring.

The 1990 "run out" boycott represents the welfare-based psychology of helplessness linked to the 1989 strike, which resulted in the university's closure. No sooner had students returned to campus than they resumed their demand for restoration of their basic allowances; and as the term "run out" depicts, students were once again attempting to employ the social power of helplessness to push for policy change.

On a more critical note, the death of two students at the hands of the police underscores the extremities of long standing student-government discontentment. Being part of the government's control apparatus, the police are viewed by students as a symbol of the government's repressive power and as enemies of university autonomy.

Government's attempt to control the university's conscience is also reflected in the ministry of education's endeavour to change the student guild constitution without consulting them, an attempt that obviously resulted in student aggravation. Again, the university administration appears as a sandwiched and sometimes helpless constituency, given its dependency on the government for its very existence.

The peremptory approach to issues exemplified by the permanent secretary Ministry of Education's imperative letter to the university vice-chancellor, just informing him that student allowances had been removed, mirrors the well-known control tendencies associated with the African traditional society coupled with the colonial British authoritarian philosophy of education.

Government's quick decision to deploy armed police personnel when there was no sign of student violence attests to its deep-seated suspicion toward student organizing, focusing mainly on the potential negative outcomes. Students are normally perceived to be inherently rebellious and potentially violent. Hence, the government's predilection for armed force as its immediate crisis management strategy.

The tragic 1990 incident uncovers a void of communication and involvement between the major university stakeholders: the cabinet, the ministry of education, the university administration, and the student community. Data indicate that the university administration, for example, was as much in the dark as the students themselves with regard to the contentious issue of student allowances. Communications simply came from the ministry of Education in the form of directives.

Such a communication breakdown would explain the government's decision to deploy armed police even when the student assembly was convened to actually call off the strike. Both interview and document-based data confirm that the "Black Monday" incident could have been avoided if the government had engaged the university community in dialogue, especially on country's economic problems, before initiating any policy changes. Such trouble-shooting strategies could probably have gone a long way in forestalling the crisis.

The 1993 needy students movement also represents the politics of economic survival. Unusually, students were ready to compromise their elite status, at least in this particular instance, as they readily embraced the needy status, a helpless position that inflicts a challenge to the Ivory Tower identity founded on the citadels of British aristocracy. It would have been unheard of prior to the early 1970s, for a Makerere University student to engage in menial jobs in exchange for sustenance. Noticeable is a repositioning of student rhetoric from demanding "our rights" to seeking support.

The 1993 needy student movement also lends credence to what Altbach (1993) has observed as Third World students' propensity for engaging in partisan politics, with student leaders gaining political clout from constituent support. Interview data confirm that the needy student movement, indeed, became a big force, not only at the university but also within the ruling National Resistance Movement government. Mr. Charles Rwomushana, who was elected Guild President based on the politics of helplessness promising to fight on behalf of the poor majority, was in the end able to gain some prominence within government echelons.

But contrary to students' historically proclaimed values of social justice and transparency, the needy students movement was eventually subjected to government manipulation and politicisation, leading to its demise.

The 1996 Northcote tempest represents the characteristic youthful prankish and malicious personality on campus, a personality that is many times referenced by the government and university administration to justify their combative approach to student protest.

Chapter Nine

The 2000s Generation

POLITICAL MILIEU

Several highlights have underscored Uganda's millennium politics: the 2001 National referendum, and the presidential and parliamentary elections, which took place in 2001 as well. The referendum was designed to seek popular opinion on whether to proceed with President Yoweri Museveni's no-party Movement political organization or to open up space for multi-party politics. The Movement agenda carried the day, and President Yoweri Museveni was once again elected President for a second five-year constitutional term of office. Later on, parliamentary elections were held, and the 7th parliament was inaugurated.

More recently, however (2005), under article 74 (1) of the constitution, another referendum was held in the light of either maintaining the no-party Movement system or multi-party political organizing. This time around, Ugandans voted in favour of a resumption of multi-party politics. Later in the year, parliament voted to amend Article 105 (1) of the 1995 Constitution by lifting presidential term limits. This new constitutional amendment opened the way for President Yoweri Museveni to contest for the third term in office.

MAKERERE UNIVERSITY AND THE MILLENNIUM

One of the prominent trends at Makerere University is its shifting student demographic representation, reflected in the increasing number of older returning part-time students. As a result, enrollment has soared significantly, up to 35,000 students currently. In the 2000/1–2004/5 strategic plan, enrollment was projected to increase from 30,000 students in the 2000–2001 academic year to 50,000 students by the year 2010—a 10% increase per annum (Musolini, H. April 20–26, 2000. *The Makererian).*

Other transformations have occurred as well. For example, the university has adopted a semester-type academic calendar, curriculum has been redesigned to reflect national development goals and global economic trends. To this end, the drive for information technology has gained prominence.

In support of the university's transformation agenda, several foundations, such as the Rockefeller, Ford, MacArthur, and Carnagie Corporation of New York, the Swedish Agency for Research Co-operation in Developing Countries (SIDA/SAREC), and other governmental and non-governmental organizations, have in recent years offered significant capacity-building support. Target development areas include computer access, building construction and refurbishment, curricular reform, and staff development.

Politically, Makerere University students were actively involved in the factious 2001 national elections, and are actively involved in the current presidential and parliamentary elections politicking.

In the area of student activism, two back-to-back riots occurred in 2001, where students were protesting against heightened insecurity at the university, which had resulted in the death of a number of students. Other riots occurred in 2003, 2004 and 2005 as described below.

THE FEBRUARY 2, 2001 ADIGAREMO SECURITY RIOT

Backdrop

Makerere University students were clearly flustered by the escalating student murders on campus. Five students had been shot dead in cold blood before Adigaremo's death on February 2, and his demise was the second student murder since December of 2000.

In their response, students were pointing a reproving finger at the government for failing to protect its citizens. Dennis Okema, the guild president at the time, states:

> I was one of the ringleaders of that demonstration. It was about security. We were lacking security here [at Makerere] to the extent that we had students shot in their rooms, we had students shot on their way to their halls, and this to us meant that nobody was safe at the university; so we were forced to forge a way and make ourselves heard. This is something we had pleaded for, for so long but we were not seeing the government taking charge of our security. We felt that we had a fundamental right to our lives and no one has a right to tamper with it. When we charge you with a responsibility as a government to protect our rights to live, we expect the service from you, and if not, we have to

> expose it. So we had to go the streets and demonstrate to all Ugandans that we were all at the mercy of death and we needed security (Okema: Interviewed June 27, 2002, at his office-Makerere University Guild).

Students had earlier requested that a barrier (wall fence) be built around campus to block the numerous entry points, but their request had fallen through the university's bureaucratic cracks.

THE FEBRUARY 2ND STIR

In the early morning hours of Friday February 2, 2001, Mr. Alex Adigaremo, a first year Education student was shot dead on the campus grounds near Mary Stuart Hall as he walked back to his residence after a night out with friends. The news of his death sparked an immediate spread of exasperation among students who were already dispirited by the state of insecurity on campus. Hereupon, a violent riot ensued, as Daniel Kilinaki reports:

> Sixty anti-riot police firing tear gas and rubber bullets yesterday failed to end a daylong riot by Makerere University students that paralysed the campus, Wandegeya [suburb of campus] and parts of Kampala city yesterday. Several students were injured in the riot which began at 8.00 A.M. to protest the murder of Alex Adiga from West Nile, and a first year student of Education who was shot through the heart outside Mary Stuart Hall as he returned from a night club.
>
> After destroying property and stopping end-of-semester examinations at the main campus and in Makerere Medical School, Mulago, the students sealed off Makerere Hill road and the University main gate using stones, tree branches and potted plants stolen from a roadside florist.
>
> Chanting, 'we want security' another group marched to Parliament bearing an empty coffin and destroyed two cars. Riot police successfully disbanded this group using tear gas and broke through the barricades at the university, but failed to quell the uprising. One female student in C.C.E hall fainted, and the fire brigade put out a fire in one of the hall's rooms which was started by a stray tear-gas canister. A male student Umar Wamume, had his hand blown off and later amputated when a tear gas canister he was trying to pick exploded while a female student Mariam Kiyiingi had a rubber bullet extracted from her back in Mulago hospital. Another girl broke her leg after being trampled by students who were fleeing the Main Library.
>
> After beating off the riot police, the students marched through the University destroying cars and shattering windows in the buildings.

> They then rounded up the Vice-Chancellor, Prof. John Ssebuwufu and dean of students John Ekudu, whom they tried to force into a coffin, and when he refused, they forced him to carry tree branches . . . they were hunting for the deputy vice chancellor, Epelu Opio, who is in charge of security at the university (Kilinaki, D. February 3, 2001. *The Monitor,* pp.1–2).

Okema provides the following eyewitness account:

> We had many students arrested, we had so many students tortured by the police, we had a student who lost his hand and was mutilated because he got injured by the riot police, and he is my course mate. We also had a girl who had a very serious injury on the left eye; rooms were burnt by tear gas dropping into people's rooms through the windows and these are some of the consequences we suffer in the process of searching for the truth . . . we were over three thousand students and we marched on the streets, we marched from here [Makerere] and since we believe that this country belongs to us, whenever we are discontented we have to go to Constitutional Square of this country which is on Kampala Road [located in Kampala city centre].
>
> From Constitutional Square we went ahead to show our discontent at the ministry of education, then we went to Parliament, and at Parliament we wanted to be addressed by the Parliament because we still believe that this university is one of the government parastatals that was instituted by Parliament of Uganda, so they had to know what was going on.
>
> So we went, and unfortunately on our way back we were tortured by police and they removed the coffin that we were using as our symbol of discontent, we wanted to show Ugandans that anytime we have to keep the coffin close to us because it is a matter of crawling into it because we were that close to death—we had reached that level. So they removed our coffin, they tortured us, brought us into the university; they beat each and every student they could find around until no one was in the university with the exception of those hidden in their rooms (Okema, 2002).

During this pandemonium, students also ravaged the residences of the vice-chancellor and dean of students, broke some windows panes at the faculties of Agriculture and Science, put out electric power, overturned some university vehicles, and created bedlam on the streets of Kampala. The rioting temporarily halted when anti-riot police managed to rough up the crowds with

tear gas. A few students who sustained injuries were taken to the hospital, while a number were arrested (Ssonko, N. February 5, 2001. *The Monitor*).

In the evening, however, the fracas resumed under what students termed "Makerere II," a turbulence that continued on deep into the night. Students went on rampage around Makerere's surrounding areas of Kasubi and Wandegeya, invading citizens' business places, burning motor vehicles, looting food stores, and attempting to swoop down on the nearby police station. They barricaded all the campus entry points with roadblocks, but the stampede ended when police dispersed the rioting crowds with tear gas, arresting 30 students (Kibirige, D. & Katende, M. K. January 4, 2001. *The Sunday Monitor)*.

In an official statement, President Yoweri Museveni furiously decried the student's murder, as well as the violent protest. " I condemn these people who killed the student at Makerere. The military intelligence, assisted by other agents will hunt the killers down and we shall get them." Turning to student violent behaviour, he charged: " how does rioting stop these criminals . . . by rioting you actually make the situation worse in the country . . . you destroy people's property. People have spent many years saving to have that property and these fellows come overnight and ruin it. This is not acceptable, this shall be crushed" (Okoth, L. February 5, 2001. *The Monitor,* p.3).

Uganda National Student Association also expressed its own indignation, condemning the cold-blooded murder of Adigaremo, as well as students in other institutions of learning, who had lost their lives under similar circumstances. The association's chairman, Mr. Isaac Lulaba stated:

> We condemn in the strongest terms possible and denounce the rampant killing of students in the recent past by armed thugs, rebels and armed government personnel . . . we therefore call upon the murderers to immediately stop killing innocent students and we demand that government provides maximum security to students, institutions of learning, and the entire country (As cited by Kayondo, N. February 5, 2001. *The Monitor, p.2*).

In a similar vein, Foundation for Human Rights Initiative (FHRI) remonstrated the government for dereliction of duty by ignoring the obvious trend of killings at the university. The foundation's executive director, Mr. Livingstone Sewanyana, lamented:

> FHRI notes with grave concern that students at Makerere University have continued to be murdered without any firm action being taken

> against the perpetrators not any reason being advanced by authorities. The state is obliged to enforce law and order, detect crime and punish offenders, when the situation demands, institute an expeditious and impartial inquiry and make findings thereof public without delay (As cited by Onyango, S. & Mutsamura, K.E. February 3, 2001. *The Monitor,* p.2).

In the meantime, the saga turned political in the heat of presidential campaigns, with the opponents trading accusations and counter-accusations. The opposing faction of Col. Dr. Kiiza Besigye, President Yoweri Museveni's main challenger, maintained that the killing was state-sponsored because Adigaremo was its known supporter, while Museveni's camp insisted that the student was killed by ruffians belonging to Besigye's campaign constituency (Onyango, S. & Tayebwa, W. February 3, 2001. *The Monitor*).

As a result of the stampede, 20 students, three Uganda People's Defence Forces soldiers, and ten citizens purported to be ruffians taking advantage of the situation, were arrested and incarcerated at Kampala Central Police Station (Weddi, D. & Musoke, K. February 4, 2001. *The Sunday Vision*).

Later, the student guild leadership held a press conference where the guild president, Asuman Basalirwa, condemned the contentious campaign reports by politicians that Adigaremo's death was politically motivated. He stated:

> The demonstration had nothing to do with politics. The death of this student had nothing to do with the Museveni-Besigye phenomenon. Police should investigate whichever camp is claiming the student. As far as we are concerned, we are no party to any political statements perpetuated by Museveni or Besigye's camps. Killings have been going on at Makerere even before this phenomenon (as cited by Eremu, J. February 8, 2001. *The New Vision,* p. 1).

Student leaders at the conference called upon the government to release all the arrested students and initiate a formal investigation into the killings. In the meantime, however, the government declared Makerere University "Protected Ground" and deployed military police, assisted by ordinary police forces to control security at campus and the surrounding areas. Due to the military police's tenacious grip on security, the protest was squelched; and a week later, most of the arrested students were released on bail.

THE APRIL 1ST, BARBARA MWESIGWA PROTEST

In the early morning hours of Sunday, April 1, 2001 (around 4 am), a 22-year-old female student of Bachelor of Library and Information Science (BLIS) by the name of Barbara Mwesigwa was shot and killed by an unknown assailant. The killing took place at her residence, room 26 Block DB, Complex Hall (C.C.E). As a subterfuge, the killer had reportedly masqueraded as a university guard providing protection to Barbara on her way back to her residence after a night out. One of her roommates provided the following eyewitness account:

> I think he started chatting with her as he escorted her to her room. When I opened the door, I saw that the man had a gun and I ran back to the room and closed the door. He told Barbara to tell us that if we did not open for him he would shoot her; and when we opened the door and Barbara entered, we tried to lock it . . . the bullet passed near my nose and then I felt Barbara falling against me, then we fell together. That is when the man came in to the room (As cited by Kulubya, S. & Kilinaki, D. April 2, 2001. *The Monitor,* p.1–2).

Immediately after the shooting, the assailant grabbed some of the women's belongings including a camera, a cell phone, an unspecified amount of money, and vanished into the dark of the night. Mwesigwa was rushed to Mulago hospital where she was later pronounced dead.

Mwesigwa's death, the second in one week (Robert Mugwanya a first year Social Science student was shot dead the previous week), rejuvenated bewilderment among students. Only two months previously, Adigaremo had been murdered in similar cloudy circumstances (Wedi, D., Musoke, K., & Musoke, C. April 2, 2001. *The New Vision)*.

In a spontaneous outburst, students gathered in large numbers to protest the murder. The rioting lasted about six hours and was later contained by riot police using tear gas. Another group of students had rushed to light a fire and block Sir Apollo Kaggwa road, but riot police immediately dispersed them as well. Some students had earlier grabbed a vehicle at Kavule on Bombo Road and forcibly drew fuel from an Agip petrol station. They also grabbed a coffin from a nearly carpentry shop.

Meanwhile, President Yoweri Museveni issued a message of condolence to Mwesigwa's family, her relatives and the university community. In the same message he condemned the murder and called upon students to desist from violence, reassuring them of increased security and government's unreserved effort to bring the perpetrators to justice (Mucunguzi, J. & Dibele, D. April 2, 2001. *The Monitor*).

Mwesigwa's father, Dr. Benon Mwesigwa, also issued a statement decrying the state of insecurity at the university and warning students against roaming at night, stating, "My daughter was going in at four o'clock unescorted. She could have died anywhere else. The students themselves need to become more security conscious. They cannot expect to have security agents at every point in the university" (as cited by Kalubya, S. & Kilinaki, D. April 2, 2001. The *Monitor,* pp.1–2).

Aftermath

On Sunday April 2, President Museveni sent a contingent of senior military and police officials accompanied by Mwesigwa's father to listen to students' concerns and provide emotional support. The officers pledged increased security not only on campus, but also around the off-campus student residences. They also promised to revisit students' request that a wall be build around campus to protect the community. Mwesigwa's father made a passionate appeal, asking students to refrain from rioting in order to avoid more tragedies. The deputy vice-chancellor stated that the university administration would consider sanctioning the sale of alcoholic beverages on campus to prevent students from roaming off-campus looking for drinks (Mucunguzi, J. & Dibele, D. April 2, 2001. *The Monitor*).

Students kept vigil at CCE Hall that night and roasted the two bulls offered by director, Chieftaincy of Military Intelligence, Lt Col Mayombo. In the meantime, the government deployed a heavy squadron of military police, a force that mounted its presence all across campus, resulting in the gradual return to normalcy on campus. On the same day a requiem service for the late Barbara Mwesigwa was conducted at St. Francis Chapel Makerere University, and her body was transported to her home in Bushenyi District, Western Uganda for burial.

In the evening of the next day, (Tuesday), President Museveni made a surprise visit to Makerere University. He toured CCE Hall where Barbara was killed, and then Mary Stuart Hall, the location of Adigaremo's demise. The president offered reassurances to students and promised government's commitment to providing maximum security. After the president's departure, the Army Commander, Major General Jeje Odongo, also visited campus.

THE NOVEMBER 17, 2003 LIVING-OUT ALLOWANCES RIOT

Backdrop

As noted before, Makerere University has undergone unprecedented expansion in recent times, notably the sharp increase in enrollment, which has resulted in the search for extra room to accommodate students. A

university that was initially built to accommodate 7,000 students now has a student body of over 35,000 students. Over 80% of the student population (including the government sponsored ones) reside off-campus. Makerere is, therefore surrounded by a whole slew of privately owned hostels where students reside and commute to campus everyday. Those sponsored by the Government of Uganda are entitled to an allowance of 340,000 Uganda shillings (about 190 US dollars) as a co-payment towards their accommodation (rent) and other living expenses. Therefore, any delay in disbursing these funds would cause much anxiety on the side of students who count on them for survival, as Mr. Yusuf Kiranda, former Makerere University Guild President confirms:

> The non-resident students had not been paid for their living out allowance and we were in the middle of the third month of the semester. These are students who rent outside the university, some stay in hostels where they are chasing them for non-payment, lack of meals and what not . . . each student is paid 340,000 shillings which should cater for accommodation, transport, water, electricity, meals excluding lunch because they get lunch on campus, at their respective halls of residence they are attached to . . . an average hostel costs 160,000 shillings for a room of four people . . . and the average meal around this place is between 700 and 1000 shillings. So the money apart from not being enough was coming too late and these students had acquired loans and what not. So the university had promised us that the money would come in time but kept postponing, postponing, and so on . . . (Kiranda, Interviewed, Wednesday July 20, 2005 at Makerere University Guild office).

The Riot

In exasperation for delayed allowances, which according to Kiranda should have been deposited a week earlier, students decided to stage a peaceful demonstration slated for Monday November 17, 2003. This date was particularly important to them because it would coincide with the installation of a new university chancellor, following the 2001 promulgation of the Universities and Other Tertiary Institutions Act, whereby the head of state (President) ceased to be the de-facto chancellor of public universities. Professor Apollo Nsibambi, a long-time Makerere University academic, now Prime Minister of Uganda, was appointed the first non-head of state Makerere University chancellor. November 17, 2004 was the day slated for his inauguration.

As students planned to stage a demonstration on that same day, they intended to make a grievance statement at this high profile celebration.

Miss Mary Nantongo, current Guild Vice-President and former Deputy Guild Speaker remembers:

> We wanted it on that day because it would make an impact and that was the only way it would make an impact because we had negotiated for the money and it was not coming, so when the new chancellor was going to be installed, he is the patron, he is the father, he is the headmaster, he is everything. Let him see what is happening in an institution that is coming to take over. Fortunately enough, Vice-President, Professor Gilbert Bukenya was there to preside over the function, so they said, fine we have him around let him also witness (Nantongo, M. 2005. Interviewed Tuesday July 19, 2005 at Makerere University Guild office as a participant on a three-member focus group panel, which also included current Guild President, Mr. Henry Maurice Kibalya and Guild Finance Minister, Mr. Wilson Nsibirwa).

Kiranda, who was the student guild president at the time of the riot also confirms:

> Students saw this as an opportunity to target both constituencies: the government and the university because the vice-president was there, the prime minister who was being installed Chancellor was around, and the university administration was around. So it started as something simple; they gathered at the Freedom Square, and I had to intervene to make sure that it doesn't turn violent though at the end security agencies made it violent (Kiranda, 2005).

As planned, in the morning of Monday, November 17, students made their way to the Freedom Square located opposite Main Hall where the installation ceremony was due to take place. Some of them positioned themselves near the hall to remind the passing dignitaries of their grievances as they entered. In addition to the guest of honor and members of the university administration, some high level government officials were present: Among them were Vice-President, Professor Gilbert Bukenya, Parliament Speaker, Mr. Edward Ssekandi, former President, Mr. Godfrey Binaisa, as well as several cabinet ministers and some foreign governments' representatives (Kamali, G., Candia, S., Balimwikungu, A., & Kareire, P. November 18, 2003. *The New Vision*).

Students were particularly interested in voicing their complaints to Professor Nsibambi (Chancellor-to-be), which they did, and quite vociferously as he arrived on campus on his way to Main Hall.

In the meantime, the guild president requested Dean of Students, Mr. John Ekudu to address the students assembled at the freedom square. Mr. Ekudu, who was supposed to attend the inauguration ceremony in the main building was instead "held hostage" at the Freedom Square, as he attempted to assuage students outrage, by offering assurance that their allowances were due coming.

> I called the dean of students and by the way, I appreciate his response, which was so good. He came in and was there with students all the time, he talked to them that please, something is being done to ensure that you will get the money as soon as possible; that in fact it would be available by Monday of the following week . . . students were demanding for their allowances, trying to air their views that they were, indeed suffering (Kiranda 2005).

According to *The New Vision* (November 18, 2003*),* students had also called for the University Secretary, Mr. Sam Byanagwa who, like the dean of students attempted to offer explanation and assurances about the slow coming allowances. The paper states that the university secretary came along with a document folder, which he waved in an attempt to verify that the money had been deposited in the bank. Students then retorted, "We don't eat documents, all we want now is money. If the riot police comes, we shall share the tear-gas and rubber bullets together" (Kamali, G. et.al. November 18, 2003. *The New Vision,* p.2).

> Now what happened there were people who were not comfortable with the politics that Professor Apolo Nsibambi represents. So, as we were at the freedom square, other students staged a roadblock in front of the faculty of science. Of-course they had wanted to stage a roadblock so that when the inauguration came to an end, the chancellor, who is also Prime Minister and the vice-President had to leave the university, would find the road blocked . . . but for us were negotiating with the students, trying to contain them because their initial target was to go and stop the inauguration, but we tried our best, me and the dean to ensure that they are contained in the freedom square . . . (Kiranda, 2005).

The installation ceremony ended around 5:15 p.m in the evening; and as the new chancellor, the university administrators and the attending guest were leaving the main hall, they run into a crowd of student demonstrators who had bulwarked the roads. Students were demanding audience with

the new chancellor and political leaders present, to question them about delayed allowances. As it was almost impossible to cut through the crowd, the dignitaries were forced to return to the main hall for safety (Ssali, H. November 18, 2003, *The Monitor*).

Ssali further reports that before they were whisked back into the hall, Vice-President, Professor Gilbert Bukenya verbalized this inquiry to the university registrar: "why don't you give them their money" (p.2).

Police attempted to calm the crowd but all in vain because students responded with a stone-throwing spree. In the process, Vice-President and Prime Minister's security personnel were also caught up in the mayhem. It was only when police employed live gunfire that students were forced to disperse and run for safety, but not without consequence. One female student, Elma Achayo of the School of Education, was shot in the arm and was rushed to Mulago hospital for emergency treatment. Several others were arrested and remanded in police custody. About this incident, Wilson Nsibirwa, currently Guild Minister of Finance recalls:

> Now the VP [Vice President] had the police, now the students knew they would engage the police very well, so when these guys were coming out and nothing was being done, they [students] decided to engage the VP's police detail, stoned it, began doing this and that . . . that's when police began to release live bullets, one went through the senate building, I think they replaced that glass, then one live bullet is the one which hit the girl's arm, she was at faculty of social science . . . students realized that these guys had live bullets not those rubbers and tear gas . . . they had wanted to go on with the thing but they had deployed the police seriously (Nsibirwa, 2005. Focus group interview).

As police engaged the rioting students, the guests were able to come out of the hall. They immediately left campus, with security personnel shooting their way through the stone-throwing outraged crowds. "It is very unfortunate to use such means to get what you want, but I think they should be paid their money," the new chancellor stated before leaving campus (As cited by Ssali, H. November 18, 2003. *The Monitor,* p.2).

> After loosing the other battle, students took their frustration to the freedom square and started putting down the tents which were built for the upcoming graduation ceremony, they burned them . . . so when they heard that they were burning the graduation tents, and everything, they deployed proper police, they caned students at night very well . . . so the following day students issued a memorandum 'if we are not paid,

no graduation.' They were planning to disorganize the graduation (Nsibirwa, 2005).

To the question of how the riot ended, Nsibirwa responded:

> As I told you, normally when you bring this kili kili—these policemen, the tear gas and so on, students normally lose when this stuff comes in. I told you that that night there was a curfew, policemen had canes, they were really tough, they could find two people standing, and before asking those ones are caned, so that's how things went. Students had to go back to their rooms . . . others took off seriously, because of teargas they had to disperse, but the following day they issued a statement 'If we are not paid no graduation,' so the money was put; they got the money before the graduation. They succeeded in getting the money, at least (Nsibirwa, 2005).

Aftermath

As the riot abated, the university administration convened a meeting with the student guild officials. At the meeting, student leaders received confirmation that allowance money would be immediately processed and deposited in students' bank accounts. In addition, the university vice-chancellor agreed to appoint a team of professionals to investigate the funds allotment delays.

As promised, the administration briskly processed the funds, and by the following day, Tuesday November 17, the money had arrived at students' individual bank accounts (Ssali, H. 2003).

Revisiting the causes of student allowances deferment, the dean of students stated that it was all because of a mix-up stemming from student accounts. But addressing Parliament later on, Dr Khiddu Makubuya, Minister of Education and Sports stated that the delay actually resulted from the payment system modification—from cash delivery to direct bank deposit. He lashed out at the warden of Nkrumah Hall (where most rioting students resided) for not submitting students' names and account numbers in time, information that was only presented on the day of the riot (Olupot, M. & Mukasa, H. November 28, 2003. *The New Vision*).

Also addressing Parliament, Mr. Francis Xavier Lubanga, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Education and Sports, joined the chorus of those who were questioning the root causes of the funds transmission delays. He reproached the university administration, in particular the hall wardens, for failing to inform students that the treasury had actually released their allowance money in time.

Meanwhile, some ambience of normalcy returned at the university, following student's confirmation that their allowance money had, actually, reached their individual bank accounts. Lectures resumed normally, and the Friday graduation took place without incident, but not without a phalanx of police guards who had been deployed for precautionary reasons. In the meantime, Miss Achayo, the student who was shot in the arm during the riot was slowly recuperating in Mulago hospital, but with much bitterness. She lamented. "I'm an evening student and had nothing to do with the rioters because that was not my money. I was shocked that he could fire live bullets at us. That man clearly intended to kill me." (As cited by Kamali, G. Wednesday, November 19, 2003. *The New Vision.* p.16). The two students who had been arrested and still in police custody were later released.

THE NOVEMBER 16, 2004 EDGAR MUKUNDANE RIOT

Prior to November 16, two strikes occurred at Makerere University: One on March 17, 2004 staged by the university's support staff who were demanding pay raise and enhanced working conditions; and a subsequent one (April 5, 2004) by the academic staff with similar demands. As in the past, both constituencies attracted students' unwavering support. The second crisis, however, deserves particular attention because it resulted in a student-police altercation.

While members of the academic staff went on strike, classes were disrupted for a considerable period of time, leading to idleness and restlessness on the side of students. In conjunction with this, the guild leadership convened a general assembly to brainstorm with students possible ways of handling the situation.

Now it happened that the university council was having its own emergency session at the time the general assembly was convened. Needless to mention, general assemblies have always been perceived with much suspicion because many have previously ended in violence.

During the assembly, as Kilanda stated, students' emotional temperatures began to rise, and thereupon police bombarded the gathering, claiming that they were hatching a plan to invade the members of the university council at their meeting. Armed with tear gas and ammunitions, police managed to disperse the crowds and went on rampage around campus, including halls of residence, arresting a number of students in the process. The strike ended when President Yoweri Museveni convened an emergency meeting with academic staff association (MUASA) members and promised to honor their request for a pay raise. Thereafter classes resumed.

THE NOVEMBER 16 OUTBURST

On Saturday, November 13, 2004, Edgar Mukundane, an off-campus student leader affiliated to Lumumba Hall, was hit by a fast moving taxi on Bombo road near Makerere campus. Mukundane later died of his wounds at Malago Hospital, Sunday November 14, 2004. He was buried Tuesday November 16, 2004 at his home in Ibanda-Mbarara district (Western Uganda). The day after Mukundane's death (Monday November 15), two other students, Rose Kawarachi and Hawah Lubowa fell victims of another hit and run car accident. They were rushed to Mulago hospital for medical treatment.

As Mukundane was being buried (Tuesday November 16), students took to the streets to "Mourn the fallen colleague." (Ahimbisibwe, F. & Kareire, P. Wednesday, November 17, 2004. *The New Vision*. p.1).

Students were particularly enraged by the fact that city authorities had ignored their repeated requests to install streetlights and construct road bumps to limit motor vehicle tempo on roads around campus.

> Now you know currently, there has been a lot of transformation in the university, such as student population which is very high now and the majority of students are no longer housed in the halls . . . because students are living out there, they have to cross the highway and these days lectures go on till like 9:30 pm at night . . . you can see how dangerous it can be to cross the highway at night with no street lights or anything. What annoyed students most was the fact that they had been pressing the city council [Kampala City Council] to install lights and mark zebra crossings on these roads, but nothing had been done. In fact the chairman of Lumumba Hall had already written to KCC because that is out of the university' jurisdiction, and KCC had been promising and promising, but nothing was done (Nantongo, 2005).

What started off as a demonstration and later turned into a riot, began at Lumumba Hall, and eventually spread around the campus and its precincts, as Nantongo further narrates:

> You know students from Lumumba are always very agitative. If you want to find out what is happening, what the university is not doing, you go to Lumumba. So the thing actually began at Lumumba and what Lumumbists were planning was to take a document to parliament, and according to information I got from the leaders, it was supposed to be a peaceful demonstration, they were not interested in violence . . . but some students were really agitated and the situation

changed into a violent riot, police came, roughed up everybody, they just took even students who were just wrapped in towels, you can imagine down there in the hostel, some students were not at all involved in the riot, they were roughed up and taken to police . . . (Nantongo, 2005).

Then Nsibirwa also recalls:

Students of Lumumba started by mourning at night. They had a fire outside their hall and the whole of Lumumba and other concerned students who knew in time went to Lumumba and were just out mourning their colleague.

You know he [Mukundane] was a student leader. During the night, students had circulated written information on manila paper about the death, especially inviting the university community to come to Lumumba and participate in the mourning. Now there is a group that went to City Council to present a memorandum requesting them to put the street lights and zebra crossing outside the university. So, as this group went, the other group which had collected around stayed, they didn't have anything to do, they didn't have adequate information . . . also as the university administration was sensing that as students gang up you don't know the next step, so it was their duty to find a solution, so they called police to come in to disperse the crowd, meanwhile the other group that had gone to the city council returned and found the riot police on rampage trying to disperse the students . . . and inevitably the fight had to come. Students who were dispersed went down across the road just down Lumumba, that is the Sir Apolo Kagwa Road and they decided to put zebra crossing and humps on the road by themselves, because the other people [Kampala City Council] were taking a long time. So they started to dig on the road and actually they dug the whole road, a very wide hole cutting across the road so vehicles were not able to pass, and those vehicles which were trying to pass as they [students] were working, they had to pay condolence fees and if you don't pay, you know students . . . you are beaten (Nisibirwa, 2005).

The outraged students took their rampage to the Kasubi and Kavule suburbs, which they ransacked in search of a coffin to use as a death symbol while demonstrating their frustration.

You know when it involves death; they find a way of getting what represents their mourning, so they go down there to pick a coffin. We have very big private workshops around, where people make those coffins,

> chairs, beds, so students just go there and they say, these are our workshops though they are private things. But it is not easy to just come and pick these things, the owners have to fight back . . . and police come in and so forth . . . so when the students picked the coffin they had to bring it to the freedom square, after winning the other side. Then a new group came from Lumumba, down from Sir Apollo Kaggwa Road, so they found these ones coming to freedom square . . . and this group was the general community . . . students from all over campus now whether residents, non-residents all combined . . . and now police was on the way, and it was a big group, and police could not find it so easy to disperse them . . . they put their massive tear gas but students were also fighting back with stones, sticks . . . they throw things around, and you know they had to protect the coffin. . . . 'You either take the coffin or you die from here,' because they were also interested in killing the police; and in fact they had already killed one policeman down on the other fight which was on Sir Apollo Kaggwa Road . . . in fact two people died, one was hit by a bullet . . . that was some woman passing around and then another one was a policeman who was hit with a hoe used to dig the hole on the road . . . somebody took cover and came and hit the policeman as he was on guard . . . and now the police brought more reinforcement and went around campus in the hostels, in the halls and poured mob tear gas (Nsibirwa, 2005).

Kiranda also confirms:

> I mean, police pumped tear gas in the hostels and while students ran out there, they arrested very many around 156 of them, I'm not sure of the exact figure, but around that number, you can find out . . . they arrested them and actually charged all of them and case has just been dropped last months because of lack of evidence. You know what is funny, once they pumped tear gas in the hostels students had to move out, now that's when they started to arrest them . . . if you can go WBS [Wava Broadcasting Station] they will show you a picture of a girl who was arrested in a towel! So the implication is maybe she was in her room relaxing, maybe she was going to take a shower and run out because of tear gas and now she was arrested for striking, what do you think? Someone would strike in a towel, some police are just . . . (Kilanda, 2005).

In a more conclusive manner, Nantongo affirms: "But finally we got the humps and the zebra crossing. You know, almost always, we get what we want, but through the hard way . . . "

As a collateral, private business around campus was paralyzed because students went around vandalizing and looting merchandize. They had, in addition, blockaded streets and pathways with burning used motor vehicle tires.

The ordeal ended when police gained an upper hand using tear gas and rubber bullets, but not before a combative exchange with students armed with stones and empty bottles.

AFTERMATH

The day after the riot, police ransacked student residences and arrested 113 of them (35 women and 78 men) purported to have been involved in the riot. They were remanded and charged in court for disobeying police order to disperse, a charge that they denied, and were later released on a Uganda shillings 150,000 ($85) bail.

Almost seven months later, Wednesday June 22, 2005, those students were acquitted. The presiding judge stated that the acquittal was predicated on the prosecution's failure to produce credible evidence placing the individual students on the riot scene (2005, June 24–30). *The Campuser.*

THE APRIL 25TH 2005 GUILD ELECTIONS SAGA

Preamble

Every academic year, Makerere University students elect a guild president. The elections are based in halls of residence, and are preceded by a period of grassroots campaigning. The guild electoral commission oversees the entire voting exercise and announces the winning candidate. One overriding historical characteristic of guild presidential elections at Makerere is their close affiliation with national politics. Political party affiliation therefore becomes a prominent factor in these elections. Almost routinely, Makerere students have allied themselves with the opposing party/parties. Candidates with ties to the ruling political party have, for the most part, lost the contest. Occasionally too, regional and tribal sentiments (what part of the country the candidate hails from and his/her tribe) plays a part. The 2005 elections were no different.

In all, fourteen candidates stood for the guild presidential election, and through the process of elimination, two candidates remained for the final face-off. Not unlike in the past, the two candidates were affiliated with rival national political organizations. Jet Tumwebaze of Nkrumah Hall, hailing from western Uganda enjoyed the backing of the ruling National Resistance Movement, while Henry Maurice Kibalya of Mitchell Hall, born

in the eastern region of Uganda (Busoga), was supported by the opposition Forum for Democratic Change (FDC).

The Voting Day

April 25th 2005 was the day slated for voting. The exercise was punctuated by massive chaos based, for the most part, in the two halls of residence where leading candidates resided: Mitchell Hall for Henry Maurice Kibalya, and Nkrumah Hall for Jet Tumwebaze. During the voting itself, a slugfest between the two halls of residence erupted, with both groups accusing one another of election fraud. A stone-hurling battle thus ensued, to be curtailed by riot police, but only for a while because the exchange continued for days.

That evening, election-related chaos also erupted at Lumumba Hall, where students invaded their neighbor and traditional ally, Mary Stuart (female hall of residence), to punish its residents for breaking the Lumumba/Mary Stuart traditional pact of mutual support and comradeship. During the primaries, Mary Stuart had voted in favor of Jet Tumwebaze, a non-Lumumba candidate. As a result, Mr. Robert Sajjabi, the favored Lumumba candidate was defeated. Feeling betrayed and enraged, Lumumbists swarm over Mary Stuart, smashing doors and windows and causing mayhem until police arrived to rescue the residents.

On the following day, (Tuesday April 26), the Dean of Students, Mr. John Ekudu convened a crisis meeting with the electoral commission members, during which they all agreed to postpone the election results pending investigation.

Meanwhile students' violent pandemonium went even beyond campus, where they assaulted civilians and wrecked some property, among other things. Their confrontation with tear gas armed police persisted almost through the night.

On Wednesday, April 26, the university administration convened another crisis meeting. This time Vice-Chancellor, Professor Livingston Luboobi and Kampala Region Police Commander, Mr. Benson Oyo Nyeko were present, in addition to the dean of Students and the thirteen electoral commission members.

At the meeting an altercation occurred among the electoral commission members, with Mr. Njogu Mungai (a 4th year law student hailing from Kenya) insisting that election results from Mitchell and Nkrumah Halls be cancelled altogether, a decision that would put Tumwebaze in the lead. When his position was rejected, Mr. Njogu resigned his position as electoral commission chairman and thereupon the university administration took over the process. Mr. Lawrence Kisseka, the commission's general secretary

had, on the other hand, favored cancellation of the entire university-wide process and holding fresh elections.

Both positions were dismissed and the electoral commission Vice-Chairperson Anne Kanyango was mandated to declare the results as they were. Mr. Henry Maurice Kibalya emerged as the winning candidate with 1722 votes, while his opponent Mr. Jet Tumwebaze lost the election. He had garnered 1494 votes (Musamali, G. & Kareire, P. April 28, 2005. *The New Vision*).

As expected, Tumwebaze and his supporters were not only stunned but also enraged by the results, and thereupon a stone-throwing fracas between the two opposing groups resumed, until police intervened.

John Vivian Sserwaniko of The *Campuser* reports that Tumwebaze's supporters also attempted, that weekend, to ransack the vice-chancellor's office but police obstructed the endeavor. Students had stormed the office carrying placards reading "Luboobi [Vice-Chancellor] you are lazy! Museveni, give us a new Vice-Chancellor" "Ssebuwufu (Luboobi's predecessor) was much better. We want him back" (Sserwaniko, J. V. May 13-May 26, 2005, *The Campuser* p. 2).

Serwaniko further reports that the demonstrators were upbraiding the vice-chancellor for sectarian conduct, alleging that he (Professor Luboobi), a muganda hailing from the central region, had stated that guild presidency will never be held by a person from Ankole (Western Uganda). As noted earlier, Jet Tumwebaze , who lost the election, is himself from Ankole.

With the above allegation students bellowed: "That is too low for a vice-chancellor of a national university. Makerere belongs to all of us" (Sserwaniko, p.2). They were also reproaching him for allegedly using his power and influence to hand victory to Kibalya, his favored candidate.

Meanwhile, Tumwebaze decided to take legal action, petitioning the election results. He filed a multi-pronged lawsuit against, among others, the vice-chancellor for "influencing the guild election commission (EC) to return Kibalya as the winner, ahead of him (Tumwebaze);" the university council and electoral commission chairman for " accepting to be influenced by Luboobi [Vice-Chancellor] in announcing Kibalya the winner" (Muwambi, S. May 10, 2005. *The New Vision* p.3). In addition, Tumwebaze charged that the university had declared the disputed election results without first empanelling a tribunal to hear his appeal. The court thus ordered the university to halt the swearing-in arrangements pending investigation.

On Wednesday, May 25 2005, just one month following the elections, the presiding High Court judge issued a ruling on the case. He stated that the court found no credible evidence to inculpate neither the vice-chancellor

nor the university council, not even the electoral commission and its leadership, as accused. The entire case in all its ramifications was dismissed.

The plaintiff (Tumwebaze) effectively lost his petition to overturn the election results and court advised him to either present his grievances to the newly formed university tribunal or seek other avenues in search for justice. Following the judgment, Mr. Tumwebaze decided to drop the case and Mr. Kibalya was eventually sworn in as the new guild president (2005, May 27-June 2). *The Campuser*).

During the aforementioned focus group interview, Kibalya himself provided the following reflective assessment:

> You see, my opponent felt that he owned success because he was supported by the government—the National Resistance Movement. What he didn't know is that success goes for those who have worked hard for it. For him he came with a pre-set mind that he was going to become Guild President forgetting we were going in a game where we had to have a loser and a winner. That's why you saw us going to court . . . for the first time Makerere was sued . . . three parties were sued: The vice-chancellor was sued on a different account, the university council sued as well as the electoral commission. Now because my opponent was a Movement candidate, many people thought that the government would influence the decisions of the judge. But as someone rightly said, the judiciary is one of the remaining organs that we have in the country where possible justice and trust of Ugandans still remains. Justice therefore had to prevail and the judge said that he had no grounds on which to decide otherwise; and because the case had no meaning, he dismissed it on several accounts.
>
> So we left court again with another victory and another loss to our opponent . . . as I mentioned earlier, my opponent thought he had the upper hand being a Movement favored candidate. We are told that the government gave him six lawyers; but we had only one lawyer against six of them on the bench . . . anyhow, I was installed Guild President and we immediately began to work because we has lost a lot of time . . . you know, going back to the court factor, very many people did not like it; the university as an institution has its own integrity. The moment you begin taking it to court, you are running out of hand . . . so we should always respect the university; it has existed before us, it is existing when we are here, and it will exist when we have left. So we should always protect it and promote it. It doesn't make sense to me to come here, I have found the university, and now I want to destroy it . . . now for example, some ill intentioned Ugandans came and burnt our office

> (Guild). My office was burnt, now we don't even have anywhere to sit, everything was destroyed; we lost our documents, and everything. Now imagine such behavior. If people who were here 5 years ago had such a heart, would we be here? So, that's where we are, and we say that we build for the future [university motto]. I wonder if we remain building for the future if we are acting like that . . . but we still go on . . . we shall have to answer to the next generation . . . (Kibalya, 2005).

THE NOVEMBER 11, 2005 "RE-TAKE" FEE RIOT

Preamble

In December of 2004, Makerere University Council proposed to adjust tuition and operational fees, beginning with the 2005/2006 academic year. As a follow-up from this meeting, the university academic registrar issued a notice on August 12, 2005, announcing the following operational fee raise: application fees from 8,000 Uganda Shillings ($4)[1] to 20,000 shillings ($11); examination fee from 6,000 shillings ($3) to 100,000 shillings ($56); registrations fees from 50,000 shillings ($28) to 100,000 shillings ($56); Identity card fee from 11,200 shillings ($6) to 15,000 ($8) graduation fee from 10,000 shillings ($6) to 30,000 shillings ($17); transcript fee from 10,000 shillings ($6) to 20,000 ($12); and research fee also from 10,000 shillings ($6) to 20, 000 shillings ($12).

Post graduate examination fee for PhD students was raised from 180,000 shillings ($100) to 300,000 shillings ($168), whereas for Master's and diploma students the fee was raised from 120,000 ($68) to 300,000 shillings ($168). Post graduate registration fee also was raised from 12,000 Uganda Shillings, ($7) to 120, 000 Uganda Shillings ($167) (Nsubuga, A., Lirri, E., & Kagumire, R. November 18, 2005. *The Monitor*).

What triggered the November 11 student uproar, however, was the university senate's decision to also increase the examination re-take[2] fee by 80%, from 6000 shillings ($3) to 120, 000 shillings ($67).

The Riot

According to Kibalya, the guild president, for almost a week prior to the riot, the university administration and student leaders had held several meetings to placate the looming crisis since students had vowed to strike if the fee hike was ratified.

> We have met the University administration for the last four days to look for ways of halting the strike since students had indicated at the

> beginning of the semester that they were against the new fees. . . . Even last night the Guild Executive met with the administration led by the Vice-Chancellor Prof. Livingston Luboobi but he just said that he can handle whatever the students can do . . . I personally pleaded with Prof Luboobi to allow us meet the Chancellor and Prime Minister, Prof. Apolo Nsibambi, but he responded by saying that the situation is firmly under control . . . How can you make a person pay retake fees from shs. 50,000 to over shs. 150,000 for only one paper?. . . . But anyway the striking moods have been on for long because the Guild Executive spent the whole of Thursday night removing placards from all the university passages calling the students to shun classes (as cited by Nsubuga, A., Glauser, W., Kibisi, S., Nalugo, M. & Kibuuka, I. November 12, 2005. *The Monitor* p.1).

The university administration's decision to endorse the exam retake fees despite student incessant opposition caused quite a furor. Its decision was based on financial costs associated with instruction and examinations processing.

The crisis started off as a peaceful demonstration in the early hours of Friday November 11 (around 6:00 am), but within hours it had turned violent, with students going on rampage, vandalizing and looting property in and around campus. Following the violent turn of events, riot police was called in and during the stampede, a student of Information Technology by the name of Ibrahim Ssengendo was fatally shot and died of his wounds in Mulago hospital. Ssengendo's death only served to fuel students' rage and the looting and vandalizing continued. In one instance, students broke into the university staff canteen and looted all the merchandize they could find, including beer and soda, which the drank during the riot.

Riot police, however, managed to bring the commotion to a temporary halt by evening time. In the meantime, the university administration convened a crisis meeting, which was also attended by the University Chancellor, Professor Nsibambi, representatives from the ministries of education and finance, including guild officials. Those attending the meeting decided to immediately suspend the fee payment for two weeks, pending the university council's decision (Lirri, E. & Nsubuga, A . November 15, 2005. *The Monitor*).

On Sunday, November 13, 2005, President Yoweri Museveni convened a follow-up meeting of the university executives, ministry of education officials, as well as guild executive members. Mr. Museveni braced the decision to suspend the fee payment, and questioned the wisdom of charging a re-take fee. He instead suggested that the fee should be optional and students who would wish to take the examination again would not have

to repeat the course, but would revise the course material privately and only come to do the exam. Mr. Museveni also proposed that the university could revisit the now disbanded option of offering supplementary (make-up) examinations (Lirri & Nsubuga, 2005).

The altercation between students and police continued on Monday, with students renewing their determination to press on with the strike until the re-take fee was disbanded. The recently appointed inspector general of police, Major General Kale Kaihura visited campus to interpose the crisis, but was subjected to violent resistance and was held hostage at the university for a almost two hours. "He managed to escape from the rioting students after he ordered anti-riot Police to fire tear gas on reaching the university main gate. He left sneezing." (Kiwawulo, C. & Kareire, P. November 15, 2005. The New Vision. p. 1).

Students were also demanding release of their colleagues who were still in police custody. By Monday evening, however, the crisis had waned following the Kaihura's decision to release the detained students on bond.

On Tuesday, November 16, 2005, President Yoweri Museveni visited campus, and after an hour's closed meeting with the university administration, he announced his decision to suspend exam re-take fees, and urged students to return to class and desist from violence. The president further ordered the university administration to revisit the policy and make a final decision. Students welcomed the announcement, and thereupon, the university returned to normalcy and classes resumed (Lirri & Nsubuga, 2005*)*

One Tuesday, November 22, 2005, after a series of consultation meetings, the university council also communicated its decision to suspend the fee payment, but only for continuing students. "Those who will come back three years later to retake a course (after finishing), will pay the new rates . . . A committee has been set up to review the policy and decide on what will be done next academic year," Hellen Kawesa, the university spokesperson stated (As cited by kiwawulo, C. November, 23, 2005. *The New Vision.* p.1).

INTERPRETATIVE REFLECTION

The 2001 riots denote a spur-of-the-moment reactive strand of student activism, as compared to the thematic, and somewhat protracted politics of the previous generations. Here, students were simply reacting to a clear and present danger: insecurity. Not only was their very existence perceived to be in great peril but also education's integrity.

Ironically, for the first time, we see a marriage of convenience between police and students, the latter playing a protective role as compared to the previous incidents in which they were a glaring symbol of government severity.

However, the government as an entity received most of the heat, because students perceive the string of murders on campus as the government's failure to provide minimum security to its citizens. In a similar vein, the university administration became a target of student umbrage, castigated for ignoring consistent reports of campus insecurity.

To be sure, the issue here is human rights, not welfare, another manifestation of the psychology of helplessness. This sense of powerlessness is, however, not predicated on their inability to assert themselves, but on dealing with the unknown.

Curiously, we do not see any attempt at self-reflection on the part of the students, especially following the Mwesigwa murder incident, which occurred at 4:00 am when she was returning to college unaccompanied. It was only her father who issued this challenge to the student community.

In 2003, however we see a resumption of welfare-driven student protest of the 1980s and 1990s, with non-resident students up in arms demanding their subsistence appropriation, a manifestation of helplessness, yet again. This protest in particular, reveals obvious variations within the student population, a segmentation that is associated with the current university transformation vicissitudes. For example, although it may appear as though the 2003 living-out allowance riot was a university-wide protest, in reality not all students were entitled to those allowances; and therefore, not all were affected by their delay—only the non-resident government sponsored ones. Privately funded students fend for themselves entirely.

The Mukundane and guild election crises reflect the spur-of-the moment reactionary protests of the early 2000s.The difference, however lies in the fact that while the Mukundane riot is more of a reaction to a clear and present danger, much in the same line with the 2001 riots, the guild election saga was, one other hand, a case of student political activity. Now, and quite uniquely, we see a new constituency in the mix: the court system.

This time also, as compared to the 2001 riots, the police reclaims its mighty presence as the obvious restraining force.

The 2005 exam fee re-take riot exemplifies some of the effects of the Makerere's shift towards self-reliance, hence the need to increase its funding base, but not without consequences. As expected any policy that encroaches on student welfare results in contention.

Chapter Ten

A Summing Up

The purpose of this book is to recount the history of student activism at Makerere University by tracing the chronology of the major critical incidents in order to understand their immediate and remote causes; the contextual issues that have propelled their occurrence across time; the role of the government and university administration; the strategies that have been employed to manage them; and the changes that have occurred in relation to these crises.

The shifting patterns of protests I have chronicled over the past half-a-century always had underlying issues or trigger points. The government's and sometimes university's response to manage crisis with coercive force always produced negative results. Nevertheless, as the book shows, the impact of student activism on the university has been significant. We now turn to a summary of these important dimensions of student activism.

UNDERLYING ISSUES: STUDENTS' SENSE OF ENTITLEMENT AND IDENTITY

One of the key reasons for student activism is their status consciousness, as well as their feeling obligated to become the conscience of society, especially on issue of public concern, such as democracy and accountability of leaders and their constituents. On the other hand, this feeling of entitlement can be related to their "spoiled students" identity often perceived by the government. The causes of the 1952 and 1989 protests, which were food and welfare-related resonate with such a perception.

Students' sense of social obligation has bolstered their willingness to stand visibly, often at personal risk, demanding human rights for themselves and others, as well as changes in university administration and the larger body politic. For example, although the primary cause of the 1952 food

strike was ostensibly the quality of food, it was significantly influenced by students' elevated prestige based on the growing reputation of the college itself, and as we have seen, whenever this elevated identity is punctured, agitation becomes almost inevitable.

POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND IDEOLOGY

Another factor is students' growing sense of political consciousness starting with the anti-colonialism of the late 1950s. Its most visible expression, however, occurred during the 1960s. Not unlike other universities across Africa, Makerere campus politics of the 1960s were centred on anti-colonial national consciousness, as well as on pan-African identity enshrined in the African socialist mosaic. The two demonstrations that occurred during this period (1965 anti-America & 1968 anti-Smith) drew their stamina from African independence aspirations.

Student politics of the Amin era, however, represented a shift of focus inward, toward emancipation from Uganda's own military dictatorship, hence the students' audacious attempt to overthrow the government in pursuit of their acclaimed values of democratic governance.

The post-Amin era, beginning early 1980s was punctuated by students' rigorous involvement in partisan politics. The 1981 Guild interdict became the immediate casualty of the political party polarization between the Uganda People's Congress party and the Democratic Party. Makerere University being a springboard of national politics, the matter of who became the guild president was of paramount importance to each of the political parties.

In the case of the 1984 boycott, although its front line cause was presented as students' dissatisfaction with some university administrators, the compounding issue was some university administrators' attempt to impose on the students a guild president with ties to the ruling Uganda People's Congress party. Students perceived this attempt to be a direct attack on their right to organize. They were clearly alarmed by the government's unrelenting drive to penetrate and control the university, a pursuit they denounced and characterized as a breach of the ideal of university autonomy.

The late 1980s, the 1990s, and the 2000s protests occurred within the milieu of President Yoweri Museveni's no-party National Resistance Movement politics, which those who support political pluralism oppose. Although the most salient trigger issues during this period were allowances and security, political differences played a part in aggravating the crisis.

Closely related to student political consciousness is their ideological expression. The most prominent ideologically driven era of student activism,

was during the 1960s and early 1970s, based on anti-colonial African socialist thought, as well as democratic impulses against military dictatorship. Other ideological orientations included republicanism associated with progressive left wing politics versus monarchism, a right wing conservative political orientation, associated with pre-colonial kingdom aristocratic philosophy, most exemplified by the Buganda Kingdom.

However, during the Idi Amin's presidency and the subsequent years, ideology receded quite significantly, to be replaced by situational survival politics, following the political and economic vicissitudes of the time.

ECONOMIC APPREHENSION

A third reason for student activism has been their apprehension about Uganda's economic uncertainty and restructuring, which resulted in cutbacks across the board, including student allowances. The cutbacks underlay the 1989 and 1990 protests, and gave birth to the politics of survival at Makerere University. Students' incessant demand for allowances within the context of a struggling national economy may reflect a sense of entitlement.

The World Bank/IMF Structural Adjustment Policies intended to reinvigorate the economy were dismissed by Makerere students because of their negative impact on students' basic wherewithal (allowances). Students were also suspicious of the program's failure to address the question of corruption in government.

CRISIS MANAGEMENT AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

Related to the underlying causes that I have described above is the way different constituencies (the government, the university administration, and the students) have attempted to manage crisis at the University. Their preferred coercive strategies have always produced negative results.

For example, the government has most often deployed police and/or military force whenever student crisis occurred. This strategy is exemplified by 1976 Black Tuesday, the 1984 strike, the 1990 Black Monday, the 1996 Northcote incidents, and the 2000s confrontations, where the military or police were involved in violent clashes with students.

These confrontations have often produced daunting consequences: severe injuries, student arrests, rape, property damage, student rustication, and in some extreme cases, death. The government has employed other strategies as well, which include presidential interventions, issuing of ultimatums, calling for dialogue, and university closure, among others.

The university administration's constraining impulse is exemplified by its reliance on the government to offer police or military protection, its frequent issuance of peremptory and intimidating demands to students, and sometimes attempting to ignore the crisis altogether. Such strategies often fuel student exasperation.

To be sure, the university administration has attempted to contain student crisis on its own. As Mr. Ekudu, the current dean of students, confirms, some conflicts have been resolved without involving the police. But these interventions have been mostly reactive. There is little evidence of an established proactive and troubleshooting conflict management system. Data still indicates that police force has been the most applied strategy when handling student protest.

In a similar manner, students have often employed coercive means when demanding change. Examples include strikes, boycotts, rebellions and rioting, an approach that correlates with government's impulsive willingness to use military/police force whenever a protest occurs on campus. A general contention exists among students that protests often produce immediate results, as Kiranda confirms:

> Whenever students have gone on strike on a given subject, a solution has been immediately given, so the implication is that these guys listen to strikes because, like the ones I witnessed—the living-out allowances one, money was deposited the week following the strike. The strike was on Friday, and Monday the money was there, meaning actually, next time you strike, it will be more possible for you to get the money. And this year, I mean the Zebra crossing crisis, students pushed for that thing and got tired, but when a strike occurred, work began the same week and now when you move down there yourself, you will see the road humps—they are there on Sir Apolo Kaggwa Road, road humps are there. So the thing is once you strike, you get what you want. Also for lecturers and their demands for pay increase. When their demonstration was in process, things moved fast and they were able to come back to class. So the examples has been set—that once you demonstrate that's when things happen . . . It might be true that there are students who are interested in violence as a means of solving problems, but these ones also exploit these two factors: the fact that action is not taken when you speak and the fact that action is taken immediately when you become violent. That issue is extremely important here at the university (Kiranda, 2005).

Students have employed several other conflict management strategies, which include general assemblies, writing protest letters, and on some

occasions attempting to disband the protest, as in the case of the 1990 crisis when students realized that their dialogue with the ministry of education officials was beginning to yield some positive result. Because students always anticipate police or military deployment during crisis, they often seek to involve the student body en masse and other groups, such as faculty, in search of legitimacy and protection.

We find that in some cases, critical incidents have ended in simple capitulation on the part of the students, not necessarily conflict resolution. Students simply succumb, for fear of retribution. As a result, some of the suppressed issues have re-emerged at a later time, as exemplified by the 1989–1990 allowances crisis nexus.

IMPACT OF STUDENT ACTIVISM

Aside from seeking to understand the immediate causes as well as the intrinsic reasons behind student activism, this book explores the changes, if any, that occurred at the university and in society as a result of, or in relation to, the student critical voice.

Although the complexity of campus politics makes any attempt to uncover causal relationship difficult, data gleaned from interviews and documents point to a number of changes associated with student activism.

INFLUENCE ON THE UNIVERSITY

The impact of student activism on the university has been quite significant. Both former and current students, as well as the university administrators whom I interviewed converged on the point that students represent a powerful voice that neither the university nor the government can afford to ignore, a voice that has maintained a considerable presence in the institution's history. For example, following the 1952 food strike, the college administration engaged in some troubleshooting restructuring aimed at incorporating student demands in the overall university mosaic; and as one of the administrators admitted, what followed was, indeed, a time of reflection.

Similar to universities across the board, Makerere student activism plays a vital role as a pressure group, whose main achievement has been students' claim of a niche in the university's organizational culture. Okema reverberates the same observation:

> We have had an impact here; we've always tried to have an impact, much as it has been common that we have to create an impact by threatening so that the university administration is forced to listen when you

> talk. When you write letters sometimes they ignore them, unless you threaten to call a general assembly and you know a general assembly can turn into anything—that's when they get threatened and then they act immediately. They caution you, call you, and intimidate you, and all these things, but when you know you are standing on the truth you are not easily intimidated (Okema, 2002).

The new University and other Tertiary Institutions Act promulgated in 2001 has elevated students' presence in the university governance to the extent that students are represented all the way to the university council, the supreme governing body. Upon probing why students have been granted such a prestigious presence, almost all the current and former students interviewed maintained that the changes came as a result of student pressure and activism during the past fifty years. Mao maintains, "we made sure that students were represented at all committees and we were pretty strong in our positions. Now you can see that students are everywhere. Their representation is almost unimaginable—look at all important decision-making bodies, you will find a student. We fought for our survival and recognition" (Mao, 2002).

Student activism significantly influenced other policy decision, such as the removal of Vice-Chancellor, George Kirya (it is believed), following the 1989 crisis; the needy students' scheme initiative aimed at creating alternative sources of funding following the removal of student allowances; and President Idi Amin's decision, after persistent demands, to restore students' pocket money (boom), among other things.

This is not to say that students have always achieved what they demanded, but their activism has underscored important issues regarding governance, policy, and administration.

INFLUENCE OF STUDENT ACTIVISM ON SOCIETY

Although this book's main purpose is to address the question of student activism and its role in higher education, understanding its influence on society also carries educational and historical significance.

Beginning, especially, during the independence struggles of the 1950s, students became a critical part of civil society, and were instrumental in identifying and voicing issues of public concern and national development: independence, social justice, multi-party politics, political and governance transparency, as well as the social revolution of the 1960s based on African socialism. As noted in Chapter Five, students were often dispatched

to villages across the country to explain to the people the complexities of the new initiatives, such as African socialism and President Milton Obote's Common Man's Charter politics of 1960s.

Also, students played a key role in undermining President Idi Amin's military dictatorship. As indicated in Chapter Six, some students became anti-government operatives in exile, while some who remained in the country were involved in clandestine networking. In addition, many students were involved in the combat operations that brought down Idi Amin's government.

Since the 1980s, students have played an active role in party politics not only as campaign agents, but also as a critical intellectual base on which politicians rely to propagate and articulate their political agenda.

Perhaps one of the most salient areas of impact on society is the strong connection between student activism and national leadership. Evidently, most of the current and former political leaders in the country were themselves student activists when they attended Makerere University.

Of the 41 former student leaders and activists who participated in the study, five are current or retired cabinet ministers, and eleven are current members of parliament. The list also includes the current Governor, Bank of Uganda (Central Bank), a special presidential advisor, former Makerere University administrators, successful entrepreneurs, private sector professionals as well as individuals holding very important positions in multilateral organizations, such as, the World Bank.

Even in this necessarily limited sample, the pathway of power is clear. There is little doubt that if one were to examine the paths of former Makerere student activists, their impact on society would be consequential, not only in Uganda but also in Kenya, Tanzania, and other Eastern African countries which trace their higher education roots at Makerere University.

Although this activist-national leadership nexus may be subject to many analytical interpretations, one major reason for its existence would be the fact that student struggles at Makerere, together with their interest and involvement in national politics, played a significant role in their decision to pursue careers in national leadership. Their ability to articulate issues of national concern and their tested political leadership while serving as student leaders at the university provided the impetus.

Before concluding, Table 5 provides a summary of the major critical events at Makerere University. It underscores the shifting patterns discussed above, as well as the trigger causes of protests and the crisis management approaches.

Table 5. Summary of Major Critical Incidents at Makerere University

Protest Date	Immediate Causes	Nature/Form of Student Protest	Government Response	University Response	Political Context And Ideology	Consequences
Aug. 11 1952	Food quality	-Presented a petition to the principal -Boycotted meals and attempted to block any students who wished enter the dining hall.	Unknown	Principal convened an emergency meeting with Dean and Assistant Dean, and later with six student leaders	**National Politics:** British protectorate government **Student Movement and Ideology:** No evidence of ideologically-driven student movement	-Six students were expelled -The college was closed.
Feb. 16 1965	Alleged US Involvement in Congo's aggression toward Uganda—the bombing of the territories of Goli and Paidha in Western Uganda	-Demonstrated at the US Embassy in Kampala -US flag was torn to pieces	Sent in police with tear gas to disperse the crowd	Unknown	**National Politics:** Immediate post-independence era—Milton Obote's first presidency. "Move to the Left" socialist politics **Student Movement and Ideology:** Formidable student movement. Anti-colonialism. Pan-African socialist orientation. Republican vs. Monarchist affiliations	No recorded consequences

Mar. 16 1968	Execution of three African nationalists in Rhodesia	Demonstrated at British High Commission in Kampala.	Police was deployed but did not take any action to curtail the protest.	College principal, Lure convened several meetings to review the incident and later gave a press conference	Same as above	-Physical assault aimed at White residents. -Reported property damage
Mar. 7 1976	Law student, (Paul Sserwanga) shot and killed by police.	Students marched to Serwanga's home in Kibuli near Kampala to pay their last respects	Police was deployed but little confrontation with students	Unknown	**National Politics:** -Idi Amin's military dictatorship. -Disillusionment due to brutality and economic uncertainty. **Student Movement and Ideology:** Ideological expression largely muted due to fear.	Leader of demonstration (Kagata Namiti) went into exile.
Aug. 3 1976	-Government sponsored death: two students-Sserwanga and Esther Chesire, as well as Africa Hall Warden Mrs Nanziri Bukenya.	Assembled at Freedom Square to protest and launch a formal rebellion against the Idi Amin government.	Public Safety Units Police and State Research Bureau operatives were deployed.	Unknown	Same as above	-Classes were disrupted -Students savagely tortured by police. -Some students were arrested.

(continued)

Table 5. Summary of Major Critical Incidents at Makerere University (continued)

Protest Date	Immediate Causes	Nature/Form of Student Protest	Government Response	University Response	Political Context And Ideology	Consequences
Aug. 3 1976 (cont'd)	-Frustration with military dictatorship -in search of political freedom and democracy. Students demanded that the Guild and "boom"(pocket money) be reinstated, among other things.		They surrounded students assembled at Freedom Square and subjected them to severe torture.			-Some students left the country for exile. -Government intensified its spy network at the university -Students held in great suspicion.
Feb. 24 1981	Government decision to ban the student guild	Vociferous demonstration on campus	Police and army were deployed, resulting in a violent confrontation with students. Some were bitten quite severely, while others went into hiding	Unknown	**National Politics:** Party polarization and wrangling following 1980 presidential elections, which most believed Milton Obote, won by way of vote-rigging. **Student Movement and Ideology:** Little evidence of neither a co-coordinated student movement nor ideology-drive campus politics.	-Student Guild was dissolved -Some students sustained severe injuries. -A number of students, including the former guild president went into exile.

Feb. 24 1981 (cont'd)						-Increased government infiltration into the university via a complex spy presence.
Feb. 14 1985	-Ineffective bookshop management -Frequent postpone-ment of guild elections	Lecture boycott and protest march around campus	President Obote convened a meeting of student leaders. -Police was deployed because of students' defiant behaviour. -Students were dispersed and some arrested.	Vice-Chancellor issued an imperative demand that students abandon the boycott and report back to class, threatening adverse consequences if they did not heed.	-Continuation of heated and sometimes violent partisan propaganda. -Heightened rebel insurgency coupled with tribal affray between Langi and Acholis in the army	-Classes were disrupted -Students were arrested, including the guild president, but later released. - Government succeeded in its maneuvre to install a UPC-affiliated Guild president.
Aug. 30 1989	Government refusal to restore student allowances	Students convened at Freedom Square and resolved to boycott lectures	-President Museveni called a meeting of student leaders but on condition that they abandon the	Vice-Chancellor, Professor George Kirya issued an order for students to return to class, threatening disciplinary action	**National politics:** President Museveni's National Resistance Government. No-party political landscape. -Beginning of the structural adjustment program, leading to sector-wide budgetary	-Process of education disrupted and the university was eventually closed. A New Chancellor

(continued)

Table 5. Summary of Major Critical Incidents at Makerere University (continued)

Protest Date	Immediate Causes	Nature/Form of Student Protest	Government Response	University Response	Political Context And Ideology	Consequences
Aug. 30 1989 (cont'd)			boycott. When the strike persisted Government decided to close the university. - Police was deployed to provide security as students were leaving campus.	of they refused to do so.	cutbacks. **Student Movement and Ideology:** No ideologically linked student movement Largely reactionary politics of survival	(Professor Ssenteza Kajubi) was appointed.
Dec. 10 1990	Demand for stationery and other basic allowances.	-At their general assembly, students resolved to boycott lectures and called for the Vice-Chancellor's resignation. -Demonstrated around campus	-Police was deployed on campus and as a result two students were shot dead, while others were severely injured -Later, anti-riot police was deployed.	-Vice-Chancellor Professor Ssenteza Kajubi issued an order for students to return to class. He promised to punish non-compliance. -Following a government directive, the Vice-Chancellor	Same as above	-Two students died and others were severely wounded. -Classes were disrupted.

Dec. 10 1990 (cont'd)			-Government appointed a juridical commission of inquiry. -President Yoweri Museveni held a crisis evaluation meeting with the Guild president	appointed a three-member committee to investigate the tragedy.		
March 1993	Continued demand for allowances and improvement on food quality, infrastructure, etc	Several peaceful demonstrations	Ministry of Education officials held several meetings with student leaders	Unknown	Same as above	None
May. 4 1996	-Inter-hall student grudges. -Students of Northcote Hall playing hooligan by attempting to poison food prepared for Africa/	No protest involved- just miscreant behaviour	Government not involved	-Convened a disciplinary committee meeting, which condemned the prankish behaviour and recommended closure of Northcote Hall.	**National politics:** -New constitution Promulgated in 1994 under the Movement no-party mosaic. Presidential and parliamentary election held in 1996. Continued implementation of the Structural Adjustment Program.	-Northcote Hall was closed and its name was changed to Hall X and later Nsibirwa.

(continued)

Table 5. Summary of Major Critical Incidents at Makerere University (continued)

Protest Date	Immediate Causes	Nature/Form of Student Protest	Government Response	University Response	Political Context And Ideology	Consequences
May 4 1996 (cont'd)	Living Stone Hall celebration (Afrostone).			-University Council held its own meeting and upheld disciplinary committee's recommendation to close the hall.	**Student Movement and Ideology:** No coordinated student movement, and no ideological base identified. Mostly situational reactionary student politics	-Former Northcote Hall residents became non-resident.
Oct. 23 1996	Protesting the new 50,000 Uganda shillings fee required for first year students.	Invaded former Northcote Hall (Hall X) and the rioting spread to other halls of residence.	Police deployed and its confrontation with students resulted in injury and arrests.	The university council held emergency meeting	**National politics:** Continuation of the above political milieu **Student Movement and Ideology:** Same as above	-Reported property damage. -Some students and police sustained injuries. -35 students, including student leaders were arrested, and some were permanently expelled from the university. -Classes were disrupted

Feb. 2 2001	Student death on campus. Student community reproaching government for campus insecurity.	Violent rioting on campus, and later students marched to parliamentary building carrying an empty coffin as a symbol of mourning and exasperation.	Deployed anti-riot police, which employed tear gas and rubber bullets to disperse the crowds. - A number of student' sustained severe injuries and others were arrested. -President Yoweri Museveni issued a statement condemning the riot	Unknown.	**National politics:** Contentious Presidential elections. **Student Movement and Ideology:** Same as above	End of year exams interrupted. -A number of students were wounded. 20 students and other individuals were arrested. -Considerable property damage.	
April 2001	Student death on campus	Violent rioting on campus, which spread to the university's vicinity.	Deployed anti-riot police, which managed to disperse the crowds with tear gas. -President Museveni issued a statement	Unknown	**National Politics:** Same as above **Student Movement and ideology:** Same as above	-Classes were disrupted -Some property belonging to neighbouring residents was destroyed.	

(continued)

Table 5. Summary of Major Critical Incidents at Makerere University (continued)

Protest Date	Immediate Causes	Nature/Form of Student Protest	Government Response	University Response	Political Context And Ideology	Consequences
April 2001 (cont'd)			of condolence and again condemned the rioting behaviour. He later visited campus unannounced to make a personal assessment -Military police was deployed to maintain security			
Nov. 17 2003	Delayed living-out allowances for students.	Demonstration at the inauguration of the new university Chancellor (Professor Apollo Nsibambi) -Blocked roads leading	Deployed police. A violent confrontation between police and students occurred.	Post-crisis meetings	**National Politics:** No major changes **Student Movement and Ideology:** Nothing significant	One female student was shot in the arm

Nov 2003 (cont'd)		to the main hall where the ceremony was taking place. Students were demanding audience with new chancellor, to voice their frustrations.				
Nov. 2004	Student leader killed by an over speeding taxi.	Demonstrated on campus and the vicinity to mourn their fallen colleague, a demonstration that later turned violent.	Deployed police with tear gas to curtail the rioting	Requested police assistance.	**National Politics** Same as above **Student Movement and Ideology:** Same as above	-Two people were killed -Severe property damage on campus and suburbs. -113 students arrested
April 2005	Contentious Student guild presidential elections	Violent slugfest between students of Mitchell and Nkrumah halls where the leading candidates were affiliated.	Deployed police with tear gas and rubber bullets to quell the rioting	Convened crisis meetings.	**National Politics:** -Resumption of multi-party politics. -Parliament's decision to lift the constitutional presidential term limits—and President Museveni's bid for a third term in office. **Student Movement and Ideology:** Same as above	The student who lost the election (Jet Mwebaze) filed a law suit against the university,

(continued)

Table 5. Summary of Major Critical Incidents at Makerere University (continued)

Protest Date	Immediate Causes	Nature/Form of Student Protest	Government Response	University Response	Political Context And Ideology	Consequences
		They were accusing each other of election fraud. -Student bombarded Makerere suburbs, assaulting civilians and vandalizing their property.				The Vice-Chancellor, as well as the electoral commission.
Nov. 2005	Examination retake fee increase.	Demonstrated on campus and suburbs, looting and destroying property.	Deployed police to subdue the rioting. President Museveni intervened by suspending the fee	Crisis meetings with student leaders and government officials.	**National Politics:** Same as above **Student Movement and Ideology:** Same as above	-One student killed -Severe property damage and looting.

Chapter Eleven

Conclusions and Implications for Research and Policy

Makerere University is currently undergoing a period of restructuring. Several changes have occurred in recent times: Enrollment has soared following the decision to open the university's doors to private and non-traditional returning students; the curriculum has been expanded and revised in view of the national development and the global market economy; governance has been restructured following the promulgation of the Universities and Other Tertiary Institutions Act, which grants the university increased autonomy, since the Head of State (President) ceases to be the de facto university chancellor; internal systemic restructuring has been implemented following the path of strategic planning, among other reform initiatives (Nakanyike, B.M., & Nasozi, K. M. (2001). Since students play a central in the academy, understanding their voice and its impact, therefore, becomes indispensable.

This book, the first of its kind in the history of Uganda's higher education, is a response to the exiting paucity of research on how student activism has played out in the history of the university, highlighting the major crisis events as they occurred, as well as the issues that galvanized them and the changes associated with student protest. It tells a story that enlists the presence of Makerere University students in the literature of student political activism in non-Western settings, a story that provides a backdrop for understanding the impact of student power on the university and society.

The book also raises questions about some scholars' observation that Makerere University students have embraced a culture of political quiescence, suggesting that compared to students in other countries, such as Kenya, their impact on the university and society has been relatively insignificant. This book demonstrates, however, that Makerere students, especially following

the university's formative years, have been active in shaping the university and the nation.

By analysing the major critical incidents that have occurred across time, this book demonstrates that the causes of student protest, both immediate and remote, are imbedded in the social, political, and economic condition of the country. In addition to issues that directly concern students, such as their welfare, students as citizens pay great attention to what happens in society.

Their activism has involved direct confrontation with the government, as well as the university administration, a relationship that has often resulted in severe consequences including disruption of the academic process, arrests and imprisonment, injuries, and in some extreme cases death. Noteworthy is the fact that neither the students' contentious approach to induce change, nor the government's repressive strategy to quell student "rebellion" has yielded the intended positive results. Instead, the usual results have been temporary mollification, a manifestation of conflict management deficiency.

Nevertheless, despite the history of bitter experiences that have many times punctuated student activism, the critical student voice continues to reflect agency for social change, and mirrors society's esteemed values of democracy and transparency. In addition, student activism has significantly influenced some of the major policy and administrative changes that have occurred at the university. Given that the university is the national citadel of knowledge, coupled with its location in the capital city (Kampala), the centre of political activity, students will continue to play a role in shaping the politics of the nation.

One of the compounding causes of crisis at the university is a communication gap that often exists between the student body, the university administration and the ministry of education, a gap that has buttressed students' mistrust of the university leadership. In this light, this book suggests that both the government and the university administration make deliberate attempts to engage students in dialogue on issues that affect their campus life, and provide critical information in a more timely manner. For example, had the government initially brainstormed with the university community about the structural adjustment policies, which was the root cause of the 1989/1990 allowances protests, their understanding of the country's economic reality would probably have positively influenced the course of events. Kiranda, a former guild president, who maintains much interest in student politics also underscores the critical value of organizational communication. He states:

> I think, 80% of the strikes at that occur at Makerere demanding services are sparked off due to lack of communication with students. For example, the strike that occurred during the inauguration of Professor

> Nsibambi would not have happened if the right message was given to students, telling them that 'your money will be on your account this week'—they would have at least known and waited for that time. But when you are kept out of the dark, I mean in the dark—you go and ask 'when are we getting the money' but no clear answer . . . and I think the university should be able to project. For example, if you can project that food will not be enough in the month of July, please make sure every student is aware a month earlier that we might not have chicken during this time, in that way they are not shocked when they come to the dining room and there is no chicken. So, I think communication is the most important thing. If you are planning on making some changes, say if you plan to increase fees, communicate to students. Why should you just stop at the notice boards? There are many radio stations now, and television is available, go and appear on the air, tell people what exactly is happening. But once students just see things happening without clear information, I think it becomes quite obvious that they will have to react badly (Kiranda, 2005).

In a self-reflective manner, Mr John Ekudu, the current dean of students also admits:

> In the administration, we need to improve on communication. We communicate, but we need to improve on it. With almost 40,000 students, it is difficult to communicate and the circulars, and what have you, that we are using are no longer adequate. So we need maybe a radio station or something to communicate to the students. That's one of our biggest problems—communication. And even if they meet the vice-chancellor, he would not communicate enough to them. Our communication is our biggest problem. Secondly, I think I would call for understanding on our part and look at these students, first of all as human beings, and people who understand; so when they do things, we do need to understand why they are doing those things other than saying, ' you students are bad.' We need to find out the root cause of things. . . . Every human being needs attention and when you give attention, you can do a lot more to solve problems. If you can't attend to the person to show that you are concerned about his situation, even if you are not able to provide what he needs, but because he thinks you are concerned, he will listen . . . as Dean of Students, I normally don't run away for crisis, I'm always willing to go where students are; and people say 'they are going to beat you,' and I say no. If they want beat me, let them beat me, but I need to be with them and listen to their problems (Ekudu, 2005).

Underscoring the inadequacy of university structures and conflict management strategies, this book suggests that conflict and conflict resolution, be an essential part of student and staff development effort. Also, since one of the major causes of student-government tension has been its attempt to politicise the university, we suggests that the government makes an effort to respect and preserve the value of university autonomy.

One additional finding is the near-absence of community involvement in the university's governance, perhaps due to its historical ivory-tower identity. Politicians and academicians hold the controls. Community involvement might serve to facilitate openness and dialogue.

The portents of student activism at Makerere point to a new face of student politics. One prominent factor is the changing student demographics, comprising not only the young college-age traditional students, but also the older working private students, who are likely to focus more on studies than on campus politics, given their sense of maturity, as well as the limited time they spend at the university. Also, with the majority of students on self-sponsorship, paying their way through college, there is a likelihood that more attention will be given to the academic benefits of a college education than social or political involvement. To this end, student activism is showing obvious signs of weakening or redefinition, a trend that is likely to continue in the future.

Apart from providing a historical map of student critical voice, this book many carry policy implications: Empirically-based knowledge of past student issues may prove valuable as Uganda's higher education enters a new transformative age, given the proliferation of public and private universities and numerous structural changes due to the increased demand for higher education. Policy-makers, both on the national level (Ministry of Education) and at the level of individual universities need information on the issues that are important to students as they plan for and allocate resources. Such information may become crucial for institutional conflict management.

As the book points out, it is quite evident that whenever the voice of the students has been ignored, the university has paid a significant price. The process of education has been disrupted during protests as exemplified by frequent interruption of class schedules, not to mention the two times when the university was closed altogether. In addition, and quite sadly, some student protests have resulted in death and severe property damage.

These incidents and their consequences provide important lessons to policy makers and administrators, accentuating the indispensable place of student in the academy. Therefore, understanding the causes and issues that underlie student rebellion becomes crucial for policy and administration.

This is also true for any attempts to troubleshoot crisis as a way of forestalling its future occurrence.

Also, since the government still controls the university in some ways, this book provides knowledge of its performance in managing student crisis, especially how repressive means, involving the police and the military before dialogue, do not result in conflict resolution, but instead leave a bitter legacy.

Much student-related conflict has come about as a result of deficient communication between students and the government, and other stakeholders. The government would, therefore, benefit much by engaging students on issues of educational concern and national development, as they have proved to be important players in both constituencies.

Furthermore, this book provides to the students a history of themselves, their concerns, the strategies they have employed to make their voice heard, and the consequences of their actions, especially when they have employed violence to demand change. Such information becomes vital, especially for student leaders as they reflect on the benefits of their protestation.

Also, as the needs of students sometimes mirror the needs of society, this book highlights those issues that civil society cares for, which include but are not limited to social justice, democratisation of the political process, and freedom of speech. These are issues that educational and government policy makers, as well as administrators cannot simply ignore because they underlie much of the controversy at the university and in society at large.

Last, but not least, the book carries research implications: its comprehensive nature provides a vital historical backdrop to the phenomenon of student activism in Uganda's higher education upon which future researchers can draw, especially in designing cross-national comparisons. For example, a comparative historical study of student activism in the three major East African universities—Makerere, Nairobi, and Dar-es-Salaam, universities that share the same historical roots, would provide an important information base for understanding regional issues on higher education and its role in national development. Such a comparative analysis could be extended toward understanding the differences and similarities of student activism in Western and non-Western settings.

Another line of research based on this book could be an analysis of the role of men and women activists. Although men have tended to dominate the student activism arena, women, as this study found out, have played a role in shaping student politics at Makerere, and maintain a significant presence in Uganda's political life. For example, the former Vice-President of Uganda, Specioza Kazibwe, the first African woman to hold that political

position, was a student leader/activist herself, very much involved in the Black Tuesday rebellion. A specific study on the role of gender on student activism would help uncover the differences and similarities, if any, of the socio-political issues women and men care about.

Perhaps the most intriguing finding of my research for this book is the fact that the majority of Ugandans who have shaped the country's history since independence were student activists at Makerere University, as Atubo confirms:

> People like Nyerere (Founding President of Tanzania) Milton Obote (Uganda's first Prime Minister and later President), Mayanja Nkangi, Abu Mayanja whom we've just met, and the rest of them were very vocal and committed activists when they attended Makerere; and when you look at our political history, you may find that three quarters of the leaders in this country were former student activists (Atubo, 2002).

The list also includes the current president of Kenya (Mwai Kibaki) and Benjamin Mkapa, the former president of Tanzania.

Although Uganda's current president (Yoweri Museveni) attended the University of Dar-es Salaam, where he was a leading student activist and protagonist of the African left wing social revolution, he played a very significant role in mobilizing Ugandan students all across East Africa to fight President Idi Amin's dictatorship. A study that traces the role of student activism in career development would help us understand the interesting nexus between student activism and political aspiration.

Additional future research suggestions include the student/faculty alliance, the impact of student political consciousness on learning, and the relationship between student activism and career choice, among others.

To conclude, this book provides some important affirmations: First, although student activism has often been associated with subversive behaviour, its contribution to higher education and society cannot be underestimated. Student voice takes centre stage in university transformation and remains a powerful social change agent. Second, perhaps the most obvious reason behind student protest is the existing communication gap between students and both university and national leadership, a disconnect that has been compounded by coercive power as the choice problem solving strategy. Third, the book underscores the crucial need for long ignored higher education research. Research in higher education becomes a *sine qua non* for the current effort to revitalize Africa's higher education, following decades of decline due to a severe lack of resources. Its effectiveness will depend on deliberate and sustained investigation.

Appendix

Interview Subjects

I conducted all the interviews personally. Of the 41 interview subjects listed below, 36 were interviewed on one-on-one (face to face) basis, 5 on phone, and 3 as participants of a focus group interview process.

Name	Generation	Role	Occupation	Date Interviewed
Atubo Omara	1960s/ 1970s	Student Activist	Member of Parliament	July 29, 2002
Betubiza Eustacius	1980s	Student Activist	Senior Economist (The World Bank)	May 12, 2002
Byamugisha Frank	1970s	Student Activist	Portfolio Manager (The World Bank)	May 4, 2002
Ekanya Geoffrey	1990s	Student Leader/ Activist	Member of Parliament	July 3, 2002
Ekudu, John	2000s	Dean of Students	Dean of Students	July 29, 2005
Dombo Emmanuel	1980s/ 1990s	Guild President	Member of Parliament	July 2, 2002
Ginyera Pincwa	1960s	Student Activist	Professor and former Deputy Vice-Chancellor	July 18, 2002

(continued)

Name	Generation	Role	Occupation	Date Interviewed
Higiro Paul	1980s	Student	Manager, Universal Freight	May 6, 2003
Kakwenzire Joan	1970s	Student leader	Presidential Advisor	June 17, 2002
Kamala Jimmy	1970s	Student	Private Business	June 4, 2002
Karuhanga Kyapaa	1970s	Student Activist	SEREFACO Consultants	June 27, 2002
Kazoora, John	1970s/ 1980s	Student Leader/ Activist	Member of Parliament	June 19, 2002
Kibalya, Henry Maurice	2000s	Guild President (Current)	Student	July 19, 2005
Kidega Francis	1990s/ 2000s	Student Leader/ Activist	Lawyer	June 14, 2002
Kihuguru George	1950s/ 1960	Dean of Students	Chairman, Nile Power. Former Dean of Students	July 25, 2002
Kilanda Yusuf	2002	Guild President	Student	July 20, 2005
King Noel	1960s	Expatriate Professor	Professor Emeritus, University of California, Santa Cruz	April 2, 2002
Kyamureku Peace	1970s	Student Activist	Uganda National Women Council	August 14, 2002
Lutala Wilson	1950s	Student Leader	Commissioner, Amnesty	August 7, 2002
Mao Nobert	1980s/ 1990s	Guild President	Member of Parliament	July 19, 2002
Mayanja Abubakar	1950s	Student Activist	Deceased	September 4, 1999

(continued)

Name	Generation	Role	Occupation	Date Interviewed
Mbabazi Ivan	1980s	Student	Private Business	June 6, 2002
Migereko Daudi	1970s	Student Activist	Cabinet Minister	June 18, 2002
Mpanga Joyce	1950s	Student Leader	Private Business	June 16, 2002
Mukasa Viola	1970s/ 1980s	Student Activist	Program Consultant	June 20, 2002
Mugisha Muntu	1970s/ 1980s	Student Activist	Member, East African Legislative Assembly	June 16, 2002
Mutebire Tumusiime Emmanuel	1970s	Guild President	Governor, Bank of Uganda	July 17, 2002
Mwaka Nakiboneka Victoria	1960s/ 1970s	Student Activist	Member of Parliament	July 26, 2002
Mwesigye Francis Runumi	1980s	Student Activist	Commissioner for Planning, Ministry of Health	May 7, 2003
Nantongo, Mary	2002	Guild Vice-President (Current)	Student	July 19, 2005
Nisibirwa, Wilson	2000s	Guild Finance Minister (current)	Student	July 19, 2005
Okema, Dennis	1990s/ 2000s	Guild President	Politics	June 27, 2002
Okumu, Regan	1990s	Student Leader/ Activist	Member of Parliament	July 31, 2002
Olanya Dorothy	1990s	Student Leader/ Activist	Hope for African Children	August 28, 2002
Oloya Opiyo	1970s/ 1980s	Guild President	School Principal (Canada)	September 7, 2002

(continued)

Name	Generation	Role	Occupation	Date Interviewed
Posnaski Merrick	1950s/ 1960	Expatriate Professor/ Curator	Professor emeritus, University of California, Los Angeles	April 17, 2002
Rubarema Geatano	1960s/ 1970s	Student Leader	Secondary School Headmaster	May 31, 2002
Rugambwa Innocent	1980s/ 1990s	Student	Legislative Librarian, Parliament of Uganda	July 22, 2002
Ruhakana Rugunda	1960s/ 1970s	Chairman, NUSU	Cabinet Minister	July 25, 2002
Ruhindi Freddie	1970s	Student Leader/ Activist	Member of Parliament	August 6, 2002
Rwomushana Charles	1990s	Guild President	Internal Security Organization	August 24, 2002
Tibarimbasa Avitus	1960s/ 1970s	Student Leader/ Activist.	Member of Parliament & Former University Secretary	July 11, 2002
Wanda	1980s	Student Activist	Operational Research Analyst, Metropolitan Transportation Authority-New York City	May 5, 2002
Woneka, Oliva	1970s	Student Leader	Member of Parliament	June 28,2002

Notes

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1. In a patrilineal system all lineage and ancestral linkages as well as heredity issues are traced from the line of the father, who is by right the head of the family.
2. The kingdom of Buganda, located in the southern part of the country, was not only the most populous ethnic group in the country but was most organized and influential; and as will be discussed later, central to the country's political history.
3. Under article 74 (1) of the constitution, a referendum was held in the light of either maintaining the no-party Movement system or multi-party political organizing. This time around, Ugandans voted in favour of a resumption of multi-party politics.
4. Article 105 section 1 of the 1995 states that "A person shall not be elected under this constitution to hold office of a President for more that 2 terms." (The Constitution of the Republic of Uganda 1995).

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1. The minimum admission requirement is two principal passes on the Uganda Advanced Certificate of Education examination, the highest principal pass being A, and the lowest, E. But because of the high competition for the few available government sponsored slots, the benchmark is usually very high. The rest of the qualified students are now admitted on a self-sponsorship basis. Part-time students must also meet the requirement or its equivalent.
2. Uganda is divided into districts, which number 56 currently. Counties are district sub-divisions.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

1. Northcote was the name of the newly completed hall of residence and the site of the strike.
2. Being "sent down" was a term used for expulsion from the university

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

1. State Research Bureau (SRB) was Idi Amin's notorious intelligence and interrogation unit. It was established as an institutional arm of the state designed to detect and punish, and even eliminate anyone opposing the government.

NOTES TO CHAPTER EIGHT

1. RC is the abbreviation for Resistance Council, which is a countrywide political governance system, introduced by President Yoweri Museveni's National Resistance Movement. It is a bottom-up participatory democratic system, beginning at the grassroots level (RC 1) and goes up district leadership (RC V). The word Resistance has since been dropped and replaced with Local. The new abbreviation is LC (Local Council).

NOTES TO CHAPTER NINE

1. The US dollar figure is rounded to the nearest point and estimated at an 1800 Uganda Shillings/US Dollar exchange rate.
2. In the event that a student gets a failing grade on an examination, he/she is required to take the course again and pass the examination in order to graduate. The university charges a fee for course and exam re-take.

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