
Makerere's Vice Chancellors and their Times (1970 – 1993)

Frank Kalimuzo

In the preceding chapter, we saw how Frank Kalimuzo became the first Vice Chancellor of Makerere University, Kampala. However, his tenure was too short for him to make a significant impression beyond being remembered for the brutal and tragic way he met his death at the hands of Idi Amin's terror machine. Therefore, very little is known about him at Makerere. All we know is that he had a Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Wales in the UK and a Diploma in Education. The late Professor Adonia Tiberondwa, who was the Principal of National Teachers' College at the time, told me that one day after the ill-fated invasion of 1972, he had a tip off from one of Amin's security operatives, that he, Tiberondwa, and Frank Kalimuzo at Makerere, were Obote's collaborators and were both due for arrest and subsequent execution at any time.

The security operative had warned him that if he was still interested in his life, he should immediately get out of Uganda. Tiberondwa was not prepared to gamble with his life, he took his friend's advice and quickly sneaked out of the country. On his way out, he called on his friend Frank Kalimuzo to warn him of the imminent danger. Kalimuzo was in the office at about 7:30 in the evening, working. That was typical of Kalimuzo's working routine, he was a real workaholic. Tiberondwa told Kalimuzo about the tip off he had received from Amin's intelligence agent, and how dangerous the situation had become for both of them. But Kalimuzo, in his typical civil service way, responded by saying that he had done nothing wrong to warrant arrest, after all he was not a politician and as such he was not prepared to run away. According to Kalimuzo, the President was being fed with unfounded rumours. Tiberondwa said that at that point, there

was little he could do to persuade his friend to leave Uganda. Kalimuzo continued with his work, only to be picked up a few days later as Tiberondwa had predicted. He was never seen again. Tiberondwa escaped to Tanzania, where he eventually registered for a PhD degree at the University of Dar es Salaam.

Asavia Wandira – First Tour (1971 – 1975)

Kalimuzo was succeeded by Professor Asavia Wandira as Vice Chancellor in 1972. Besides an MA degree, he had an Academic Diploma from the Institute of Education, University of London. Before his appointment as Vice Chancellor, Professor Wandira had had an enviable record of holding the double title of Secretary/Registrar of the college under Yusuf Lule, and being able to move from administration to Professor of Education and Dean of the Faculty of Education. That was rare at Makerere. Normally, academics moved into administrative posts and not the other way round. He is also one of the two people so far who have served as Vice Chancellor twice under different Chancellors. Like his predecessor, Wandira too did not last long on the job. Uganda's turbulent times had begun. In 1975, he was forced to flee to Swaziland to protect his dear life. There is not much I recall about Professor Wandira's first vice chancellorship any more than I have already said in Chapter Two.

The little I remember about him was during our orientation week in July 1970. It was the university's practice for every faculty Dean to address the fresh men and women during the orientation week. The sessions used to be held in the auditorium of the Main Building. Professor Wandira, as Dean of Education, was one of those who addressed us. At the time, the university was phasing out the Bachelor of Education degree and replacing it with a concurrent Diploma in Education, which could be studied with either a BA or BSc degree. He had come specifically to explain this change to us. There were three things I noted about him; his eloquence and his Queen's English accent, smartness and his pipe. I really admired his good spoken English, which seemed to be devoid of an African accent. He was one of the few Deans at Makerere I saw smoking a pipe.

Joseph Winter Sekayala Lutwama (1975 – 1976)

After the departure of Wandira, Idi Amin appointed Professor Joseph Winter Sekayala Lutwama as Makerere's third Vice Chancellor. Professor Lutwama came from the Medical School where he was Dean and was part of the first crop of African professors at Makerere. He is also reputed as one of the few professors who, at that time, had a long string of degrees, diplomas and fellowships to their names. He was a distinguished physician and a specialist in Maternal and Child Health, which was part of Preventive Medicine. He studied at Makerere, graduating in 1956 with a Licentiate in Medicine and Surgery. In 1964, when Makerere came under the University of East Africa, the degree was converted to

the double degree of Bachelor of Medicine and Bachelor of Surgery, MBChB. He is also a Fellow of the Royal Society of Physicians of London.

Professor Lutwama also studied at the Universities of St Andrews in Scotland for a Diploma in Tropical Hygiene and Public Health, London for a Diploma in Child Health, and Uppsala in Sweden for an Advanced Diploma in Maternal and Child Health. He was appointed Professor and Head of the Department of Preventive Medicine in 1965. Two years later, he became the first African Dean of the Faculty of Medicine at Makerere. His expertise was highly sought after. The World Health Organisation (WHO), hired him as a consultant to help the Somalia Ministry of Health with its health services and manpower development. On the academic and professional side, Professor Lutwama authored and co-authored several publications, including such books as: *The Agenda Women – What They Want to Know about Pregnancy and Child Birth*” in two volumes, which was published in 1962 and 1963 respectively, and *Medical Manpower in East Africa – Prospects and Problems*, which was published in 1965. He was also an avid chess player.

His appointment as Vice Chancellor in 1975 coincided with the most difficult period of Amin's rule. As we observed earlier, Professor Lutwama as Vice Chancellor had to deal with the unexplained disappearance of his staff and students and a serious students' rebellion against Amin's Government in 1976 after a trigger-happy soldier shot dead a final year Law student, Paul Sserwanga, allegedly over a girlfriend.

In the same year, Amin's State Research Bureau agents arrested a Makerere Kenyan female student, Esther Chesire, as she boarded a Nairobi-bound flight at Entebbe. She was never seen again. The murder of the Warden of Africa Hall, Theresa Nanziri Bukenya, who was eight months pregnant, was a sure sign that Makerere University was in a state of quagmire. It was also during this time that the university awarded Idi Amin an honorary Doctor of Laws degree. He had also forced the university to admit his under-qualified son, supposedly to study English. At the time, Makerere was awash with State Research Bureau agents. Their presence made people afraid of one another. Some of my colleagues who witnessed some of these horrendous episodes put it even more dramatically. One said that the fear was so real that you could not even trust your own wife. However, those who were close to Professor Lutwama say that in spite of the difficult environment he worked in as Vice Chancellor, he was a really pleasant person although with one prominent weakness – looking down upon his colleagues who were not trained in the medical line.

Although Idi Amin had initially shown a lot of confidence in Professor Lutwama, the relationship between the two men was short-lived. In 1977, in the most humiliating manner and dramatic turn of events, Amin relieved Professor Lutwama of his job. As if to rub it in, the day he dismissed him, Amin invited all staff to an impromptu meeting at the Main Hall. After a few unintelligible

remarks, Amin informed the assembled staff that as Chancellor of the university, he had appointed Professor William Senteza Kajubi as the new Vice Chancellor. There and then, Professor Kajubi became the fourth Vice Chancellor of Makerere University. Without attempting to volunteer an explanation, he went on to say that he had decided to send Professor Lutwama back to the Medical School as Dean to continue improving its standards so that it could become the best Medical School in the world. Amin left soon after making the announcement, which must have left many in the audience stunned, if not baffled. They might have wondered what crime Lutwama had committed to deserve such a public humiliation in the presence of his peers and juniors. But in Idi Amin's Uganda, such questions were best left unasked. The life President was the giver and taker of everything, including life. Lutwama had no choice but to oblige. It also marked the dramatic beginning of Professor Kajubi's first term as Vice Chancellor. Lutwama's vice chancellorship, like that of Frank Kalimuzo, was also too short to have made a memorable impact on the development of the university.

Although it is normal practice in some universities for a former Vice Chancellor to return to his or her department after serving a term or more as Vice Chancellor, for Professor Lutwama, it was technically a demotion. Lutwama's summary dismissal served as an excellent example of a highly distinguished academician of international repute being humiliated by an elementary school dropout. I am tempted to believe that, out of self-deception and self-aggrandisement, he must have fantasised that in spite of his lack of formal education, he was sufficiently as well educated and therefore, the so-called academics had to take him as their equal and of course their superior. After all, he had the power to appoint and promote them to top positions in Government and parastatals and the power to fire them at will at the slightest detection of what he perceived as disrespect or when he was deluded into believing he was being demeaned. To Idi Amin, disrespect for the life President had another insidious meaning – harbouring ideas likely to lead to the overthrow of his Government or an attempt on his life. Lutwama must have counted himself lucky to just have been fired. He could have suffered the same fate as Frank Kalimuzo.

William Senteza Kajubi – First Tour (1976 – 1979)

Professor Kajubi came to the Main Building from the former National Institute of Education (NIE), which was the university's unit responsible for upgrading and examining Grade II and III primary school teachers, and supervising their professional training in the several teacher training colleges scattered around the country. The institute was in the School of Education complex, established in 1964 on the recommendation of the Castle Commission of 1963. Senteza Kajubi was its first Director. Like Yusuf Lule, Senteza Kajubi had been a school master at King's College, Budo, where he taught Geography, among other subjects.

In 1958, he left Budo and joined Makerere, his *alma mater*, as a lecturer in the Faculty of Education. He was also the first Ugandan Fulbright scholar, earning a Masters degree from the University of Chicago. By the time he was appointed Vice Chancellor, he had been Director of NIE for 13 years, and a successful one too. He was extremely good at fundraising. To get the young and underfunded institute off the ground, he had managed to secure a big grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York. Other donors Kajubi turned to for help included the Nuffield and the Dulverton Trusts of the UK. With this substantial donor funding, the institute was financially sound and Kajubi had no reason to look back.

Professor Kajubi was also a political animal. He had been active in Uganda's politics for a long time, although he never made a career out of it. He was one of the Makerere dons who contested as MP in the 1962 elections and lost. He lost, not because he was an incompetent politician, but because he contested on the wrong ticket. Kajubi stood as a Democratic Party (DP) candidate in a constituency that included Makerere College, Kikoni, Nakulabye and a few places around the college. In this constituency, the DP stood no chance; it was a *Kabaka Yekka's* (King Only) stronghold.

Professor Kajubi's first tour as Vice Chancellor came at a time when Amin's rule was slowly coming to an end. Cracks in the regime had begun to appear. There had been an attempt on Amin's life at Nsambya Police Training School. Worst of all, Amin had suffered the worst and an unforgettable embarrassment when the Israelis raided Entebbe Airport and rescued the Israeli hostages under his nose. To many, these were tell-tale signs of things soon to come. At Makerere, the morale of both staff and students was at very low ebb. It had become almost impossible for the academic staff to attend conferences outside Uganda even when such attendance was fully paid for. We all know that conferences are an essential ingredient for a successful academic career. If you deny academics the opportunity to rub shoulders with their peers, you are killing them academically. More than ever before, too many Ugandans were leaving the country. I suspect that Amin was either beginning to get embarrassed by the large exodus of Ugandans from the country and the constant bad publicity his regime had generated outside the country. It seemed he wanted to turn things around but in a high handed way.

Some have argued that at this time, Idi Amin was becoming increasingly desperate and insecure. In an attempt to stem the never ending exodus of Ugandans, he abruptly introduced a policy which required whoever wanted to travel outside the country to seek clearance from the President's Office. Ugandans could only travel outside the country with a travel permit popularly known as *kitambulisho* issued by the President's Office. All Ugandans, without any exception, were subjected to this scrutiny. For a while, the new measure severely curtailed travelling abroad. Unless it was really inevitable for one to travel, most

academics at Makerere chose to forget about international conferences. People preferred not to over-expose themselves to the regime.

Unfortunately, the introduction of the *kitambuliso* coincided with an increase in the mail Makerere staff were receiving from abroad. Some of the letters coming from unknown sources were calling upon staff to revolt against the regime. Some were implicating staff in plots to assassinate the President or to overthrow the Government, using force of arms. To make the delicate situation more frightful, the letters were arriving at Makerere opened and stamped by Amin's State Research Bureau. All this was making the already tense situation worse. People were scared to death as they did not know what might happen to them as a result of these letters. No one knew who was writing them and why the State Research Bureau was letting them through.

Although there was still an influx of expatriates, mainly from Pakistan, of whom Amin was very proud, most Ugandan professors had either left Makerere or were dead. As Vice Chancellor, Kajubi too had to deal with very serious staff shortages and, on top of this, he was required to be present at every function the President organised or attended, including the President's private pursuits like motor racing and range shooting. But those in the know say it was too dangerous to be close to Amin and Kajubi was getting dangerously close to the man. Even, the job of Vice Chancellor had become a lot more risky. Amin had become extremely unpredictable. But Kajubi had very little choice in the matter, if any. He had either to resign and possibly run away or stay and hope for the best. As he himself put it, "The question was to be or not to be". He chose to stay and brave it.

One of the significant things Kajubi did as soon as he assumed office was to remind Amin to fill the vacant position of Deputy Vice Chancellor. The Act provided for a Deputy Vice Chancellor who had to come from amongst the academic staff, but up to Kajubi's appointment, the university had never had a full-time Deputy Vice Chancellor. Professor J. J. Oloya of the Agriculture and Forestry Faculty used to act as Deputy Vice Chancellor before he fled the country, but even that was not on a full-time basis. Although most people think it was Amin who appointed Professor Anthony Ginyera Pincywa as Deputy Vice Chancellor because he hailed from the same region of the country as him, the choice was actually made by Kajubi. I was reliably told that there were many people hailing from West Nile who nursed a lot of ambition of ascending to one of these top positions in the university, Ginyera Pincywa was not one of front runners among them.

If Kajubi had not proposed his name to Amin, it is probable the job would have gone to one of those who used to lobby Amin hard. Professor Ginyera Pincywa is a University of Chicago-trained political scientist, and Professor Kajubi is also an alumnus of the same university, but the two men were there at different times. At the time of his appointment as Deputy Vice Chancellor, Ginyera Pincywa was the Head of the Department of Political Science and Public Administration

and Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences. Before coming to Makerere, he had served as District Commissioner in the Uganda Government. His coming to the Main Building must have eased Professor Kajubi's work somehow. The new Deputy Vice Chancellor was immediately assigned administrative chores, which included the allocation of staff housing and chairing the Higher Degrees Committee, among others.

Life continued at its uneasy pace, but the voices warning of the things to come were getting louder. One very tragic incident though interrupted this uneasy calm. The lift in the tower of Mary Stuart Hall malfunctioned and got stuck at the bottom of the shaft and the door locking mechanism on some floors also failed. A female student living on one of the top floors in the tower was unaware that the lift was not working she opened the door to get into the lift and plummeted to her death in the pitch black of the shaft. After this sad incident, the lift was permanently closed.

As 1978 drew to a close, Amin attacked Tanzania and bombed towns such as Bukoba. He further claimed that, as far as he was concerned, Bukoba and all the land within the Kagera crescent belonged to Uganda. The British imperialists had just not drawn the borders rightly, thus giving away Uganda's territory to Tanzania. Amin reasoned that time had come to correct the historical mistake. He had made similar claims to Kenyan territory before, saying that he had in his possession a map, which clearly showed that the genuine border between Kenya and Uganda passed through the Eastern Rift Valley and not at its present location. Therefore, according to him, all territories west of the Rift Valley belonged to Uganda and this included towns like Kisumu and Eldoret. Fortunately for Kenya, the territorial claim never went beyond verbal utterances. Whether Amin backed off because Kenya was quick to mobilise its forces along the Uganda-Kenya border or he feared a blockade of Ugandan goods and his military hardware passing through the Port of Mombasa, we shall probably never know.

Perhaps the difference between Kenya and Tanzania in Amin's mind was that Kenya was not being used as a sanctuary for Milton Obote and his henchmen. Although it is true that when Obote returned from Singapore immediately after Amin had staged the coup, he first went to Kenya, his stay there was a short one. Kenya did not grant Obote asylum. Secondly, the President of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta, had not taken the same tough stance against Amin as Nyerere of Tanzania. In fact, Kenya recognised him as a bona fide Head of State. So unlike Tanzania, Amin did not see Kenya as a hostile neighbour. Another factor which worked in favour of Kenya was the Port of Mombasa and the route to the sea. Amin depended on it and I think he recognised the fact that if he did anything silly, he might have forced Kenya to close the border to his detriment.

So, Kenya was spared his wrath. Nyerere was Amin's arch enemy and when he found a good excuse to attack Tanzania, he did not hesitate to use it. Amin

deluded himself into thinking he would get away with it, because the Tanzanian Army was inept and therefore, no match for Uganda's superior Army. He was dead-wrong. He did not realise that, by invading Tanzania and bombing its towns, he had dug his own grave. That very action marked the beginning of his end. Amin was blindly convinced that he had an indomitable army, which no other army anywhere in the world could defeat. As far as he was concerned, his Army was invincible and that was why he feared nobody except God. And even with God, there was very little he feared because, as he used to amuse his listeners, God had already told him the date he would die and it was still a long way off.

Tanzania had to defend itself against Amin's constant provocation, and in the process he had to be paid for his misdeeds in his own currency, in the language he understood. Time had come to flush the devil out of its den and it would be for real. The Tanzania Peoples' Defence Forces (TPDF), under the command of General Musuguri was mobilised for action. The Ugandan exiles living in Tanzania, including Yoweri Museveni, joined hands with the Tanzanians to form one combined force. It was a formidable force, one which Amin had not anticipated. What started as a walk over for Amin's Army and Air force, soon turned into his worst nightmare.

Tanzania's original intention was to get Amin's army out of the occupied Kagera crescent, but then the Tanzanians realised that they would not have solved the problem if Amin remained in power. For the job to be completed, Amin had to go. This meant taking the war to his doorstep in Kampala and beyond. Although Amin was sure of his army's capacity to halt the Tanzanian advance, years of economic chaos and indiscipline had eroded its capacity to almost nil. Promotions in the Army had long ceased to be based on the usual criteria of skills, competence, experience and training, but on patronage. Privates were promoted to generals, and those who had the proper training were rapidly falling out of favour with him.

In fact, Amin had unknowingly reduced the whole national Army to a ragtag army. Therefore, when the Tanzanians with their Ugandan allies started marching from Mutulula to Kampala in what was to become Uganda's first liberation war, whatever resistance Amin's army tried to put up quickly crumbled like a cake. It was slowly dawning on Amin that, in fact, he had no army. The Tanzanian Army was better equipped and above all, had morale and discipline. Their big artillery gun dubbed *saba saba* did most of the damage, much of it more psychological than real due to its terrifyingly loud boom whenever it was fired.

By April 1979, Amin was gone. The once life President became a refugee in exile in Saudi Arabia. It was the end of an era and Ugandans had every reason to celebrate. Makerere University had a new Chancellor in the person of the President, Yusuf Lule. Throughout the war, Professor Kajubi was fully responsible for the safety of his staff and students. As his Chancellor was now on the run, he handled the situation single-handedly and with admirable skill.

When the staff and students were on the verge of starvation, Professor Kajubi mobilised every university truck he could lay his hands on and sent them to Kabanyolo University farm for chickens and other foodstuffs, which were available on the farm. No student or member of staff was harmed or lost, although as would be expected in a war situation, some of the university buildings like Stuart House and some of the West Road flats received direct hits and sustained damage and a few were severely damaged. The West Road houses were later repaired by the students of the Civil Engineering Department, as part of their industrial training, with a grant provided by the UNDP/ UNESCO.

Unfortunately, one of the most diabolical vices the *wakombozi* (liberators), as the Tanzanian soldiers were called, introduced was looting. This was the first time in Uganda's history that looting of private and public property took place on such a massive scale. In fact, before the liberation war, the word looting hardly existed in the vocabulary of most Ugandans although they were used to isolated cases of stealing and pick pocketing. Sadly, the Tanzanian soldiers led the jubilant crowds in breaking into shops and Government offices. They looted everything and anything they could lay their hands on. But, thanks to Professor Kajubi's efforts, Makerere was spared. Students never participated in the looting spree; instead, they were busy helping to recover some of the looted property, which they stockpiled in the auditorium of the Main Hall.

Over time, Makerere students had discovered the joy of looting and regularly engaged in this diabolical vice whenever chaos broke out at the university campus. One only had to watch these students during their strikes and street demonstrations to fathom the magnitude of the problem. Unfortunately, when Yusuf Lule was removed from power in the same year, Kajubi also lost his job as Vice Chancellor.

The university was about to get its fifth Vice Chancellor within a space of nine years. In terms of serious developments, again Kajubi's first tenure was too short for him to make a meaningful contribution to the university. In any case, Kajubi took over as Vice Chancellor during a very turbulent period. Like Professor Lutwama before him, Kajubi decided to return to his old institute, this time not as Director but as a member of the teaching staff.

Asavia Wandira – Second Tour (1979 – 1986)

Once again, it was an old hand who returned to continue from where Kajubi had left off. This was Professor Asavia Wandira's second tour as Vice Chancellor, after Amin had summarily dismissed him in 1975 with no explanation. In Swaziland where he had taken refuge after escaping the wrath of Idi Amin, he became Dean of the School of Education at the young University of Swaziland. While there, he wrote a book entitled, *The African University in Development*, which he published in 1977. It is a treatise on the role a university plays in nation building and the entire development process.

As we have seen previously, Asavia Wandira was returning to Makerere after a stint as a Cabinet Minister in the Government of Uganda. A demotion? Perhaps not. Wandira came back to Makerere in 1979 in the immediate aftermath of the war, which had toppled Idi Amin from power and in the midst of the political chaos that followed that war. Although Makerere had not been looted during the war, it was to suffer the looting of the worst kind during Wandira's tenure.

Although Idi Amin had gone, his economic legacy remained firmly in place. To add insult to injury, the liberation war had just made an already bad situation worse. Amidst acute shortages of virtually every basic necessity of life, Ugandans found themselves under pressure to make ends meet and devised all sorts of means to survive. University workers resorted to stealing important documents from files and selling them on the market. These vital documents were not being bought by the super spooks of CIA or KGB, they were being bought by market vendors and shop keepers at a place like the Owino Market to wrap food stuffs like beans, potatoes and smoked fish.

I remember buying smoked fish from a fish monger in Sauliyako Market and landing on a Makerere University document. The fishmonger was kind enough to wrap my fish in a reasonably clean paper. When I got home, curiosity took the better of me and I wanted to know what was written on the underside of my wrapping paper, so I turned it over to see. To my shock, the so called clean wrapping paper was a copy of an appointment letter of one Kaddu, duly signed by the former University Secretary, Professor Twaha Nsereko Gyagenda. I am sure this document came from Kaddu's personal file. The vendors had perfected the skill of making carrier bags out of the looted documents which, from a technical point of view, looked as good as factory-made bags.

It was almost impossible to keep any electrical fittings in buildings, particularly the top plugs, sockets and switches. Even toilet seats and their covers were not safe from the desperate university workers. Due to the scarcity of reference and other reading materials, students resorted to pulling pages from books in the Main Library and, in some instances, only the cover of the book was left. It would be carefully placed back on the shelf to deceive unsuspecting readers that the entire book was actually there. Orders for text books would be placed with the Bookshop Manager at the beginning of the academic year, only to arrive when the students are in the final term of the year. One of the major reasons the books could not arrive on time was shortage of foreign exchange. The Bank of Uganda did not have enough dollars. Even, the process of getting the little that was available was lengthy and tedious. Since Uganda did not have publishing houses for university textbooks, it meant that every book had to be imported from abroad.

Despite the tight controls the Government had put in place, the shortage of foreign exchange continued to dog the country. If the Bank of Uganda found

some foreign currency to take care of the university's needs, the university could not raise the local cover to buy it. That Milton Obote was the Chancellor of the university and Minister of Finance was of no consequence. The problem was compounded further by the fact that, at the time, no foreign publisher was willing to sell books to the university on credit; Uganda was not credit worthy. As a consequence, the students had to rely entirely on their un-supplemented lecture notes and on the books in the Main Library and departmental libraries.

To exhaust the money on their textbook accounts in the University Bookshop, some students resorted to buying novels and whatever else was on the shelves of the Bookshop. They would then sell the novels and books which were of no use to them to the street hawkers in town for cash. On those rare occasions when the university was able to buy the foreign exchange from the Bank of Uganda, the Bookshop Manager, late Kansiiemeruhanga (or Kansiiime as we used to call him), would physically fly to the UK to buy the books and stationery. It had become more or less a ritual for him. Unfortunately, he died tragically on one of such trips, when his flight from London crashed at Rome Airport in 1987. It was a painful loss to his family and the university.

Professor Wandira was a seasoned and experienced administrator whose extensive administrative experience enabled him to keep going, in spite of the myriad of problems that the university was facing. The constant water shortage on the university campus made maintaining hygiene very difficult. The result was the constant stench from the urinals next to the auditorium, which used to greet every visitor to the Main Building.

Another problem was the poor quality of food that was being served to students. I recall an incident when, out of anger and frustration, the girls of Mary Stuart Hall decided to carry saucepans full of badly cooked beans to Professor Wandira's office and asked him to eat the stuff so that he would know the kind of food students were made to eat on campus. I later learnt that they had done a similar thing to Professor Lutwama. The girls were complaining that they were being fed on beans and *posho*, which was not fit for human consumption, and they wanted the Vice Chancellor to do something about it. They argued that besides the food being monotonous and of poor quality, it was also poorly cooked. But what the students did not realise was that the university was indeed doing its best to provide them with some decent meals at the time it was severely resource constrained and the country had just emerged out of war and almost everything was in short supply. The small budget for the students' ration did not leave room for menu improvement beyond *posho* (cooked dough made from maize flour) and beans. The fact that most of the cooks were untrained just made a bad catering situation worse.

The teaching staff was equally frustrated by the constant absence of vital supplies for teaching such as chemicals and stationery. Government used to

allocate a lot of money to the university on paper but most of it was never released. The science-based departments, Chemistry in particular, which depended on a constant supply of consumables were hardest hit by the persistent shortage of chemicals. I remember back in 1983, we decided to take a drastic decision, as we had reached a point when we could not conduct practicals because the department had run out of chemicals. We stopped teaching until the university provided the essential chemicals, because we were concerned that we would only be producing half-baked graduates.

The Department of Chemistry had some expatriate members of staff as well, who convened a meeting to find a solution to the shortage of chemicals. We tasked our Head of Department, Dr Olwa Odyek, to convey our concerns to the Dean of Science and the University Bursar. We waited for the response but none was forthcoming. Exhausting all options, we again requested our Head of Department to write to the Vice Chancellor to inform him that due to the university's inability to provide the essential chemicals and other inputs, we were suspending all classes thenceforth. In our memorandum to the Vice Chancellor, we emphasised the importance of the practicals in our degree programme, pointing out that if the students were denied the opportunity to do them, we would not be in position to graduate them. By taking this action, we were fully aware of the university's precarious financial position, but we were equally concerned about the danger of unleashing half-baked graduates to unsuspecting employers.

We just wanted the Vice Chancellor to be aware of our predicament and if he could, do something about it. The Vice Chancellor acted swiftly and arranged for a meeting with us and the University Bursar in his office. This was my first time entering the Vice Chancellor's office. Contrary to our fears, the meeting was fruitful. The Bursar was instructed to source for money and to buy the chemicals, which he did. That was how desperate the situation had become, as it required the direct intervention of the Vice Chancellor to find an answer.

Negotiating for the Italian Government's assistance to the university, which culminated in a linkage with the University of Pavia, the first ever with an Italian university, was one of Professor Wandira's major initiatives. He was also responsible for organising the low publicised first donors' conference in Belagio in Italy, in conjunction with the Rockefeller Foundation. His other major contribution was the rehabilitation of the students' halls of residence. This was the time the university was beginning to enjoy a lot of international goodwill once again. The old friends were slowly coming back.

Australia was among the friends that came back early. As a gesture of goodwill and as if to say, "My friend, welcome back from the brink!", the Australian Government generously donated new office equipment, including modern typewriters and several scholarships that enabled graduate fellows undertake postgraduate training in Australian universities. This was a big shot in the arm

for the university because during Amin's time, many able students the university had recruited for staff development could not pursue postgraduate training.

Professor Wandira had also come up with the idea of using the occasion of the university's 20th Anniversary in 1982, which due to unforeseen difficulties had to be celebrated a year later, to engage in fundraising activities. Indeed, the university had prepared well for the occasion. On December 2, 1982, the day earmarked for the celebrations, the nation received news that the Army Chief of Staff, David Oyite Ojok, together with 13 army officers, had died in a helicopter crash on their way from Kisozi in Luwero where he had been visiting the troops who were fighting Museveni and his guerrillas. The university had no choice than to cancel the celebrations and join the rest of the nation in mourning the passing away of a liberator and a national hero. This was the second anniversary which could not be celebrated due to circumstances beyond the university's control. The university's 10th Anniversary was in 1972, but this was also not celebrated because of the sudden change of Government.

Professor Wandira's second tour as Vice Chancellor lasted almost eight years, then the longest tenure for a Makerere Vice Chancellor. Up to 1979, the average Vice Chancellor's tenure was two and a quarter years. By lasting in the job that long, Wandira had restored the hope that an incumbent Vice Chancellor could last long enough in the office and make some meaningful contribution to the development of the university. Milton Obote also kept Professor Ginger Pincywa as Deputy Vice Chancellor throughout Professor Wandira's tenure, thus making him the longest serving Deputy Vice Chancellor at Makerere so far. He served in that position for almost nine years.

One striking feature during their time was the conspicuous absence of private staff cars in the parking lot in front of the Main Building. Most of the time, one would see only the Vice Chancellor's official red Mercedes Benz and the Deputy Vice Chancellor's white one and one or two others, which was indicative of the prevailing economic situation at the university at the time. Members of staff could not afford the luxury of a personal car. Those who had them were the exceptions. They had either come back from exile with their cars or had a substantial side income.

Professor Wandira was one of the lucky Vice Chancellors to have served his term without a serious student or staff strike, until John Gitta was murdered at his residence. Perhaps, one could attribute Wandira's luck to the political environment he worked in at the time. The conditions that would ordinarily trigger a staff or student strike were present even in Professor Wandira's time: low salaries which were not paid on time, bad food and poor living conditions in the halls of residence. However, there was a difference, and that difference was the Government's intelligence machinery. It was everywhere, powerful and intimidating enough to scare anybody who was contemplating calling for a strike.

It should be remembered that this was the time the Government was engaged in a protracted war against insurgency and, unless you were looking for posthumous recognition, you wouldn't venture into doing something that would automatically brand you a rebel or a rebel collaborator.

However, one of the few serious misfortunes to have befallen Professor Wandira was a big fire which almost gutted the Nkrumah Hall. The fire started in the afternoon at the end of a graduation ceremony, soon after the Chancellor had left the university. The cause of the fire was traced to a home-made electric radiant coil in a student's room located on the top floor. Apparently, the student was cooking when power went off, and forgot to switch the coil off before he left the room. Subsequently, some combustible material was placed on top of it before power came back and when it did, there was no one in the room to switch off the coil. It took the Fire Brigade, with its poorly equipped fire engines, several hours to bring the fire under control, but not before most of the roof and most of the top floor had burnt down. Students on that floor lost all their property. There was hardly anything they could salvage. To some, especially the UPC supporters, this was an act of sabotage. To others, it had been an accident waiting to happen.

Professor Wandira's second tour as Vice Chancellor came to an end in 1986 when the NRM came to power. After leaving the university, Professor Wandira served as a member of the Kajubi Education Review Commission of 1987. During the army takeover on July 27, 1985 under General Tito Okello Lutwa, Kampala experienced the worst form of chaos. Law and order broke down, with thuggery and anarchy taking over. Shops were looted. What saved some business people from losing everything was the practice of carrying away their merchandise to another location at the end of each day. They had learnt from the bitter experience of the 1979 liberation war. Wanton killing of innocent people became widespread. Gun fire rocked the city every night.

This time around, Makerere University was not spared. One night, unknown gunmen broke into the residence of John Gita in Kasubi View. John Gita was then a Senior Assistant Registrar in Makerere and Secretary General of the Conservative Party. The gunmen shot him dead in the presence of his wife and children. This was a horrific incident which shook the university community to the bone. It was beyond anybody's comprehension why John Gita had been singled out. Despite being a member of a political party which by all accounts was benign and almost in limbo, Gita was one of the most genial people in the university and a workaholic too. In the absence of a plausible explanation for such a horrendous and senseless murder, people resorted to speculation and finger-pointing.

Unfortunately, the Vice Chancellor was not spared. Perhaps, people thought the Vice Chancellor had not provided enough security for his employee. But how could he have done it under such a chaotic and confused situation when

there were no effective law enforcement institutions one could turn to for help? Insensate students organised themselves to look for the Vice Chancellor. Having failed to find him, some rowdy students vented their anger on the Deputy Vice Chancellor, Professor Pincywa who happened to be around. They marched him around the campus howling all sorts of insult and obscenities at him. Besides calling him names, some wanted to march him all the way to the city centre, perhaps with the intention of harming him on their way.

Indeed, it was a difficult time for both the Vice Chancellor and his Deputy. When Museveni overthrew the Okellos in January 1986, by coincidence, Joash Mayanja Nkangi who was the leader of the Conservative Party became the new Minister of Education, replacing Timothy Wangusa. Both Wandira and Pincywa were immediately relieved of their jobs. However, I must emphasise that this does not imply that their removal from office had a direct link with the murder of John Gita. For all the time Professor Wandira was at Makerere as Vice Chancellor, he had cleverly avoided being identified with any particular political party, although speculation was rife that he was a DP sympathiser. Some argued that there was no way Obote could have kept a DP supporter in such a significant and sensitive position at the university for so long without being his man. Whatever his political affiliation was, he kept it firmly to himself, and in so doing he managed to protect the office of Vice Chancellor from the vagaries of partisan politics of the day, which would have led to further polarisation of the university community reeling from the ravages of Idi Amin's regime. I know of many Deans, Heads of Departments and Hall Wardens who never hid their support for the ruling party. In my view, Professor Wandira's stance was the best way a good Vice Chancellor should conduct himself, no matter how he was appointed. Makerere is a cosmos of all shades of opposing political views and the Vice Chancellor should never be seen as favouring any particular side over another because that would compromise his ability to inspire confidence in the office.

One thing Obote's Minister of Education, Professor Isaac Newton Ojok did during Wandira's time was to replace Professor Twaha Nsereko Gyagenda as University Secretary with the little known Dr Michael Agrochai Owiny, a zoologist, who at the time of his appointment was lecturing at Kenyatta University in Kenya. Dr Owiny had a brilliant academic record at school and at Makerere. He left Uganda under unclear circumstances after the first overthrow of Obote's Government in 1971. He used to accuse Professor William Banage, Minister of Animal Industry in Amin's first Cabinet, of being responsible for his abrupt departure from Uganda, but he never substantiated his allegations beyond just saying that Banage disorganised his PhD scholarship. Professor Banage denied categorically ever having had anything to do with Agrochai Owiny's running away or his scholarship. However, while in exile, he was able to study and eventually obtain a PhD in Zoology from the University of London. When he was called

back from Kenya by Obote's Government, he did not come immediately. For some reason, he took his time, which necessitated Rev David Sentongo, who was then Senior Deputy Secretary to act as University Secretary for a while.

When Dr Owiny finally came, one of his first acts was to change the colours of all signposts in the university written in green against a white background. Many of the signposts, which were installed in the 1970s, had been professionally designed by a Government company called TUMPECO, based at Port Bell on the shores of Lake Victoria. Unfortunately, green and white happened to be the colours of the Democratic Party. They were the wrong colours and had to go. He therefore ordered the Estates Engineer to make sure that every signpost written with green letters was painted black. Black was one of the colours of the UPC flag. It was a very costly exercise, but it had to be done. Most of the original letters had not only been painted green, but were embossed and glazed as part of the enamelling process and, as such, ordinary black paint would hardly stick to the enamel. This did not deter the University Secretary from going ahead with the exercise. Overnight, the once beautiful looking signposts, big and small, had taken on an ugly look and it was not long before the black paint started flaking off, leaving a mosaic of black and green patches on every signpost. These signposts can still be seen today in their disfigured form dotted all over the university campus, and to some people, they serve as stark reminder of the bad times gone by.

Dr Owiny's colour crusade did not end there. He also painted the walls in the Chancellor's and Vice Chancellor's offices blue and replaced the carpets in the two offices with blue as well, another of the UPC flag colours. In fact, he was reputed to have given Professor Wandira a hard time. He strongly resented the idea of being lumped together on the same salary scale, the M3 scale, as his Senior Deputy and University Bursar. Unfortunately, he did not sort out this problem before he left office. This is how petty and obsessed some seemingly intelligent people had become with anything perceived anti-ruling party. I suppose out of fear no one in the university could dare challenge him or point out his idiosyncrasies. Another of such idiosyncrasies was the mass dismissal of hall wardens, carried out on the orders of the then Minister of State for Education and a former Makerere don. In a specially convened session of the Appointments Board, held in the absence of the Vice Chancellor and which the Minister attended, the Board decided to dismiss a number of wardens *en masse*. No explanation was given for what amounted to a purge. Once again, we were left to speculate. But one thing was clear; most of those who survived the axe were known to be strong supporters of the Government. For reasons best known to him, Dr Owiny abruptly resigned as University Secretary when the Okellos overthrew the Government. He joined the Faculty of Science as Professor of Zoology, a title conferred on him by the then Minister of Education, Professor Timothy Wangusa in the short-lived Okello Lutwa administration of July 1985 – January 1986.

As we conclude Professor Wandira's second tenure, we should cite one other example of a significant reform effected during his time, which was the introduction of the M salary scale, which de-linked Makerere University salary scales from the Government U scales. The introduction of the M scales was a significant break from a long tradition of lumping together Makerere University staff with the civil service. Although some sections of the university staff were unhappy with some of the U to M conversions, nevertheless the M scales were an improvement on the U scales. The only problem was that, given the hyperinflation at the time of change, the difference between the two scales did not make much difference in real monetary terms.

One of the problems about the new M scale was the grading of Chief Technicians. When Professor Ominde did the conversions, he put them at M6, which is the lecturer scale. In their judgement, they thought Professor Ominde made a mistake, because on the old scales, they were already above the lecturer grade. The new grading seemed to have brought them a step lower. Although they argued that M5, the Senior Lecturer grade was the appropriate scale, the problem was never resolved. Over the years, numerous attempts have been made to resolve this dispute without success, because the fundamental argument was whether what the Chief Technicians were claiming had merit. Some people dismissed their complaint, saying that in fact, Professor Ominde made the right conversion. To complicate the matter further, none of the affected people pointed this out at the time Professor Ominde submitted his report to Government in December 1980. They waited until Museveni had come to power before raising the issue. At least, that was the first time I heard of this complaint. Perhaps at the time, the Chief Technicians were too scared to point out the anomaly when Ominde presented the report to Government, for fear of being misunderstood. It is also plausible that those who should have pointed out this anomaly were too loyal to the Government to point it out. As we shall see later, solutions to this long-standing problem were suggested, but I had left office before they could be implemented. Other problems which were identified in the Ominde scales were the excessive overlaps between the scales and the M10. Staff on M10 earned more than those on M8 and M7. The M9 scale was redundant.

Professor Wandira had a fair share of controversies and personal tragedies. One of the most outstanding controversies was the showdown with the young Dean of Law, Dr Edward Khidu Makubuya, now Uganda's Attorney General, over the admission of an under-qualified student to the Faculty of Law. When the young Dean of Law rejected the student because she had low grades, her parents decided to send her to the University of Papua New Guinea's Law School. After a year there, she came back and applied again for admission to Year One. Dr Makubuya was still Dean and, once again, the girl's application was turned down on the same grounds. The Vice Chancellor was incensed and sought an explanation from the

Dean why the girl could not be admitted after what Professor Wandira thought was a bridging year at the University of Papua New Guinea.

According to the Vice Chancellor, the girl had made up for her deficient “A” Levels, to which Makubuya did not agree. Professor Wandira insisted that the girl be admitted to the course of her choice, because she was now well qualified for it. Khidu too stood his ground. Finally, Dr Makubuya tendered his resignation as Dean, instead of bowing to the pressure. Professor Wandira had his way, and the girl was duly admitted to the Law course. What many of us failed to understand was the reason why the Vice Chancellor took such a keen interest in this particular student; after all, there were many others like her, who had not been admitted to the Faculty of Law because their “A” Level grades were not good enough, but the Vice Chancellor did not plead for them. Secondly, it remained a puzzle why the girl did not complete her Law degree at the University of Papua New Guinea which, like Makerere, was a recognised university and a member of the Association of Commonwealth Universities. This episode left many questions unanswered. As a result of Makubuya’s resignation, the faculty went without a Dean for a while. The Dean of Social Sciences was asked to take care of the faculty until Justice Joseph Nume Kakooza, the founding Dean of the faculty was called back to assume leadership of the faculty, once again.

One of the worst personal tragedies to befall Professor Wandira was the death of his daughter in a road accident near Nakuru in Kenya on their way to Nairobi in the Vice Chancellor’s official car, a new Mercedes Benz. Professor Wandira’s driver lost control and the car overturned, killing the girl instantly and injuring other members of the family. He was privileged to have worked with seasoned administrators like Bernard Onyango, Dissan Kizito, Namwanja Kyasanku, Garshom Eyoku, Rev David Sentongo and George Kihuguru, the legendary Dean of Students, to mention but a few.

After Makerere, Professor Wandira served as full-time Chairman of the Teaching Service Commission until the Commission was transformed into the Education Service Commission. He also served as a Government-appointed member of the first Appointments Board of the Institute of Teacher Education, Kyambogo (ITEK) from 1991 until a new Board was appointed.

George Barnabas Kirya (1986 – 1990)

The responsibility of continuing to rebuild the university from the ashes of Uganda’s bad governance shifted from Professor Wandira to Professor George Banabas Kirya, the second Vice Chancellor to come from the Medical School. He was appointed Vice Chancellor in 1986. This was one of President Museveni’s first major appointments as Chancellor of Makerere University. In fact, Professor Kirya’s appointment took most people by surprise because he was not one of the most prominent personalities at Makerere. However, as President of the Uganda

Medical Association, Professor Kirya had been an active participant in medical and health programmes, which Uganda Television used to air regularly. He also used to act as moderator of the popular Brain Trust series.

In the early 1980s, a strange disease was observed for the first time in Rakai and South West Masaka, especially among the residents of the fishing villages along the shores of Lake Victoria in that area. The victims of the new disease, who appeared to be in perfect health, were suddenly losing weight for no obvious reason. This was the beginning of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, which we shall discuss in some detail later. Because there was no immediate medical explanation for this strange condition, some started calling it the slim disease. “Slim” was a popular word used to describe slender, beautiful women. Suddenly, the word slim had become an ugly word. As the scientific explanation was slow in coming, the locals in that area started speculating that those afflicted by the strange disease had participated in the looting of property belonging to some Tanzanian women who were well known for their evil spirits and other highly dangerous forms of witchcraft; they were now paying for their misdeeds in Tanzania. Professor Kirya and his colleagues were the first to bring this puzzling slim disease to the attention of the wider public, mainly through the medical programmes on Uganda Television (UTV). I suspect that it was through these presentations on UTV that Professor Kirya caught the attention of the President.

Before his appointment as Makerere's sixth Vice Chancellor, George Kirya had been Professor and Head of the Department of Microbiology at the Medical School. He is a specialist in Virology, a discipline in which he holds a Master of Science degree from the University of Birmingham in the UK. He also holds a Diploma in Bacteriology from the University of Manchester in the UK. After graduating from Makerere Medical School in 1966, he worked as a House Officer in Mulago Hospital and, in 1967 he joined the then East African Virus Research Institute based at Entebbe. While there, he also lectured undergraduate students in Virology at the Department of Microbiology/Virology on part-time basis as well as Postgraduate Diploma students in Public Health, which qualified him for the rank of honorary lecturer at Makerere University.

He joined the Department of Microbiology as an Associate Professor in 1977 and, a year later, he was promoted to the rank of Professor of Microbiology. In 1982, he was appointed substantive Head of the Department of Microbiology. Professor Kirya has several publications in his field to his credit. His well-known publications include: *Nairobi Sheep Disease in Man and Isolation of Congo Virus from the Amblyomma Tick*.

To many of us, Kirya's appointment appeared so natural that one was tempted to believe he had always been VC. He was extremely genial with a captivating personality, which made you feel that there was no difference between you and him. He socialised and mixed freely with staff and students, which in a way helped

take the mystique out of the office of Vice Chancellor, but also got him into some trouble with students. One quality he had as Vice Chancellor was to maintain his old friends as if his status had not changed. A good example of this quality was his close friendship with Mr Edward Kasolo Kimuli, formerly the Headmaster of Makerere College School and now Director of the Institute of Special Education which is part of Kyambogo University. The Kimulis were frequent guests of the Kiryas at their Garden Hill residence. They remained friends even after Professor Kirya had moved to the Vice Chancellor's Lodge. Professor Kirya was also enormously resourceful. His appointment coincided with what many saw as the end of terror in Uganda. Museveni had waged a relentless war against the Governments of Milton Obote and Tito Okello Lutwa, who were seen by many as the worst abusers of human rights. With Museveni now in power, most Ugandans were really in a festive mood. Gone were the bad old days of wanton killings and impunity of all sorts. But as we shall see later, the fundamental freedoms which Museveni and his NRM colleagues had ushered in when they captured state power were to be tested to the limit in the coming years; but for now, it was time for Makerere to start thinking seriously about rebuilding itself.

The gigantic tasks that lay ahead and which were necessary to turn the university around, needed a visionary Vice Chancellor to provide the kind of inspiring leadership that would help the university to quickly recover from the ravages of the past two decades. Professor Kirya was that kind of Vice Chancellor. To assist him in managing the university and implement the vital reforms was Professor Fredrick Ian Bintubizibu Kayanja. Fred Kayanja was appointed Deputy Vice Chancellor at the same time Professor Kirya was appointed Vice Chancellor. Kayanja was the second person to hold that position at Makerere. He is a veterinarian and a seasoned anatomist with gold medals and honours to his credit for his pioneering scientific work, much of it done at Makerere. Before his appointment as Deputy Vice Chancellor, he had been Head of the Department of Veterinary Anatomy and Professor of Anatomy there. He had also served as Dean of the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine during the difficult 1980s.

For as long as one could remember, Deans, Directors at the rank of Dean and Heads of Departments occupied those positions till they retired or left the university for one reason or another. One was not elected Dean, Director or Head of Department, one was appointed by the Minister of Education (in the case of Deans) or by the Appointments Board on the recommendation of the Vice Chancellor. Naturally, some of the people who occupied those positions were excellent managers, but there were also many who were mediocres. However, members of staff had no way of getting rid of the non-performers even if they had wanted to. Kirya changed all that when he introduced a system of elected Heads and Deans with fixed term limits.

A Dean or Director had to be elected by academic members of staff in a democratic and transparent election. Eligible candidates had to be at the rank

of senior lecturer and above. Aspiring candidates had to be nominated by at least three members of staff of that faculty, and were given time to canvass for votes. The term of office for the Deans was four years, renewable once. No one was allowed to stand for more than two consecutive terms. For the Heads of Departments, the term was three years, also renewable once. No individual was supposed to head a department for more than six consecutive years. This was the first time democracy would be introduced into the academia at Makerere and as would be expected, not everyone was happy. The conservatives argued that the new system was meant to demean the university's academic integrity. They could not imagine how a full Professor could serve under a Dean or a Head of Department of Senior Lecturer rank.

Despite the protests, Kirya stuck to his decision and, slowly, the university started implementing the new system. It is fair to say that MUASA provided a lot of inputs into the formulation of this policy, but it required a receptive Vice Chancellor and Minister of Education to implement such a fundamental break from tradition. In spite of a few weaknesses, the system worked well and the skeptics were by and large, proved wrong.

At the time the new system was introduced, there were real fears it would lead to weak administration. The fear had arisen from the suspicion that members of staff would elect weak leaders they could easily manipulate. Such leaders would be incapable of disciplining staff and taking tough decisions. There was also the added fear that such a competitive system would undermine the existing harmony amongst staff and eventually lead to permanent polarisation in departments and faculties. Fortunately, most of these fears were unfounded. Apparently, when it comes to electing their leaders, members of staff are careful who they elect. They even go out of their way to encourage those they think have good leadership qualities to stand for elections. From my personal observations over the years, members of staff do not like over-ambitious people who show no potential for effective leadership. Admittedly, they had been a few unsuitable personalities elected as Deans or Heads of Departments, but that was the exception rather than the rule. Once detected, they were not normally given a second chance. One had to deliver or risk not being elected again next time.

Indeed, a couple of Deans and Heads of Departments served only one term on the account of their poor leadership. There had been attempts to change Kirya's system but, each time, the attempt was met with resistance, which proved that once people have been given power to change leaders through a democratic process, they are reluctant to let go. Some of the modifications to the current system that some people had been asking for were to allow the non-teaching staff to participate in the voting. They based their argument on the fact that a Dean or Head of Department is not responsible for only the academic staff. While the debate about the inclusion of the non-academic staff in the electoral process continues, the system is still in operation in its original form, almost 20 years after it was introduced. Interestingly,

many members of staff have stood for election more than once and, on each occasion, the electorate has rejected them. It has been frustrating and painful for those who have tried and failed, especially when one strongly believed that one had all it took to make a successful Head of Department or Dean.

In the recent past, there have been accusations that the voting process has degenerated into tribal and religious allegiances. While I could not deny that, there could have been a grain of truth in what was being said, the allegations were never proven to necessitate a radical reform of the system. As one prominent proponent of the current system once put it, “the alternative was worse”.

Under the old Makerere University Act of 1970, the powers to appoint Deans and Directors were vested in the Minister of Education on the recommendations of the Appointments Board. Therefore, the new system introduced by the Kirya Administration was only advisory and not legally binding. After every election, the Academic Registrar who is the university’s official Returning Officer had to submit to the Appointments Board the results of all the candidates who participated in the election. The final decision lay with the Board and the Minister. In case of the Heads of Departments, the final say was in the hands of the Appointments Board. However, both the Appointments Board and the Minister reserved the right to reject a candidate, even if he or she polled the highest number of votes.

Normally, the Board went by the majority decision of the voters. However, during my time, I witnessed a few cases where either the Board or the Minister of Education rejected candidates who had polled the highest number of votes in the election and, instead, appointed the runners-up. I was told that there were valid reasons for each case, explaining why the Board and the Minister did not respect the voters’ decision. The voters had overlooked some serious weaknesses in the candidates they had elected. When the old Act was repealed, the Parliament of Uganda decided to enshrine the practice in the new Act of 2001. Under the new Act, the Minister of Education ceased to have a role in the appointment of Professors, Deans and Directors.

Before Kirya became Vice Chancellor, appointments, promotions and dismissals were by law the prerogative of the Appointments Board. Neither the Vice Chancellor, nor Deans or Heads of Departments had a say or any part to play beyond providing an appraisal of the member of staff under consideration, if the Board required one. In fact, the Vice Chancellor was not a member of the Appointments Board. During Kirya’s time, again all that changed. When the new Appointments Board was constituted, with Professor Josephine Nambooze as its Chairperson, Professor Kirya was appointed a full member, together with Professor James Lutalo-Bosa who was acting as Deputy Vice Chancellor after the departure of Professor Kayanja.

Before Amana Mushega’s time as Minister of Education, the Vice Chancellor merely attended at the Board’s meetings. He had no say in the decisions of the

Board; he could only be consulted. In fact, when it suited them, the Board could ask the Vice Chancellor to leave a Board meeting. It was rather odd for a chief executive officer of the university not to have a say in the important decisions which affected his or her organisation. In fact, there was no clause in the old Act preventing the Vice Chancellor from being a member of the Appointments Board, but for unexplained reasons, successive Ministers of Education had never seriously considered the importance of having the Vice Chancellor as a full member of the Board. This was to forget that the Vice Chancellor was expected to know his or her staff better than anyone else. Therefore, it went without saying that he or she should have a say in who was appointed, promoted or dismissed.

With a new Appointments Board in place, the stage was set for other fundamental changes in the way staff were appointed, promoted and disciplined. The democratic principles, which applied to the Deans and Heads of Departments, had to be extended to the recruitment and promotion of staff as well. Each department and faculty had to have an Appointments and Promotions Committee. Those committees were charged with the responsibility of vetting applications for new appointments and promotion. The Committees had to submit their recommendations to the Appointments Board in the form of minutes signed by all members present. The Senate and University Council had worked out detailed guidelines, spelling out the criteria which the committees were to follow when assessing one's suitability for promotion from rank to rank, and each criterion had to be allocated a mark or marks.

Publications were categorised in different forms and the number required for promotion to each level specified. For one seeking promotion to the ranks of Associate Professor and Professor respectively, the Board, through the Academic Registrar, had to send the applicant's papers to an external vetter. If, in the vetter's opinion, the publications were not good enough, the candidate would not be promoted. However, the candidates were free to appeal the vetter's verdict or make good the deficiencies pointed out in the vetter's report and resubmit the papers. Initially, some members of staff thought that given the fact that the university did not have money or adequate facilities for staff to do research and to publish, the standard for new requirements were unnecessarily high and too stringent and therefore, unattainable.

The University Council was not convinced by these arguments and decided to uphold the new policy. Council argued that it was the responsibility of members of staff to look for funding for their research; the university could only facilitate the process. The hardworking members of staff found the new criteria easy to satisfy. Others simply gave up and remained stagnant. The old adage, "publish or perish", was and is still alive and well at Makerere. However, attempts have been made to use other criteria, such as teaching, for purposes of promotion but these have been without any success so far.

Professor Kirya always appeared to be a step ahead of others, and always bubbling with innovative ideas. Since it was founded, Makerere's academic year had been based on three terms of ten weeks each with a three-month vacation for students on courses which did not have an industrial attachment or field work component, or an extra term like Medicine. Professor Kirya, however, wanted the university to move to a more flexible semester system. To explore the feasibility of such an idea, he set up a Committee which he chaired and of which I was privileged to be a member. I remember Professor Sam Tulyamuhika, who was then the Director of the Institute of Statistics and Applied Economics, Mr Garshom Eyoku and late Professor J. S. Mugerwa who was Dean of Agriculture, as members of this Committee. The Committee worked hard and produced a blueprint which indicated that it was feasible for the university to change to a semester system, but some modifications had to be made for the existing curriculum to fit into the new system. When turmoil returned to the university in early 1990 and Professor Kirya had to leave, the blueprint was shelved.

Another of Kirya's concerns was the university's low revenue base. At the time he took over as Vice Chancellor, the university was totally dependent on Uganda's Minister of Finance for both the recurrent and capital development budgets. Given the state of Uganda's economy at that time and the competing demands on Government finances, what the university was getting from the Government Treasury was next to pittance. The Government allocation could barely sustain the university. This was indeed a big handicap to the Vice Chancellor. I remember him wishing he was an angel who could miraculously make money from nothing. However, instead of drowning himself in self-pity, he decided to be pragmatic about the money problem. He believed there were other ways the university could find supplementary income, and suggested the setting up a university consultancy bureau. He was convinced that the university could use its enormous brain power to generate extra income for itself and for its members of staff through high intellectual input activities, such as consultancy services, which were in demand outside the university.

This was a resource, which had never been collectively tapped before. It was a known fact that many Makerere members of staff engaged in consultancy, but on an individual basis and the university never received any share of the income from consultancies undertaken by individual members of staff. This time around, the Vice Chancellor wanted to make it a collective university activity. To find out whether the idea was feasible, he set up a small Committee which he chaired, and of which Professor John Mugerwa and I were once again privileged to serve as members. Out of the efforts of this Committee, Makerere University Consultancy Bureau (MUCOBUB) was born. But due to the difficulties of the time, the idea was also shelved, though implemented later.

Much of the university, which Professor Kirya inherited, was in a dilapidated state. Besides the repairs which were done on the students' halls of residence during

Professor Wandira's time, there was no other serious attempt to give the university buildings a face lift. In addition, no new buildings had been constructed for almost ten years, yet the university was under pressure to expand the enrolment, which required extra space for teaching and accommodation. The big question on everybody's lips was where the money to finance the rehabilitation and the construction of new buildings would come from.

Professor Kirya tried two approaches: One was a self-help drive or *harambee* (as it is popularly known in Kenya). The other was to explore the possibility of organising a donors' conference. The self-help drive involved mobilising all staff and students to clean up the university and give a coat of paint to as many buildings as the available paint could cover. He solicited the paint and other materials from Makerere's well-wishers who included paint manufacturers. This was the first time in several years that the University reached out to the local business community for support and the response to the Vice Chancellor's *harambee* was good. Both staff and students also responded to the Vice Chancellor's call very positively. The late Dr Samson Kisekka, an old Makererian and Prime Minister of Uganda at the time was at hand to inaugurate and lead the drive. On the day the exercise was launched, Dr Kisekka took a brush and painted the front gates of the Printery. It was the first time those gates were being given a coat of paint. The result was dramatic. Many senior professors and administrators were seen in the company of their students with sleeves rolled up, slashing and pushing wheelbarrows full of rubbish. Although it was limited in scope, the initiative illustrated that a determined and innovative leader could inspire people to do what was sometimes considered impossible. I am sure no Makerere Principal or Vice Chancellor had ever attempted such a feat before. Unfortunately, the *harambe* was a one-day affair; it has never been repeated since.

The second initiative was a grand donors' conference, which unlike the first one, had to be held at Makerere. It is often said that "if you want to make money, you must spend money". Professor Kirya wanted to get money for Makerere from as many donors as he could possibly convince, but needed money to organise the big conference. He capitalised on the goodwill Makerere was enjoying in the international community at the time. The United Nations Programme (UNDP) agreed to assist the university organise the conference.

By 1987, when the donor's conference was held, the UNDP was already supporting several projects in the university. The UNDP not only provided cash, it also provided a consultant who had earlier worked with the late Lule, to assist the Vice Chancellor with the conference logistics. In fact, the donors' conference laid the foundations of what later became the Planning and Development Department. Participation in the conference was not restricted to only the international donor community, the local community was also invited. Every department had to prepare what you might call a shopping list of its needs or

more precisely, a wish list. The departmental lists were later synthesised into a single university document, which was submitted to every donor prior to the conference.

Given the fact that this was the first time the university was attempting this kind of undertaking on home ground, the turn-out of both local and international communities was impressive. The disappointment was that after the many long hours of preparation and the good presentations by the Vice Chancellor and other presenters, most donors picked what they traditionally support and left out what we considered to be the most critical needs. Few donors at the conference pledged new money, while others re-affirmed their ongoing commitments and the new pledges they had earlier made. For example, the African Development Bank pledged to support activities the Uganda Government was already negotiating for with the Bank. Other donors decided to support activities off the university's priority list, such as a play depicting the abuse of human rights in Uganda. Sadly, most of the science-based faculties came out of the conference empty handed. The Italian Government, represented by an official of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, was one of the few international donors that pledged new money. The Italians promised to re-equip the Faculty of Technology and to provide scholarships for PhD training in Italy to its members of staff. Italy also pledged to send Professors of Engineering to Makerere to participate in teaching and research projects.

Unfortunately, a cheque the Ford Foundation had sent to Makerere after the conference was intercepted and cashed. The cheque, which went missing and ended up being cashed in Europe was, according to sources, part of the Foundation's pledge to the university to support human rights activities at the Faculty of Law. All efforts to recover the missing cheque turned up blank. This incident almost soured an otherwise cordial relationship between the university and the Ford Foundation. Makerere almost lost one of its most loyal friends. The Ford Foundation sent several officials to Makerere in an attempt to trace the whereabouts of the cheque. Neither the Vice Chancellor nor the Dean of Law had any idea as to who had stolen the cheque. The cheque was stolen in transit before it got to Makerere. Perhaps this was the beginnings of the now rampant white collar crime in Uganda.

In spite of the fact that the big donors did not respond to most of the university's critical needs, the conference produced some valuable outcomes. One of such notable outcomes was the presence of a local donors' group, which included traders from the Owino Market. No one at Makerere had ever imagined that it was possible to mobilise ordinary Ugandans to raise funds for their university. This was one of Professor Kirya's brilliant innovations. Not only did this group donate the little they could afford, they formed a local donors' association which was chaired by a former Managing Director of Uganda Commercial Bank (UCB),

Frank Mwine, with Dan Nsibambi, former Public Relations Manager of the same bank as secretary.

The Association opened an account in the UCB with an initial deposit of over UgSh20 million, a hefty sum in 1987, soon after a major currency reform. The idea was to use the fund to lend money to units which had the potential to generate income for the university at a small interest rate of about 8% per year. The University Printery and Makerere University Press were some of the university units which benefited from the Local Donors' account.

When Frank Mwine left UCB, his successor, Dr Ezra Suruma, now Minister of Finance, Planning and Economic Development took over as chairman of the Association for a while. Later, the former Governor of the Bank of Uganda, the late Nyonyintono Kikonyogo, was asked to take over as chair of the Association. When they all left their positions, UCB was sold to Stanbic Bank and with other leaders having died, the Association went into dormancy. When I took over as Vice Chancellor, I tried hard to keep the Association going but the momentum had been lost.

Professor Kirya's spirits were not dampened by the donors' conference, which did not yield the kind of results he wanted. He continued with his usual zeal to look for money elsewhere. It was not long before we were told by the Vice Chancellor that the Japanese Government, through its international cooperation agency, JICA, had agreed to donate and equip a new building to Makerere University, which was to house the Faculty of Science. This was the sweetest music to those of us who belonged to the Faculty of Science, as we had been in limbo for too long. This was the first time the Government of Japan was extending support to Makerere University in a significant way and frankly, nobody, including the Vice Chancellor, had any clue how the Japanese conducted business, because nobody had ever dealt with them before.

Before JICA approved the grant and released the money to the university, there were some tough and sometimes protracted negotiations between the two sides. The Japanese were very demanding. They were concerned with what one might call the finer details. For example, they wanted to be assured that the location would give the building enough prominence. In fact, they were insisting that the building should be constructed in the Freedom Square in front of the Main Building. The proposal had to be politely turned down and a compromise site was agreed.

I recall Professor Kirya telling us about the Japanese habit of switching to their language (Japanese) whenever there were points of disagreement during the discussions. He said he had no way of doing the same with his colleagues because of our many language problems. One day, he decided to take a gamble and addressed his colleagues in Luganda, one of the widely spoken local languages in Uganda. Fortunately for him, most of his colleagues understood Luganda

or had a working knowledge of it. This surprised the Japanese and presumably did the trick. After that, he said, points of disagreement were quickly resolved. Unfortunately, Professor Kirya left office before construction began. This had to be handled by his successor. Besides successfully concluding the negotiation for the JICA grant, Professor Kirya and his colleagues managed to convince the British Government to provide funds for the renovation of the Guest House and the construction of an extension. The guest house was used for accommodating external examiners, members of staff who had no accommodation and other guests of the university.

The British Government, which rarely provided support for infrastructure development, also gave Makerere money for the renovation of the two old wings of Mary Stuart Hall, as well as the construction of an extension on the western side of the old building.

Nonetheless, the university's dilapidated physical plant continued to dog the new Vice Chancellor. It appeared he had exhausted all possible sources of funds to carry out the repairs, some quite urgent. Then, during his speech at one of the graduation ceremonies, he presented the problem to Chancellor Museveni. In response, the Chancellor advised the university to set up a building unit, which would do some of the repairs the Vice Chancellor was referring to. There and then, Makerere University Building Unit (MUBU), was born. The Chancellor promised to provide some seed money to capitalise MUBU but the Treasury took a long time to release the President's pledge. Besides coming late, it was not enough for the kinds of jobs the unit was expected to do. Nevertheless, a start had been made. The MUBU started as a separate entity from the Estates and Works Department, with its own Director. It concentrated on major repairs and construction of new buildings, while the Estates and Works Department undertook the minor and routine maintenance work. After the departure of Mr Uddin who had come to Makerere from India as the University Engineer during Amin's time, the university recruited a British Engineer, Mr Penny, who took over as the new University Engineer. Penny was in charge of both MUBU and the Estates and Works Department; but when he left, MUBU went its separate ways. During Professor Kirya's time, MUBU built a couple of houses in the eastern staff quarters near Bombo Road and in the west end of the campus, along Springfield Road, overlooking Kikoni and Kasubi Tombs. However, MUBU's major problem was under-capitalisation. It was never given enough money to undertake big jobs. Initially it was not even making money on the jobs it was doing, because it was supposed to be a service unit of the university.

As we learnt earlier, as soon as Idi Amin was deposed, the European Union (EU) which was then called the European Economic Community (EEC) took a keen interest in Uganda's recovery and, at the request of the Government of Uganda, started extending grants to the country for various rehabilitation projects. Among the initial projects the EU funded in Uganda was the re-sealing

of the Kampala-Masaka Highway, which forms part of the Northern Corridor. Fortunately, Makerere University was among the institutions for which the Government sought financial aid from the EU for rehabilitation.

The EEC-funded rehabilitation was a big project, with the Faculties of Science and Medicine as beneficiaries. Most of the buildings in the Faculty of Science and a selected few in the Faculty of Medicine, in particular the Clinical Research building, had to be fully rehabilitated and re-roofed because they leaked profusely. The tender for the design and consultancy work went to an Italian firm. We had thought the Uganda-based firm of architects, Pitfield and Bougner, which had originally designed most of the college's buildings in the 50s and 60s, would win the tender for the architectural work, but the firm's bid was unsuccessful, and Makerere had no say in who was awarded the tender. In fact, many European firms sent experts down to Makerere to assess the magnitude of the job as part of the preparation of the tender documents.

The Italian firm which won the tender sent an elderly architect, Paulo Indrizz, to Makerere as the resident project consultant and supervisor. He had one interesting mannerism. Every time he wanted to make a point, he over-gesticulated with his hands and on top of the excessive use of hand gestures, he spoke English with a heavy Italian accent, which sometimes made it hard to comprehend what he was saying. Quite frankly, most of us found him irritating and difficult to work with, but with time, on the advice of our Dean Professor Paul Mugambi, we learnt to put up with him. The interesting aspect of this project was the liberty the University Administration gave to each department to work closely with the architects and other project consultants on how they wanted to modify their buildings, or what new things we wanted included in the plan before the final drawings were made and submitted for approval.

At that time, I was the Head of the Department of Chemistry, and over the years, my department had become a victim of theft. We suggested that the thoroughfare between the two departmental buildings be closed at the west end by joining them together with a high wall and a wide gate in the middle, which the security guards could easily manage. We further proposed the installation of steel grill doors to the entrance of every floor of the main departmental building, which could be kept wide open during the day for easy escape in case of a fire, but locked during the night to deny any would-be burglar easy access to the laboratories. We also wanted a covered walkway between the first year laboratory on the northern end and the main departmental building on the southern end. All our proposals were accepted, except the walkway. The idea was rejected on the account of limited funds. Roko, a locally incorporated Swiss civil engineering company, won the tender for these works.

This project presented a big challenge to both the University Administration and the construction company, Roko. As those in the trade know, rehabilitation

work is the most difficult to cost, for the simple reason that there are usually hidden and serious defects, which may not be foreseen until the actual work begins. By then, it is too late to alter the bills of quantities. Project funders do not like being asked to keep revising the costs upwards when the tender is already awarded, as tenders are awarded on a competitive basis and, in most cases, the winner is the lowest bidder. In fact, the practice of revising the bills of quantity above a certain percentage of the original tender sum is discouraged. In such cases, the contractor has to bear any extra cost arising out of unforeseen problems which were not taken into account when the bills were being drawn up initially. This may mean doing the work at a loss if the contingent budget line is insufficient to cover the cost of the extra works. In addition to this, most workers are not trustworthy. They steal cement, timber, paint, and so on. All these eat into the contractor's profits. I was told that, in fact, Roko was a victim of pilfering of cement and other construction materials. The workers used to ferry them out of the university through the small western gate popularly known as the Kikoni Gate. This could explain why in the end many things which were in the original tender document had to be omitted. The escalating costs necessitated the scaling down of the project. Neither Professor Kirya nor I was there to see the project to the end. In March 1990, Professor Kirya was relieved of his job as Vice Chancellor and in October of the same year, I left Makerere. But without a doubt, the implementation of the EEC-rehabilitation project was one of the best learning experiences in project design, planning and management for me and it put me in a good stead later in my career as an administrator.

There were other important initiatives, which Professor Kirya either spearheaded or found in progress and completed. These included the rehabilitation and re-equipping of the Faculty of Agriculture and Forestry, which was funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the UNDP/UNESCO Project in the Faculty of Science. The opening of the Departments of Pharmacy and Dentistry in the Faculty of Medicine, the Department of Architecture in the Faculty of Technology and female affirmative policy of 1.5 extra points to each female candidate to boost the chronic low female enrolment stand out as testimony of his visionary leadership. On the down side, I believe one of Professor Kirya's big disappointments was his inability to raise funds to build his dream modern sports complex at Makerere, which he believed would have made a significant contribution to the university's revenue.

The drawings for the complex were made and a project document written. On one of those occasions when I walked to Professor Kirya's office for a quick chat or to make a telephone call, he showed the drawings and asked for my comments. He was confident that, in spite of the high cost of the project, he would find a donor to finance it. Perhaps he was under the impression that I was as passionate about sports as he was, which, unfortunately, I was not. I had

to tell him that he was seeking the opinion from the wrong person. However, I thought the idea was excellent, after all the university did not have decent sports facilities, which befitted its name and reputation. I found the idea of generating some extra income by hiring out the facility very fascinating. Again, before he could get this project off the ground, he was out of office. The project stalled because, in the midst of a myriad of problems the university was facing, sports, important as it is as a recreational activity, was way down on the list of priorities. The subsequent Vice Chancellors were unable to sell the project to any donor. In his younger days, Professor Kirya was an ardent sportsman and good at games such as football. During the inter-departmental football competitions, Professor Kirya used to play for the Main Building team as a goalkeeper. That was how enthusiastic and serious a sportsman he was.

In my opinion, Professor Kirya's concern for Makerere as an institution, which once enjoyed worldwide recognition for its academic excellence, went far beyond the call of duty. He always wanted to involve as many people as he could find in decision-making. For example, the Central Executive Committee was his brainchild. Before Kirya, a Vice Chancellor could only consult a senior colleague, the Deputy Vice Chancellor, Academic Registrar or University Secretary – or all of them collectively – if and when there was need. There was no formalised structure where the Vice Chancellor could meet all his senior colleagues in the University Administration on a regular basis and discuss matters of interest to the university. The original membership of the Committee was made up of the Vice Chancellor as chair, the Deputy Vice Chancellor, the University Secretary, the Academic Registrar, the Dean of Students, the Bursar and Director of Planning with Garshom Eyoku as a co-opted member. The Committee used to meet weekly to discuss and make decisions on a wide range of issues affecting the university or to deal with crises. Initially, the Committee did not have a legal status; it was only advisory to the Vice Chancellor. As Professor Kirya went about his job with his usual enthusiasm, he encountered a serious impediment – procurement. It was a frustratingly slow process. Orders for goods and supplies used to take months on end, even when what had been ordered was urgent. One of the reasons for the long delays was bureaucracy. Every purchase had to go through the Tender Board, a Committee of Council; and this, even at the best of times, was a long and tedious process. The other was, of course, lack of money. To fast-track the notoriously slow tender process, Professor Kirya set up a sub-tender board committee, chaired by the Deputy Vice Chancellor and made up of Deans and other categories of staff, which used to meet weekly. Its job was to approve relatively small purchases below the ceilings set by the University Council. The idea worked reasonably well, but the major bottleneck the Committee faced was money or, more precisely, lack of it.

At one of the Senate meetings which I chaired, I remember the late Professor Akiki Mujaju referring to George Kirya as a peoples' Vice Chancellor. He was dead right. Busy as he used to be, he had time for everyone. I was one of those who had the rare privilege to have known him reasonably well at close range, even before I became a Head of Department. Despite the fact that I had never trained as a Computer Scientist, computers had always fascinated me. As we have seen earlier, by 1986 when Professor Kirya became Vice Chancellor, there were only two micro-computers at the Computer Centre – Apple IRC and Apple ICE – and those were the only computers the university had at the time. Later the Department of Language Education also acquired a few Apples. The old main frame computer had long been sold off. At the time, the new micro-computers were under-utilised; so, whenever I had some free time, I would walk to the Computer Centre and try my hands on the keyboard. Soon, I learnt to word-process, using the then word processing software – WordStar.

One evening, I went to see Professor Kirya in his office on some small matter; I guess it had to do with a workshop I was due to attend in Harare. It was late but, like most of his predecessors, he had a habit of working late. While talking to him, he pulled out a personal document he had written. It was over 50 pages long and poorly typewritten. I told him of the new way of processing documents using a micro-computer, and that word-processed documents looked not only neater, but also professional. Word processing also made editing easy. Mistakes could be corrected without using the messy white-out, and you could clone as many copies of your document as you wanted; so, there was no need for wax stencils. Then in passing, I reminded him that the Computer Centre had two micro-computers, courtesy of UNDP/UNESCO, and if he did not mind I would assist him to word-process his document. Because of his easygoing nature, I even volunteered to give him a few tutorials if only he could find the time, although technically I was also a learner. He laughed it off, but not before agreeing to my offer.

That encounter, I must say, marked the beginning of a wonderful relationship between us. He was the only Vice Chancellor I ever shared a cup of tea with in his office. To crown it all, he even took trouble to come to see me in my little flat on Quarry House. I was touched by the gesture. In fact, he did two wonderful things for me. He sent me to Harare for a short course in micro-computing in 1988 and to the Eastern and Southern African Management Institute (ESAMI) at Arusha for a specialised faculty skills development course, which exposed me to consulting process techniques and social science research methodology, among others.

On another front, Professor Kirya had to handle the return of the Faculties of Education, Commerce and Technology, which had relocated to Nakawa and Kyambogo a few years earlier back, to the congested Makerere campus. In the early 1980s, the Ministry of Education had decided to de-centralise the university. The Faculty of Commerce went to Nakawa, while the Faculties of Education

and Technology moved to Kyambogo. The institutions which were there before, namely the Uganda College of Commerce at Nakawa, and the Uganda Technical College and the National Teachers' College, both at Kyambogo, were relocated to other parts of the country. The move was intended to make room for the expansion of the university. However, when the NRM came to power in 1986, the new Minister of Education reversed the decision of his predecessor.

Makerere University had to move out of Kyambogo and Nakawa to make room for the new institutions which the Government was planning at the time. Nakawa was turned into a non-degree awarding National College of Business Studies. The former Uganda Technical College changed to Uganda Polytechnic, Kyambogo, and the former National Teachers' College, Kyambogo, was converted into the Institute of Teacher Education, Kyambogo (ITEK) and it also took over the National Institute of Education, which was based at Makerere. Professor Kirya, as Vice Chancellor, had to prepare for the return of the three faculties in their original buildings, some of which had long been allocated to some other university departments. It was a difficult exercise but he managed it well.

By the time Professor Kirya was in his third year as Vice Chancellor, a new phenomenon was emerging at Makerere. The university community was being organised into Resistance Councils, which to some were reminiscent of the ten-house cells system which the UNLF Government and Paulo Muwanga's Military Commission had tried to implement soon after the fall of Idi Amin, but had met with resistance. The cells were RC I, RC II and RC III, in order of hierarchy. The RC I represented the equivalent of a village, RC II was the parish and RC III was the *Gombolola* or sub-county. Each resistance council was run by an elected executive of nine people. The voting system used was similar to that the UPC used in the branch chairmen elections in the early 1980s.

It used to be a debacle some used to watch with a lot of amusement. Apparently, some officials in the NRM Government thought the system of lining up behind a candidate of one's choice was not a bad idea after all, so they decided to adopt it for the RC system. Like everywhere in the country, Resistance Councils were totally a new phenomenon at Makerere. The university had never had leaders other than the Vice Chancellor. But as we know, new things have a tendency to create new problems. It was therefore, not long before the RC system started throwing up new problems for the Vice Chancellor. Some RC officials, among them a prominent member of staff in the Department of Political Science and Public Administration (who will remain anonymous for now), started behaving as though the Vice Chancellor was subordinate to him. Some RC chairpersons believed, rightly or wrongly, that being elected officials through a popular vote gave them more power over the affairs of the people who elected them than the Vice Chancellor who, according to them, was a mere functionary appointed by the President. As a result, power centres began to emerge. If Professor Kirya

were not sufficiently cool-headed, this situation could have exploded into an ugly confrontation between the University Administration and the RC chairpersons. Fortunately, the confusion was later sorted out when the roles of the RCs were clearly explained and some of the firebrand RC chairpersons had to leave office.

Amidst all this, some members of staff and students had opened up direct lines of communication with Government Ministers and even with the President. There were even informal discussion groups on the university campus whose preoccupation was the future of the country and, perhaps, of the university. I strongly suspect that through such informal contacts, a lot must have been said about the leadership at Makerere, much of which must have been negative. After all, as the Baganda say, "Your neighbour is not always the first person to congratulate you when your cow gives birth to a female calf, lest your herd multiplies faster than his".

Although many members of the Makerere community thought that Professor Kirya was doing a fine job, there were also some who thought otherwise. Apparently, the staff strike of 1989 hurt many in Government and, after talking to some highly placed Government officials, I got the impression that some people in Government were holding the Vice Chancellor responsible for failing to avert the strike. However, such acrimonious feelings against the Vice Chancellor were misplaced and he was only being used as a scapegoat. To the majority of us who participated in it, the strike was neither about the Vice Chancellor nor a verdict on his leadership, although there were some who had an axe to grind and attempted to use the occasion to hit back at him. It was about poor wages that was how I understood it and the only reason for my participation.

As I have said elsewhere, it was a strike waiting to happen, regardless of who the Vice Chancellor was at the time. Makerere University academic staff was simply taking advantage of the newly found freedom to make known their pathetic economic situations. We should also remember that when he was appointed Vice Chancellor, Professor Kirya constituted several commissions of inquiry into the ways the university had been run during the years of turmoil. A few people in Administration were found guilty of financial impropriety and abuse of office, and so lost their jobs. It would be naïve to think that the people who were sacked wished Professor Kirya well. Consequently, a combination of factors led to the inevitable. Professor Kirya had to go. He left after four and a half years on the job. Makerere lost a dynamic, resourceful and innovative Vice Chancellor. So much was accomplished in so short a time. On a personal note, I doubt whether I would have become Vice Chancellor of Makerere if it had not been for the inspiration and indirect mentoring I received from him.

Like Professor Wandira before him, Professor Kirya decided not to go back to his old Department of Microbiology at Mulago. Instead, he chose to go into private practice downtown. However, it was not long before opportunity came

knocking at his door again. In an unexpected turn of events, the President decided to appoint him Uganda's High Commissioner to the U.K. He ended up being one of Uganda's longest serving Ambassadors. He was High Commissioner for 11 years. Was this Professor Kirya's vindication? After serving as High Commissioner, he returned to Uganda. Government appointed him Chairman of the newly formed Health Service Commission. In 2001, the University of Birmingham, his alma mater, conferred on him a Doctor of Laws degree, LL.D (*honoris causa*). Part of Kirya's unfinished work had to be completed by his successor, Makerere's seventh Vice Chancellor.

William Senteza Kajubi – Second Tour (1990 – 1993)

I remember I was watching the evening news on Uganda Television at 9 o'clock on our old 14-inch black and white Sony TV set when the news reader threw the bombshell: Makerere University had a new Vice Chancellor! Professor William Senteza Kajubi had been appointed the new Vice Chancellor with immediate effect, the news reader concluded. There and then, Kirya was gone. There was no mention of him in the news. I do not recall who read the news that evening, but it was devastating news. Not because I had anything against Professor Kajubi. It was because we had become too accustomed to Professor Kirya's warm and friendly personality. He was the kind of leader who had a way of making you feel at home in his presence. He was also resourceful. What had he done to deserve a dismissal over the radio? This was too reminiscent of Idi Amin's days. There were many questions that raced through my head that evening. Then I remembered the old Biblical story of Job, and that particular part that says; "He who giveth taketh away". The following day, I went to Professor Kirya's office and found him at his desk, I guessed he was trying to write his handing-over report. To my surprise, he did not look overly perturbed. He had managed to pull himself together quickly. His only regret as he told me was that there was so much unfinished business. He was, however, grateful he had been given a chance to serve Makerere, an institution he dearly loved. He thanked me for all my support. That day everyone in the Vice Chancellor's office was in sombre mood. Kirya had been a good boss to them.

Professor Kajubi's return to Makerere from Kyambogo in 1990 was greeted with excitement, especially by those who were there during his first tenure as Vice Chancellor in the 70s. They remembered how he had saved them from starvation during the war which ousted Idi Amin between 1978 and 1979. I had come to know Professor Kajubi fairly well through my friend James Mayanja, now living in Australia, who was one of the budding young lecturers in the Faculty of Law and a neighbour of mine on Quarry House. He was a very sociable man and so was Professor Kajubi who was by then residing at 151 Garden Hill. Once in a while, the two would drop by my little Flat C8 in the evenings and we would share a bottle or two of beer if we were lucky to get it.

There were a lot of projects that Kirya had initiated, which were awaiting the new Vice Chancellor to implement. As people usually say, "Honeymoon does not last forever". One of Kirya's major projects awaiting implementation, and which required Professor Kajubi's immediate attention, was the JICA building at the Faculty of Science. The first thing was to conclude the negotiations with JICA. It was agreed that the new building would house the Dean's Office, the Departments of Biochemistry and Geology, as well as general lecture rooms. The Japanese wanted the building to portray a Japanese architectural character and the university accepted the request. The ground was broken and construction of what turned out to be a magnificent building began in earnest, under Professor Kajubi's supervision. The opening of this building provided some badly needed space in the old Math-Science building.

It was not long before Kajubi's troubles with the students began. Professor Kajubi came back to Makerere at a time when Museveni's Government was embarking on a reform process which led to the scraping of most of the non-pedagogical allowances Government used to pay to students. Students had fiercely resisted the loss of their allowances and two students had been shot dead by Police during the scuffles at the Freedom Square. One is tempted to believe that Professor Kajubi was inadvertently a victim of a policy he had authored as chairman of the Education Review Commission.

The Education Review Commission of 1987 recommended in its report to Government that, given the dwindling financial resources going to the higher education sector, the Government should concentrate on meeting only instructional costs. Non-instructional costs should be borne by the students. In the White Paper on the Kajubi Commission report, Government accepted this recommendation. Kajubi's Commission wrote the report when he was Principal of the Institute of Teacher Education at Kyambogo. By the time he came back to Makerere, Government had started administering the bitter pill. This apparently seemed to have been the genesis of Professor Kajubi's problems. Again, lack of proper coordination between the Ministers of Education and Internal Affairs on one hand, and the Office of the Vice Chancellor on the other, compounded the confusion in a highly charged atmosphere. Students insisted on going on strike to protest the new Government policy. Moreover, students had argued that theirs was a non-violent strike, therefore the Police action amounted to provocation. Since most students did not know who gave the Police the order to shoot, they strongly believed it was the Vice Chancellor.

According to them, the blood of their dead colleagues was now on the hands of the Vice Chancellor and no amount of explanation would convince them otherwise. The incident, dubbed "Black Monday", turned into an annual commemorative event at which students lit bonfires in the Freedom Square and sang anti-Mushega and anti-Kajubi songs. Unfortunately, this unfortunate

incident was over-exploited by some students. Those who had an axe to grind or who were opposed to the NRM used the occasion to hit at the Government which had claimed to have abolished all forms extra-judicial killings and was championing human rights and the rule of law. In fact, some students were pressing hard to erect a memorial to the two dead students in front of the Main Hall. However, subsequent Guild Presidents after Charles Rwomushana vetoed the idea.

Over time, the situation cooled down and the incident lost most of its initial steam. Nevertheless, it left the image of the Vice Chancellor badly dented. It not only soured the relationship between him and the Minister of Education, it eroded his popularity amongst the students and led to the second premature closure of the institution, the first closure having taken place in 1952, when Abu Mayanja led the first strike at Makerere. Students were sent home in December 1990, a week before the first term was due to end.

As someone once put it, Professor Kajubi's second term in office as Makerere's seventh Vice Chancellor was a baptism of fire. We are often told by management experts that when you take on the job of a manager, you inherit both the assets and the liabilities; Professor Kajubi's case was a classic example. What was supposed to be Government's liability become Professor Kajubi's inheritance and, subsequently, his burden. It also came as a rude reminder that being Makerere's Vice Chancellor was still very much a risky business. In fact, Professor Kajubi was lucky to have survived this ugly episode unharmed. However, as a result of this protracted strike, Government realised the magnitude of the crisis the university had been plunged into. It was a pointer to a far more serious problem than previously thought. In a search for the cause and effect, and hence a lasting solution to Makerere's fundamental problem, in 1991 the Chancellor, President Museveni, sent a Visitation Team to the university to probe all problems it was facing and recommend corrective action. Gerald Sendaula, who later became the Minister of a combined Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, chaired the Visitation Committee.

Although Professor Kajubi confessed that, during his second term as Vice Chancellor, he failed to establish a good rapport with staff, he somehow managed to get along with them without much trouble. More staff strikes were to come later but not in his time. In this respect, he was successful. In fact, apart from the student unrest, the rest of his second term was relatively trouble free.

Professor Kajubi not only oversaw the construction and completion of the JICA building, he also oversaw the final phase of the EU-funded rehabilitation of the Faculties of Science and Medicine, as well as the final phase of USAID-funded Manpower for Agricultural Development (MFAD) project in the Faculty of Agriculture and Forestry. To his credit, he also attracted more donors to the university.

By all accounts, the successful re-introduction of the private students' scheme, which began in the 1970 but was abolished by the UPC Government in the 1980s, was one of his notable achievements. When it was introduced in the 1970s, a privately sponsored student paid fees for one year. In the subsequent years, Government picked up the bill – that is to say the private students' scheme was for one year after which the Government took over the sponsorship. In the new scheme however, the student paid for the entire duration of the course. Initially, privately-sponsored students were admitted over and above the 2,000 students Government used to sponsor per year. As we shall see in more details later, the privately-sponsored students' scheme started modestly in the 1992/93 academic year in a few faculties, on experimental basis. However, the scheme proved an instant success. I recall Garshom Eyoku, at one of the Senate meetings, praising the scheme and pointing out how, with the little money it had earned from the few fee-paying students that year, the Faculty of Social Sciences had repaired its water closets which, for many years had been unusable.

The evening classes and external degree programmes were another important innovation introduced during Professor Kajubi's time. The first evening programme started in the Faculty of Law in the 1992/93 academic year, although the Faculty of Commerce kept claiming credit for pioneering the idea. Some say the reason for starting these programmes and for re-introducing the private students' scheme was, at least in part, MUSA's frustration with a Government that could not deliver on its promises. It seemed the battle for a living wage was not producing results, therefore, it was high time alternatives were explored.

I guess also the lawyers were tired of moonlighting outside to make ends meet. They wanted to moonlight in their own backyard, so to speak. The evening programmes targeted working people who had missed out on university education and those who already had degrees in other disciplines, but wanted a Law qualification. The lectures used to start at five in the evening and would go on up till eight o'clock and beyond. Members of staff teaching on the evening programme were teaching in their spare time to compensate for the short teaching time. An extra year was added to the evening programme; so whereas the regular LLB degree was three years, the evening LLB was four. In a relatively short time, the programme proved very popular with the students. Power outages would have frustrated the evening programmes, but given the students' volatile nature, Professor Kajubi managed to convince the Ministry of Energy and the Uganda Electricity Board (UEB) to maintain a constant power supply to the university. UEB agreed to give the university its own line directly from the Mulago sub-station. With a power line of its own, the university was assured of constant uninterrupted power.

The Centre for Continuing Education, which had been transformed into the Institute of Adult and Continuing Education (IACE), was next with the introduction of two external degree programmes; the Bachelor of Education

(BEEd), which was designed along the lines of the ITEK BEEd programme. I recall, as Principal of ITEK, attending a series of meetings at Makerere at which the new degree structure was discussed at length. Like the ITEK BEEd, the IACE BEEd was also targeting upgrading teachers, so the practicum was not a requirement. The second external degree programme was the Bachelor of Commerce, BCom (External), which targeted mainly holders of the Uganda Diploma in Business Studies (UDBS), or other equivalent qualifications. Students on these programmes were expected to study at home, using study materials provided by the institute. The Commonwealth of Learning, based in Vancouver, Canada assisted the institute with some of the learning materials which were essential to launch the two programmes. Other materials were sourced from the University of Nairobi; the rest had to be written. Since the IACE did not have a teaching staff of its own, the programmes had to be run in collaboration with the School of Education and the Faculty of Commerce respectively.

Like the evening LLB, an extra year was added to both programmes. Again, as we shall see later, this arrangement presented the University Administration with some serious problems which took time to sort out. The three new and totally private programmes, to which no Government-sponsored students were admitted, marked another turning point in the university's history. Suddenly, Makerere University had become accessible to many more Ugandans who, under the old rigid admission system, stood no chance ever of being educated there, albeit at a personal cost. Fair enough, the Faculty of Commerce had designed an evening Diploma course, which was supposed to have started in the 1992/93 academic year, but for some reason it failed to take off. Instead, the faculty replaced it with a new three-year degree – the Bachelor of Business Administration (BBA) – which was also an evening programme, the second degree to be offered by the faculty since it was established in 1969 as a department in the Faculty of Social Sciences, and later as a full-fledged faculty in 1980. The BBA took off in the 1993/94 academic year.

Ever since modern medical care services were introduced in Uganda, the nursing profession had been regarded as a non-degree discipline and, as such, it had no place at the university. In Uganda, nurses were only seen as auxiliaries to Physicians and Surgeons. But all that changed when in the 1993/94 academic year, Makerere University launched the first ever four-year Bachelor of Science degree programme in Nursing. Planning for the new degree took more than three years, culminating in the creation of a Department of Nursing in the Faculty of Medicine. Assistance to the new department came from the Bolton Pyne School of Nursing of the Case Western University in Cleveland, Ohio. They not only provided training opportunities for would-be lecturers who had to upgrade their qualifications from Diploma to a Masters degree in Nursing, but also sent teams of professors to help with the teaching. In fact, the Dean of Nursing at Case

Western was a regular visitor to the department in its formative years. Additional assistance was solicited from McMaster University at Hamilton, Ontario, Canada; the University of Liverpool in the UK where some of the first members of staff of the department studied for their Masters degrees, as well as the Rockefeller Foundation. And as we shall see later, this was one of the departments that Rockefeller Foundation supported with an initial cheque of US\$90, 000, to get it off the ground. The idea of a graduate nurse in Uganda was new and indeed revolutionary, and perhaps not well understood. I have a feeling that at the time we launched the Degree in Nursing, the country was not yet ready for graduate nurses and this is likely to go on for some time. My gut feeling is based on the levels within the health service at which the graduate nurses are so far deployed by the Ministry of Public Service. They were still seen as just any other nurses. It required additional work to get the message across that graduate nurses had a lot more to offer than the non-graduate nurses and midwives. We shall see more about the BSc Nursing programme later.

Other equally important programmes initiated in Professor Kajubi's time included the introduction of the Master of Business Administration in the Faculty of Commerce, the first post-graduate programme ever in the Faculty of Commerce; the Master of Physical Planning in the Faculty of Technology with technical and financial support from German Technical Cooperation Agency, GTZ; the operationalisation of the Department of Women and Gender Studies with support from the Swedish Research Agency (SAREC) before it became part of the Swedish International Development Agency(Sida). By the time Professor Kajubi left Makerere, negotiations with the Rockefeller Foundation to allow Makerere University participate in the Public Health Schools without Walls (PHSW) programme had just begun. He was also responsible for Makerere's participation in the NUFU-supported collaborative programme, which linked several Norwegian universities with Makerere.

Professor Kajubi was a man who never shied away from bold and sometimes controversial decisions. In 1992, he supported a new but somewhat controversial undergraduate admission scheme – the Biological Children Admission Scheme. The intention was to assist the biological children of members of staff whose Advanced Level grades were not strong enough for them to enter the university under the open, but fiercely competitive admission scheme. In its original design, the scheme was open-ended, allowing children of staff to be admitted to a course of their choice. In other words, there was no restriction on the quality of the child's grades vis-à-vis the course of first choice. The scheme seems to have arisen out of the arguments advanced by some members of staff. The proponents of the scheme were mainly those that were complaining that they were teaching other peoples' children under very difficult conditions when theirs had been left out. It was as if they were justifying the old adage which says "man eateth where he worketh".

On the other hand, the opponents of the scheme were quick to point out that the scheme amounted to backdoor admissions; arguing that, out there, there were many equally deserving students, particularly from rural schools who could not gain admission to the university on exactly the same grounds of low grades. Now, here was the university giving preferential treatment to children of people who are well educated and reasonably better off than the rural folks. Unlike rural parents, Makerere University members of staff were in a far better economic position, at least in relative terms, and many could afford to educate their children at good secondary schools. The fact that their children scored poor grades was a clear indication that they were academically weak and therefore, did not merit preferential treatment. This school of thought believed that the Biological Child Scheme was unfair, making it easy for mediocre students to gain entrance to the university. To them, the university seemed to be practising double standards when everyone out there knew that, at Makerere University, admission was strictly on merit; why dilute a time tested and trusted system? However, when all was said and done, the proponents of the scheme carried the day. The case had been made for the University Council to approve the scheme, which commenced in the 1992/93 academic year.

In spite of the scheme being believed to be a done deal, the complaints persisted and eventually went beyond the confines of the university, and soon drew the attention of the Minister of Education, Mr Amanywa Mushega. Contrary to the anticipation of everyone at Makerere, the Minister allowed it to continue, but in a modified form. However, the Minister was concerned that leaving such a sensitive admission scheme open-ended would invite unending criticism and, perhaps, rightly so. He advised that students under this scheme should not be admitted to professional courses such as Law or Medicine. The scheme had to be restricted to general courses like BA or BSc and other courses of similar nature.

Secondly, for a child of a member of staff to qualify for admission under this scheme, his or her "A" Level scores had to be not less than six points below the cut off point for the course applied for. The Minister's modification took much of the sting out of the controversy. I am tempted to believe that the Minister chose not to abolish the scheme outright because the bitter battles with MUASA and the university students were still fresh in his mind. He therefore, saw it as some kind of motivation for the disgruntled staff. In fact, by the time I left in 2004, the scheme was still in existence and was seen as one of Professor Kajubi's lasting legacies at Makerere. It was interesting to note that, in 1997, one of the best students in Medicine – a female – was actually admitted under the Biological Child Scheme, beating those who had come in under the merit-based admission scheme.

Perhaps those students were, after all, not as academically dull as the anti-scheme lobbyists had perceived them to be. It can also be argued that, in a way, this female student's outstanding achievement, if not seen as an isolated case,

vindicated those who had always maintained that the “A” level grades were more of an admission instrument the university had to use to arrive at the required number of students it could admit per course each year, than a measure of academic competence.

Strategic planning was a relatively new management tool in most universities. It was considered more of a corporate tool. But when African universities started struggling for financial survival, they realised that they needed to run their affairs in a business-like manner and therefore, a strategic plan was a useful management tool for that purpose. However, Makerere was slow to adapt to this new way of planning; so, for a long time, it operated without a plan of any kind. The pressure to develop a strategic plan came from its donors who were becoming increasingly reluctant to give money to a university which did not have such a vital document. The donors wanted to know whether what the university was asking them to fund was among its top priorities, and the only way they could decipher the university’s priorities was from its strategic plan. The donors also wanted to see Makerere develop a clear and well-articulated vision and mission.

Professor Kajubi heeded the advice and initiated the process of developing the first strategic plan for the university. He did not hire professional planners; instead, he chose to rely on in-house expertise to develop a home-grown plan. On the advice of the Vice Chancellor, the University Council under the chairmanship of one of Uganda’s veteran political figures, Mr Mathias Ngobi, set up a Task Force chaired by Professor Livingstone Luboobi of the Department of Mathematics, to draft the university’s first ever five-year strategic plan. Although not written by professional planners, Luboobi’s draft marked the beginning of strategic planning at Makerere.

Professor Kajubi did not stay long enough to put his plan into action. Nevertheless, he laid the foundations on which his successors had to build. No doubt, Professor Kajubi was a high achiever but also a man dogged by several misfortunes. His first term as Vice Chancellor came to an abrupt end in 1979, hardly two years after he was appointed. His second term also came to a sudden end, only three years after his re-appointment. However, within those relatively short times, he managed to introduce so many innovations and transformations at Makerere, an institution which had earned an unenviable reputation of a very conservative university. Yet, despite these impressive achievements to his credit, he was never given the chance to consolidate them. His problems seem to have begun with the students’ protests of 1990. Perhaps, he could have gotten away with most of his problems but the controversial giving away of the university’s land in Kantanga Valley, which the university appeared to have signed away to dubious developers who had claimed to be the *bona fide* owners, was the last straw that broke the camel’s back.

The piece of land in question, which is about 30 acres in size, lies between Makerere and Mulago hills. Most of it is a water-logged swamp, but it is also home

to many Wandegeya slum dwellers. In the past, the university's Games Union rugby fields were located there but constant flooding and rampant insecurity made the fields unusable. In fact, in the 1970s and most of the 80s, Katanga Valley was a serious security risk to passers-by, mostly medical students who were using it as a shortcut to Mulago. A paved footpath had been built through the valley when John Butime was Guild President in the late 60s. Later, the students named it after another firebrand Guild President, Olara Otunu, who challenged Amin's Minister of Education, Brigadier Barnabas Kili, to explain his Government's poor human rights record and other excesses and abuses. Besides insecurity, neglect and lack of regular maintenance made the path totally impassable.

In a funny turn of events, Professor Kajubi had been approached by a group of developers who wanted to construct a secondary school in the north-eastern corner of the Katanga land overlooking the new Mulago Hospital. The investors claimed to have bought a plot there from a family that claimed to own the valley, nicknamed Katanga Valley. According to their story, the family had acquired the land in 1922. However, before they went ahead to develop their plot, they wanted to be sure Makerere University had no claim to that land. The Vice Chancellor instructed the University Legal Officer to check out the records at the Land Office. Nothing turned up after a search in the Land Registry. There was no record to show that Makerere University ever owned the Katanga Valley land. The title deeds found on the file belonged to the family that had sold the plot to the school developers and everything looked perfectly legal and genuine. Case closed, or so the Vice Chancellor thought. The developers were given a go-ahead to implement their project on their plot. What was not known at the time of the search in the Land Office was that the original title deed in the names of Makerere College had been destroyed and replaced with a fake one.

Apparently, Professor Kajubi had no way of knowing that the title deed in the Land Office had been tampered with. He was also unaware that copies of the original title deed had survived the looting and destruction of the 1978-79 liberation war and subsequent corruption in the Land Office. Neither did the officials in the Land Office who were involved in its disappearance know that copies of genuine title deed existed elsewhere. When the Governor, at the time, gave this piece of land to Makerere College in 1943, which was later confirmed by Governor Sir Andrew Benjamin Cohen in the 1950s, copies of the title deed were kept in the vaults of former Glindleys Bank on Kampala Road and in the Government's Cartographic Office at Entebbe. When some people started raising concern about the suspicious circumstances under which the school developers had acquired what was supposed to be Makerere's land, the then University Secretary, Reverend David Sentongo, commissioned the Head of Surveying in the Faculty of Technology, Nassani Batungi, to investigate and establish the facts about the ownership of the land in Katanga Valley.

After his investigations, which included a search at the Government Cartographic Office at Entebbe, Batungi wrote a four-page report in which he alerted the University Administration that the developers who had started constructing buildings on the land in Katanga Valley, had acquired the plots illegally. According to Batungi's findings, indeed the land belonged to Makerere University.

During the colonial era and soon after independence, it was common practice for institutions like Makerere College to keep very important documents in bank vaults. In the 1950s, Glindleys Bank was one of the college's bankers. It was therefore, decided that a check be made at the bank. When the bank's archives were opened, Makerere College's title deed for the Katanga Valley land was there, intact. This must have come as shocking news to the Vice Chancellor.

Soon, the story of the discovery of the original land title leaked to the press. On May 14, 1993 the *New Vision* flashed it as the lead story on the front page. The story, as the paper reported it, portrayed the Vice Chancellor as an accomplice in the scam. Unfortunately, most people believed the *New Vision* story instead of Professor Kajubi's version of the events. It seemed the Minister of Education was among those who chose not to believe the Vice Chancellor's version of the story. Moreover, Professor Kajubi had earlier queried the wisdom behind the appointment of a person who had been earning thousands of dollars a month on a World Bank job to the position of Academic Registrar, a job which carried a monthly pay cheque of less than US\$300. Apparently, the Vice Chancellor's seemingly innocent query had not gone down well with the Minister. The Minister seemed to have felt slighted by the Vice Chancellor who was questioning the judgement of the Appointments Board and his own. I was informed that the Minister made it a point to comment on Professor Kajubi's action during a speech he delivered at the farewell party for Bernard Onyango and other retiring university officials, which the new Academic Registrar attended. Any rapport that existed between the two men was fast disappearing. From then on, Professor Kajubi's fate seemed to be sealed. As far as the Minister was concerned, this was a point of no return. Kajubi had to go. From then on, the "mischievous" Vice Chancellor was simply marking time. The search for his replacement was on. As someone who had been at Makerere for a long time commented, what happened to Professor Kajubi was reminiscent of the kind of relationship Yusuf Lule had with Dr Luyimbaazi Zaake.