

# REBELS OF JURISPRUDENCE



## LEGAL HALL OF FAME “UGANDA’S LEGAL GENERALS”

**“Salus Populi Suprema Lex esto”**

*(The welfare of the people should be the supreme law)*

**Proverbs 3:327**

*“Do not withhold good from  
those to whom its due”*

**ISAAC CHRISTOPHER LUBOGO**

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# Rebels of Jurisprudence

*Legal Persons Who Have Greatly Over The Years Influenced And Had A Positive Impact On Ugandan Society In Promoting The Dispensation Of Justice*

SALUS POPULI SUPREMA LEX ESTO

**(The welfare of the people should be the supreme law)**

“

*“Do not withhold good from those to whom it’s due”*

Proverbs. 3: 27

# **Rebels of Jurisprudence**

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# Introduction

In this book we are analyzing some of the foremost authorities of legal jurisprudence who have described their myriad of experiences covering a spectrum of subject in a frighteningly inimitable style, probably because they are and were self-taught and talented and looked up to no one to shape their writing style. Interestingly, even those great jurists like Lord Denning, Lord Atkins, Justice Oliver Weddell Holmes, Allan Dershowitz, Jonnie Cochran, John Marshall (longest serving Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in history) who have gifted the world with the greatest legal principles ever experienced.

If you consider yourself a lawyer who is unafraid of change, a conscience objector who thrives in legal realism and embraces new novel tech solutions, and enjoys thinking outside the box, you just might be a Legal Rebel.

For this season [we] have chosen to highlight judges, lawyers and legal professionals who have helped bring about changes to the judicial system,” according to us “Through their work, they’ve established the blueprint for courts to better serve the general public with or without a pandemic.

Below is a list of some Legal Rebels along with the reasons they were selected. Perhaps you can put some of their outside-the-box thinking to use in your life.

In the flux of life any lawyer is required to think critically on different nuances of the society not within the box but outside it. But you’ll agree with me that lawyers that have come out to think outside the box have been dishonored by some members of the legal fraternity terming them as Rebels. Like many humans believe, we are in a changing society and being conservative is sometimes what many applaud to. However, amidst of the threats, fear and persecution some personnel have come out boldly to criticize, evaluate and juxtapose loopholes, immorality, weaknesses in our legal system thereby opening eyes to a new Generation of

litigants thinking outside the box hence contributing to the growth of jurisprudence.

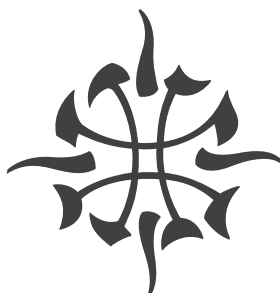
In this great book of all times, which is a collection of great icons that I have no doubt contributed inarguably to the development of our Jurisprudence, despite of the fact that some of them untimely met their kismet, they are so memorable and so vibrant. It is an appreciation to some of the legal and non-legal personalities that have given their all to serve the common people. The non-legal personalities have been vibrant in advocating for the rule of law and respect of human rights, it is by no means that we qualified them to be legal generals. Like Margaret Mead put it forward that “Never believe that *a* few caring people *can't change* the world. For, indeed, that's all who ever *have*.”

Such individuals have defined the odds, they have given the legal system in Uganda definition, because of their research, unexceptional opinions and critical thinking, Uganda's Jurisprudence has developed at a very high speed. A definition is nothing else but an explication of the meaning of a word, by words whose meaning is already known. To their definition of the magnificent work they did one cannot stretch to it extensively. Although this book captures significant Ugandan Icons but works of Cheikh Anta Dioup PhD cannot be forgotten, he was rejected and dismissed by the PhD jury at the famous university of Paris, just because his Doctoral thesis argued that Egyptian civilization was black. The academic world at the time was not willing to accept the truth uncovered by the student. His work is criticized as revisionist. His critics and foes did everything possible to kill his career. They said” He should not become a teacher; he should not have contact with students from African universities. Aime Cesaire, a friend then struggled to find him a publisher. The rejected dissertation comes out in 1954 in form of a book. The book meets historical successes. The young African intellectual was then invited in debates and begins to animate conferences. In 1960, the University of Paris was forced to accept his Thesis. He finally obtained his PhD with honorable mention.

Let PhD students pick lessons from that exposition. May we reflect on this and reinvigorate our intellectual animations.

Mudimbe is another interesting African novelist who got a scholarship to the white man's land to study theology, while there he is taught to despise his culture, tradition and his people. On his return he was told by the Catholic white priest that he is not good enough to be a priest because he is an African priest, he was rejected by fellow Africans because he has for long abused them. He then decided to join Marxist scholars as his last resort. While there he was also rejected because of his new Christian name. He hopelessly hovers on caught up between tides. This is the origin of his popular book titled "Between Tides" We as scholars with many names (Isaac, Christopher, Lubogo) need to begin thinking about our identity question seriously than ever before.

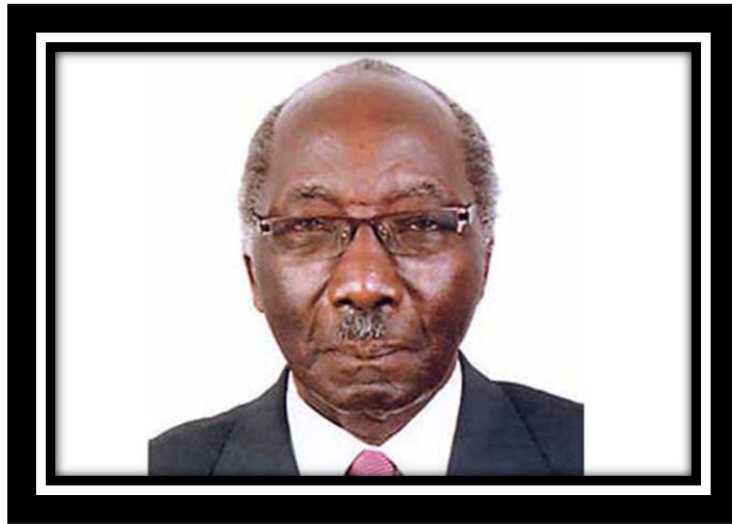
We ought never to despair of their genius, but rather to hope and uphold their impact, that, in time, it may produce a system of a powerful jurisprudence and a strong legal system of this country.



ISAAC CHRISTOPHER LUBOGO

# Rebels of Jurisprudence

# Prof. Joseph Kakooza.



When one is asked the top fathers of the law in Uganda, the Legal Dons, you cannot mention any other person without mentioning Professor Joseph Kakooza. His attributes in founding Law Schools in Uganda is unexceptional. He was among the founders of the first Ugandan Law School in the early 70s, starting the Law Faculty at Makerere University, he was the first Dean of Makerere University, Kakooza held the position of dean twice, until 1999. He was a member of the Honourable Society of the Inner Temple, London and an Advocate, of the High Court of Uganda and all subordinate courts. He was also a founder and Dean of Nkumba University School of Law which position he retired from in his last days.

He was reputed for his vast and valuable experience, having been a Law Professor at Makerere University and University of Dar-es-salaam in Tanzania, a Judge of the High Court of Uganda, a member of the East African Community Arbitration Tribunal and the president of the Industrial Court of Uganda, chairperson of the Uganda Law Reform Commission.

In 2000, he became acting chairperson of the Uganda Law Reform Commission and was confirmed in this position two years later.

Recently in 2021, the Nkumba University Law Society organized a day to commemorate the work he laid on their school. There is also a proposal for building a Professor Joseph Kakooza Monument at Nkumba University Law School. In **Nemezio Ayiia Pet Vs. Sabina Onzia Ayiia (Divorce Petition No. 8 of 1973) (un reported)** he gave a locus classicus that before all dowry is paid, a man and a woman cohabiting can be regarded as husband and wife but (the customary) marriage is not valid until all dowry is paid.

He made several attributes to our laws while serving as The Uganda Law Reform Commission (*ULRC*) *chairperson*, among the laws he influenced included the HIV bill which later become law. His desire to become a judge right from the young age made him make fundamental changes to our laws and jurisprudence.

Several students have written articles, poems among others to show respect to the ground work of the late professor. Looking at the country side, Prof. Joseph Kakooza, was a man of many firsts. He was the first Ugandan to attend Harvard Law School in 1967, the first dean of the Makerere Faculty of Law, and the first professor of law in Uganda.

# Prof. J. Oloka-Onyango



*L.L.B (Hons.), (Mak), LL.M, SJD (Harvard), Dip. L.P (LDC)*

## **Professor of Law**

J. Oloka-Onyango is a Professor of Law and a former Director of the Human Rights & Peace Centre (HURIPEC) from 2004 until 2012, and a Special Rapporteur on Globalization and Human Rights of the United Nations Sub-Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights.

Prof. Oloka-Onyango has written extensively on Human Rights, Constitutional Law and Sexual and Gender Based Violence which works have impacted a lot to our jurisprudence and have been used as a reference by students in various academia.

He has always been key to look at the format of procedure rather than intent. This was seen in his case of *Oloka-Onyango & 9 Others v. Attorney General*<sup>1</sup>. In this case, Uganda Petitioners sued, claiming the Speaker of Parliament allowed a vote to pass Anti-Homosexuality Act (“AHA”) of 2014 without the mandated quorum (alternatively “Coram”), which requires the presences of one-third of all voting Members of Parliament. Petitioners also claimed the AHA was unconstitutional because it violated LGBTQ people’s right to privacy and freedom from cruel, inhuman, and degrading punishment. The Court held that the Petitioners demonstrated that the vote proceeded without the necessary quorum, which meant Petitioners prevailed without the Court reaching the issues regarding the substance of the AHA.

### **Brief facts of the case**

When the Act was put to a vote by the Parliament in December 2013, members of Parliament, most notably the Prime Minister, twice asserted that there was not a quorum present, as required under the Uganda Constitution. The Speaker of Parliament, who is responsible for determining whether a quorum exists, did not follow the required procedures for determining whether a quorum was present and put the Act to a vote, whereby the Act was passed by the members of Parliament present.

The Petitioners sued the government, claiming that a quorum did not exist at the time the Act was voted on, and that the enactment of the Act without quorum was in contravention of Articles 2(1) and (2), 88 and 94(1) of the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda and Rule 23 of the Parliamentary Rules of Procedure. Further, the substantive provisions of the Act were impugned for violating legal principles and constitutionally guaranteed rights, such grounds included By criminalizing consensual same-sex/gender sexual activity among adults in private,

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<sup>1</sup> [2014] UGCC 14, Constitutional Petition No. 8 of 2014



it contravened the right to equality before the law, freedom from discrimination and the right to privacy;

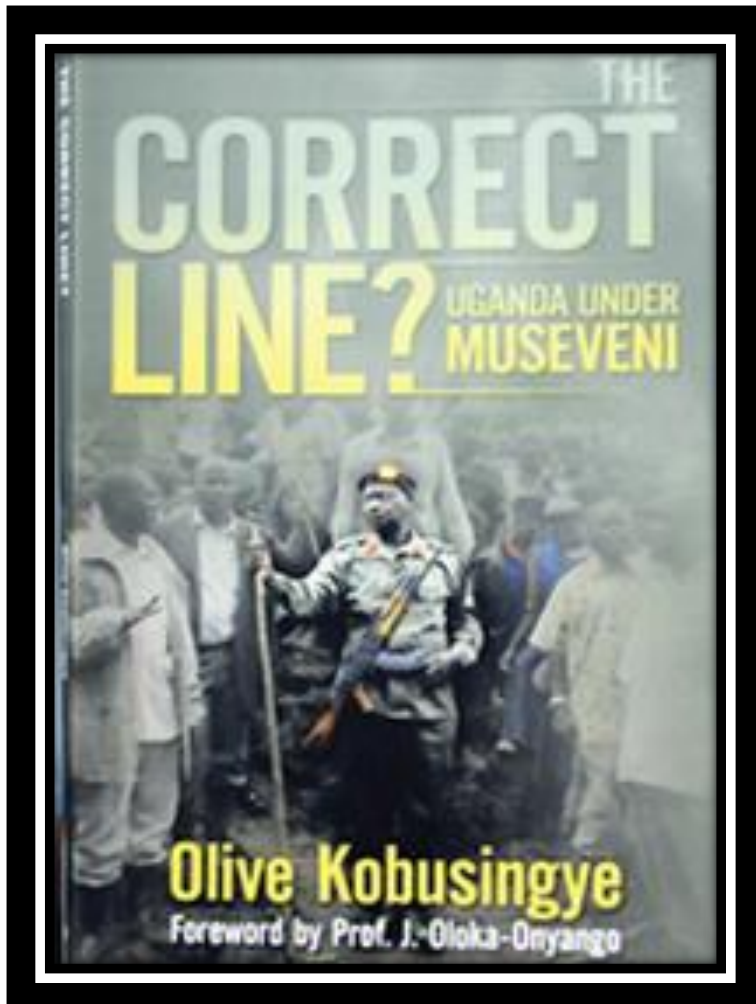
- By criminalising consensual touching by persons of the same-sex, it created an offence that was overly broad;
- By imposing a maximum life imprisonment sentence, it created disproportionate punishment in contravention of the right to equality, and freedom from cruel, inhuman and degrading punishment;
- By criminalizing consensual same-sex/gender activity among adults in which one is living with HIV or has a disability, it contravened the right to freedom from discrimination and the right to dignity;

### **Court's Analysis**

The Court affirmed the provisions of the Constitution regarding the procedure of enacting laws in the legislative assembly, including Article 79 of the Constitution, which empowered Parliament to make laws, and Article 88, which deals with quorum prescribed by the rules of procedure under Article 94 of the Constitution. According to Rule 23 of the Parliamentary Rules of Procedure, the Speaker of Parliament is supposed to ascertain whether the members of Parliament form a quorum before calling for a Bill to be voted upon. The petitioners argued that when some members of Parliament raised the issue of quorum, the Speaker had not followed procedure to ascertain the quorum. The respondents did not rebut this, but asked the Petitioners to prove the absence of quorum. The Court's opinion was that the Petitioners had alleged a fact which the respondents did not deny and it was therefore presumed that they accepted the fact. Therefore, when the Petitioners alleged that when some members of Parliament had raised the issue of quorum, the Speaker failed to follow procedure to ascertain quorum, and this was not denied by the respondents, then the Petitioners had proved their case. The Court held that therefore the Speaker had acted illegally. Failure to obey the law rendered the whole process a nullity, so the Act was invalid.

In a 2013 video clip of Prof. Joe Oloka-Onyango speaking about constitutionalism in Uganda. He was so much perturbed by the continued defilement of Uganda's constitution. With the foresight of a prophet, he predicted the constitution will be amended to remove age limits as well.

He has written a number of argumentative books which have empowered the legal jurisprudence, however some of the works he has been involved in were banned for example the book of *The Correct line?* was also banned.



Olive Kobusingye, a Ugandan surgeon and injury epidemiologist, is the author of the book, *The Correct Line? Uganda under Museveni*.

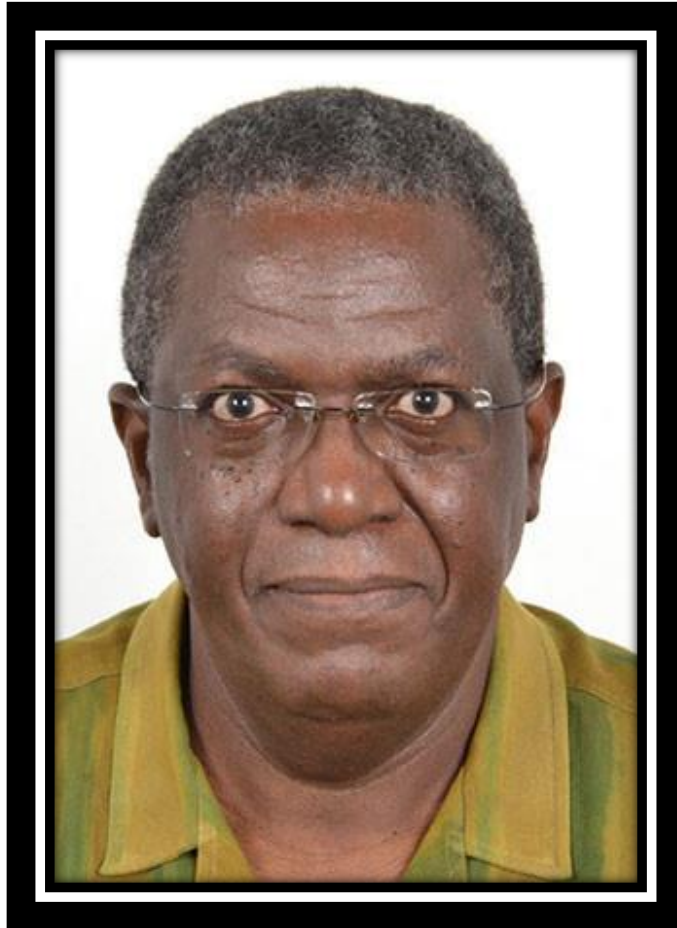
It largely chronicles President Museveni's failed promises since he took power in 1986. Ugandan authorities last week seized copies of the book at Entebbe International Airport.

On May 9, 2016, Prof Oloka-Onyango and 8 other law dons from Makerere University School of Law successfully filed an application before the Supreme Court of Uganda for leave to intervene in Uganda's 2017 Presidential election petition, *Amama Mbabazi v. Yoweri Museveni & the Electoral Commission*, as *Amici Curiae*. This became the first time in Ugandan electoral history that the Supreme Court heard and granted an application for such leave. The nine law dons were; Oloka-Onyango, Sylvia Tamale, Christopher Mbazira, Ronald Naluwairo, Rose Nakayi, Busingye Kabumba, Daniel Ruhwheza, Kakungulu Mayambala and Daniel Ngabirano. As part of their submission, the law dons recommended to the Court the use of structural interdicts or supervisory injunctions to deal with the persistent disregard of its recommendations by the Electoral Commission and the State in matters of the electoral process. In its ruling, the Court stated that;

"We are satisfied that the applicants have proven record in the area of Human Rights, Constitutionalism and Good Governance. They are highly experienced and widely researched legal scholars in these and related matters as evidenced by the attached *curricula vitae*."

Such perfect attributes including several works he has published makes him stand out extraordinary.

# Prof. David J. Bakibinga



Professor David Bakibinga holds a Bachelor of Laws from Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda in 1975. He also has a Master of Arts in Business Law, Council for National Academic Awards (London), 1978. Doctor of Philosophy in Laws, University London, 1981. Professor Bakibinga has taught Legal System, Law of Contract, Company Law, Equity & Trusts, Commercial Law, Insurance Law and partnership law to Undergraduate law students, Legal Aspects of Business to MBA students at the Eastern & Southern African Management Institute (ESAMI), Revenue Law & Taxation, Intellectual Property Law and Law of International Trade to LL.M students. He has also supervised over 30 graduate students in the areas, *inter alia*, of corporate governance, corporate rescue, corporate taxation, local government taxation and rates, acquisition and mergers, patents, double

taxation, regional integration and harmonization of tax laws, value added tax, electronic transactions law, money laundering, microfinance, patenting of GMOs. Professor Bakibinga is the author of 17 books including *Nigerian Law of Partnership*, *Law of Trusts in Nigeria*, *Company Law in Uganda*, *Law of Contract in Uganda*, *Revenue Law in Uganda*, *Equity and Trusts in Uganda*, *Partnership Law in Uganda*, *Commercial Law in a Liberalised Economy: The Case of Uganda*, *Intellectual Property Law in East Africa*, *Property and Trust Law in Uganda*, *Uganda: Transport Law*, *Business Law: Study Law Pack 4*, *Company Law in East Africa* and numerous scholarly articles. Professor Bakibinga is former Head, Department of Law, University of Ilorin, Nigeria, Dean of Law at Ogun State University, Nigeria and Makerere University, respectively, and also previously served as Director, School of Graduate Studies (now Directorate of Research and Graduate Training (DRGT) and Deputy Vice Chancellor, Makerere University.

He is one of the profound legal writers contributing to the jurisprudence of the country. So many students have benefited from his great books full of research and guiding principles for example his book on principles of contract law in Uganda is a super guide to many students. Indeed, He is a legal General.

# Prof. Hon. Justice George W. Kanyeihamba



George W. Kanyeihamba is a Ugandan author, a retired supreme court Judge, former cabinet minister, member of parliament and was a chair of the Legal Committee of the Constituent Assembly that made the 1995 Constitution. He was appointed a member of the Supreme Court of Uganda in 1997 and retired in November 2009. Miraculously, Kanyeihamba rose from obscurity to the world of prominence despite of the fact that he had a very humble childhood background.

Prof. Kanyeihamba was among the three Supreme Court justices who **ruled that the election of President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni was fraudulent enough to be nullified**. He has since lost his post as judge of the African court of justice and to political commentators his stand in that election petition made him lose his job.

He criticized the government of Uganda the time armed men invaded The High Court Premises to re-arrest treason suspects that had been released on bail by the court.

And following the event, The Constitutional Court ruled that the invasion of the court premises was unconstitutional. This was a famous case of James Katabaazi which even went to the East African Court of Justice and re-affirmed that such act also violated the East African Treaty under the principles of rule of law member states agreed upon.

Professor Kanyeihamba was the only Judge with a PhD -in the country at the time of his retirement, admired by many for his intellectual strength. This influenced many judges to go back and attain such qualifications.

In the last three decades, he has been a key protagonist in the metamorphosis that has seen Uganda emerge from tyranny and lawlessness to the present constitutional and political order. In his constitutional book, he has given students and readers a clear picture of what entailed in the early days of Uganda which would have been lost in a nick of time had he not picked a pen to write about it.

Looking at his humble background, Prof. George Kanyeihamba was born in 1939, to Zakaliya Bafwokorora and Malyamu, his name was shortened to Barorora.

He's the last born to a family of eleven children. He went to Hamurwa Church School, Prof. Kayeihamba joined Nyaruhanga Anglican Primary School, then Kigezi High School and later Busoga College Mwiri. After he was immediately admitted to Makerere University to study for a Bachelor of Arts degree in History because he had performed extremely better.

Nevertheless, Kanyeihamba had always inclined Law, even though no course was being taught at the university level in Uganda at the time.

Prof. Kayeihamba a retired judge was sued by Supreme Court Judge Dr Ester Kisakye for defamation. The suit, filed before the Civil Division of High Court was based on the contents of a letter contained in Kanyeihamba's book titled; "IN THE NAME OF GOD TRUTH AND JUSTICE" in February 2020.

The book reportedly contained a defamatory letter authored by the retired judge who was reportedly complaining about Dr Kisakye's academic qualifications, judicial conduct and corruption.

The letter, to the then Chief Justice Bart Katureebe, also indicated that Kisakye was always dissenting judgments that would affect the Executive arm of government.

Prof Kanyeihamba once dragged a psychiatrist to court for diagnosing him with dementia, this was a first instance in our country seeing a patient suing a medical personnel in confidence that the psychiatrist was wrong.

The medical report that indicated Kanyeihamba was "suffering from dementia" authored by Professor Ssegane Musisi, a senior consultant psychiatrist, aided by Dr Paul Bangirana of Nakasero hospital which was later confirmed untrue.

He has written a number of books which have impacted a lot to Uganda's Jurisprudence among which include his most used book in constitutional History and Politics.

Some of the books Kanyeihamba has written include the following;

- The blessing and joy of being who you are
- Kanyeihamba's commentaries on law, politics and governance
- Case book on lawyers, and ethics, professional fees and charges
- Constitutional and political history of Uganda
- Reflections on the Muslim
- Evolution of constitutional
- Kanyeihamba the women
- Urban planning law in East Africa (progress in planning)
- Reflections on the Muslim leadership questions in Uganda
- Constitutional law and government in Uganda



Looking at the above information and other circumstances relevant he deserves a huge Salute, a true Legal General.

# Prof. Dr. Sylvia Tamale



Professor Sylvia Tamale graduated with a Bachelor of Laws with honors from Makerere University, her Master of Laws from Harvard Law School, and her Doctor of Philosophy in sociology and feminist studies from the University of Minnesota in 1997. Professor Sylvia Tamale received her Diploma in Legal Practice from the Law Development Center, Kampala, in 1990, graduating at the top of her class. From 1993 until 1997, she received a Fulbright-MacArthur Scholarship to pursue her studies at Harvard. In 2003, she won the University of Minnesota Award for International Distinguished Leadership for her work at the

university. In 2004, she was awarded the Akina Mama wa Afrika Award by Akina Mama wa Afrika, an international, Pan-African, non-governmental development organisation for African women based in the United Kingdom with its African headquarters in Kampala, Uganda. In 2004, she was recognized by several women's organisations in Uganda, for her human rights activism.

On 28 October 2016, she became the first female lecturer to give a professorial inaugural lecture at Makerere University. Her lecture was entitled *Nudity, Protests and the Law*, inspired, in part, by the earlier-in-the-year nude protest of Stella Nyanzi at the university. In her speech, Tamale called for a revision of the Ugandan laws that discriminate against women.

She is well known for being a sexual harassment activist. In March 2018, Makerere University selected Dr Tamale to chair a select five-member committee to investigate the causes and increasing cases of "sexual harassment" at the public institution of higher learning which work she did extra-ordinary and bringing the culprits to book. As Dean of Faculty at Makerere University, she started the Sexual Harassment Policy, which prohibits sexual harassment on and off campus among anyone associated with the university.

On May 18, 2018, Tamale presented the first report on sexual harassment that the select committee had investigated. She reported it to students, staff, public, and private partners of Makerere University. The report was conducted by a qualitative research method, consisting of 234 interviews, with 59% of the interviews being women. She noted the importance of the media within her speech as it was instrumental on "creating a spotlight on the evils of sexual harassment hence increasing the awareness on the issue." Makerere University now reaffirms its zero tolerance policy for sexual harassment and is committed to creating an environment that respects all its member rights.

She has spoken out in support of the traditional practice of labia stretching, arguing that any comparison to female genital mutilation is invalid. Be that as it may, women of her kind are few in this dot com era, she deserves a round applaud, a true Legal General.

# Prof. Fredrick Ssempebwa



He was a member of the Uganda Constitutional Commission (The Odoki Commission) which drafted the Uganda 1995 Constitution. He was the Chairman of the Uganda Constitutional Review Commission which was charged with reviewing the 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda and a member of the Committee of Experts which drafted the 2010 Constitution for the Republic of Kenya’.

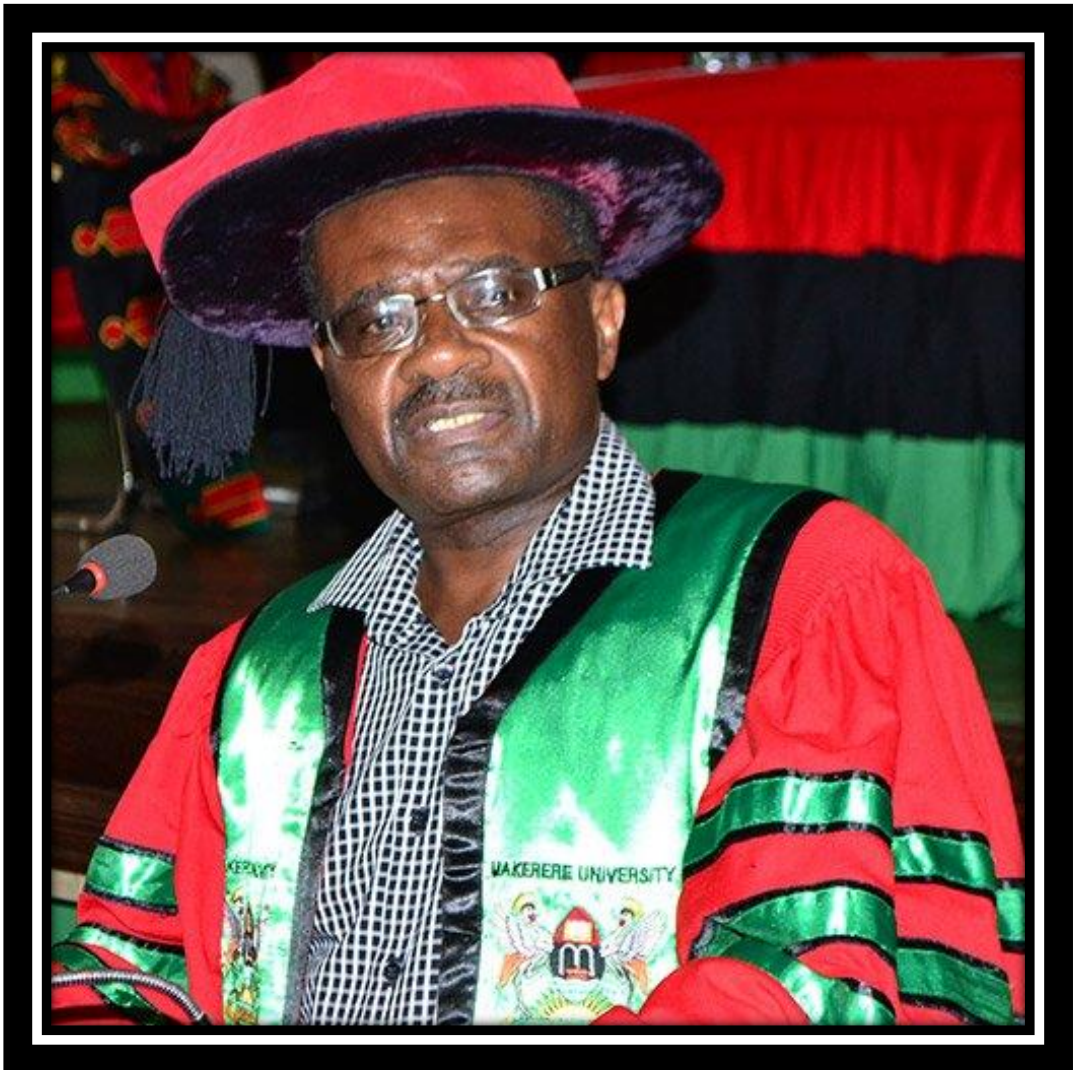
In 2015, he led a team of experts from Uganda and Kenya that reviewed and made proposals on the draft Constitution of Tanzania and presented their findings to the Warioba Committee, under the auspices of Kituo cha Katiba. He has served as a member of the Judicial Service Commission of Uganda entrusted with the selection of Judges for the Courts of Uganda and on the Law Council of the Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs.

Prof. Ssempebwa has held the roles of President of the Uganda Law Society and of the East African Law Society in which positions he nurtured so many young lawyers and trying to foster unity among East Africans legal fraternity. He has achieved the Rank of “Senior Counsel” in the Courts of Uganda on personal merit. He has participated in ground-breaking litigation (including successfully the first case brought before the East African Court of Justice) and has been instrumental in the formulation of the numerous laws and Acts in Uganda. Since the 1980s, he has been involved in important public interest litigation as a litigant as well as counsel in both in Uganda and, after the establishment of the East African Community, at the East African Court of Justice.

He started his teaching career in 1969 at University College Dar-es Salaam, and he also taught law at Makerere University and the University of Zambia. He has published widely, the most recent being a book on East African Community Law. He sits on the Boards of several major corporate bodies and Government Parastatals in Uganda. He has a Degree in Law from the University of East Africa at Dar-es-salaam (1968) where he was a John F. Kennedy Scholar; and a Masters of Law from Queen’s University Belfast.

When you meet him, give him a salute, he is a legal General.

# Prof. Ben K. Twinomugisha B



Prof. Dr. Ben Kiromba Twinomugisha is a full Professor of Law and former Dean, School of Law, Makerere University. He is also a visiting Professor at Islamic University in Uganda (IUIU) and Centre for Human Rights, University of Pretoria. He has taught commercial laws, at both college and university levels for 35 years. He has also taught and researched in the areas of public law, including health and the law, international law, environmental law and human rights.

Prof. Twinomugisha is also an advocate of the Courts of Judicature in Uganda and has practiced law for over 25 years. He has taught and examined in a number of universities in the region. He has supervised and examined many masters and doctoral students in Uganda and elsewhere.

His recent publications include, *Fundamentals of Health Law in Uganda* (Pretoria University Law Press, 2015); *Maternal Health Rights, Politics and the Law* (Professorial Inaugural Lecture, Makerere University, 2017); *Principles of the Law of Contract in Uganda* (Makerere University, 2018); and 'Maternal Health Rights in Uganda' *East African Journal of Peace and Human Rights* (2019); 'Using the Right to Health to Tackle Non-communicable Diseases in the Era of Neoliberalism in Uganda' *African Human Rights Law Journal* (2020); 'A Health and Human Rights Critique of the Mental Health Act, 2019' (NEPTIL, 2020); *IEL Contracts- Uganda* (Wolter Kluwer Law International, 2020); *IEL Medical Law- Uganda* (Wolter Kluwer Law International, 2021). In addition to law teaching, Prof. Twinomugisha is a health and human rights activist.

He made a lot of attributes as the Chairperson on the Board of Trustees, Centre for Health, Human Rights and Development (CEHURD) and Afya na Haki (Ahaki). While serving as a Vice Chairperson, Action Group for Health, Human Rights and HIV/AIDS (AGHA), he made numerous developments to advocate for the rights of those in unpleasant health. He has done consultancy work in the areas of gender, health and human rights.

He once argued that it is hypocrisy for the supreme court to wait for parliament to amend the constitution<sup>2</sup>. This was during an interview where he was asked about section .59 of the Presidential Elections Act of 2005 as amended. He showed dissatisfaction of this section which the court as continued to interpret and give similar judgments regarding Presidential Elections forexample in the case of *Dr Kizza Besigye v Attorney General*<sup>3</sup> He deserves a salute, he is a Legal General.

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<sup>2</sup> February 3, Daily Monitor Newspaper

<sup>3</sup> Constitutional Petition No.7 Of 2009

# Prof. John Ntambirweki



He was born in Mbarara District, in Western Uganda, circa 1955. Professor **John Ntambirweki** is a lawyer, academic and academic administrator in Uganda, the third-largest economy in the East African Community. He was the Vice Chancellor of Uganda Pentecostal University, a private university, which was accredited by the Uganda National Council for Higher Education in 2005.

Prof. John Ntambirweki is a Consultant at the law firm of Ntambirweki Kandebe & Company Advocates, based in Kampala.

He graduated with a Bachelor of Laws from Makerere University, a Diploma in Law Practice from Law Development Center. His degree of Master of Laws from the University of Nairobi. Professor John Ntambirweki is a former Senior Lecturer of Makerere University. He is also a former Head of Department of Law, Uganda Christian University.

While holding the above positions, he has nurtured young lawyers into the legal fraternity and so many of them attribute to his ground work. Please! When you meet him, salute him.



# Prof. Dr. Christopher Mbazira



**Prof. Christopher Mbazira** is a Professor of Law and while serving as a Coordinator of the Public Interest Law Clinic (PILAC) at Makerere Law School, he made fundamental changes as far as nurturing great lawyers who are after serving the common people rather than money chasers. He is also a founding member of the Network of Public Interest Lawyers (NETPIL). He previously chaired of the Rule of Law Committee of the Uganda Law Society. He was one of 9 academics who approached the Supreme Court of Uganda and were admitted as amici in the 2016 Presidential Election Petition. This has resulted into positive jurisprudence on the subject of *Amicus Curae*.

Prof. Mbazira has written and spoken widely on the subject of socio-economic rights in the context of the judicial application of these rights as well as public interest litigation. Some of his research is published in respected journals. Christopher has attended and presented at a number of international seminars, workshops and conferences. He is the author of the title: *Litigating socio-economic*

*rights in South Africa: A choice between corrective and distributive justice* (2009) and several journal articles. Since 2018, Prof Mbazira has supported the National Planning Authority (NPA) in integrating the Human Rights Based Approach in the country's development agenda. Prof Mbazira has consulted with international agencies, including the United Nations on human rights and governance matters.

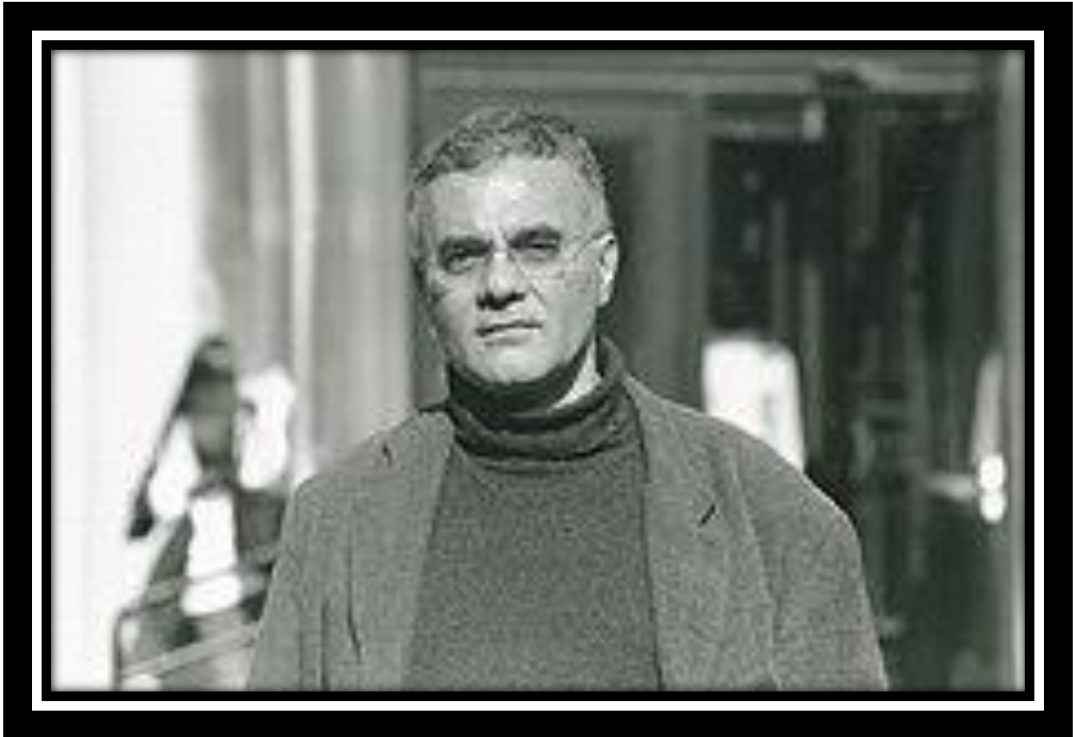
In 2021, Prof Mbazira won the Uganda Law Society Award for his distinguished service in legal education in Uganda. Prof Mbazira has been key in introducing the use of the clinical methodology of teaching the law and building a community of public interest lawyers in Uganda.

Prof Mbazira holds an LLB from Makerere University, an LLM in Human Rights from the University of Pretoria and a PhD from the University of the Western Cape in South Africa. In 2015, Christopher was a co-recipient of the Vera Chirwa Award given by the Center for Human Rights, University of Pretoria, for his outstanding contribution in the promotion of socio-economic rights in Africa.

He is the proprietor of Amicus Consortium (U) Ltd with its Amicus Mixed Farm. Prof Mbazira is also a member of the Uganda Law Council, a body that regulates the legal profession in Uganda and also sits on the Law Development Centre (LDC).

When he calls you, kindly reply Much Obligated Legal General!

# Prof. Dr. Mahmood Mamdani



**Mahmood Mamdani** was born on 23 April 1946 is an Indian-born Ugandan academic, author, and political commentator. He currently serves as the Chancellor of Kampala International University, Uganda. He was the director of the Makerere Institute of Social Research (MISR) from 2010 until February 2022, the Herbert Lehman Professor of Government at the School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University and the Professor of Anthropology, Political Science and African Studies at Columbia University

He then joined The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and graduated in 1968 with a Master of Arts in political science and Master of Arts in Law and Diplomacy in 1969. He attained his Doctor of Philosophy in government from Harvard University in 1974. His thesis was titled *Politics and Class Formation in Uganda*

Mamdani returned to Uganda in early 1972 and joined Makerere University as a teaching assistant at the same time conducting his doctoral research; only to be expelled later that year by Idi Amin due to his ethnicity. He left Uganda for a

refugee camp in the United Kingdom in early November just as the three-month deadline was approaching for people of Asian heritage to leave the country.

He left England in mid-1973 after being recruited to the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania. In Dar es Salaam, he completed writing his thesis and was active with anti-Amin groups. In 1979, he attended the Moshi Conference as an observer and returned to Uganda after Amin was overthrown following the Uganda–Tanzania War as a Frontier Intern of the World Council of Churches. He was posted with the Church of Uganda offices in Mengo and was assigned to research the former regime's foreign relations. His report was published as a book: *Imperialism and Fascism in Uganda*.

In 1984, while attending a conference in Dakar, Senegal, he became stateless after his citizenship was withdrawn by the government under Milton Obote due to his criticism of its policies. He returned to Dar es Salaam and was a visiting professor at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor for the spring semester in 1986. After Obote was deposed for the second time, Mamdani once again returned to Uganda in June 1986. He was the founding director of the Centre for Basic Research (CBR), Uganda's first research non-governmental organisation from 1987 to 2006.

He was also a visiting professor at the University of Durban-Westville in South Africa (January to June in 1993), at the Nehru Memorial Museum & Library in New Delhi (January to June in 1995) and at Princeton University (1995–96).

In 1996, he was appointed as the inaugural holder of the AC Jordan chair of African studies at the University of Cape Town. He left after having disagreements with the administration on his draft syllabus of a foundation course on Africa called "Problematizing Africa". This was dubbed the "Mamdani Affair". From 1998 to 2002, he served as president of the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa. In December 2001, he gave a speech on "Making Sense of Violence in Postcolonial Africa" at the Nobel Centennial Symposia in Oslo, Norway.

In 2008, in an open online poll, Mamdani was voted as the ninth "top public intellectual" in the world on the list of Top 100 Public Intellectuals by *Prospect*

*Magazine* (UK) and *Foreign Policy* (US). His essays have appeared in the *London Review of Books*, among other journals.

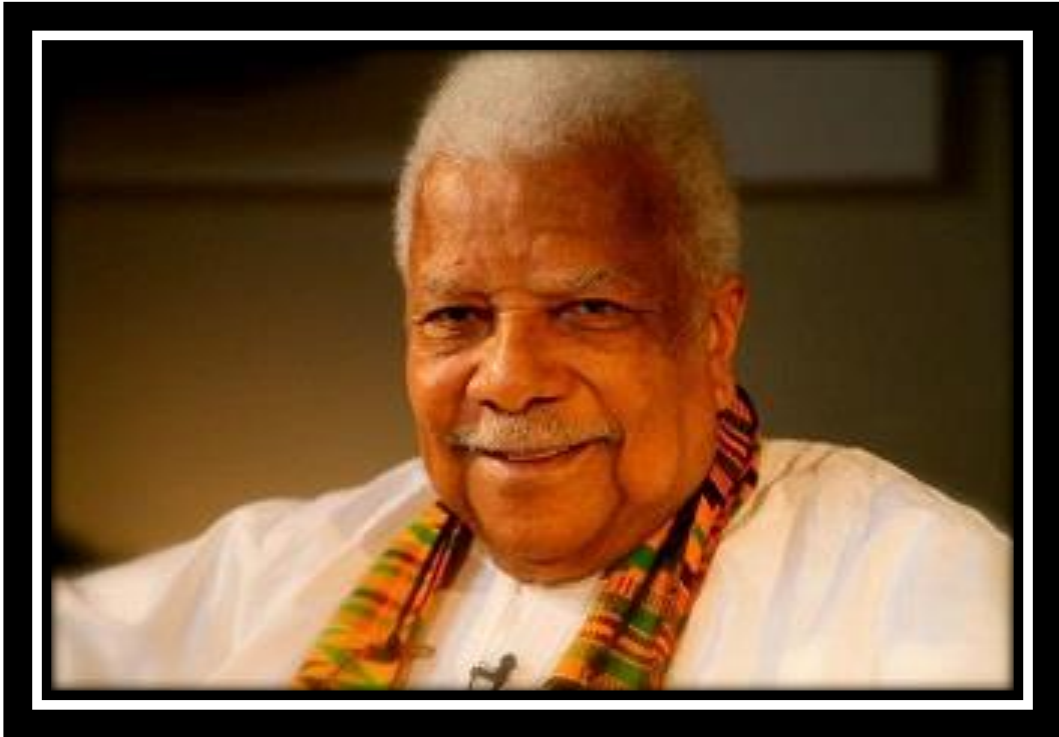
## **Awards**

He has been awarded so many times, including in 1997: Herskovits Prize for *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Colonialism*, 1999: University of Cape Town Book Award for *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Colonialism*, 2009: GDS Eminent Scholar Award from the International Studies Association, 2011: Lenfest Distinguished Faculty Award, 2012: Scholar of the Year at the 2nd Annual African Diaspora Awards for his immense contribution to African Scholarship, 2012: Ugandan Diaspora Award 2012

In July 2017, Mamdani was elected a Corresponding Fellow of the British Academy (FBA), the United Kingdom's national academy for the humanities and social sciences.

No wonder with all those achievements that have by all means impacted positively to our jurisprudence, he is a Legal General.

# Prof. Ali Mazurui



Ali Al'amin Mazrui was born on 24th February 1933 and met his kismet on 12th October 2014, he was a Kenyan-born American academic, professor, and political writer on African and Islamic studies, and North-South relations. He was born in Mombasa, Kenya. His positions included Director of the Institute of Global Cultural Studies at Binghamton University in Binghamton, New York, and Director of the Center for Afro-American and African Studies at the University of Michigan. He produced the television documentary series *The Africans: A Triple Heritage*.

## **Early life**

Mazrui was born on 24 February 1933 in Mombasa, Kenya Colony. He was the son of Al-Amin Bin Ali Mazrui, the Chief Islamic Judge in Kadhi courts of Kenya Colony. His father was also a scholar and author, and one of his books has been

translated into English by Hamza Yusuf as *The Content of Character*, to which Ali supplied a foreword. The Mazrui family was a historically wealthy and important family in Kenya, having previously been the rulers of Mombasa. Ali's father was the Chief Kadhi of Kenya, the highest authority on Islamic law. Mazrui credited his father for instilling in him the urge for intellectual debate, as his father not only participated in court proceedings but also was a renowned pamphleteer and public debater. Mazrui would, from a young age, accompany his father to court and listen in on his political and moral debates. Mazrui initially intended to follow the path of his father as an Islamist and pursue his study in Al-Azhar University in Egypt. Due to poor performance in the Cambridge School Certificate examination in 1949, Mazrui was refused entry to Makerere College (now Makerere University), the only tertiary education institute in East Africa at that time. He then worked in the Mombasa Institute of Muslim Education (now Technical University of Mombasa).

### **Education**

Mazrui attended primary school in Mombasa, where he recalled having learned English specifically to participate in formal debates, before he turned the talent to writing. Journalism, according to Mazrui, was the first step he took down the academic road. In addition to English, Mazrui also spoke Swahili and Arabic. After getting a Kenyan Government scholarship, Mazrui furthered his study and obtained his B.A. degree with Distinction from Manchester University in Great Britain in 1960, his M.A. from Columbia University in New York in 1961, and his doctorate (DPhil) from Oxford University (Nuffield College) in 1966. He was influenced by Kwame Nkrumah's ideas of Pan-Africanism and consciencism, which formed the backbone of his discussion on "Africa's triple heritage (Africanity, Islam and Christianity).

### **Academic career**

Mazrui began his academic career at Makerere University in Uganda, where he had dreamed of attending since he was a child. At Makerere, Mazrui served as a professor of political science, and began drawing his international acclaim. Mazrui

felt that his years at Makerere were some of the most important and productive of his life. He told his biographer that 1967, when he published three books, was the year that he had made his declaration to the academic world "that I planned to be prolific – for better or for worse!" During his time at Makerere, Mazrui also directed the World Order Models Project in the Department of Political Science, a project which brought together political scientists from across the world to discuss what an international route to lasting peace might be.

Mazrui reflected that he felt forced to leave the University of Makerere. His departure was likely the result of his desire to remain a neutral academic in the face of pressures to attach his growing prestige as a political thinker to one of the regional factions. His first solicitation was from John Okello, the leader of the Zanzibar Revolution, who came to Mazrui's house in 1968 to urge Mazrui to join his cause. Okello originally tried to convince Mazrui to become an advisor to him and then simply tried to enlist Mazrui's assistance in writing a constitution for Zanzibar. Mazrui told Okello that, while he was inclined to sympathize with the cause, it would be a violation of the moral duty of a professor and an academic to join with a political agenda. This incident shows the level of international prestige that Mazrui had already accumulated. Okello had sought him out specifically because he knew and valued Ali's reputation as an anti-imperialist intellectual.

Mazrui was later approached by Idi Amin who was the president of Uganda at the end of Mazrui's time at Makerere. Amin, according to Mazrui, wanted Mazrui to become his special adviser. Mazrui declined this invitation, for fear that it would be unsafe, and by doing so lost his political standing in Uganda. This would be what Mazrui ultimately felt forced him to leave the University of Makerere. Mazrui often said that he would like to return to Uganda, but cited his strained relationship with the Ugandan government, as well as the unfriendliness of the Ugandan people towards a Kenyan political scientist as the factors keeping him away.

In 1974, Mazrui was hired as a professor of political science at the University of Michigan. During his time at Michigan, Mazrui also held a professorship at the University of Jos in Nigeria. He held that spending time teaching and being part of the discourse in Africa was important to not losing his understanding of the African perspective. From 1978 until 1981 Mazrui served as the Director of the



Center for Afro-American and African Studies (CAAS) at the University of Michigan.

While he had a relatively quiet tenure in the chair, his presence there was important for a couple reasons. First, it was a central view of Mazrui's that the African American and the African connection had to be strengthened. He believed the way to better Africa was to educate African Americans in global politics and to strengthen their connection with Africa, all things that could be under the purview of CAAS.

However, he also seemed to doubt the ability of a program like CAAS to accomplish anything. During his earlier years at U of M he criticized such programs saying that, in response to black activism, "some universities just established a black-studies program with a kind of political cynicism which I found rather difficult to admire, to say the very least."

Mazrui taught at the University of Michigan until 1989, when he took a two-year leave of absence to accept the Albert Schweitzer professorship at SUNY Binghamton. Mazrui's departure from U of M was no less eventful than his departure from Makerere. Mazrui announced his resignation from the University of Michigan on 29 May 1991. Leading up to this point, there had been a highly publicized bidding war between U of M and SUNY. Reportedly, SUNY offered Mazrui a \$500,000 package which included a \$105,000 salary (as compared to his \$71,500 salary at U of M) as well as the funds for three professors of Mazrui's choosing, three graduate assistants, a secretary, and travel expenses. The University of Michigan reportedly matched this offer, but Mazrui decided it was too little too late. He stated that he was unconvinced by U of M's commitment to the study of political science in the third world. Both governor Mario Cuomo from New York and Governor James Blanchard from Michigan gave Mazrui personal calls to convince him to choose the university in their states. The whole affair sparked questions about the commodification as well as the celebrity of university professors.

His departure also caused a conversation about racial diversity at the University of Michigan; a conversation he had not been a huge part of for the fifteen years while he was on the U of M campus. In spite of the University of Michigan's efforts to retain Ali Mazrui, James Duderstadt, the president of the university at the time, came under heavy fire for not being proactive enough in the retention of an esteemed Black professor. Mazrui had been hired in 1974, while the university was under heavy criticism, especially from the second Black Action Movement, for not keeping its promises for diversity in the student body and among the faculty. In contrast, Duderstadt argued that, by 1989, the University was doing a much better job of diversifying. They had added 45 minority faculty that year, 13 more than the year before and the College of Literature, Science and the Arts had seen "skyrocketing minority recruitment." Even still there was a worry that the university was focusing only on recruiting minorities, and not on making them stick around.

### **Appointments**

In addition to his appointments as the Albert Schweitzer Professor in the Humanities, Professor in Political Science, African Studies, Philosophy, Interpretation and Culture and the Director of the Institute of Global Cultural Studies (IGCS), Mazrui also held three concurrent faculty appointments as Albert Luthuli Professor-at-Large in the Humanities and Development Studies at the University of Jos in Nigeria, Andrew D. White Professor-at-Large Emeritus and senior scholar in Africana Studies at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York and chancellor of the Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology, Nairobi, Kenya. In 1999, Mazrui retired as the inaugural Walter Rodney Professor at the University of Guyana, Georgetown, Guyana. Mazrui has also been a visiting scholar at Stanford University, The University of Chicago, Colgate University, McGill University, National University of Singapore, Oxford University, Harvard University, Bridgewater State College, Ohio State University, and at other institutions in Cairo, Australia, Leeds, Nairobi, Teheran, Denver, London, Baghdad, and Sussex, among others. In 2005, Ali Mazrui was selected as the 73rd topmost intellectual person in the world on the list of Top 100 Public Intellectuals by Prospect Magazine (UK) and Foreign Policy (United States).

## **Central views**

### **Africa's triple heritage**

The inspiration for his documentary series *The Africans: A Triple Heritage* was Ali's view that much of modern Africa could be described by its three main influences. The colonial and imperialist legacy of the West, the spiritual and cultural influence of Islam spreading from the east, and Africa's own indigenous legacy.

### **The paradoxes of Africa**

Mazrui believed there were six paradoxes that are central to understanding Africa:

Africa was the birthplace of humankind, but it is the last continent (besides Antarctica) to be made habitable in a modern sense.

Although Africans have not been the most abused group of people in modern history, they have been the most humiliated.

Africa is the most different from the West culturally, but is westernizing very quickly. Africa possesses extreme natural wealth, but its people are very poor.

Africa is huge, yet very fragmented.

Africa is geographically central, but politically marginal.

The problem of Africa's dependency

Mazrui argued that, as long as Africa remained dependent on the developed world, no relationship between the developed world and Africa would be beneficial to Africa. In the face of détente between the US and the USSR, Mazrui was quoted as saying: "When elephants fight, it is the grass that suffers. When elephants make love, however, it is also the grass that suffers."

### **Africa's greatest resource**

Mazrui believed the greatest resource that Africa possessed was the African people. In particular, he pointed to African Americans, arguing that they must remember

their African heritage and find a way to exert their influence over U.S. foreign policy if Africa ever hopes to climb out of its marginal position. Ali explained to a friend that his joint professorship at Michigan and Jos was his attempt to be a part of such a connection.

### **Professional organizations**

In addition to his academic appointments, Mazrui also served as president of the African Studies Association (USA) and as vice-president of the International Political Science Association and has also served as special advisor to the World Bank. He has also served on the board of the American Muslim Council, Washington, D.C.

### **Works**

Mazrui's research interests included African politics, international political culture, political Islam and North-South relations. He is author or co-author of more than twenty books. Mazrui has also published hundreds of articles in major scholastic journals and for public media. He has also served on the editorial boards of more than twenty international scholarly journals. Mazrui was widely consulted by heads of states and governments, international media and research institutions for political strategies and alternative thoughts.

He first rose to prominence as a critic of some of the accepted orthodoxies of African intellectuals in the 1960s and 1970s. He was critical of African socialism and all strains of Marxism. He argued that communism was a Western import just as unsuited for the African condition as the earlier colonial attempts to install European type governments. He argued that a revised liberalism could help the continent and described himself as a proponent of a unique ideology of African liberalism.

At the same time, he was a prominent critic of the current world order. He believed the current capitalist system was deeply exploitative of Africa, and that the West

rarely if ever lived up to their liberal ideals and could be described as global apartheid. He has opposed Western interventions in the developing world, such as the Iraq War. He has also long been opposed to many of the policies of Israel, being one of the first to try to link the treatment of Palestinians with South Africa's apartheid.

Especially in recent years, Mazrui became a well-known commentator on Islam and Islamism. While rejecting violence and terrorism Mazrui has praised some of the anti-imperialist sentiment that plays an important role in modern Islamic fundamentalism. He has also argued, controversially, that sharia law is not incompatible with democracy.

In addition to his written work, Mazrui was also the creator of the television series *The Africans: A Triple Heritage*, which was jointly produced by the BBC and the Public Broadcasting Service (WETA, Washington) in association with the Nigerian Television Authority, and funded by the Annenberg/CPB Project. A book by the same title was jointly published by BBC Publications and Little, Brown and Company.

### **Controversy**

*The Africans* was a controversial series for some. In the UK, where it aired on the BBC, it slid more or less under the radar. In the United States however, where it aired on some PBS channels, *The Africans* drew a great amount of scrutiny for being allegedly anti-western. According to critics, *The Africans* blames too many of Africa's problems on the negative influences of Europe and America, and the loudest criticisms came for the portrayal of Muammar Gaddafi as a virtuous leader.

The loudest critic of the documentary series was Lynne Cheney, who was at the time the chairperson of the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH). The endowment had put \$600,000 toward the funding of *The Africans* and Cheney felt that Mazrui had not held to the conditions on which the endowment had granted the funding. Cheney said that she was promised a variety of interviews presenting different sides of the story, and was outraged when there were no such interviews in the show. Cheney demanded that the NEH name and logo be

removed from the credits. She also had the words "A Commentary" added to the American version of the series, alongside Mazrui's credits.

In defense of the series and its alleged bias, Mazrui made the statement: "I was invited by PBS and the BBC to tell the American and British people about the African people, a view from the inside. I am surprised, then, that people are disappointed not to get an American view. An effort was made to be fair but not to sound attractive to Americans." Ward Chamberlain, the president of series co-producer WETA, also stepped in to publicly defend the series and Mazrui by saying that, in a fair telling of history, the western world should not be expected to come out looking good from the African perspective.

### **Other academic controversies**

His experience as a controversial figure was different in the two continents. While he was surrounded by controversy at U of M (he has been accused of being anti-Semitic, anti-American, and generally radical) he wrote to his African colleagues saying that the debate had remained remarkably civil and academic. On the other hand, in Jos, things got so heated that the university faculty once put out a flyer threatening to punish anti-Mazrui libel "in the pugilist style." Ironically, the libeler was a socialist accusing Mazrui of being overly imperialist for participating in western dialogues.

### **Israel-Palestine**

Probably the most fire Mazrui came under during his tenure at the University of Michigan was in response to his views on the Israel-Palestine conflict. Mazrui was an outspoken supporter of Palestine and, more than that, an outspoken critic of the state of Israel. Mazrui made the argument that Israel and the Zionist movement behaved in an imperialist fashion and that they used their biblical beliefs and the events of the holocaust for political gain. He went so far as to call the Israeli government "fascist" in its behavior. Needless to say, this sparked a great deal of controversy. The large Jewish population at the University of Michigan was highly critical of these remarks, accusing him of anti-Semitism. In the campus newspaper,

The Michigan Daily, there was a prolonged back-and-forth in 1988. One student wrote: "Mazrui is completely ignorant regarding Jewish faith and history. To compare Israel to Nazi Germany is the ultimate racial slur ... To digress from politics to anti-Semitic tones only fuels the fire of hatred."

On the other hand, in a joint letter to the Michigan Daily, members of the Palestine Solidarity Committee wrote: "A recent letter has accused Dr. Ali Mazrui and his supporters of anti-Semitism... we categorically reject this vicious slander." Mazrui, in his own defense, stated unequivocally that he was anti-Zionist, but that that was a fundamentally different thing from anti-Semitism. He admitted to having problems with the Israeli government and the Zionist movement, but said that he held these views independent of any views about the Jewish people as an ethnicity.

### **Nuclear proliferation**

Throughout his career Mazrui held the controversial position that the only way to prevent a nuclear holocaust was to arm the "Third World" (Africa in particular) with nuclear weapons. This was a view spotlighted in *The Africans*. Speaking largely with a mind to cold war international politics, Mazrui argued that the world needed more than two sides holding nuclear arms. By virtue of the continent's central location and relative non-alignment, he argued that Africa would be the perfect keeper of the peace between the East and the West. Furthermore, as long as the third world did not have nuclear capabilities, it would continue to be marginalized on the global stage. This view encountered heavy criticism from those who believed that the more countries with nuclear capabilities, and the more unstable those countries are politically, the greater the risk of some leader or military organization launching nuclear missiles.

### **Positions held**

- Professor of Political Science, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI, U.S.A.

- Director, Center for Afro-American and African Studies, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI, U.S.A.
- Director, Institute of Global Cultural Studies, Binghamton University, State University of New York, Binghamton, New York, U.S.A.
- Albert Schweitzer Professor in the Humanities, Binghamton University, State University of New York, Binghamton, New York, U.S.A.
- Professor of Political Science, African Studies and Philosophy, Interpretation and Culture, Binghamton University, State University of New York, Binghamton, New York, U.S.A.
- Chancellor, Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology, Nairobi, Kenya.
- Albert Luthuli Professor-at-Large, University of Jos, Jos, Nigeria
- Senior Scholar in Africana Studies and Andrew D. White Professor-at-Large Emeritus, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, U.S.A.
- 2008–2009 M. Thelma McAndless Distinguished scholar, Eastern Michigan University, Ypsilanti, MI, U.S.A.
- President, Association of Muslim Social Scientists of North America, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
- Membership of organizations (1980–1995)
- Fellow, African Academy of Sciences
- Member, Pan-African Advisory Council to UNICEF (The United Nations' Children's Fund)
- Vice-President, World Congress of Black Intellectuals
- Member, United Nations Commission on Transnational Corporations
- Distinguished Visiting Professor, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, U.S.A. (Spring)
- Member, Bank's Council of African Advisors, The World Bank (Washington, D.C.)
- Vice-President, International African Institute, London, England
- Member of the Advisory Board of Directors of the Detroit Chapter, Africare
- Media



- Featured in 2010 film *Motherland*, directed by Owen Alik Shahadah, featuring key academics from around the continent of Africa. Ali Mazrui in *Motherland* film
- Main African consultant and on-screen respondent, "A History Denied" in the television series on *Lost Civilizations* (NBC and Time-Life, 1996), U.S.A.
- "The Bondage of Boundaries: Towards Redefining Africa", in the 150th anniversary issue of *The Economist* (London) (September 1993), Vol. 328, No. 7828.
- Author and narrator, *The Africans: A Triple Heritage*, BBC and PBS television series in cooperation with Nigerian Television Authority, 1986, funded by the Annenberg/CPB Project.
- Author and broadcaster, *The African Condition*, BBC Reith Radio Lectures, 1979, with book of the same title (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980)
- Advisor to the award-winning, PBS-broadcast documentary *Muhammad: Legacy of a Prophet* (2002), produced by Unity Productions Foundation.
- Mazrui was a regular contributor to newspapers in Kenya, Uganda, and South Africa, most notably the *Daily Nation* (Nairobi), *The Standard* (Nairobi), the *Daily Monitor* (Kampala), and the *City Press* (Johannesburg).

## Awards

- Millennium Tribute for Outstanding Scholarship, House of Lords, Parliament Buildings, London, June 2000
- Special Award from the Association of Muslim Social Scientists (United Kingdom), honoring Mazrui for his contribution to the social sciences and Islamic studies, June 2000
- Honorary Doctorate of Letters from various universities for fields which include Divinity, Humane Letters, and the Sciences of Development
- Icon of the Twentieth Century, elected by Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, U.S.A., 1998

- Appointed Walter Rodney Professor, University of Guyana, Georgetown, Guyana, 1998
- Icon of the Twentieth Century Award, Lincoln University, Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, 1998
- DuBois-Garvey Award for Pan-African Unity, Morgan State University, Baltimore, Maryland, 1998
- Appointed Ibn-Khaldun Professor-at-Large, Graduate School of Islamic and Social Sciences, Leesburg, Virginia, 1997–2001
- Distinguished Faculty Achievement Award, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.A. 1988
- Appointed Distinguished Andrew D. White Professor-at-Large, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, U.S.A. (1986–1992)
- Rumi Forum Extraordinary Commitment to Education Award, 2013
- Mazrui was ranked among the world's top 100 public intellectuals by readers of Prospect Magazine (UK) Foreign Policy Magazine (Washington, D.C.) (see The 2005 Global Intellectuals Poll).

He died of natural causes at his home in Vestal in New York on Sunday, 12 October 2014. His body was repatriated to his hometown Mombasa and it arrived early morning on Sunday 19 October. It was taken to the family home where it was washed as per Islamic custom. The funeral prayer was held at the Mbaruk Mosque in Old Town and he was laid to rest at the family's Mazrui Graveyard opposite Fort Jesus. His burial was attended by Cabinet Secretary Najib Balala, Majority Leader Aden Bare Duale, Governor Hassan Ali Joho; and Senators Hassan Omar and Abu Chiaba.

### **Publications**

2008: *Islam in Africa's Experience* [editor: Ali Mazrui, Patrick Dikirr, Robert Ostergard Jr., Michael Toler and Paul Macharia] (New Delhi: Sterling Paperbacks).

2008: *Euro-Jews and Afro-Arabs: The Great Semitic Divergence in History* [editor: Seifudein Adem], (Washington DC: University of America Press).

2008: *The Politics of War and Culture of Violence* [editor: Seifudein Adem and Abdul Bemath], (New Jersey: Africa World Press).

2008: *Globalization and Civilization: Are they Forces in Conflict?* [editor: Ali Mazrui, Patrick Dikirr, Shalahudin Kafrawi], (New York: Global Academic Publications).

2006: *A Tale of two Africas: Nigeria and South Africa as contrasting Visions* [editor: James N. Karioki] (London: Adonis & Abbey).

2006: *Islam: Between Globalization & Counter-Terrorism* [editors: Shalahudin Kafrawi, Alamin M. Mazrui and Ruzima Sebuharara] (Trenton, NJ and Asmara, Eritrea: Africa World Press).

2004: *The African Predicament and the American Experience: a Tale of two Edens* (Westport, CT and London: Praeger).

2004: Almin M. Mazrui and Willy M. Mutunga (eds). *Race, Gender, and Culture Conflict: Mazrui and His Critics* (Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press).

2003: Almin M. Mazrui and Willy M. Mutunga (eds). *Governance and Leadership: Debating the African Condition* (Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press).

2002: *Black Reparations in the era of Globalization* [with Alamin Mazrui] (Binghamton: The Institute of Global Cultural Studies).

2002: *The Titan of Tanzania: Julius K. Nyerere's Legacy* (Binghamton: The Institute of Global Cultural Studies).

2002: *Africa and other Civilizations: Conquest and Counter-Conquest, The Collected Essays of Ali A. Mazrui, Vol. 2* [series editor: Toyin Falola; editors: Ricardo Rene Laremont & Fouad Kalouche] (Trenton, NJ and Asmara, Eritrea: Africa World Press)

2002: *Africity Redefined, The Collected Essays of Ali A. Mazrui, Vol. 1* [Series Editor: Toyin Falola; Editors: Ricardo Rene Laremont & Tracia Leacock Seghatolislami] (Trenton, NJ, and Asmara, Eritrea: Africa World Press).

1999: *Political Culture of Language: Swahili, Society and the State* [with Alamin M. Mazrui] (Binghamton: The Institute of Global Cultural Studies).

1999: *The African Diaspora: African Origins and New World Identities* [co-editors Isidore Okpewho and Carole Boyce Davies] (Bloomington: Indiana University Press).

1998: *The Power of Babel: Language and Governance in the African Experience* [with Alamin M. Mazrui] (Oxford and Chicago: James Currey and University of Chicago Press).

1995: *Swahili, State and Society: The Political Economy of an African Language* [with Alamin M. Mazrui] (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers).

1993: *Africa since 1935: VOL. VIII of UNESCO General History of Africa* [editor; asst. ed. C. Wondji] (London: Heinemann and Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

1990: *Cultural Forces in World Politics* (London and Portsmouth, N.H: James Currey and Heinemann).

1986: *The Africans: A Triple Heritage* (New York: Little Brown and Co., and London: BBC).

1986: *The Africans: A Reader* Senior Editor [with T.K. Levine] (New York: Praeger).

1984: *Nationalism and New States in Africa: From about 1935 to the Present* [with Michael Tidy] (Heinemann Educational Books, London).

1980: *The African Condition: A Political Diagnosis* [The Reith Lectures] (London: Heinemann Educational Books. and New York: Cambridge University Press).

1978: *The Warrior Tradition in Modern Africa* [editor] (The Hague and Leiden, The Netherlands: E.J. Brill Publishers).

1978: *Political Values and the Educated Class in Africa* (London: Heinemann Educational Books and Berkeley, CA: University of California Press).

1977: *State of the Globe Report, 1977* (edited and co-authored for World Order Models Project)

1977: *Africa's International Relations: The Diplomacy of Dependency and Change* (London: Heinemann Educational Books and Boulder: Westview Press).

1976: *A World Federation of Cultures: An African Perspective* (New York: Free Press).

1975: *Soldiers and Kinsmen in Uganda: The Making of a Military Ethnocracy* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publication and London).

1975: *The Political Sociology of the English Language: An African Perspective*: (The Hague: Mouton Co.).

1973: *World Culture and the Black Experience* (Seattle: University of Washington Press).

1973: *Africa in World Affairs: The Next Thirty Years* [co-edited with Hasu Patel] (New York and London: The Third Press).

1971: *The Trial of Christopher Okigbo* [novel] (London: Heinemann Educational Books and New York: The Third Press).

1971: *Cultural Engineering and Nation-Building in East Africa* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press).

1970: *Protest and Power in Black Africa* [co-edited with Robert I. Rotberg] (New York: Oxford University Press).

1969: *Violence and Thought: Essays on Social Tensions in Africa* (London and Harlow: Longman).

1967: *Towards a Pax Africana: A Study of Ideology and Ambition* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, and University of Chicago Press).

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1967: *On Heroes and Uhuru-Worship: Essays on Independent Africa* (London: Longman).

1967: *The Anglo-African Commonwealth: Political Friction and Cultural Fusion* (Oxford: Pergamon Press).

His attributes speak for him, many of you may wonder why we included a Kenyan born in this legal rebels book full of Ugandans, his denial of a juicy job of Amin and advocacy towards Africa qualifies him to stand out different. He is a Legal General.

# Prof. Tibatemwa-Ekirikubinza



Prof. Tibatemwa-Ekirikubinza was born in present-day Iganga District in 1961. She studied at Gayaza High School in the 1970s and law at Makerere University, in Kampala, Uganda, graduating with a Bachelor of Laws. She also holds a Diploma in Legal Practice, awarded by the Law Development Centre.

Her Master of Laws in commercial law was obtained from the University of Bristol in the United Kingdom. She also has a Doctor of Philosophy in law, obtained from the University of Copenhagen in Denmark.

Prof. Tibatemwa-Ekirikubinza served as a lecturer, then associate professor and then professor of law at Makerere University. Following that, she was promoted to the rank of Deputy Vice-Chancellor responsible for academic affairs at the institution. For a period of six months, from April 2009 until October 2009 she served as the Acting Vice Chancellor of Makerere University. In 2013, she was appointed to the Uganda Court of Appeal, serving in that capacity until 2015,

when she was appointed to the Supreme Court. She was elected to the International Commission of jurists for a five-year term.

Justice Tibatemwa-Ekirikubinza was one of the justices of the Constitutional Court, who ruled in a 4 to 1 majority, that "there is no single provision in the Constitution that provides for the re-appointment of a retired Chief Justice". She wrote the majority opinion in that ruling. That court's ruling made Justice Benjamin Odoki ineligible to return as Chief Justice, since he had attained the mandatory retirement age of 70.

Professor Tibatemwa-Ekirikubinza has extensively engaged in academic and policy impact research in areas of Criminal Law and Criminology, Children's Rights, Juvenile Justice, Gender and Women's Rights – areas in which she is also widely published. Her work ingeniously links the Law with the socio-economic and cultural milieu, offering an invaluable critique of the law from "a lived reality" perspective. More recently, she has engaged in research on Quality Assurance in Institutions of Higher Learning. Through her research she has published several books and in several Journals and Her interest and scholarly contribution largely lie in the areas of Comparative Criminal Jurisprudence; Transnational Crime; Computer Crime; Human Rights Perspectives of Criminal Law; Gender, Crime and Criminology; Gender and the Law; Children's Rights; Juvenile Justice; Rights of People with Disability; Legal aspects of Information and Communications Technology (ICT); E-Commerce, E-Evidence and Computer Crime.

She is a true inspiration to women because of her firsts achievements as seen below:

- First East African female to graduate with a PhD in law
- First female to become full Professor of Law in the East African region
- First female appointed Deputy Vice-Chancellor of Makerere University in Uganda. She is a true legal General for all those credits.

Putting all circumstances present in the context, she is a legal General.



# Prof. Yash Tandon



Prof. Yashpal Tandon was born on 21st June 1939, he is a Ugandan policymaker, political activist, professor, author and public intellectual. He has lectured extensively in the areas of International Relations and Political economy. He was deeply involved in the struggle against the dictatorship of Idi Amin in 1970's Uganda and has spent time in exile. He is the author and editor of numerous books and articles and has served on the editorial boards of many journals. Prof. Yashpal Tandon is among the four historically celebrated “Gang of Four” also named the Global Towering professors. These include; Prof. Omwony Ojok, Prof.

## **Early and personal life**

Yash Tandon was born on 21 June 1939 to traders of Indian origin who had settled in the village of Kaberamaido in the Teso District of Uganda. He is married with

two children and several grandchildren. He speaks English, Punjabi, Gujarati and Swahili.

He holds a B.Sc. in economics from the London School of Economics (1961). Tandon went on to attain a Master's in Economics in 1965. He completed his PhD. in International relations at the London School of Economics in 1969. He won the 1962 David Davies Memorial Institute in International. Peace Prize, London, U.K.

### **Academic career**

From 1964 to 1972 Tandon lectured at the Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda before reading in International relations there. He spent three months as a visiting lecturer at the University of Dar es Salaam in 1968. He spent another three months as a visiting lecturer at the National Institute of Public Administration in Lusaka, Zambia in 1972. From 1967 to 1968, Tandon spent fifteen months in a senior research fellowship at Columbia University, New York City.

From 1972 to 1973 he lectured in International Relations at the London School of Economics, UK. In 1973, Tandon returned to Africa in the role of Professor in Political Economy at the University of Dar es Salaam. Upon his return to Uganda following the collapse of Amin's government, he was professor in International Relations at Makerere University, lecturing in African International Relations. From 1982 to 1983, Tandon was a visiting professor/consultant with the Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies in Harare.

### **Political involvement**

Following his completion of education in London, Tandon returned to Uganda. He left in 1972 with the rise to power of Idi Amin. He went into exile, first in Kenya for three months, and then in the UK for nine months.

In the 1970s Tandon engaged in underground political work with broad democratic force for change of the Amin regime in Uganda. He was a founding member of the Uganda National Liberation Front (UNLF), and one of the principal organisers of the May 1979 Moshi Conference for the launch of the UNLF Government.

Following the collapse of Amin's regime, Tandon returned to Uganda. He was a member of the National Consultative Council (National Parliament), with a short spell as Minister of State. At this time, he was involved in negotiations with intergovernmental organisations and donors for the rehabilitation of Uganda's economy. He was chairman and member of various parliamentary committees.

In 1980, with the overthrowing of the Government of the UNLF by military coup, Tandon went into exile in Kenya for a year and a half. There he was the founder and director of Uganda Refugees Relief Service (URRS). At the same time, he engaged in political work for democratic struggle in Uganda.

### **Career outside academia**

From 1966 to 1968 Tandon was the Director of the Makerere Institute of Diplomacy. In the 1970s, he was the executive director of the Makerere Institute of Social Research (MISR), a consultant at the International Peace Academy in New York and a founder member of the Uganda Asia Evacuees Association. During this time, Tandon was the vice-president of the International Studies Association (ISA), USA. He was also a founder member of the African Association of Political Science (AAPS) and its first Research Director.

In the 1980s he was the founder and director of Research and Consultancy Ltd., Nairobi, Kenya. He was also the founder and managing director of Research and Consultancy (pvt) Ltd., (RESCON), Harare.

Spanning the 1990s and 2000s, Tandon was a founder member and the first director of the International South Group Network (ISGN). He was the founder and director of Southern and Eastern African Trade Information and Negotiations Institute (SEATINI). He was a founder member of Alternatives to Neoliberalism in Southern Africa (ANSA). Tandon served as the executive director of the South Centre for five years until his retirement in 2009.

### **Author and editor**

Tandon has written extensively on matters related to the African economy and international relations. He specializes in political economy.

He has written over one hundred scholarly articles and has authored and edited books on wide-ranging subjects including on African politics, Peace and Security, Trade and WTO, International economics, South – South Cooperation and Human rights. He has also served on several advisory committees.

He has served on the editorial boards of several academic journals, including Mawazo (Makerere), Instant Research on Peace and Violence (Finland) and Sage International Yearbook on Foreign Policy Studies (Syracuse, USA), African Review, Utafiti (as chief editor), Economic Journal of Zimbabwe. He was also the editor of University of Dar es Salaam: Debate on Class, State and Imperialism (1982).

## **Selected publications**

### **Author**

Le commerce, c'est la guerre, préface de Jean Ziegler (PUBLICETIM N°39, édition du CETIM, 224 pages, 2015, ISBN 978-2-88053-111-9, [www.cetim.ch](http://www.cetim.ch))

Trade is War (Or Book, New York, 2015)

Ending Aid Dependence, with Benjamin W Mkapa (Fahamu Books, 2008) - French translation: En finir avec la dépendance à l'aide, Préfaces de Samir Amin et de Benjamin W. Mkapa (PUBLICETIM N°34, co-édition CETIM/Fahamu Books/South Centre, 224 pages, 2009, ISBN 978-2-88053-075-4)

Daring to Think Differently: Development and Globalisation (Fahamu Books, 2009)

In Defence of Democracy (Dar es Salaam University Press, 1994)

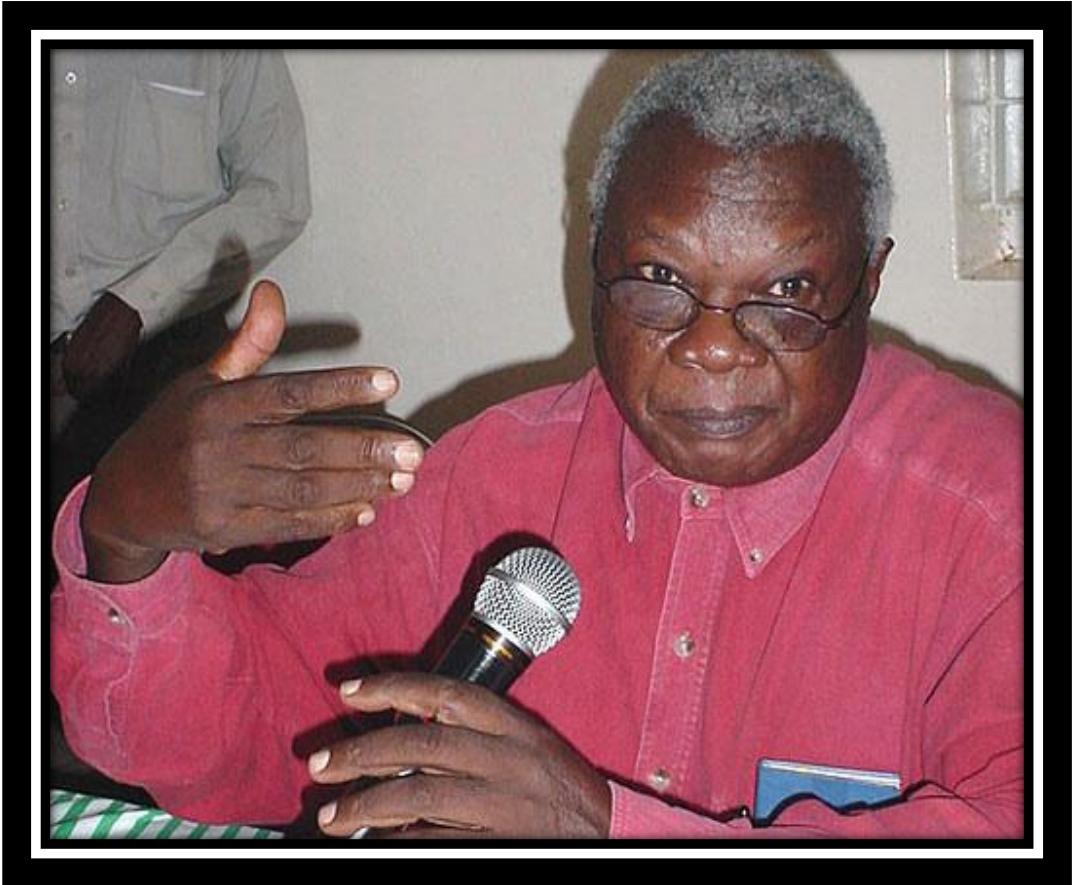
The New Position of East Africa's Asians, Mrg Report 16: Problems of a Displaced Minority, with Arnold Raphael (Minority Rights Group, 1984)

Regional Development at the National Level: Canadian and African Perspectives, with Timothy M Shaw (University Press of America, 1986)

Problems of a Displaced Minority: New Position of East African Asians (Minority Rights Group, 1973)

Militarism and Peace education in Africa: A guide and manual for peace education and action in Africa (African Association for Literacy and Adult Education, 1989)

# Prof. Dani Wadada Nabudere



**Prof. Dani Wadada Nabudere** was born on 15th December 1932 and met his kismet on 9 November 2011. He was an Ugandan academic, Pan-Africanist, lawyer, politician, author, political scientist, and development specialist. At the time of his passing, he was a professor at the Islamic University and executive director of the Marcus Garvey Pan-Afrikan Institute, Mbale, Uganda.

His political, intellectual and community work spanned over half a century of public activism. He was a speaker, mobilizer, and a prolific writer. Among his issues of engagement were food security, peace, knowledge heritages, Africa's contribution to humanizing the world, lifelong learning, cross-border solidarities,

international political economy, Pan-Africanism, defense of the commons, cognitive justice, community sites of knowledge, restorative governance, economy, and justice.

Professor Nabudere was Minister of Justice of Uganda in 1979 and Minister of Culture, Community Development, and Rehabilitation of Uganda in 1979–1980 in the UNLF Interim Government of Uganda. He was President of the African Association of Political Science from 1983 to 1985 and Vice-President of the International Political Science Association (IPSA) from 1985 to 1988. He was engaged in a collaborative arrangement with the University of South Africa in joint research projects under the umbrella theme of "Reclaiming the Future" He was the founder and principal of the Marcus Garvey Pan-Afrikan Institute (MPAI), Mbale, Uganda. Over the last ten years of his life, Nabudere was working on setting up grassroots organizations to assist rural communities and raise their voices over issues that concern their lives.

### **Early life**

Dani Wadada Nabudere was born on 15<sup>th</sup> December 1932, in Budadiri, Uganda, into a family of Bumayamba village, Buyobo.

Nabudere attended school in Bugisu and then graduated from Aggrey Memorial College, Bunamwaya. He became a postal clerk for several years, before applying to study law in the United Kingdom. In the early 1960s he traveled to England to study law, and received a Bachelor of Laws Degree in 1963, and was admitted as a Barrister at Law, at Lincoln's Inn, London.

### **In Ugandan Independence movement**

Nabudere stepped onto the national political scene in the 1960s. As a student in London in 1961, he was a member of the Executive Committee of the United Kingdom Uganda Students Association together with Yash Tandon, Ateker Ejalu, Chango Machyo, and Edward Rugumayo, who were all later to play a significant role in the history of Uganda. UGASA was engaged in helping to raise the political consciousness of young Ugandans studying or working in the UK and in Europe.

One of the main activities of the organization was to lobby British parliamentarians for Uganda's independence.

### **Activism under the Obote government**

When he returned from the UK in 1964, he quickly began to fall out of favor with the Uganda People's Congress. The UPC was a radical nationalist party. Its then Secretary-General, John Kakonge, had broad communist leanings, and had a strong following among the youth wing of the party, among them, Nabudere. At the Gulu Conference of the party in 1964, the left wing was outmaneuvered by Milton Obote and the party mainstream leadership. He was also, a Marxist socialist when the UPC government at the time was opposed to communism. In 1965 he was expelled from the party together with Kirunda Kivejinja, Jaberu Bidandi-Ssali, and Kintu Musoke. However, even after expulsion from the UPC, Nabudere remained an opponent of the Obote wing with radical stances. Around the same time, Nabudere and Raiti Omongin had just formed the first Maoist Party in Uganda. During this period Nabudere had also played a critical role in the unification talks between Zanzibar and Tanganyika.

When Obote abolished political parties and declared a one-party state in 1969, Nabudere fell victim to his continued party activism. Nabudere had earlier in 1963 formed a Mbale-based activists' group called the Uganda Vietnam Solidarity Committee to campaign against American imperialism and aggression in Vietnam.

In September 1965, Nabudere was accused by a member of the Ugandan Parliament of organizing a "communist plot" to overthrow the government. In December 1969, following an attempt on Obote's life at a UPC congress Nabudere (among others) was arrested and placed in detention under the Emergency Laws. He was released in late November 1970.

### **Under Idi Amin government**

When Idi Amin took power in January 1971, a number of Ugandans on the left decided to work with the Amin government, but they were soon disillusioned, and beginning with Rugumayo a number of them resigned from government in 1972. Nabudere was appointed by Idi Amin in 1971 as the East Africa Railways and



Harbours chairman based in Nairobi, Kenya, but in 1974 protesting Amin's brutality he resigned and moved to Tanzania where he became one of the leaders of the anti-Amin resistance movement.

### **1970s: Dar Es Salaam Exile & *The Debate***

As an academic, Nabudere was pivotal in at least three politically and pedagogically significant debates at the University of Dar es Salaam in the late 1960s and the decade of the 1970s. These academic and popular debates were followed closely at the time, and were formative in an era of newly independent African states, where political leaders like Julius Nyerere, Kwame Nkrumah, or Sekou Touré, and academics like Nabudere, Mamdani, or Cheikh Anta Diop were all wrestling with advancing either particular forms of African Socialism, Marxism, Pan-African ideologies, or adapting western Development theory to African contexts.

The first was about Tanzania, the direction it was going and how it might show the way for the rest of Africa towards the ultimate goal of socialism. It was mainly a debate among the Tanzanian radicals, sometimes joined in by others from outside Tanzania such as Walter Rodney and Nabudere.

The second was a debate mainly among the African members of the teaching staff of the University, in particular in the Faculty of Social Sciences, on how the prevailing pedagogy of their disciplines might be challenged and changed to reflect the African context and conditions.

The third was a debate among primarily the Ugandans on "the Hill" as Makerere University was called, and those living in exile in East Africa occasionally joined by others even outside East Africa. It was partly inspired by Nabudere's book 'Imperialism and Revolution in Uganda' (1980) and its critique by Mahmood Mamdani, Harkishan Bhagat, and Karim Hirji. Later these discussions were reproduced as a book called 'The Dar es Salaam Debate on Class, State and Imperialism' (1982), which was edited by Yash Tandon, with a foreword by Mohammad Babu, the well-known Marxist revolutionary from Zanzibar. '*The Debate*' had intellectual, pedagogical and also political and strategic value for Uganda but also Africa and the third world. The significance of this debate, latent when it was taking place, became clear in the early months of 1979, as those same

very issues took on a practical political salience after Amin's invasion of Tanzania in December 1978. Tanzania repulsed the invasion but then President of Tanzania Julius Nyerere faced a dilemma. Should he proceed to Kampala, with his army thus effectively becoming an "occupation force", or should he try to forge a united Ugandan political front to take over the reins of government? He opted for the latter. But to forge unity of contending forces from Uganda proved a nightmare.

### **The Gang of Four and the Ugandan National Liberation Front**

In his recount of the period of the Uganda National Liberation Front (UNLF), the political organization around which Ugandan exiles united to topple Amin, Prof. Edward Rugumayo, who became chairman of UNLF's ruling council, says Nabudere played a central part in the formation of the liberation group. When the UNLF was established and a ruling body for it formed known as the National Consultative Council (NCC), Nabudere was elected chairman of its political and diplomatic committee. He became a key leader in the NCC, alongside Edward Rugumayo, Yash Tandon, and Omwony Ojwok. They were collectively known as 'the Gang of Four' a reference to the Chinese Communist ruling faction called the Gang of Four of the Chinese Cultural Revolution.

Under the UNLF interim government, Nabudere was twice appointed government minister: in 1979 he was Minister of Justice and from 1979–80, Minister of Culture, Community Development and Rehabilitation.

The first administration of the UNLF government under President Yusuf Lule lasted only six-eight days. In September 1979 he was ousted from power by a vote of no confidence moved in the transitional parliament, the NCC chaired by Edward Rugumayo, if democratically removed, and replaced by President Godfrey Binaisa. It was the Binaisa administration that was then removed from power by the Military Commission of the UNLF led by Paulo Muwanga and Yoweri Museveni, and probably backed by Tanzania.

### **The 1980s and post-NRM era**

The 12 May 1980 army coup that overthrew Binaisa and placed Paulo Muwanga in power, Nabudere fled to exile, as did the other three members of the 'gang of four'

In 1982 Nabudere moved to Helsingør in Denmark, teaching at a Folk High School. This was one of his most productive years as a scholar. He wrote the over 300-page manuscript called 'The Rise and Fall of Money Capital', which was published in 1990 under an organization called Africa in Transition, an organization founded by brothers Yash Tandon and Vikash Tandon. An analysis of money revising Marx, Engels, Hilferding, Rosa Luxemburg, and Keynes, all of whom came under Nabudere's critique. Nabudere carried out a historical analysis of the rise of money as money (as distinct from its evolution as capital), and made the prediction that money will eventually overcome capital and then meet its own demise as an instrument of credit. This is what in fact happened in the first decade of the 21st century, what came to be known in our own times as "financialization of capital". Nabudere had already anticipated this during his period of research and writing in Helsingør. Later, a summary of the book was published by Fahamu, titled, 'The Crash of International Finance-Capital and Its Implications for the Third World' (2009), to which Yash Tandon wrote a foreword.

Nabudere lived in exile until 1993 when President Museveni invited him back to the country to be part of the Constituent Assembly (CA).

Upon Nabudere's return, he became a very outspoken critic of Museveni. Over the course of the CA, Nabudere many times led members of the Assembly on walkouts when they disagreed with the other CA members. He also joined with Aggrey Awori to form the National Caucus for Democracy (NCD), a CA-based pressure group.

### **The MPAI and Afrikology**

Nabudere founded the Marcus Garvey Pan-Afrikan Institute (MPAI) in Mbale, Uganda, the objective of which was to create a repository of knowledge on African science, philosophy, medicine and other indigenous African knowledge which he called "Afrikology" MPAI was later to evolve into a university, of which he was the first Chancellor-Designate.

## **Death**

After suffering from diabetes and high blood pressure, Nabudere passed away at his home in the early hours of 9 November 2011. He was survived by his wife and son among others.

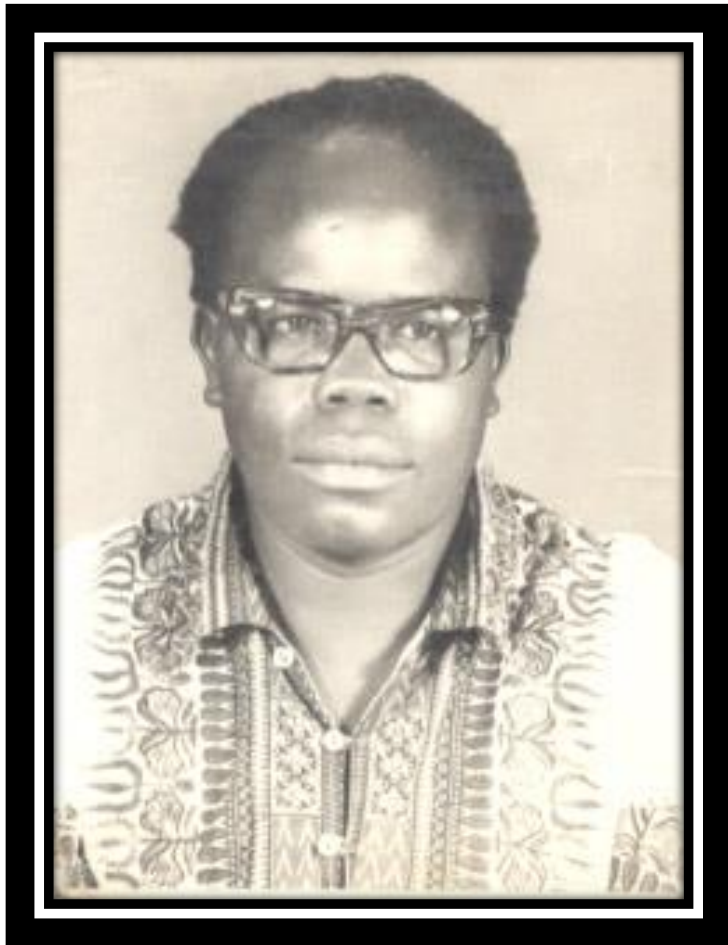
## **Notable publications**

### **Books**

- The Political Economy of Imperialism, 1976, Tanzania Publishing House and Zed Press, London;
- Essays on the theory and practice of Imperialism, 1979, Onyx Press, London;
- Imperialism in East Africa, 1980, Zed Press, London (in two volumes);
- Imperialism and Revolution in Uganda, 1980, Onyx Press, London;
- The Crash of International Finance Capital and its implications for the Third World, SAPES Trust, 1989, Harare, Zimbabwe;
- Democracy and the One-Party State in Africa, Institut Für Afrika Kunde, Hamburg, Germany, 1989; Co-edited with P. Meynes;
- The Rise and Fall of Money Capital, 1990, Afrika in Trust, Harare/London;
- Uganda Referendum 2000: Winners and Losers, Monitor Publications, Kampala;
- Pan-Africanism and Integration in Africa, 2002, SAPES Publications, Harare, Zimbabwe, co-edited with Ibbo Mandaza;

- The Global Capitalist Crisis and the Way Forward for Africa, Kampala, 2009.
- The Crash of International Finance Capital and its implications for the Third World, Republished by Ufahamu, London, 2009.
- Afrikology, Philosophy, and Wholeness: An Epistemology, Africa Institute of South Africa, PRETORIA, February 2011.

# Prof. Abraham Kiapi



He lobbied for the introduction of Master's degree in law at Makerere university.

Prof. Kiapi was the dean of the faculty of law at Makerere University in 1972, few years after it was formed. A law graduate from the University of Dar-es-Salaam and Columbia Law School in the US, Kiapi attained a doctorate at the age of 32, making him the youngest Ugandan to achieve the academic qualification at the time.

Apart from authoring several books and papers, he was also a visiting professor in several universities. In 1970, Kiapi controversially awarded an honorary law degree to the then president, Idi Amin. He was awarded by the Uganda Law Society

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for the exemplary contribution he made in the legal profession in East Africa and the world. He was later honored by the Uganda law society for his great contribution to the legal profession.

Apart from authoring several books and papers, he was also a visiting professor in several universities. This made him nurture law students into the legal profession. Books like *The Legal Status of Refugees in Uganda: A Critical Study of Legislative Instruments, 1974* - Civil service laws in East Africa, *Leading East African Criminal Cases* / Compiled and edited by Abraham Kiapi among others have been useful to law scholars in references and finding better laws for the country and the East African community at large.

He was a true Legal General.

# Prof. Omwony Ojwok



“Omwony-Ojwok: the double-edged patriot” Omwony Ojwok was born on 1st June 1947 in Abwor, Labwor county, Kotido district and met his kismet on 11th November 2007. He Studied at Lacor Seminary (Gulu) for junior leaving certificate and joined St. Mary’s College, Kisubi in 1963. He also at studied at Wauwatosa East High School in Wisconsin, USA, under an exchange programme. He was in Ntare High School for his A’ and O’ levels, where he met President Museveni and minister Eriya Kategaya. Graduated with a Bachelors of Laws from Makerere University in 1972. Abandoned a post-graduate Law Course in the 1970s after a run-in with Idd Amin. A linguist who spoke English, French, Latin, Lango and Ateso with as much fluency as his mother tongue Acholi, Ojwok was both a lawyer and a professor.



He fled to Switzerland, where he pursued a Master's Degree in International Relations. Also did a Masters in Law, specialising in Third World Investments. In 1978, he abandoned his PhD studies at the University of Geneva and relocated to Tanzania. Organised the Moshi conference in 1979, which brought together anti-Amin forces. Served as director Uganda AIDS Commission (1994-1999), minister for northern rehabilitation (1999-2001) and State Minister for Economic Monitoring (2001-2007)

He was a Ugandan politician. He served as director of the Ugandan AIDS Commission (1994–1999), Minister for Northern Rehabilitation (1999–2001) and State Minister for Economic Monitoring (2001–2007). He died of heart failure at the age of 60. From 1979 to 1980, he was a clerk to parliament of Uganda.

Omwony Ojwok is a legendary figure in Uganda's political history. A man with glowing academic qualifications, he dedicated the greater part of his life to the liberation of his country, Ojwok, was twice forced into exile.

In the early 1970s, he was forced to flee to Switzerland after he clashed with Idi Amin over a press release he issued condemning the killing of two foreign journalists in Mbarara.

He returned to Switzerland in May 1980, when the army overthrew President Godfrey Binaisa.

During his first time in exile, he pursued a Master's degree in International Relations and a Masters in International Law, specialising in Third World investments, at the University of Geneva.

In 1978, half way through his Doctorate in Law in Geneva, he relocated to Tanzania to join the struggle to oust Amin. He later resumed his Doctorate course at Dar-es Salaam, where he lectured, while also taking part in the liberation struggle.

From 2001, he was the Minister of State for Economic Monitoring. From 1999 to 2001, he was the Minister of State for Northern Rehabilitation.

Before becoming a minister, he led the Uganda Aids Commission for five years.

But he will be most remembered for his role in the Gang of Fourâ, a group of Ugandan intellectuals in exile, which also included Edward Rugumayo, Dan Nabudere and Yash Tandon.

The four played a crucial role in convening the 1979 Moshi Conference.

The conference, which was chaired by Prof. Tarsis Kabwegyere, brought together all Ugandan factions to chart a way forward for Uganda in the post-Amin era.

The four later took up posts in the National Consultative Council, the then parliament under the chairmanship of Rugumayo, with Omwony Ojwok as secretary, Nabudere as chairman of the political and diplomatic commission, while Tandon held the portfolio of information.

Ojwok lectured in more than 10 universities across the world, among them the distinguished Oxford University in the UK, as well as the universities of Toronto (Canada), Nairobi (Kenya) and Dar es-Salaam (Tanzania).

Christened John, a name he rarely used, Omwony Ojwok was stung by the political bug early in life. In his early 20s, he was already involved in active politics.

Omwony Ojwok was a great Ugandan compatriot, whose love for Uganda and the people of Africa was immediately noticed by anybody who interacted with him. This man was extremely patriotic student/activist at Makerere and his brilliance and honesty could be immediately discerned in the way he debated issues. It was not surprising that with those qualities he was elected the guild president at the university at the time.

Later, Omwony Ojwok linked up with dani wadada after he had resigned from the Chairmanship of the East African Corporation in 1974.

He was also admitted as a lecturer in the faculty of law. From here together with Yash who was a Professor in Political Science, as well as a number of students such as Augustin Kayonga, Sam Magara and Frederick Jjuuko and many others, were able to develop strategies for participating in the resistance at home and abroad.

He felt there was need to develop the politics of the resistance a little more in order to avoid problems of militarism that were being witnessed. he eschewed militarism

for its sake and advocated a democratic movement that would embrace all Ugandans in the resistance before we returned home. he was deeply involved in the 'Dar es Salaam Debate' and was able to develop good young comrades who later returned home to organize pockets of resistance in the country.

It was at this point that Amin's troops attacked the Kagera Salient of Tanzania wanting to annex it. Omwony had maintained a weekly dialogue with the late Milton Obote at his Msasani home about his role in Uganda politics. This enabled him to try to engage himself in a broader alliance of political forces to join the Tanzanian army in dislodging Amin. Obote objected to this strategy believing that his army could do the job instead. At this point, Obote was engaged in negotiations with other military groups, including Museveni's Fronasa and the Save Uganda Movement-SUM, to try to form a 'United Front' of military groups. But this had by March 1979 failed to produce any tangible agreement because each group insisted on having a higher position in the post-Amin government.

It is at his point that he and others, lke dani wadada made contacts with different groups to form a broader national democratic united front, which could act as a galvanizing body to mobilize political opinion at home that would help the war effort of the Tanzanian troops and that of our own military groups that were fighting alongside the Tanzanian army.

The meeting was in fact held behind Yash Tandon's house opposite my house on Mukoroshoni road at the University. It was attended by the 'Changombe Group' to which Ruzindana, Yoga Adhola, Wafula and Mahmood Mandani, among others, belonged. The meeting was also attended by our group (Movement for Democratic Unity) as well as Museveni representing Fronasa. It is true that the Changombe Group and Fronasa argued in favour of forming a military front to which we strenuously objected and hence the disagreement. In fact, that disagreement meant that the meeting had come to an end and so there was no need for anyone to walk out of anything because there were no further discussions. But the disagreement was crucial because it drew a clear line between those who supported a military line as opposed to those who supported a political line that would control the military. As we understand it, Ruzindana has since he left the NRM observed that the '**Gang of Four's**' (Yash Taddon, Owmony Ojwok Dani

Wadada and Augustine Ruzindana) position against militarism had been a correct one in view of the later events.

A true Legal General!

# Prof. John Jean Barya



Dr. John Jean Barya is an accomplished scholar, academic, and a Professor of Law at Makerere University mainly specializing in Labour Law, and Jurisprudence. He is a visiting Professor at several universities around the world. On several occasions, he has been heard warning and advising government on certain matters of national importance and issues relating to constitutionalism.

Prof Barya was remembered with his famous advocacy that in Uganda is a situation where so many people have interest in the status quo and doesn't expect Parliament to amend the constitution to reduce the numerous constituencies.

On a recent occasion, the Professor advised that Parliament must recognize that any manipulation of the Judiciary and the appointment of partisan and incompetent people to the bench is not helpful. He explained that at the end of the day the majority of the disputes that the Judiciary has to deal with have nothing to do with political power. Prof. Barya stated that what is weakening constitutional

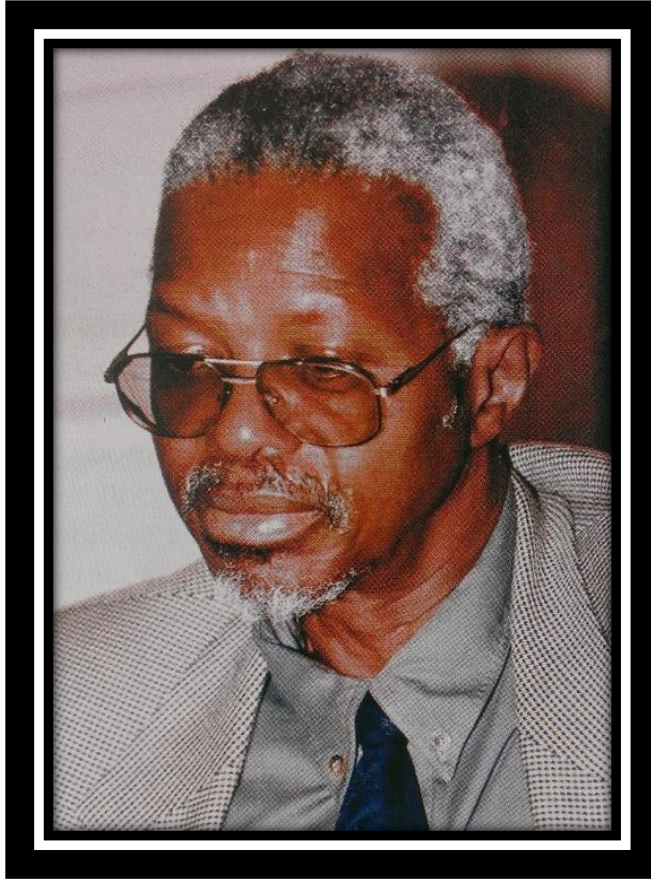
rule is the use of parallel powers by the president and other institutions of government in disregard to the constitution.<sup>4</sup>

A man at all levels is a true Legal general.

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<sup>4</sup> Prof. Jean Barya Warns Against Manipulating Constitution (Red Pepper, December 19, 2013) < [Prof. Jean Barya Warns Against Manipulating Constitution | Redpepper Uganda](#) > accessed on 21<sup>st</sup> January 2023

# Prof. Edward Bitanywaine Rugumayo



Edward Bitanywaine Rugumayo was born on 18th December 1934, he is a Ugandan politician, diplomat, author, academic and environmentalist. He has previously served as cabinet minister in three Ugandan administrations. From 1979 until 1980, Rugumayo served as the Chairman of the Uganda Legislative Council. He currently serves as the chancellor of two Ugandan universities. He is a botanist and a community leader.

## **History**

Rugumayo was born in Kyenjojo District, then known as Mwenje County, on 18 December 1934.

## **Education**

He attended Mukole Primary School in Kyenjojo District from P1 to P4. He then attended Galihuma Primary School from P5 to P6. For S1 to S3, he attended Kabarole Junior Secondary School, and for S4 to S6, he attended Nyakasura School, in Fort Portal. He was admitted to Makerere University in the mid-1950s, but he quit when the university did not offer him the course he wanted; he was offered Agriculture, but he wanted Medicine. He was offered a scholarship to go and study in the United States of America, but was denied a passport by the British Colonial Administration. Instead, in 1958, they gave him a scholarship to study in the United Kingdom. He studied for the Diploma in Education at Chester College, then a constituent college of the University of Liverpool. He then studied at the University of London, where he graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Science in Botany and Ecology.

## **Political career**

When Rugumayo returned to Uganda in 1966, he taught briefly at Kyambogo before joining Makerere University, as the warden of Mitchell Hall, one of the halls of residence. In 1971, Idi Amin successfully led a coup d'état against the Obote I administration. Rugumayo was appointed Minister of Education, through connections with his friend Wanume Kibedi, a lawyer, with whom they had studied in London and who was an in-law to Idi Amin. Kibedi was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs. In February 1973, one year and eight months on the job, Rugumayo resigned from Amin's cabinet; the first member of the cabinet to resign. He went into exile in Nairobi, Kenya, staying there until 1979, when Amin's regime was toppled.

After the Uganda National Liberation Army (UNLA) and the Uganda National Liberation Front (UNLF) captured power in Kampala, with the assistance of the Tanzania People's Defence Force (TPDF), Rugumayo was appointed chairman of the National Consultative Council (NCC), the parliament of the time. Rugumayo was instrumental in removing Yusuf Lule from power, when Lule disagreed with the NCC on procedural protocol when making cabinet appointments. Lule was



replaced by Godfrey Binaisa. In May 1980, while Rugumayo was in Arusha, Tanzania, the Binaisa administration was also deposed in another coup d'état. This time Rugumayo stayed in exile until 1992. That year, he returned to Uganda and joined the National Resistance Movement administration of Yoweri Museveni.

### **Academic and political appointments**

He has formerly held the following positions in the Ugandan Government, International Organizations and Universities.

As Senior Science Inspector of Schools, while teaching at the Institute of Teacher Education, Kyambogo; now part of Kyambogo University, from 1968 until 1969.

As Warden of Mitchell Hall, and lecturer, Department of Education, Makerere University, from 1970 until 1971.

As Minister of Education from June 1971 until February 1973 under Idi Amin.

As Senior Lecturer, then Associate Professor and then Dean, School of Education at the University of Zambia, between 1973 and 1979

As Chairman of the National Consultative Council from April 1979 until May 1980

As Senior Consultant on Environmental Education; Training and Project Design for UNEP, UNDP, UNESCO, World Bank and other NGOs based in Nairobi.

As Visiting Professor of Environment at Oklahoma State University and Moscow State University

As Chairperson of a 12-person team of consultants hired to establish the School of Environmental Studies at Moi University in Kenya, in 1989.

As Visiting UNDP/UNEP Professor of Environment at Moi University.

As Senior Programme Coordinator of Environment Liaison Centre International, a global coalition of environment NGOs based in Nairobi, from June 1992 until May 1995.

As Chief Technical Advisor on Environment to with the Government of Lesotho, from July 1995 to July 1996, assigned by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

As Uganda's first Ambassador to South Africa from 1996 until 1999

As Minister of Internal Affairs from 199 until 2000

As Minister of Tourism, Trade and Industry, from 2000 until 2005.

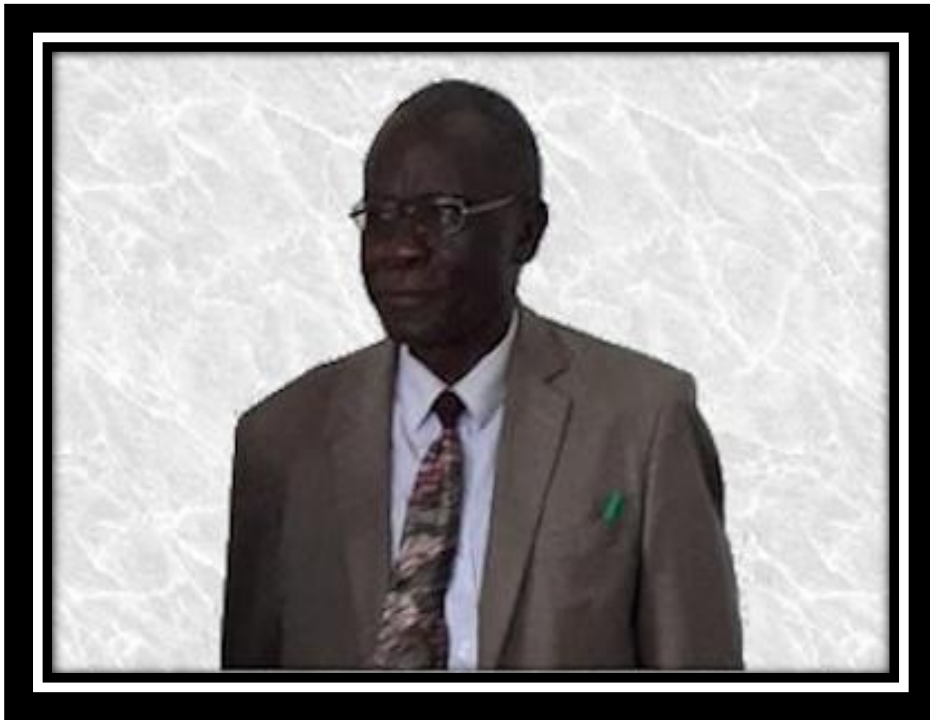
In 2005, during a cabinet reshuffle, Rugumayo was appointed Uganda's ambassador to France, a position which he turned down.

### **Other considerations**

Rugumayo started Tooro Botanical Gardens, a 40 hectares (99 acres), natural tropical forest with rare native flora, with medicinal, dye-producing and perfumed plant species. It is the only other botanical gardens in Uganda, other than the government-owned Entebbe Botanical Gardens in Entebbe, on the shores of Lake Victoria. He also owns a mixed diary and crop farm measuring 20 hectares (49 acres), where he also maintains an apiary.

No wonder, he is a legal General.

# Prof. Fredrick Jjuuko



Professor Fredrick Jjuuko has been recognized as the longest serving academic staff at Makerere University School of Law.

Prof. Jjuuko is an Advocate and Professor of Law and Jurisprudence. He holds a Master of Laws from the University of Dar es Salaam/Makerere University 1977-1978; a Diploma in Advanced International Conflict from the University of Uppsala, Sweden, 1993; a Diploma in Legal Practice from the Law Development Centre, Kampala, Uganda 1981-1982; a Bachelor of Laws from Makerere University 1973-1976; and a Certificate in Extractives from the Columbia University, New York, 2017.

He is one of the top-ranking professors in the country, having begun his 43-year teaching career at the School of Law, at Makerere University in 1976 until 2019. He also served as Dean Faculty of Law, Uganda Martyrs University. At Makerere University, he was Head, Law and Jurisprudence, School of Law from 1995-2017; Dean from 1988-1995; and Head Commercial Law and Jurisprudence from 1983-

1988. He has held different administrative positions including: Chairman of the Makerere Academic Staff Association (1988-1993); the Examination Irregularities Committee, Makerere University (1990-1994); the Academic Programmes Review Committee, Makerere University (2009-2010); and the Contracts Committee Makerere University (2004-2010).

He was also a Member of the Makerere University Council (1988-1995 and 2002); the Administration & Development Committee, Makerere University (1990-1993); the Makerere University Staff Tribunal (2007-2011) and of various permanent and Ad hoc Committees in Makerere University over the years.

Outside the University, Prof. Jjuuko has been a member of the Editorial Board, Uganda Law Reports; of the Executive of Uganda Law Society (1986-1989); the Uganda Law Council (1988-1994); the Uganda Law Development Centre Management Committee (1988-1994); the Committee for Legal Education in East Africa (1988-1994); and the Scientific Committee, NURRU, Centre for Basic Research (1994 – to-date). He is an Examiner of the Uganda Institute of Bankers and the Uganda Management Institute. He has written extensively and published on various subjects including on critical areas of governance in East Africa (including specialization in media law). He has in this regard also been a member of the Editorial Board, Uganda Law Reports; and Editor of the East African Journal of Peace and Human Rights (1992-1996).

He has worked variously with and engaged with civil society. His legal scholarship as a lecturer and work with NGOs have exposed him to a good appreciation of the EA governance and constitutional landscape. He Chaired Kituo cha Katiba's fact-finding missions to Tanzania in 2009-2010, which produced the report: Federation Within Federation. The Tanzania Union Experience and The East African Integration Project; and the one in 2017-2018, that produced the report, Peace and Unity in the Isles: Prospects of a Government of National Unity in Zanzibar.

He was one of the experts from Uganda and Kenya that that reviewed and made proposals on the Proposed Constitution of Tanzania and presented their findings to the Warioba Committee in 2015, under the auspices of Kituo cha Katiba. He

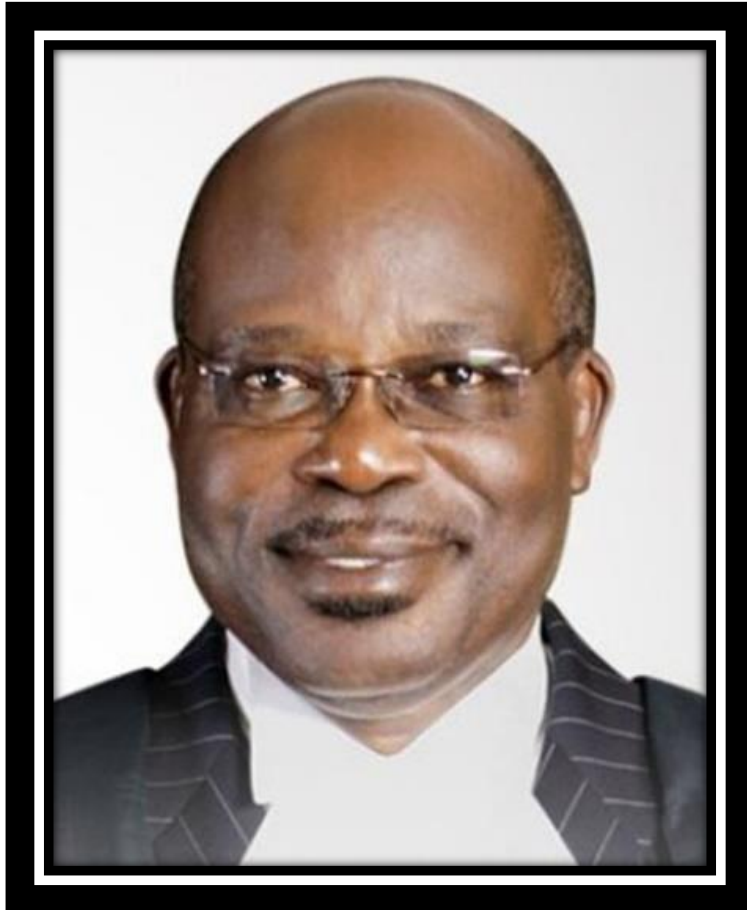
serves on the Board of the International Governance Alliance (IGA) in Uganda (IGA) an NGO based in Uganda.

He has been involved in initiating public interest litigation namely: Prof. Frederick E. Ssempebwa, Prof. Frederick Jjuuko, *Kituo cha Katiba v. Attorney General*, Civil Application No.5 of 2019 (Arising out of Presidential Election Petition No.1 of 2016); in which he conceptualized and provided technical guidance prior to instituting it and during its hearing.

He was a consultant for the World Bank and Government of Uganda, Member of Committee on Legal Training and Accreditation in Uganda, 1995. He was the consultant for the Book Project of former Chief Justice of Uganda, Benjamin Odoki, *The Search for a National Consensus: The Making of the Uganda Constitution 1995, (2004-2005)*.

A true Legal General.

## Assoc. Prof. Francis A.W. Bwengye



He is a Ugandan Senior Advocate, Author, Politician, Former Presidential Aspirant, Associate Professor of Law and former Dean School of Law at Nkumba University in Entebbe, Uganda. He was Born on November 16th, 1942 in Mubanda village, Ruhinda county, Bushenyi District.

He went to Rubangizi Primary School, St. Charles Lwanga Kasasa, St. Mary's College Kisubi and St. Mary's College Kitovu. He then joined the Mbale School of Hygiene where he did a three-year Diploma in Hygiene.

He was a Presidential Candidate in the late 90s and a strong anti- Government opponent. He has always advocated for the rule of law and lectured law in different universities.

Professor Bwengye is also remembered in 2021 when police raided Edith Byanyinmas' home to confiscate red napkins, he is among the few or only lawyer to come out and criticize the act of the Uganda Police. He said that the Police detectives didn't have a search warrant and therefore, Edith Byanyinma declined to sign a document the officers presented to her.

He has written a number of books in the country which have had a wide impact on the jurisprudence of Uganda.

His book "The legal practice in Uganda: The law, Training, Practice and conduct of Advocates," written by lawyer Prof. Francis Bwengye in Kampala has made a great impact on the Jurisprudence of Uganda. And it has always been used as a guide by both lawyers in practice and the law scholars.

# Assoc. Prof. Dr. Winifred Mary Tarinyeba Kiryabwire



Winifred Mary Tarinyeba Kiryabwire was born in 1976, is a Ugandan lawyer, he is an academic and business woman holding a Bachelor of Laws which was obtained from Makerere University. She also acquired a Diploma in Legal Practice, from the Law Development Centre, in Kampala. Her Master of Laws, was awarded by the University of Cambridge in the United Kingdom. She has two more degrees; one is the Master of Science of Law and the other is the Doctor of Science of Law, both awarded by Stanford Law School, in the United States.

She has over 20 years' professional experience and expertise in corporate law, banking, securities regulation and corporate governance. She is a Commonwealth and Fulbright Scholar and has received several fellowships including the Robert S. McNamara Fellowship of the World Bank, Fellow of the Stanford Program in International Legal Studies and the Cambridge Commonwealth Society Fellowship.



She has impacted a lot in corporate law , banking, securities regulation and corporate governance.

# Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ronald Naluwairo



Dr. Ronald Naluwairo is a Senior Lecturer and Principal at the School of Law, Makerere University. He is an academic, policy analyst, lawyer, scholar and development practitioner. He is Associate Professor at the Human Rights & Peace Centre, University of London. Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) • 2008 • 2011; University of Cambridge. Master of Laws (LLM) • 2002 • 2003; Law Development Centre. He is from the ACODE Uganda.

He has authored so many books including: *In Quest for an Efficient Agri-food System: Reflections on Uganda's Major Agri-food System Policies and Policy Frameworks*. His attributes in this book was one of a kind and laid a fundamental positive impact to our jurisprudence as far as Agri-food system policies and Policy Frameworks are concerned.

**Dr. Ronald Naluwairo** an academic and policy analyst with extensive experience in policy research and analysis. He is a Senior Lecturer at the School of Law, Makerere University and Senior Research Fellow at the Advocates Coalition for Development and Environment is a legal General.

# Assoc. Prof. Ronald Kakungulu Mayambala



Dr. Mayambala is a Coordinator, Administrative Officers' Law Course, Makerere University School of Law and Chairperson, Sub-Contracts Committee, Colleges of Humanities and Social Sciences (CHUSS), Agriculture and Environmental Sciences (CAES), Makerere University, Uganda. He was the Chairperson, Examinations Verification Committee, Law Development Centre (LDC), Kampala, Legal Representative, College of Business and Management (CoBAMS), College Appeals Committee, Makerere University. He is also a member of Forensic Examinations Audit Committee, Law Development Centre (LDC) and a was Member of the Steering Committee, Cross Cultural Foundation of Uganda (CCFU).

He holds a Doctor of Juridical Science (S.J.D) having worked on Indigenous People, Human Rights, and the African Problem: The Case of the Twa, Ogiek and Maasai. He also has a Master of International Law and Justice (LL M ILJ), Certificate in Protection and Promotion of Copyright and Related Rights, Certificate in Protection and Utilization of Traditional Knowledge, Expressions of Folklore and Genetic Resources, Certificate in Registration of Patents, Utility Models, Industrial Designs, Trademarks and Geographical Indications and Certificate International Water Law, Negotiation Skills and Conflict Resolution among others.

He currently lectures Human Rights Law, Intellectual Property Law, Consumer Law & Protection, Equity & Trusts, Law and Legal Methods, Computers and the Law to undergraduates and Environmental Law & Policy, International Environmental Law, Intellectual Property Law and Computers the Law to graduate students. He is also a visiting Senior Lecturer, Faculty of Law, St. Augustine University of Tanzania (SAUT), Centre for Human Rights, The University of Pretoria, South Africa and a member of the Editorial Board and Peer Reviewer, Mount Kenya University Law Journal (MKULJ).

Him being rich in a variety of legal knowledge and different spheres of jurisprudence which he has also shared to the young lawyers will forever be appreciated by all those that know him.

# Dr. Kabumba Busingye



Dr. Busingye Kabumba delivering the Keynote Address at the 3rd Chief Justice Benedicto Kiwanuka Memorial Lecture, organized by the Judiciary of Uganda at The High Court, Kampala on 21st September 2020. His speech was leaned on the Black letter.

**Busingye Kabumba** was born on 12<sup>th</sup> June 1982, he is a Ugandan lawyer and poet. He graduated with an LL.B from Makerere University. After graduating from the Law Development Centre with a post-graduate diploma in legal practice in July 2006, Busingye studied a bachelor of civil law degree at University of Oxford. He later did a master of laws Harvard University. He is a Lecturer-in-Law, Human Rights and Peace Centre (HURIPEC), at the Faculty of Law, Makerere University and a Consulting Partner with M/S Development Law Associates. His poetry collection, "Whispers of My Soul", won first prize in the published works category at the National Book Trust of Uganda (NABOTU) awards of 2002. The publication of this book in 2001 when he was 19 years old made him the youngest Ugandan poet ever to publish a whole collection of poetry. He is a legal General.

# Dr. Zahara Nampewo



Dr. Zahara Nampewo is a female Ugandan Senior lecturer of law and lawyer, human rights activist, and academic. She is the executive director of the Human Rights and Peace Centre at Makerere University School of Law, in Kampala. She also holds a Diploma in Legal Practice, obtained from the Law Development Centre, also in Kampala.

Her Advanced Diploma in Human Rights Protection was obtained from Abo Akademi University, in Turku, Finland. She also has a Master of Laws degree, in human rights, awarded by the University of Nottingham in the United Kingdom. Her Doctor of Juridical Science degree was obtained from Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia, United States.

Dr. Zahara Nampewo is a director at the Governance and Public Policy Research Center, a think tank, based in Kampala.



# Dr. Kiddu Makubuya



Makubuya was born on 30 July 1949. He holds a First Class Honors Bachelor of Laws degree from Makerere University, which he obtained in 1974. He also holds a Master of Laws degree and a Doctor of Juridical Science, both from Yale Law School and obtained in 1976 and 1979 respectively. On returning to Uganda, he joined the Law Development Center where he completed his Diploma in Legal Practice between 1981 and 1982. He enrolled as an advocate of the Uganda High Court in 1985.

**Kiddu Makubuya** is a Ugandan lawyer, politician, and academic. He is the former minister for general duties in the office of the prime minister. He was appointed to that position on 27 May 2011, replacing Janat Mukwaya who retired from elective politics.

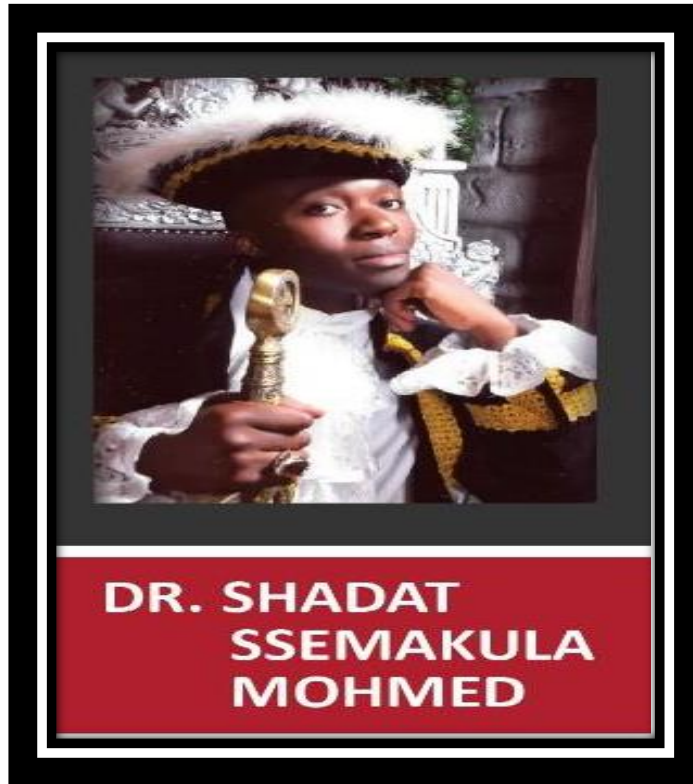
Besides his professional experience, Makubuya has served in a number of administrative capacities. Between 1981 and 1982, he was an ex-officio member of

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the Uganda Law Council and the Management Committee of the Law Development Centre. He has been a member of various committees at Makerere University, including the Senate. The former minister's areas of interest in research include jurisprudence, family law, international law, law and development, human rights of women, land law and land planning, development finance, refugee law, constitutional law, law and population, and gender and law.

He has written a number of books which have had a huge impact to jurisprudence, he has one of the ground influential books in the country. Some of these include; Introduction to Law: The Uganda case which he published in 1983. He is a legal General.

# Dr. Shadat Ssemakula Mohhmed M



Dr. Shadat Ssemakula Mohhmed M holds a degree in law, LLB, LLM, LPC, MPhil and PhD.

He is a Dean Faculty of Law Gulu University, the General Secretary of Uganda Law Deans Forum. Member of Uganda Muslim Lawyers, Lead Consultant Centre for Arbitration and Dispute Resolutions. (CADRE). LLM Consultant (Oil and Gas), Uganda Christian University. Lead Trainer of Judiciary on ADR PhD Consultant Uganda Management institute ADR Consultant Kigali independent University Patron Uganda Muslim Association, Northern Region,

UN Rapture on Genocide, Member of Global Law Deans Forum, External Examiner Nkumba Visiting Lecturer Makerere University.

# Dr. Caroline Adochi



Dr. Caroline Adoch was awarded a Doctor of Laws (LL.D) Monday 23<sup>rd</sup> May, 2022 during the first day of Makerere University's 72<sup>nd</sup> Graduation Ceremony. Dr. Adoch became the first female to be awarded a Doctor of Laws (LL.D) of Makerere University in the institution's 100 year history. Her doctoral thesis was titled '*Access to Gender Justice in Uganda: A Feminist Analysis of Experiences of Rape victims in the Reporting and Prosecution processes*'

In her own words she avers that "I am a Ugandan female; I work at Makerere University School of Law as an Assistant Lecturer. I joined the Makerere University Service in 2012 as a Teaching Assistant. My education background: I attended primary school at St. Agnes Catholic Girls' Boarding Primary School Naggalama, Uganda; Secondary school at Mount St. Mary's Namagunga (emerged as national best student in her year for A'Level exams). Attended University of Dar es Salaam for Bachelor of Laws (LL. B) graduating as best student of my class 2004-2007.

She was awarded a Commonwealth Scholarship to study for a Master of Laws (LL.M) at University of Cambridge, United Kingdom from 2009-2010.

# Dr. Stella Nyanzi



**Dr. Stella Nyanzi** was born on 16 June 1974. She is a Ugandan human rights advocate, poet, medical anthropologist, feminist, queer rights advocate, and scholar of sexuality, family planning, and public health. She was arrested in 2017 for insulting the Ugandan president. In January 2022, she was accepted to live in Germany on a writers-in-exile programme run by PEN Germany, with her three children.

Nyanzi received her Bachelor of Arts in Mass Communication and Literature at Makerere University where she studied from 1993 to 1996. She received her Master of Science in Medical Anthropology at University College London, where she studied from 1999 to 2000. She received her PhD in anthropology at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, where she studied social anthropology, sexuality, and youth and health policy from 2003 to 2008.

Nyanzi has conducted research on youth sexuality in Uganda, and also in The Gambia in 2005.

The international press has called her "one of Africa's most prominent gender rights activists," "a leading scholar in the emerging field of African queer studies," and a leader in the fight against "repressive anti-queer laws" and for "freedom of speech." Her scholarship has provided "insight into the effects of patriarchy, misogyny and homophobia in Uganda, The Gambia, and Tanzania."

An international outcry followed Stella Nyanzi's arrest, with human rights groups condemning the act as a violation of academic freedom and freedom of expression. Amnesty International called for Uganda to drop the "absurd charges" against her. Pen International, the writer's organization, also condemned her arrest. Human Rights Watch condemned her arrest as "an indicator that those who express critical views of the Ugandan government, especially the first family, can face its wrath."

International news agencies have reported on the reasons for her arrest as political. NPR reported that her arrest was for giving hope "that the powerless can take on the powerful." *The Washington Post* reported that her arrest was for being an "outspoken anti-Museveni activist." *Al Jazeera English* reported that her arrest was due to Museveni's plans to rule for life and his intolerance of critics. The Canadian *Globe and Mail* reported that her arrest was "at the heart of it all it [about] her imaginative use of language and her fierce defiance of the perceived limits for Ugandan women." *The Guardian* reported that her "attack on her government's refusal to fund sanitary wear for girls led to a successful crowdfunding campaign, and prison."

In Uganda, she has a large number of supporters, with the largest social media following of any Ugandan. Many collected food for her in prison. Ugandan scholars have praised her as standing up against "our tormentors." Her lawyer Isaac Kimaze Semakadde was named "most outstanding public interest litigation lawyer in Uganda" by the Uganda Law Society, in part for his work on this case.

The Ugandan academic and gender and queer rights advocate Dr Stella Nyanzi was awarded the **2020 Oxfam Novib/PEN International Award for Freedom of Expression**, given annually to writers and journalists in recognition of their

significant contribution to freedom of expression despite the danger to their own lives.

In Uganda, "strong cultural taboos against talking openly and graphically about sex and sexuality" exist and "homosexuality is illegal and sex education is banned in schools." However, Nyanzi speaks "openly - and colourfully - about sex, genitalia and politics. For this, she is adored by many of her fellow citizens but viewed with distaste by some of Uganda's more conservative elements.

Nyanzi practices what scholars have called "radical rudeness," which is a traditional Ugandan strategy of calling the powerful to account through public insult. It was developed during the colonial era, as "a rude, publicly celebrated strategy of insults, scandal mongering, disruption, and disorderliness that broke conventions of colonial friendship, partnership, and mutual benefit."

Social activist Dr Stella Nyanzi obtained an award by Solidarity Uganda for being a consistent human rights defender. She won this award at a time while she was detained in Luzira Prison for allegedly using electronic communication to disturb the peace of President Museveni.

Nyanzi has campaigned for the rights of Ugandan women, Dr Stella Nyanzi is a well-cited scholar in her fields, with 61 articles and 2,049 citations by May 2022.

Despite her being a non-lawyer, her ground work qualifies her to be a legal General for her fostering the rule of law, and upholding the welfare of people to be supreme.



# Dr. Olive Sabiiti



Dr. Olive Sabiiti is a Senior Lecturer, a scholar of law and an advocate of the High Court of Uganda.

As a Commonwealth Scholar, Dr. Olive Sabiiti earned her PhD degree in law from the University of Manchester, UK. As a British Chevening Scholar, she earned her LLM (Master of Laws in International Business Law) degree with merit from the University of Manchester, UK. She holds a post-graduate diploma in Legal Practice from Law Development Centre, Uganda, and a Bachelor of Laws degree (LLB) with Honours from Makerere University.

Prior to joining Cavendish University Uganda, Dr. Olive Sabiiti taught Law and Finance in Emerging Markets, Land Transactions, Business and Commercial laws at the University of Manchester, Makerere University, Uganda Christian University, Mukono, and Uganda Management Institute (UMI).

For close to a decade, Dr. Olive Sabiiti served as the Speaker of Mpigi District Council, Chair of the Association of all District Council Speakers in the Country and as Chair of the Conflict Resolution Committee of the Uganda Local Governments Association (ULGA).

As an Advocate of the High Court of Uganda, she has practiced law for more than 15 years. She is a member of the Uganda Law Society, East Africa Law Society, and the Society for Institutional and Organisational Economics. She represents Cavendish University Uganda at the International Association of Law Schools.

# Dr. Rose Nakayi



Dr. Rose Nakayi is a Lecturer at the School of Law, Makerere University & Director (Ag.) Human Rights and Peace Center (HURIPEC).

## **Senior Lecturer**

Dr. Rose Nakayi is a Senior Lecturer at the School of Law, Makerere University. Her academic, research and teaching interests span multiple subject areas including land law, land governance, human rights law, and transitional justice. Nakayi has been a consultant on various projects on land governance and human rights for a number of civil society organizations, Justice, Law and Order Sector departments and agencies and some development partners. She has facilitated a number of workshops and written in her field of specialty.

Her publications include a book Chapter- on, The Politics of Land Law Reforms in Neoliberal Uganda, in THE DYNAMICS OF NEOLIBERAL TRANSFORMATION IN UGANDA (Joerg Wiegratzki, Giuliano Martiniello

and Elisa Greco eds., 2018). She served as a Commissioner of the Judicial Commission of Enquiry into the effectiveness of Law, Processes and Procedures of Land Acquisition, Administration, Management and Registration in Uganda (2017-2020).

Dr. Nakayi was Ag. Director of HURIPPEC (2012-2013), Coordinator of the LL.M in Human Rights and Democratisation in Africa and later served on the Makerere University Staff Tribunal. She has held various prestigious Fellowships to conduct research aspects of land governance. These include: J. William Fulbright Fellowship at the Center for Civil and Human Rights, University of Notre dame (2008-2010) and the World Bank's Robert S. McNamara Fellowship (2012).

Nakayi is a member of the Uganda Law Society and an advocate of the High court of Uganda. She holds an LL. B (Hons) from Makerere University, a Post-Graduate Diploma in Legal Practice from the Law Development Center, LL.M from the University of Cambridge (UK) (Clare Hall), and a Doctorate in Law (SJD) (Summa cum Laude) from the University of Notre Dame, Indiana (USA).

Her works in the fostering jurisprudence without double qualifies her as a Legal General.

# Dr. Daniel Ruhweza



Dr DANIEL RUHWEZA is best known as a political pundit and law don. Beyond that, he is also an author and in his latest book titled: *We Don't Teach That at The University*, he suggests answers to questions about what is taught and missed in our university education.

Additionally, he is a member of the East African Law Society Committee on the Rule of Law. This much-needed book is a must-read for those desirous of making a difference in the lives of young people, be they parents or lecturers, mentors. It is particularly a great read for current, former and soon-to-be university students, writes David Lumu.

How does one survive in this world which has been classified as VUCA [volatile, uncertain, complex and ambiguous]?

What survival skills are needed in this world? Is the university education still relevant to the needs of the world? Why would a young graduate ask for career advice a few days after graduation?

Why do parents have to look for jobs for their graduate children even after spending a lot of money educating them? Why do employers find it difficult to employ this generation termed as Millennials? How can those involved in policymaking and university education respond relevantly to the challenges faced today?

Those and more questions are answered in this 170-page book that challenges the reader's mind to reason without bias or emotion in order to realise one's ability.

In his foreword, Supreme court judge Mike Chibita tellingly notes that many people go to university thinking they will learn everything they ever need to know about life.

“How wrong...the university is only a springboard, a launching pad, for even more learning and research. At the university, only so little is learnt; so much is left to be learnt after.”

It is this so much left to be learnt after that Dr Ruhweza addresses in his soon-to-be launched book. I feel privileged to read about many thought-proving chapters aimed at how to make the best of one's potential. He particularly advises every person to first do an inner self-assessment and soul-searching to understand one's purpose in life.

Ruhweza cites the Hedgehog concept's three intersections of what one is passionate about, what they are best at and what drives them. He refers to Alex Jakana, a former classmate at Busoga College Mwiri, who followed his passion of communication and made it a career in spite of the many temptations to do something else.

In the second chapter, Ruhweza addresses how one's attitude can make or break their fortunes. For instance, he recalls his school days when his negative attitude to mathematics contributed to his low grades.

“My attitude was greatly affected until I watched the series Numbers...for the first time, my attitude towards mathematics changed because I was able to relate to what it can do for human good,” he says.

At every opportunity, Ruhweza brings out the spiritual emphasis to living a positive life, such as the biblical story of Joseph, whose attitude to life elevated him to become the prime minister of Egypt.

“No one can singlehandedly claim they are able to rely on themselves,” he notes, pointing out that had it not been his father to connect him with mentors, the burden to succeed would have been tough.

“There is no doubt that love and sexuality have a strong attraction but so does the requirement for soberness of thought and emotion.... A wrong choice could easily mean unnecessary expenses in childcare, stressful living, domestic violence or even death,” he warns.

He further challenges the establishments to do more beyond talking the talk and walk the walk.

“The ministry of Education and Sports needs to encourage innovativeness amongst teaching institutions,” he says. “Students should not only be examined based on what they know but also what they can innovatively do.”

Daniel Ronald Ruhweza is on a mission to bring transformation to the nation of Uganda by raising a generation of young people to achieve their fullest potential while honouring God, their families and the nation. Ruhweza is the current president of the Uganda Christian Lawyers Fraternity and member of several management boards and a pundit on political, social and constitutional issues.

Ruhweza is a Rotarian, blogger, lecturer at Makerere University and attorney at law. Daniel challenges young men and women to identify their purpose, gives a blueprint on how to pursue that purpose, and advises on how to remain authentic and true to self, in order to achieve a holistic and meaningful life. It is a great book that is recommendable to everyone who seeks to achieve an outstanding, boundary less, protean career.

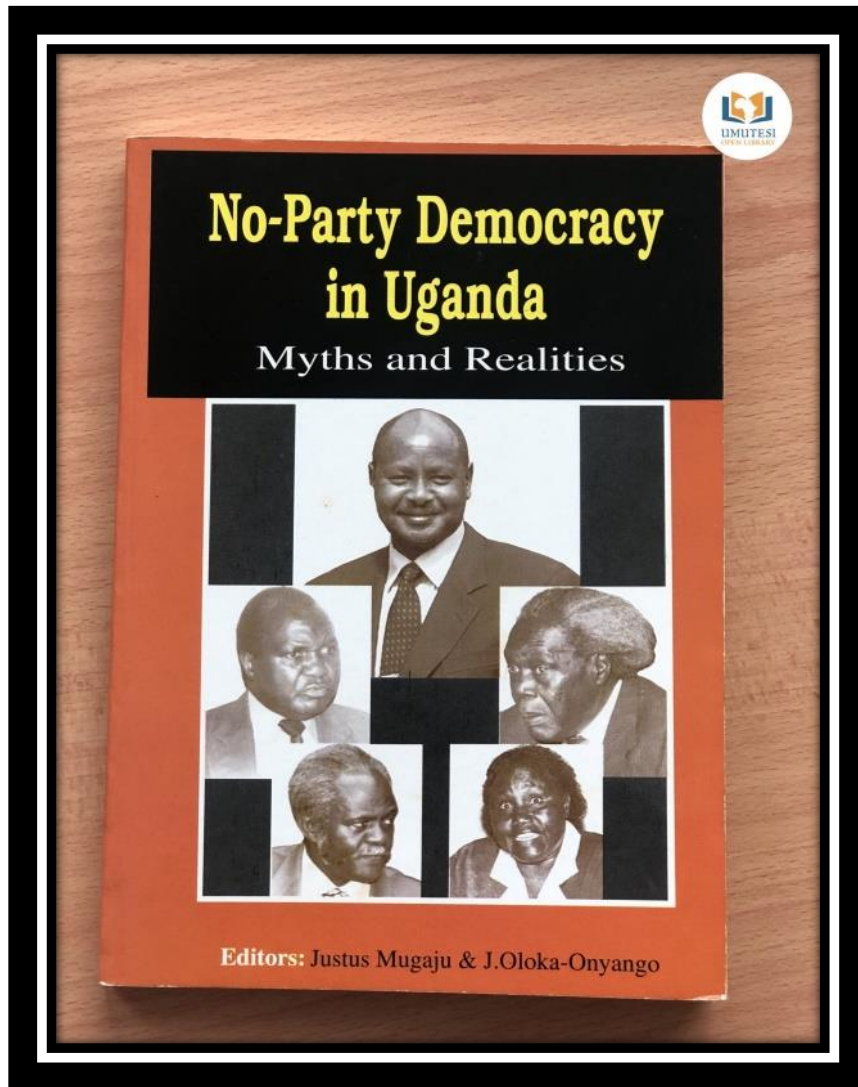
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Daniel by his book, inadvertently reveals a gap in the mentoring of university students that could be filled with formally appointed tutor-student mentoring partnerships, an area the school of law and the university could look into. He draws extensively from his Christian background and his time in the school of law as a student as well as a lecturer, these lessons can be applied to any other faculty of life.

He is a Legal General.



# Dr. Justus Mugaju



Between 1969 and 1974, Mugaju was at Makerere University for his bachelors and masters in history. He later went to Bristol University in UK where he got a PhD.

Mugaju lectured at the University of Sokoto in Nigeria from 1977 to 1979 and the University of Nairobi, from 1979 to 1989.

In 1990, he was appointed the commissioner of relief services in the ministry of rehabilitation, a position he held up to 1995. Upon retiring, Mugaju joined Fountain Publishers as an associate editor and also became a part time lecturer at Makerere from 1995-96.

He has also been a consultant with the Danish International Development Agency and the Finish International Development Agency and an out of house editor of the United Nations Development Programmer's newsletter.

# Dr. Achan Patricia Okiria



Dr. Achan has a doctorate in International Human rights law

Dr. Okiria was recently a member of the Uganda Human Rights Commission (UHRC) which she joined in March 2019.

before joining UHRC, Dr. Okiria worked with the Ministry of works and transport, where she served as policy and legal advisor, mainly in charge of legislative drafting for transport policies and laws; from 2016 to the time of her appointment to UNRC.

Dr. Okiria holds a doctor of laws in international human rights from the University of Pretoria, South Africa; master in laws in Human Rights and democratization from the same university and bachelor of laws from Makerere University.

She also holds a post graduate diploma in legal practice from the Law Development Centre and is an enrolled advocate of the High Court of Uganda.

Her elaborate work experience has seen her serve in the Directorate for Ethics and Integrity for over six years, from 2010 to 2016 as the principal legal officer and later as acting director of legal services.

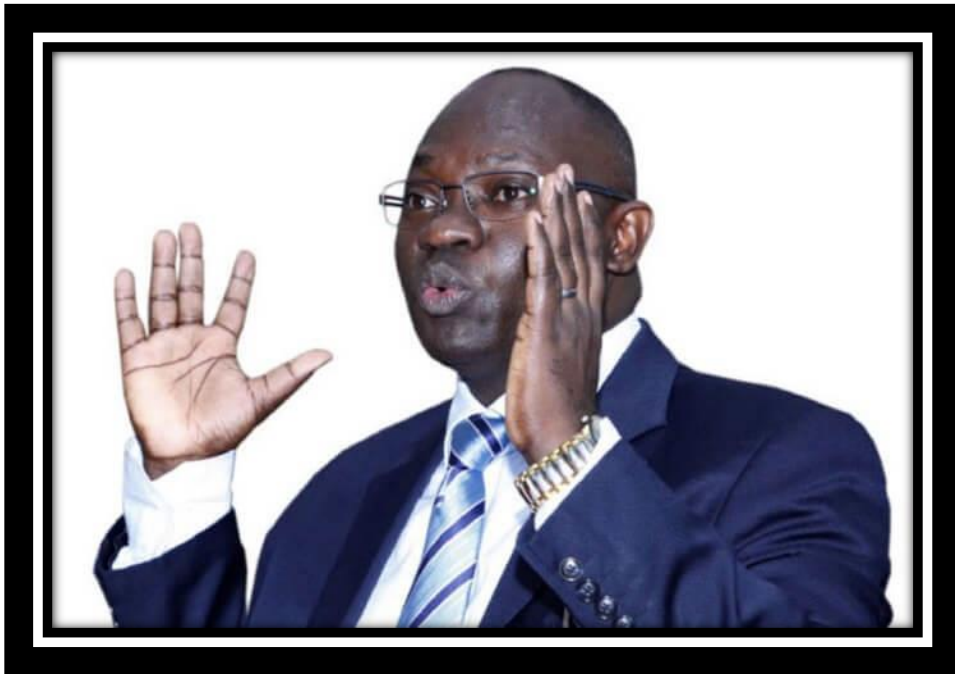
Dr. Okiria is also credited for leading the process of simplifying the Anti-corruption laws, developing the citizens Handbook on Anti-corruption and initiating the development of the anti-corruption training manual for law enforcement agencies.

She made significant contribution by completing the preparation of several key anti-corruption legislations in Uganda, which included the Leadership Code Amendment Bill 2016 and the Whistleblowers Protection Regulations of 2015 as well as participating in the dissemination of anti-corruption laws to 68 districts in Uganda.

Dr. Okiria has also written a number of publications, including: “Unpacking the Right to participation for the Batawa Indigenous Minorities in Uganda, 2014 EAJPHR Vol 20;” “The Best Practices on state reporting,” and “The IDP Crisis in Africa: Implementation of the National and International law on the child Marriage Phenomen in Northern Uganda.”

At the International level, she is again credited for her role as a review expert representing Uganda on the legal committee of the International Maritime Organisation on maritime issues and on the board of review experts in the implementation of the United National Convention against Corruption, under which countries like Togo were reviewed for compliance in 2011.

# Dr. Livingstone Sewanyana



Livingstone Sewanyana is the Founder and Executive Director of the Foundation for Human Rights Initiative (FHRI), a Ugandan civil society organization. A lawyer by profession and advocate of the High Court of Uganda, he holds a PhD in Public Law from the University of Cape Town (South Africa), a Master of Laws in International Human Rights Law (with Distinction) from the University of Essex (United Kingdom) and a Bachelor of Laws (Honours) from Makerere University (Uganda). He also holds a Post-Graduate Diploma in Legal Studies from the Law Development Centre, Kampala, as well as certificates in specialized studies from the Institute of Social Studies (the Netherlands) and the International Institute of Human Rights (France).

Mr. Sewanyana is recipient of several awards for his scholarly and professional work, the most recent being a Regional CEO Award (2017), the NACOBAS Service Award (2016), the European Union Human Rights Defender Award (2015), the Shanti K. Khinduka Award for Social Development (2013), the African Human Rights Defenders Award (2013) and an Outstanding Young Alumnus Award (2006).

He has written and published widely on human rights, corporate governance, public sector management and access to justice. The author of *Comparative Experiences of NGO Regulatory Frameworks: Eastern & Southern Africa* (2017), his doctoral studies and research focused on the regulatory framework of civic associations in Eastern and Southern Africa.

# Dr. Roseline Karugonjo Segawa



Roseline obtained her doctorate from Centre for Human Rights, University of Pretoria.

Dr. Roselyn Karugonjo Segawa served as the Chairperson of the Leadership Code Tribunal. Dr. Roselyn Karugonjo-Segawa holds a Doctor of Laws and a Master of Laws from the University of Pretoria, South Africa; a Post Graduate Diploma in Law (Law Development Centre-Kampala, Uganda) and a Bachelor of Laws Degree (LLB) with Honors from Makerere University in Kampala, Uganda. She is the current Chairperson of the Leadership Code Tribunal. Before this she was working as the Dean, Faculty of Law, Uganda Christian University where she taught human rights and international humanitarian law. She also previously worked for over 12 years with the Uganda Human Rights Commission serving in several posts such as the Director of the Directorate of Monitoring and Inspections, Registrar, Senior Human Rights Officer, Human Rights Officer and Volunteer. She was a guest researcher at the Danish Institute for Human Rights and also worked as a law clerk

at the Legal Aid Clinic of the Law Development Centre. She is a Board Member of Penal Reform International.



# H.E Kabaka Edward Musteesa II



Sir Edward Frederick William David Walugembe Mutebi Luwangula Mutesa II (modern spelling: Muteesa) KBE (19 November 1924 – 21 November 1969) was the Kabaka of the Kingdom of Buganda from 22 November 1939 until his death. He was the thirty-fifth Kabaka of Buganda and the first president of Uganda. The foreign press often referred to him as King Freddie, a name rarely used in Uganda. An ardent defender of Buganda's interests, especially its traditional autonomy, he often threatened to make the kingdom independent both before and after Uganda's independence to preserve it. These firm convictions also later led to conflicts with his erstwhile political ally Milton Obote, who would eventually overthrow him.

Mutesa was crowned Kabaka on his 18th birthday in 1942, three years after the death of his father Daudi Cwa II of Buganda during British colonial rule in Uganda. In 1953, he attempted to have Buganda secede to retain the kingdom's independence from a proposed British colonial federation in East Africa. He was deposed and exiled by British colonial governor Andrew Cohen, but was allowed to return to the country two years later in the wake of popular backlash under the terms of the 1955 Buganda Agreement.

In the years preceding Uganda's independence from the United Kingdom in 1962, Mutesa became part of the monarchist Kabaka Yekka party which then formed a coalition with Milton Obote's Uganda People's Congress. The year after Uganda's independence, Mutesa was named the first President of Uganda (then a non-executive position) in 1963 with Obote as Prime Minister. Mutesa's alliance with Obote collapsed in 1964 over the Ugandan lost counties referendum. It worsened in 1966, resulting in Obote overthrowing him and forcing him into exile in the United Kingdom, where he died three years later.

### **Early life**

Mutesa was born at the house of Albert Ruskin Cook in Makindye, Kampala, on 19 November 1924, the fifth son of the Kabaka Daudi Cwa II, who reigned between 1897 and 1939. Mutesa's mother was Lady Irene Drusilla Namaganda, of the Nte clan. He was educated at King's College Budo, a prestigious school in Uganda. Upon the death of his father on 22 November 1939, he was elected Kabaka by the Lukiiko at the age of 15 and was installed outside the Lubiri at Mengo on 25 November 1939. He reigned under a Council of Regents until he came of age and assumed full powers.

### **Education**

He attended King's College Budo before he went to England to complete his education at Magdalene College, Cambridge, where he joined the University Officer Training Corps and was subsequently commissioned as a captain in the Grenadier Guards.

## Reign

Mutesa II was crowned as Kabaka at Buddo on 19 November 1942, his eighteenth birthday. At that time, Buganda was still part of the Uganda Protectorate, a territory within the British Empire.

The years between 1945 and 1950 saw widespread protests against both the Governor of Uganda's and Kabaka Mutesa's governments.

In the early 1950s the British Government floated the idea of uniting British East Africa (Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika) into a federation. Africans feared that this would lead to their coming under the control of Kenya's white settler community, as had happened in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The Baganda, fearing they would lose the limited autonomy they had under British rule, were particularly opposed. Mutesa himself opposed the proposal, and thus came into conflict with the British Governor, Sir Andrew Cohen, prompting the Kabaka crisis. In 1953, the Lukiiko (Parliament) of Buganda sought independence from the Uganda Protectorate, with Mutesa himself demanding that Buganda be separated from the rest of the protectorate of Uganda and transferred to Foreign Office jurisdiction. Governor Cohen's response was to depose and exile the Kabaka on 30 November, creating massive protests among the Baganda. Mutesa's forced departure, carried out by Wing Commander Clive Beadon, made him a martyr in the eyes of the Baganda, whose latent separatism set off a storm of protest. Cohen could find no one among the Baganda willing and able to mobilise support for his schemes. After two years of unrelenting Ganda hostility and obstruction, Cohen was forced to reinstate "Kabaka Freddie", who returned to Kampala on 17 October 1955 under a negotiated settlement which made him a constitutional monarch and gave the Baganda the right to elect representatives to the kingdom's parliament, the Lukiiko. Mutesa's standing up to Cohen greatly boosted his popularity in the kingdom.

In 1962, Uganda became independent from Britain under the leadership of Milton Obote. Under the country's new constitution, the Kingdom of Buganda became a semi-autonomous part of a new Ugandan federation. The federal Prime Minister

was Obote, the leader of the Uganda People's Congress (UPC), which entered a governing coalition with the dominant Buganda regional party, Kabaka Yekka. The post of Governor-General of Uganda was abolished with the attainment of republican status and replaced by a non-executive President.

Obote and the UPC reached a deal with Mutesa to support his election to the Presidency of Uganda. In a session of Parliament on 4 October 1963, Mutesa was elected President via secret ballot with the support of over two thirds of the members.

In 1964, the coalition between Mutesa and Obote's parties collapsed over the imposition, against Mutesa's will, of a referendum to decide the fate of two "lost counties". Residents of the two counties voted overwhelmingly in favour of their return from Buganda to Bunyoro. In 1966, Mutesa's estrangement from Obote merged with another crisis. Obote faced a possible removal from office by factional infighting within his own party. He had the other four leading members of his party arrested and detained, and then suspended the federal constitution and declared himself President of Uganda in February 1966, deposing Mutesa. The Buganda regional Parliament passed a resolution in May 1966 declaring that de jure Buganda's incorporation into Uganda had ended with the suspension of the constitution and requesting the federal government to vacate the capital city, which was in Buganda. Obote responded with an armed attack upon the Kabaka's palace, sending Mutesa into exile in the United Kingdom via Burundi, and in 1967 a new constitution abolished all of Uganda's kingdoms, including Buganda.

### **The final years**

While in exile, Mutesa wrote an autobiography, *The Desecration of My Kingdom*.

Mutesa died of alcohol poisoning in his London flat, No. 28 Orchard House in Rotherhithe, in 1969. Identified by the Metropolitan Police as suicide, the death has been viewed as assassination by those who claim Mutesa may have been force-fed vodka by agents of the Obote regime. Mutesa was interviewed in his flat only a few hours before his death by the British journalist John Simpson, who found that he was sober and in good spirits. Simpson reported this to the police the following day on hearing of Mutesa's death, but this line of inquiry was not pursued.

After Mutesa's body had been embalmed by Desmond Henley, it was returned to Uganda in 1971 after the overthrow of Obote and given a state funeral at Kasubi Nabalagala. The president who ordered the state funeral was Idi Amin, who as army commander had led the assault on Mutesa's palace in 1966. It is said that while in exile in London, "King Freddie" lived in poverty.

### **Quotes**

"Our way of life has been altered – improved – in external things by the advent of the British, while the basic beliefs and way of life have remained ... but the sense of identity is precisely what has remained."

"I have never been able to pin down precisely the difference between a tribe and a nation and see why one is thought so despicable and the other is so admired. Whichever we are, the Baganda have a common language, tradition, history and cast of mind. We are proud of them, but not to such an extent that we cannot be friends with – marry if we wish – other people ... our pride is legitimate."

### **Quotes about Mutesa II**

"Mutesa II's life is a human story - one of a young and ambitious African monarch who struggled to defend the heritage of his forefathers and emancipate his people from the clutches of a powerful imperial authority."

Apollo N. Makubuya, *Reflections on the Triple Heritage of an African King, Knight and President* (2019)

"The castigation of our cultural ideals as tribalistic, backward, and, therefore, not meant for 'civilised people' in modern times could have inspired Mutesa II, on whose very shoulders lay the responsibility to jealously guard the cherished ideals of Buganda in 'modern' Uganda to re-echo in simple terms the significance of these qualities to the politicians of the day."

Jonathan Mwesigwa S., *Federalism: The Most Suitable Form of Governance for Uganda* (2013).

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"...many will say that he was ill-advised to put the Illusions of a bygone tribal glory against the claims of a modern African state; but no one can question the devotion with which he spent himself for his people and their well-being." Rev. John Taylor, speaking at Mutesa II's funeral service in 1969.

# H.E Dr. Milton Obote



Apollo Milton Obote (28 December 1925 – 10 October 2005) was a Ugandan political leader who led Uganda to independence from British colonial rule in 1962. Following the nation's independence, he served as prime minister of Uganda from 1962 to 1966 and the second president of Uganda from 1966 to 1971, then again from 1980 to 1985.

He founded the Uganda People's Congress (UPC) in 1960, which played a key role in securing Uganda's independence from the United Kingdom in 1962. He then became the country's prime minister in a coalition with the Kabaka Yekka movement/party, whose leader King Mutesa II was named president. Due to a rift with Mutesa over the 1964 Ugandan lost counties referendum and later getting implicated in a gold smuggling scandal, Obote overthrew him in 1966 and declared himself president, establishing a dictatorial regime with the UPC as the only official party in 1969. Obote implemented ostensibly socialist policies, under which the country suffered from severe corruption and food shortages.

He was overthrown in a coup d'état by Idi Amin in 1971, settling in exile in Tanzania, but was re-elected in 1980 a year after Amin's 1979 overthrow. His second period of rule ended after a long and bloody conflict known as the Ugandan Bush War, during which he was overthrown a second time by another coup d'état in 1985, prompting him to live the rest of his life in exile.

### **Early life**

Milton Obote was born at Akokoro village in Apac district in northern Uganda. He was the third born of nine children of a tribal chief of the Oyima clan Lango ethnic group. He began his education in 1940 at the Protestant Missionary School in Lira, and later attended Gulu Junior Secondary School, Busoga College and eventually university at Makerere University. Having intended to study law, a subject not taught at the university, Obote took a general arts course, including English and geography. At Makerere, Obote honed his natural oratorical skills; he may have been expelled for participating in a student strike, or alternatively left after a place to study law abroad was not funded by the protectorate government. He worked in Buganda in southern Uganda before moving to Kenya, where he worked as a construction worker at an engineering firm.

While in Kenya, Obote became involved in the national independence movement. Upon returning to Uganda in 1956, he joined the political party Uganda National Congress (UNC), and was elected to the colonial Legislative Council in 1957. In 1959, the UNC split into two factions, with one faction under the leadership of Obote merging with the Uganda People's Union to form the Uganda People's Congress (UPC). Obote represented the UPC at the Ugandan Constitutional Conference, held at Lancaster House in 1961, alongside fellow Ugandan politician A. G. Mehta. The Conference was organised by the British Government to pave the way for Ugandan independence.

### **Prime Minister**

In the runup to independence elections, Obote formed a coalition with the Buganda royalist party, Kabaka Yekka. The two parties controlled a Parliamentary



majority and Obote became Prime Minister in 1962. He assumed the post on 25 April 1962, appointed by Sir Walter Coutts, then Governor-General of Uganda. The following year the position of Governor-General was replaced by a ceremonial presidency to be elected by the parliament. Mutesa, the Kabaka (King) of Buganda, became the ceremonial President, with Obote as executive prime minister.

From left to right: Grace Ibingira, Obote, and John Kakonge in 1962, In January 1964, a mutiny occurred at the military barracks at Jinja, Uganda's second city and home to the 1st Battalion of the Uganda Army. There were similar mutinies in two other eastern African states; all three countries requested the support of troops from the British military. Before they arrived, however, Obote sent his defence minister Felix Onama to negotiate with the mutineers. Onama was held hostage, and agreed to many demands, including significant pay increases for the army, and the rapid promotion of many officers, including the future president Idi Amin. In 1965, Kenyans had been barred from leadership positions within the government, and this was followed by the removal of Kenyans en masse from Uganda in 1969, under Obote's guidance.

As prime minister, Obote was implicated in a gold smuggling plot, together with Idi Amin, then deputy commander of the Ugandan armed forces. When the Parliament demanded an investigation of Obote and the ousting of Amin, he suspended the constitution and declared himself President in March 1966, allocating to himself almost unlimited power under state of emergency rulings. Several members of his cabinet, who were leaders of rival factions in the party, were arrested and detained without charge. Obote responded with an armed attack upon Mutesa's palace, which ended with Mutesa fleeing to exile. In 1967, Obote's power was cemented when the parliament passed a new constitution that abolished the federal structure of the independence constitution and created an executive presidency.

### **First presidency**

On 19 December 1969, there was an assassination attempt against Obote. As he was leaving the UPC annual delegates' conference at Lugogo Indoor Stadium in Kampala, Mohamed Sebaduka fired one shot at the president. The bullet struck

Obote in the face, breaking two of his teeth and passing through his cheek. Sebaduka's pistol jammed, and another assassin, Yowana Wamala, threw a grenade at the president, but it failed to explode. Sebaduka was shot by Obote's bodyguards, but both conspirators escaped in the pandemonium following the attempt. Investigators later arrested them and several members of the Democratic Party—the leading opposition party—accusing former Prime Minister Benedicto Kiwanuka of orchestrating the plot. In the aftermath of the attempt, all opposition political parties were banned, leaving Obote as an effectively absolute ruler. A state of emergency was in force for much of the time and many political opponents were jailed without trial for life. Obote's regime terrorised, harassed, and tortured people. His secret police, the General Service Unit, led by Obote's cousin, was responsible for many cruelties.

In 1969–70, Obote published a series of pamphlets that were supposed to outline his political and economic policy. The Common Man's Charter was a summary of his approach to socialism, which became known as the Move to the Left. The government took over a 60% share in major private corporations and banks in the country in 1970. During Obote's regime, flagrant and widespread corruption emerged in the name of his version of "socialism".[9] Food shortages sent prices through the ceiling. Obote's persecution of Indian traders contributed to this rise in prices.

The Israeli government was training the Ugandan police and military and providing arms to the Anyanya in Southern Sudan who were engaged in a guerilla war with the Sudanese government. The Obote government withdrew support for the rebels and arrested a German mercenary called Steiner and extradited him to Sudan for trial. The Israeli government was very unhappy with these events.

In January 1971, Obote was overthrown by the army while on a visit to Singapore to attend a Commonwealth conference, and Amin became President. In the two years before the coup Obote's relations with the West had become strained. Some have suggested that Western Governments were at least aware of, and may have aided, the coup. The Israeli government certainly played an active role in planning and implementing the coup. They operated mechanized equipment and maintained a high profile in and around the capital including manning roadblocks.

According to one source, "They were to be seen everywhere." The fall of Obote's regime was welcomed and celebrated by many Ugandans.

### **First exile and attempts to regain power**

Once he was informed of the coup, Obote immediately flew to Nairobi to rally loyalist army elements in Uganda to oppose Amin's takeover. However, Kenyan authorities blocked his attempts to contact his followers, and the remaining pro-Obote soldiers failed to organize a counteroffensive. The pro-Amin forces were consequently able to swiftly eliminate them in a series of purges. Still, Obote refused to give up, and moved to Tanzania where he received much more support. Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere had close ties with Obote and had supported his socialist orientation. The Tanzanian and Somali governments initially planned to help Obote regain power by invading Uganda through the Kagera Salient. This project was never implemented, as Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai informed the involved parties that he opposed a military intervention, while the Tanzanians feared that Western powers might intervene on Amin's side. At this point, Obote's loyalists in the Uganda Army had been crushed, and Nyerere offered Obote training camps in Tanzania to organize a guerrilla army in exile. Meanwhile, thousands of Obote supporters (including many soldiers) escaped to Sudan whose government also offered them sanctuary and training camps. From late March 1971, Obote built up a rebel army, and moved to Sudan.

However, Obote's exile efforts were hampered by his lack of support among Ugandans, as many other opposition groups—both leftists and conservatives were more willing to support Amin than offer him any aid. Even part of the UPC had decided to split from him. There were also considerable ethnic tensions as well as personal rivalries in Obote's camps, undermining the military training. In addition, the Sudanese government signed a treaty with Amin in early 1972, expelling Obote and his followers, greatly weakening them. Overall, Obote was unable to mobilize more than about 1,000 insurgents, many of whom lacked proper training. As tensions mounted between Tanzania and Uganda, even escalating in occasional border clashes, Nyerere finally greenlit the planned invasion. Even some exiles critical of Obote, such as Yoweri Museveni's group, joined the operation. The 1972 invasion of Uganda by Obote's rebel alliance was a military disaster, with much of

the insurgent force destroyed. This failure contributed to the existing tensions among the anti-Amin forces. On his part, Obote would accuse Museveni of having lied about controlling an underground network in southern Uganda. This alleged network was supposed to cause a popular uprising, but the latter did not materialize, thereby contributing to the invasion's defeat. Obote never forgave Museveni for this, creating a lasting rift. The attempted invasion was also met with international condemnation, forcing the Tanzanian government to officially close the insurgent camps and pledge to stop supporting anti-Amin rebels. Obote and members of his inner circle consequently relocated to Dar es Salaam where many began to work as teachers, lawyers, doctors, etc., while his common fighters were moved to Tabora to become coffee farmers.

The Tanzanian government informed Obote that it would continue tolerating anti-Amin insurgent activities as long as they remained clandestine, despite the international agreement signed after the failed invasion. As a result, Obote kept a low-profile in the next years, as he continued his efforts to regain power. As he had not siphoned off money to overseas banks during his first presidency, Obote mostly lived off a Tanzanian pension. He gave no more interviews, and rarely ventured abroad to meet other opposition figures. Most of the time, he stayed at a comfortable beach house close to Nyerere's private residence; Tanzanian officials initially continued to call him "President", and later "Mzee". Despite his rare public appearances and public restraint, Obote vigorously plotted to overthrow Amin: He set up a small rebel force of 100 guerrillas which occasionally launched raids from Kenya into Uganda, and created his own "navy" of six boats which smuggled coffee on Lake Victoria to finance political and militant activities. The navy also built up an underground network in Uganda. These operations were entrusted to some of his most trusted followers such as David Oyite-Ojok. Obote hoped to gradually undermine Amin's regime until being able to launch a general uprising with support by the exiles in Tanzania. However, the efforts of his rebel network produced few tangible results, as his movement was unable to assassinate important followers of Amin. And lacked support among most Ugandans. In fact, Obote remained deeply unpopular in much of Uganda, and even those opposed to Amin did not want to see him return to power.

## **Second presidency**

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In 1979, Idi Amin was ousted by Tanzanian forces aided by Ugandan exiles. By 1980, Uganda was governed by an interim Presidential Commission. At the time of the 1980 elections, the chairman of the commission was a close associate of Obote, Paulo Muwanga. Muwanga had briefly been the *de facto* President of Uganda from 12–20 May 1980, as one of three presidents who served for short periods of time between Amin's ousting and the setting up of the Presidential Commission. The other two presidents were Yusuf Lule and Godfrey Binaisa.

The elections in 1980 were won by Obote's Uganda People's Congress (UPC) party. However, the UPC's opposition believed that the elections were rigged, which led to a guerrilla war by Yoweri Museveni's National Resistance Army (NRA) and several other military groups. Obote held the additional title of Minister of Finance.

In 1983, the Obote government launched Operation Bonanza, a military expedition that claimed tens of thousands of lives and displaced a significant portion of the population. The brunt of the blame for this massacre was placed on the people of northern Uganda for supporting the action of the Prime Minister which increased the existing regional tensions in the country. It has been estimated that approximately 100,000 to 500,000 people died as a result of fighting between Obote's Uganda National Liberation Army (UNLA) and the guerrillas.

On 27 July 1985, Obote was deposed again. As in 1971, he was overthrown by his own army commanders in a military coup d'état; this time the commanders were Brigadier Bazilio Olara-Okello and General Tito Okello. The two men briefly ruled the country through a Military Council, but after a few months of near-chaos, Museveni's NRA seized control of the country. By July 1985, Amnesty International estimated that the Obote regime had been responsible for more than

300,000 civilian deaths across Uganda. Abuses were particularly conspicuous in an area of central Uganda known as the Luweero Triangle.

### **Death in exile**

After his second removal from power, Obote fled to Kenya and later to Zambia. For some years, it was rumoured that he would return to Ugandan politics. In August 2005, however, he announced his intention to step down as leader of the UPC. In September 2005, it was reported that Obote would return to Uganda before the end of the year. On 10 October 2005, Obote died of kidney failure in a hospital in Johannesburg, South Africa.

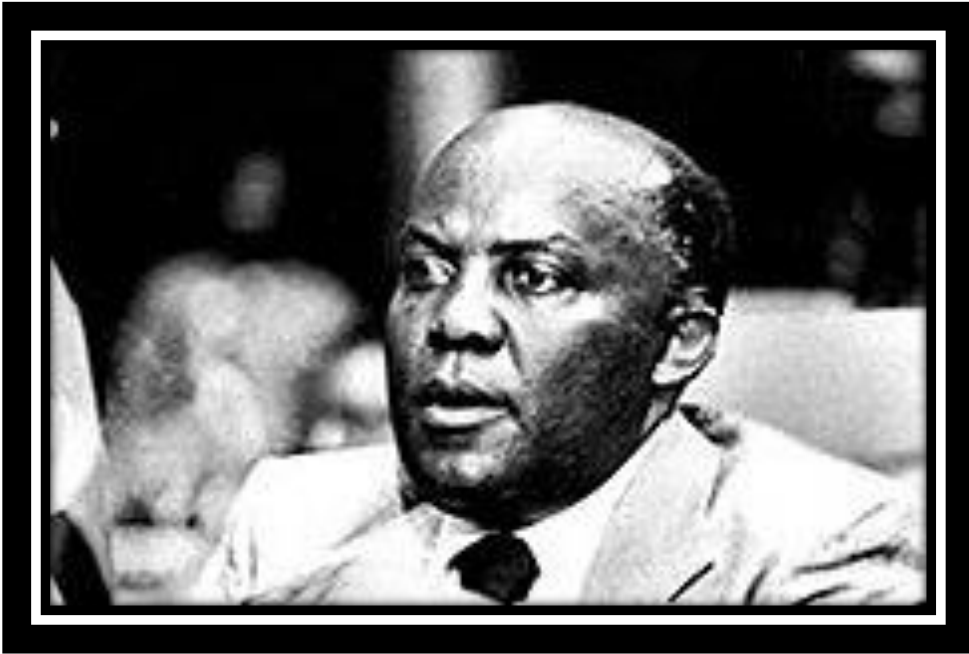
### **Milton Obote's grave**

Milton Obote was given a state funeral, attended by President Museveni, in the Ugandan capital Kampala in October 2005, to the surprise and appreciation of many Ugandans because he and Museveni had been bitter rivals. Other groups, such as the Baganda survivors of the Luweero Triangle massacres, were bitter that Obote was given a state funeral.

He was survived by his wife and five children. On 28 November 2005, his wife Miria Obote was elected UPC party president.

His work as a president was prudent to develop Uganda's Jurisprudence hence a Legal General.

# H.E Godfrey Lukongwa Binaisa QC



**Godfrey Lukongwa Binaisa** was born on 30 May 1920 and breathed his last on 5th August 2010. He was a Ugandan lawyer who was Attorney General of Uganda from 1962 to 1968 and later served as the fifth president of Uganda from June 1979 to May 1980. At his death he was Uganda's only surviving former president

Born in Kampala, Binaisa was initially a lawyer. He was educated at King's College Budo and Makerere College. He then earned an LL.B. in law from King's College London in 1955 and was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1956. He was appointed a Queen's Counsel (QC) and had a private law practice in Kampala.

He was appointed the Attorney General in 1962, a position in which he served until 1968, when he resigned over disagreements with President Milton Obote concerning constitutional matters, particularly the presidential powers of detention.

In 1969 Binaisa went into private legal practice, and after Idi Amin took power in 1971, he went into exile first to the United Kingdom where in London he was employed by the London office Graham and James, an international maritime law

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firm. Following that he came to the United States, where he served as a "paralegal" at the main office of Graham and James in San Francisco. After his presidency ended he returned to London for a time and then ultimately practised law in Mount Vernon, New York. While in the US, he became a member of Uganda Freedom Union, one of several anti-Amin groups in exile.

While serving as a President, he made impacts as elaborated above not only to jurisprudence but also to the supremacy of the welfare of the people. He is a Legal General.



# Her Excellency Justice Julia Sebutinde



Her Excellency **Julia Sebutinde** is a Ugandan judge serving her second term on the International Court of Justice following her re-election on November 12, 2020. She was born in the Central Region of Uganda to a civil servant and a housewife with the Semambo surname. She attended the Lake Victoria Primary School in Entebbe in the 1960s. She then joined Gayaza High School and later King's College Budo, before entering Makerere University to study law. Sebutinde graduated with a Bachelor of Laws in 1977. She obtained the Diploma in Legal Practice from the Law Development Center in Kampala in 1978. In 1990, she enrolled at the Edinburgh Law School, University of Edinburgh for her Master of Laws,

graduating in 1991. In 2009, in recognition of her body of work and contribution to international justice, she was awarded an honorary Doctor of Laws by the University of Edinburgh. She also is the current chancellor of Muteesa I Royal University a university owned by Buganda kingdom. She has been a judge on the court since March 2012. She is the first African woman to sit on the ICJ. Before being elected to the ICJ, Sebutinde was a judge of the Special Court for Sierra Leone. She was appointed to that position in 2007.

She has not only represented Uganda but also Africa at large, her Excellency Julia Sebutinde first worked in the Ministry of Justice in the Government of Uganda from 1978 until 1990. After graduating from the University of Edinburgh in 1991, she worked in the Ministry of the Commonwealth in the United Kingdom. She later joined the Ministry of Justice in the Republic of Namibia, which had just attained Independence at that time. In 1996, she was appointed Judge of the High Court of Uganda. In that capacity, she presided over three commissions of inquiry related to the following government departments:

- Corruption in the Uganda Police
- Corruption in the Uganda People's Defence Force
- Corruption in the Uganda Revenue Authority

She deserves a round applause because she has defied all the odds, she is a Legal General.

# Rt. Hon. Rebecca Alitwala Kadaga



Rebecca Kadaga is a Ugandan lawyer and politician who served as the Speaker of the Parliament of Uganda from 19 May 2011 until 21 May 2021. She was born in Kamuli District, Eastern Uganda, on 24 May 1956. Rebecca Kadaga attended Namasagali College for her high school education. She studied law at Makerere University, graduating with the degree of Bachelor of Laws (LLB), in 1978. She went on to obtain a Diploma in Legal Practice from the Law Development Center in Kampala in 1979. In 2000, she obtained a Diploma in Women's Law from the University of Zimbabwe. In 2003, she obtained the degree of Master of Arts (MA), specializing in Women's Law, also from the University of Zimbabwe. In 2019, Nkumba University, a private university in Uganda, awarded Kadaga an honorary

Doctor of Laws degree<sup>5</sup> She was honored as among the earliest lawyers to found a law firm in Uganda.

She currently serves as the First Deputy Prime Minister of Uganda. She concurrently serves as Minister for East African Community Affairs, in the Cabinet of Uganda.

Between 1984 and 1988, she was in private law practice. From 1989 to 1996, she served as the Member of Parliament for Kamuli District in the District Woman's Constituency. She served as the Chairperson of the University Council for Mbarara University, between 1993 and 1996. During 1996, she served as Secretary General of the East African Women Parliamentarians Association.

From 1996 to 1998, Rebecca Kadaga was the Ugandan Minister of State for Regional Cooperation (Africa and the Middle East). From 1998 to 1999, she was Minister of State for Communication and Aviation, and from 1999 to 2000, she was Minister of Parliamentary Affairs. She was elected as Deputy Speaker of Parliament in 2001, a position that she held until 19 May 2011, when she was elected Speaker of Parliament.

Following the February 2016 general election, Hon. Rebecca Kadaga was unanimously re-elected as Speaker of Parliament on 19 May 2016.

On December 20, 2017, Hon. Rebecca Kadaga presided over the Ugandan Parliament while passing an amendment to the Constitution which, among other measures, eliminated the requirement that candidates vying for the presidency be under 75 years of age. The amendment essentially gave Museveni leeway to run for President of Uganda for his sixth term in office.

On 14 January 2021, Kadaga was re-elected to Parliament as a Woman Representative for Kamuli District. Consequently, she embarked on a campaign to retain her position as Speaker of Parliament for a third term. Kadaga lost the

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<sup>5</sup> *Muganga, Eve; Kyeyune, Moses (26 October 2019). "Nkumba University Awards Kadaga With Honorary Doctorate of Laws". Daily Monitor. Kampala. Retrieved 26 October 2019.*

Speaker Vote to her former deputy Jacob Oulanyah after falling out of favor with her party, the National Resistance Movement (NRM).

He brought a lot of tense in the 11<sup>th</sup> Parliament when she showed interest of standing again as a speaker of Parliament yet her boss, the president had opted for the late Hon. Jacob Olanya. She seemed to be a legal rebel since she was a darling of the opposition side. As the notion goes one cannot eat with both the unclean and the clean, the only person who did so ascended to heaven.

It was upon that background that her boss together with the entire NRM party stood against her. One could definitely say she was becoming a Legal rebel. Most of the legislators had showed interest in voting her back to office.

Hon. Rebecca Kadaga vowed to pass the Uganda Anti-Homosexuality Bill through parliament by December 2012. The bill – sometimes referred to as the "Kill the Gays bill" at one time sought to make acts of homosexuality punishable by death or life imprisonment but later removed the death penalty option from the bill. She says it will become law since most Ugandans "are demanding it"<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Muhumuza, Rodney (12 November 2012). "Uganda's Anti-Gay Bill To Pass This Year: Official". *The Huffington Post*. Retrieved 13 November 2012.

# Rt. Hon. Gen (Rtd) Counsel Moses Ali



Moses Ali hails from Adjumani District (former Madi District) in northern Uganda. He was born on 5 April 1939. He holds the degree of Bachelor of Laws (LLB), obtained from Makerere University. He also holds the Diploma in Legal Practice, from the Law Development Center in Kampala. Moses Ali also holds qualifications from military educational institutions in Uganda, Israel and the United Kingdom.

Ali was involved in the 1971 Ugandan coup d'état that overthrew President Milton Obote and brought Idi Amin to power. He consequently rose in the ranks during

the duration of the Second Republic of Uganda, when Amin ruled the country as military dictator. Ali was appointed Minister of Finance. Journalists Tony Avirgan and Martha Honey described Ali as one of Amin's "closest henchmen". As Minister of Finance, he used his position to organize an Islamic charity. This garnered him a lot of popular support, but also raised Amin's suspicions, as he feared Ali was attempting to construct a Muslim political base of support. Indeed, Ali gained many followers within the Uganda Army.

In April 1978, the President organized a meeting in the capital Kampala, where he railed against ministers whom he deemed disloyal, too powerful or incompetent, including Ali. Accusing the Minister of Finance of mismanaging the Bank of Uganda, gross corruption, mishandling Muslim Supreme Council funds, and ignoring orders by the government, Amin became so angry during his speech that he threw a trashcan at Ali. Having realized that his situation was untenable, Ali got away as soon as possible.

He quietly snuck out of Kampala in his private car and fled to his home in the West Nile Region. When he got there, however, a group of hitmen attacked him, but he fended them off in a gunfight. Ali was convinced that his downfall and the attempted assassination had been organized by the Uganda Army commander Yusuf Gowon, a long-time rival of his.<sup>[10]</sup> Amin subsequently stripped him of all of his military honours.<sup>[12]</sup> However, Amin was still wary of Ali's large following, and only formally fired him from his ministerial portfolio in August 1978. Around October, ten SRB agents attempted to arrest Ali, but were killed.

When Amin's regime collapsed during the Uganda–Tanzania War of 1978–1979, Ali fled into exile in southern Sudan, finding refuge in Nimule. In the 1980s he led the Uganda National Rescue Front in an armed rebellion against the government of reinstated President Milton Obote, and became a warlord ruling a fief in southern Sudan. Among the insurgents of the early Ugandan Bush War, he waged the "most effective guerrilla campaign". Using his influence and military powers to his advantage, Ali eventually negotiated a favorable deal with Yoweri Museveni who took power as President at the Bush War's end in 1986. His forces were integrated into Uganda's new national army, the National Resistance Army which later became the Uganda People's Defence Force, and he was appointed a Major

General. As a result of his powerful position in Uganda's new government and military, Ali became highly influential and quite wealthy.

Ali even rose to First Deputy Prime Minister in Museveni's government. He served in the Ugandan Parliament from 2001. He was further promoted to Lieutenant General on 13 March 2003, but lost both his parliamentary seat and his ministerial appointment in 2006. In 2011, at the age of 72, he regained his position in parliament and was assigned new cabinet responsibilities. In the next year, Ali was once again promoted to the rank of general in the Uganda People's Defence Force. In 2016, following his re-election to parliament, he was again appointed First Deputy Prime Minister and Deputy Leader of Government Business in Parliament.

When you meet him, salute him for these achievements in the Legal Fraternity



# Rt. Hon. James Francis Wambogo Wapakhabulo



James Francis Wambogo Wapakhabulo (23 March 1945 – 27 March 2004) was a Ugandan politician who served as the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Uganda from 2001 to 2004. Wapakhabulo began his career studying law at the University of East Africa (now the University of Dar es Salaam). From the 1960s until its collapse in 1977, he worked as a clerk and legal draftsman with the Assembly of the East African Community. Later that year, he moved to Papua New Guinea, as first a senior legal draftsman and then a principal legal officer. He continued in this role until 1986.

During his time as foreign minister, he helped contain a conflict with Rwanda and soothed relations with the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Burundi, and Sudan. In 2001, Wapakhabulo threatened to sue an opposition MP, Wanjusi Wasieba, after Wasieba accused him of blocking his electoral nomination. After making the accusation, Wasieba claimed that he had received death threats and hired armed guards.

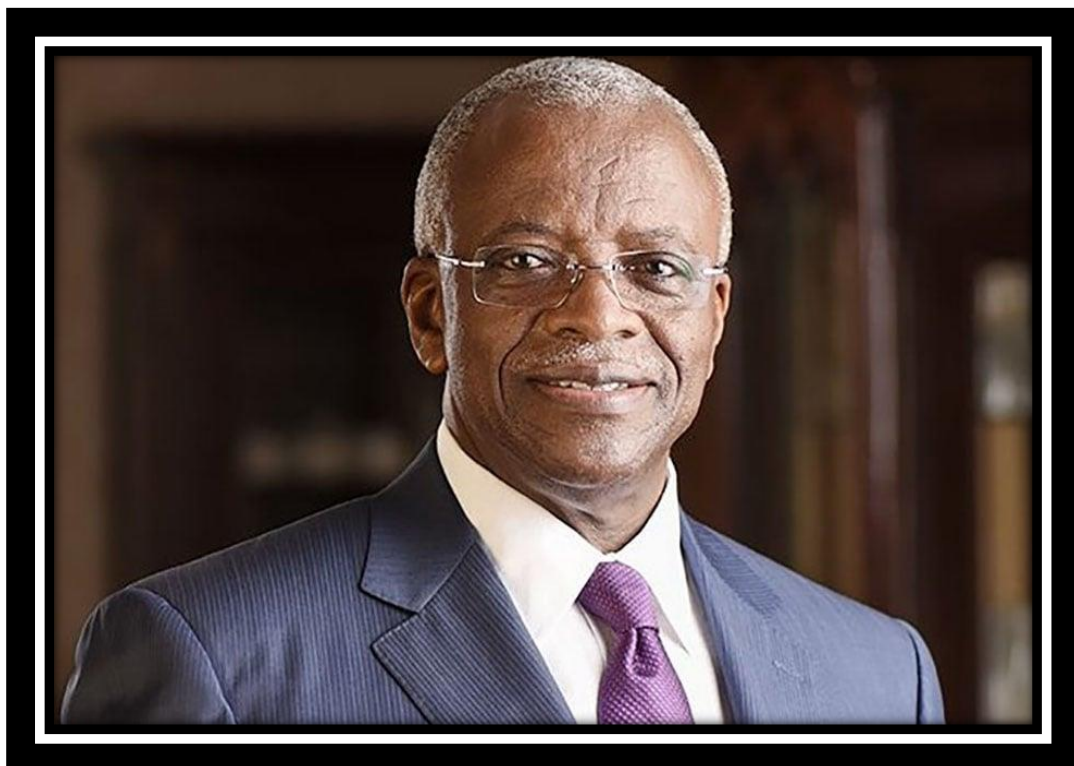
Several days before he died, Wapakhabulo wrote to President (and long-time friend) Yoweri Museveni, opposing the lifting of term limits outside those prescribed by the constitution. He died at his home in the neighborhood of Bugolobi in Kampala on 27 March 2004. He was laid to rest at Mafudu Village, Sironko District on Friday, 2 April 2004.

Wapakhabulo was liked by many on both sides of Ugandan politics. Upon hearing of his death, leading opposition MP Aggrey Awori stated that he was "the best speaker ever". He was a recipient of Uganda's Nalubaale Medal for civilian activists who had assisted during the guerrilla war. Upon his death, Vice President Gilbert Bukenya proposed that Parliament Avenue in Kampala be renamed Wapa Avenue in honor of Wapakhabulo.

In January 2005, President Museveni appointed Sam Kutesa, the Minister of State for Investment, to succeed Wapakhabulo as foreign minister. Of recent, President Museveni ordered the Education ministry to construct two memorial technical schools in memory of James Wapakhabulo.

His writing to the president opposing the lifting of a term limit might have made him a Legal Rebel, he stands out as a Legal General.

## Rt. Hon. Patrick Amama Mbabazi



John Patrick Amama Mbabazi, SC (simply known as Amama Mbabazi, born 16 January 1949) is a Ugandan politician who served as the ninth Prime Minister of Uganda from 24 May 2011 to 19 September 2014. He played an instrumental role in Uganda's protracted liberation struggle from several tyrannical governments (1972-1986) and is a founding member of the National Resistance Movement, the ruling political party in Uganda.

Mbabazi served as the Member of Parliament for the Kinkiizi West constituency in Kanungu District, a position held from 1996 until 2016, when he ran unsuccessfully for the Presidency.

He was born in Mparo Village, Rukiga County, in present-day Rukiga District, on 16 January 1949. He attended two of the most prominent educational institutions in Uganda during both the colonial and post-colonial periods: Kigezi College Butobere for his high school education, and Ntare School for his A-Levels.

Mbabazi earned a Bachelor of Laws from Makerere University. He received a postgraduate Diploma in Legal Practice from the Law Development Center in Kampala. He is an Advocate of the Courts of Judicature of Uganda and has been a member of the Uganda Law Society since 1977.

### **Career**

Before joining politics, he worked as a state attorney in the Attorney General's Chambers from 1976 to 1978, rising to the position of secretary of the Uganda Law Council from 1977 to 1979.

Between 1986 and 1992, he served as head of the External Security Organisation. He has also served as Minister of State in the President's Office, in charge of political affairs.

He became secretary of the NRM caucus in the Constituent Assembly that drafted the 1995 Uganda Constitution. Between 1986 and 1992, he was Minister of State for Defence. Subsequently, he served as Minister of State for Regional Cooperation from 1998 to 2001. He was Attorney General and Minister of Justice from 2004 to 2006, a feat that earned him the moniker "Super Minister". He was appointed as Minister of Defence in 2006, a position he held until he was appointed as Minister of Security. He served as Minister of Security from February 2009 until May 2011, when he was appointed Prime Minister. He was Secretary General of the NRM from November 2005 to January 2015.

### **Presidential bid**

Mbabazi's childhood friend Ruhakana Rugunda was appointed to replace Mbabazi as Prime Minister on 18 September 2014, by President Yoweri Museveni. This move was seen by many as Museveni's way of punishing Mbabazi for his rumoured presidential run. On 15 June 2015, Mbabazi declared his intentions to run against Yoweri Museveni for the National Resistance Movement's nomination for president at the party's convention on 4 October 2015. This declaration was followed by a response from President Museveni who dubbed it "bad conduct and premature". On 31 July, after much disagreement between top-ranking party officials and Mbabazi himself, the former Prime Minister declared he would stand

as an independent candidate. His candidature is backed by The Democratic Alliance (TDA), a loose convergence of minor political parties working to win the position of presidency. In the 2016 general election he received 1.39% of the vote, placing third.

### **Diplomacy**

Mbabazi has represented Uganda in international fora, including the United Nations Security Council, where he argued for the international community to allow the Uganda People's Defense Force to pursue the Lord's Resistance Army fighters into the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

# Hon. Dr. Miria Rukoza Koburunga Matembe



Mrs Miriam Matembe went to Rutooma Primary School, from where she joined Bweranyangi Girls for her O-Level. She went to Namasagali College for her A-Level. She received her Bachelor of Laws (LLB) degree from Makerere University and her Master of Laws (LLM) degree from the University of Warwick.

Matembe started her career as a pupil state attorney in the Department of DPP ministry of Justice. She then moved to lecture at Makerere University Business School (MUBS) which was then Uganda College of Commerce. After 5 years she moved to the Central Bank of Uganda (Bank of Uganda).

She was Mbarara District Woman Member of Parliament from 2001 to 2006. She was defeated by NRM's Peggy Waako in the 2021 Elderly MP elections where she was seeking to represent older persons in the 11th Parliament.

Miria Matembe has been a strong proponent for and an advocate of women's rights in Uganda. For over two decades beginning in 1989, she was a member of Uganda's parliament. She worked in the Ugandan government as minister for ethics and

integrity from 1998 to 2003, after which time she became a member of the Pan-African Parliament representing Uganda.

In 1995, she was a member of the Constitutional Commission that created the Ugandan Constitution and she was one of the experts from Uganda and Kenya that reviewed and made proposals on the Proposed Constitution of Tanzania and presented their findings to the Warioba Committee in 2015, under the auspices of Kituo cha Katiba. She was the former chairperson of Action for Development, Uganda's leading women's advocacy organization, an organization she co-founded.

In 1990, she was the deputy general of the Pan-African Congress held in Kampala. She has been a lecturer on law and English at the Chartered Institute of Bankers, also in Kampala. A lawyer by profession, Matembe is also the author of several articles and a book, *Miria Matembe: Gender, Politics, and Constitution Making in Uganda*, on women in politics.

In October 2006, Matembe gave a lecture entitled "Women, War, Peace: Politics in Peacebuilding" at the University of San Diego's Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice Distinguished Lecture Series.

In 2011, she delivered the keynote address at The 11th Sarah Ntiro Lecture and Award held at Grand Imperial Hotel, Kampala -Uganda to those women who are either inspiring models or have worked to facilitate girl-child education at the Forum for African Women Educationalists (Fawe) organised-event and, for the disadvantaged girl-child. The main awards came in two categories; the "Woman of Distinction" award that recognised women whose activities promoted girl child education, and the Model of Excellence award that awarded women achievers who set a good example for young girls.

Matembe who was one of those honored for her valiant efforts to promote girl child education gave thanks to god when accepting the award. She said ignorance and lack of resources were some of the issues hampering the advancement of girl child education. She got a Honorary Doctor of Laws (LL.D) from University of Victoria.

She is a Legal General.

# Hon. Justice Elizabeth Ibanda-Nahamya



**Elizabeth Ibanda-Nahamya** was a Ugandan lawyer and judge; she graduated from the Faculty of Law of Makerere University, Uganda's largest and oldest public university, with a Bachelor of Laws. She then obtained a Diploma in Legal Practice by the Law Development Centre in Kampala, Uganda's capital city. She also holds a Master of Laws from the University of New Haven, in the West Haven, Connecticut, United States. She has undertaken several postgraduate courses, including one at the International Development Law Organization, in Rome, Italy in 1992. During the process of creating Uganda's 1995 Constitution, Ibanda-Nahamya was a researcher for the Constituent Assembly. She also served as a legal adviser to the Constituent Assembly Women Caucus. She also worked as researcher at the Uganda Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs, where she participated in drafting of the *Parliamentary Election Bill* and the *Presidential Election Bill*. In 1993, she served as a legal consultant at the Uganda Ministry of Finance.



She has served as a judge on the Special Court for Sierra Leone, from 2004 until 2008 and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, from 1996 until 2004.

Justice Nahamya has also lectured at Ahmadu Bello University, in Zaria, Nigeria and at the National University of Lesotho, in Maseru, Lesotho. She has also consulted with the World Bank.

On 22 March 2018, was appointed Judge of the Mechanism for International Criminal Tribunals (MICT). The appointment by António Guterres, the Secretary General of the United Nations, was in replacement to the MICT, following the resignation of Judge Solomy Balungi Bossa, who was elected to the International Criminal Court. Before that, she sat on the High Court of Uganda, where she was assigned to the International Crimes Division of that court.

She was Executive Summary Accomplished, savvy, and committed Judge with a passion for International Criminal Law, Human Rights, and International Humanitarian Law. There's no doubt that she is a legal General.

# Hon. Justice Kenneth Kakuru



He was born in Uganda and just like all stars, he attended local schools for his primary and secondary school education. He studied law at Makerere University, graduating with a Bachelor of Laws (LLB) degree. Later, he graduated with a Master of Laws (LLM) degree, also from Makerere University. His Diploma in Legal Practice was obtained from the Law Development Centre, in Kampala. He also holds a Master of Arts (MA) degree in Educational Policy Planning and Development, awarded by Kyambogo University.

Kakuru is the founder and Senior Partner of the law firm of Kakuru & Company Advocates, a Kampala-based law firm, established in 1987. He established a reputation as an environmental rights attorney and an expert in public interest litigation. He founded as still serves as a non-executive director of Green watch Uganda, an environmental advocacy non-profit.

In May 2013, Kakuru was appointed directly to the Uganda Court of Appeal. Among his professional affiliations, he is a member of the Uganda Law Society, the East African Law Society, the Environmental Law Alliance Worldwide and the International Bar Association.

He is one of the most darling Judge in the history of Uganda majorly because he thinks outside the box. He fell into a public love after the famous amendment of the age limit. Justice Keneth Kakuru is the only judge of a five-member panel that voted against the amendment of the Constitution that lifted the cap on the presidential age.

In his judgment, Kakuru stated that there was no public participation before carrying out amendment of the Constitution.

It is important to note that his one vote could not over rule four votes by the other judges on the panel, but this wasn't looked at by the many Ugandans on social media. Some journalists have praised Hon. Jacob Kakuru for having the courage to rule against the man, President Yoweri Museveni, who appointed him, it is as hard as biting a bullet. His aspect made people at least to feel confident that despite the ongoing allegations of corruption in the judiciary, and there is still faith in the independence of the judiciary. It is not easy for a Judicial officer to be people's darling but he broke the odds. He is a True Legal General in Uganda.

# Hon. Justice Musa Ssekaana



**HON. JUSTICE MUSA SSEKAANA** -Born to *Mr. Muhammed Muwanga* and the firstborn of five children born to *Mrs. Mukanza Fatuma Faith Florence*, Musa Ssekaana's diligence and excellence in everything he does is a trait cultivated from a very young age. Right from his school days at Nakivubo Blue, Kibuli SSS and Makerere High, Musa thought of following in his father's footsteps and become an accountant but it was after a session on career guidance in his final year of high school at Makerere High that he experienced an epiphany of the benefits and value that lawyers and the legal profession play on the central role in the administration of justice, the defense of human rights, democracy and the rule of law. This is what led him to apply for a Bachelor of Law at Makerere University.

It was his love for sports that helped him meet *Namusobya Salima*, his wife and mother of his two children; *Naira* and *Musa Ssekaana (Jr)*. Correspondence between Musa and Salima started in their high school after they

met in an interschool sports tournament where they each played volleyball on their school teams. They continued to see each other after both went on to enrol at the Makerere University Faculty of Law. Musa notes 2005 as the *annus mirabilis* (*miracle year*) when they finally started their family after Salima had returned from studying Masters in Law (*LL.M*) from the University of Pretoria, South Africa. During our interview, it does not take you long to realize that *Musa Ssekaana* possesses the necessary skills of a good lawyer or judge being an active listener, he is able to be bombarded with a string of questions without him interjecting and yet answering all questions comprehensively; He possesses great analytical and research skills evident from his authored works, pays attention to detail, exhibits organizational skills, manages time, has persuasive and interpersonal communication skills making it no wonder that he was the- 2021 *Uganda Law Society* award winner for "*Excellence from the Bench*"

He has made a fundamental positive impact as far as precedents are concerned. He is a Legal General.

# Hon. Justice Stephen Mubiru



*Hon. Justice Stephen Mubiru*, went to Makerere College School, he holds a Degree in Law from Makerere University, which he got in 1989, and he also holds a diploma in legal Practice from Law Development Centre in 1990. In 2011 he qualified with a LLM from Utrecht University in Netherlands (Human rights law and Criminal Justice) he is currently the Head of the Commercial Division of the High Court. He has laid so made legal precedents that have Brocken ground.

He also served as the Acting Head of Department of Post graduate Legal Studies (Bar Course) at the Law Development Centre.

And also an Administrative head of all teaching and assessment activities carried out on the Bar Course. He is also **Head of Department** of Research Law Reform and Publications at the Law Development Centre. This has been a great impact to the wide publications of the Law Development Centre. Hon. Justice Stephen Mubiru was the Head of a team of researchers for publication of “The Civil Justice Bench-Book”, the “Police Manual” and a revised edition of “The Magistrates’ Handbook” in Uganda.

Administrative head of all research related programmes at the Centre. Participation in grant administration and monitoring of expenditure on research and publications activities. Ensure maintenance of clear, accurate, detailed and accessible records of work undertaken by the departmental staff, irrespective of the field of research, assess and report on the departmental research plans and activities to the Centre management.

It will be wrong to leave him out. He is a Legal General.

# Hon. Justice Catherine Bamugemereire



Catherine Bamugemereire is a Ugandan lawyer and judge who, since 2015, has served as a Justice of the Court of Appeal of Uganda, which doubles as Uganda's Constitutional Court. She was born in Bubulo, in the then Mbale District, but today is Manafwa District, in the 1970s. She attended Nabumali High School for her secondary education. She holds a Bachelor of Laws, awarded in 1992 by Makerere University, in Kampala, the capital and largest in the county. She also holds a Diploma in Legal Practice, awarded by the Law Development Centre, also in Kampala. Her Master of Laws in Comparative Law and International Law, was



obtained from Southern Methodist University, in Dallas, Texas, United States, in 2003.

Justice Bamugemereire first worked in 1993, as a State Attorney in the Uganda Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs, based in the town of Arua, Arua District, in the West Nile sub-region. Later, she was appointed as a Grade One Magistrate. She rose through the ranks to the rank of Chief Magistrate of "the White Collar Criminal Court in Uganda in the 1990s".

In 2001, she took leave from the bench and became a legal adviser to Shell Mexico LPG in Mexico City. After that she studied for her master's degree in the United States. In 2003, she relocated to the United Kingdom and worked as Associate Lecturer at the University of Surrey, for seven years.

In 2010, the Ugandan Judiciary appointed her a Judge in the High Court, to work in the Anti-Corruption and Family Divisions of the Court. She conducts civil and criminal court assignments throughout Uganda. She is an expert on corruption, and has spoken widely and written extensively about the subject. In 2015, she was appointed to Uganda's Court of Appeal/Constitutional Court, where she still serves, as of November 2017.

She rose to fame after being authorized by the President to chair the Land Commission of inquiry; she handled several cases and made substantive recommendations and reports about land. She was applauded for calling upon the Government to revive the Land Tribunals as a way of solving case backlog. Catherine Bamugemereire has chaired three national investigations in matters of corruption in government departments:

(a) the tribunal that examined Kampala Capital City Authority, from June 2013 until November 2013.

(b) the inquiry into the Uganda National Roads Authority, from June 2015 until January 2016 and

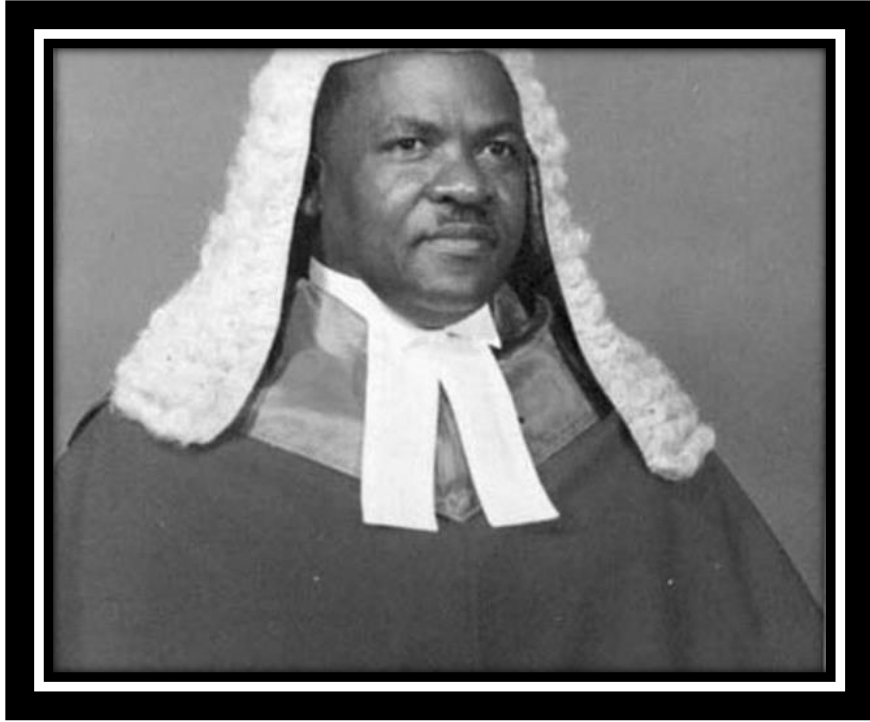
(c) the Commission of Inquiry into land grabbing and land wrangles in Uganda's Land Sector, that started in 2017. In 2017, Southern Methodist University

bestowed on her the Distinguished Global Alumni Award, in recognition of her body of work<sup>7</sup>. She is a Legal General.

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<sup>7</sup> SMU News (30 March 2017). "SMU Dedman Law to recognize six distinguished alumni of national and international acclaim: Distinguished Global Alumni Award: Lady Justice Catherine Bamugemereire, LL.M., 2003". Dallas, Texas, United States: Southern Methodist University (SMU). Retrieved 1 November 2017.

# Hon. Justice Benedicto Kabimu Mugumba Kiwanuka



FORMER PRIME MINISTER OF UGANDA

FORMER CHIEF JUSTICE

If we are to applaud the Law Dons that have died for the truth, the first Legal Generals formally called Legal rebels by the State, the Former Chief Justice Benedicto Kiwanuka cannot be over shadowed. As one heads to the High court of Uganda a memorable icon at the yard is where your first sight lands to a monument in remembrance of the late former chief Justice Benedicto Kiwanuka. He was called to the Bar by Gray's Inn in February 1956. Benedicto Kiwanuka was imprisoned in 1969 by Obote's government, but later while Obote was away in Singapore, he was released by President Idi Amin Dada immediately after the coup that brought him to power. Amin appointed him as chief justice of Uganda on 27 June 1971.

Benedicto Kiwanuka then came into confrontation with Amin's disregard for the rule of law. It was a bare sight one could know that the two people were totally different, the dictator Amin and his army nature couldn't match the learned legal brains of Benedicto Kiwanuka who believed in the rule of law. After some allegations against him by the then president Idi Amin, Benedicto Kiwanuka was arrested at gunpoint by Amin's men while he was presiding over a session of the High Court. It is further alleged that Benedicto Kiwanuka had also secretly agreed to support Obote's return to power, with the proviso that Kiwanuka would be involved in constitutional reform since he was a man of rule of law, a true Legal rebel in the sight of Amin.

Benedicto Kiwanuka was killed on 22 September at Makindye Military Prison. It is undoubtedly he died because he believed in the truth of rule of law other than the tyranny and political persecution that was entailing Uganda in the 70s. It will be wrong to make a book recognizing the profound work of Legal rebels and he goes missing.

He laid the genesis of a legal rebel, we applaud him for upholding the supremacy of the welfare of the people, the Legal General.

# Hon. Justice Muzamiru Kibeedi Mutangula



**Justice Muzamiru Kibeedi Mutangula** is a Ugandan lawyer and judge, who, on 4 October 2019, was nominated to sit on the Uganda Court of Appeal. He graduated from the Faculty of Law of Makerere University, Uganda's largest and oldest public university, with a Bachelor of Laws. He also holds a Diploma in Legal Practice by the Law Development Centre in Kampala, Uganda's capital city.

Prior to his ascension to the bench, Kibeedi was in private legal practice for over 26 years, dating back to 1993. His practice has included Constitutional Rights Enforcement Litigation, Property Development and Taxation Planning, Civil Corporate Defence and Civil Defence of High Net-Worth Individuals.

He has become famous after his landmark judgement in the case of *Joseph waigo v Jackline Aserua* in regard to sharing of property by the divorced spouses.

This case made a precedent which we accredit him for, he is a Legal General.

# Hon. Justice Jane Francis Abodo



Justice Jane Francis Abodo was born in the Karamoja sub-region, the 9th-born among 62 siblings. She holds a Bachelor of Laws degree from Makerere University, the oldest and largest public university in the country. She also holds a postgraduate Diploma in Legal Practice, obtained from the Law Development Centre, in Kampala. Her degree of Master of Laws was awarded by Trinity College Dublin, in Ireland.

Justice Jane Francis Abodo worked in the office of the DPP for eight years, starting circa 2007. She started out as a trainee state attorney and gradually rose through the ranks, of state attorney, senior state attorney, principal state attorney, assistant DPP to senior assistant DPP. At the time she was appointed as a High Court Justice, Abodo was Senior Assistant DPP and was the head of the Anti-Corruption desk in the office of the DPP.

In 2015, Abodo was recognized by the Uganda Law Society (ULS) as the best prosecutor of the year. That year, her office recorded the highest conviction rates in the country.

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One of the recent criminal cases that she handled, was that of *State vs Godfrey Wamala Troy*. In a criminal session that sat in the city of Entebbe, Justice Jane Frances Abodo found Godfrey Wamala Troy guilty of manslaughter in connection with the murder of the singer, Mowzey Radio whose real name was Moses Ssekibogo. She sentenced the convict to 14 years in prison. She is now the serving DPP in the country. She is celebrated as Uganda's first DPP. She is always quoted that today, prosecuting white-collar crime has much more to it.

# Hon. Justice Laetitia E.M. Mukasa Kikonyogo



Justice Eulalia Mukasa-Kikonyogo (1940-2017) was an inspirational figure whose career journey up to the judiciary's 'concrete' ceiling is still record-breaking. Born on the 2nd of September 1940 to a Buganda chief, Eulalia Mukasa-Kikonyogo had access to education. She attended Busuubizi Girls' Primary School (1948-1952), Trinity College, Nabbingo for her Ordinary level studies (1953-1958), and King's College, Budo for her Advanced level studies (1959-1960) before joining Makerere University- then affiliated to the University of London, where she graduated with Bachelor of Arts Certificate (1964-1968). Mukasa-Kikonyogo did a Post Graduate Diploma in Social Anthropology at the Somerville College of the University of Oxford in the United Kingdom (1964-1965) before studying for the Bar at Inner Temple in London. She became a qualified Barrister at Law in 1968.

Justice Mukasa-Kikonyogo was appointed Uganda's first female judge of the High Court in 1986, and after starting her career in the judiciary as a magistrate, she



would become the first female Chief Magistrate in 1971. In 1997, was appointed Uganda's first female Supreme Court Judge. In 2001, Mukasa-Kikonyogo was appointed Uganda's first female Deputy Chief Justice and served for almost ten years making her Uganda's longest-serving female Deputy Chief Justice. As Deputy Chief Justice, she was the sixth most powerful person in the government of Uganda. From 2002 to 2004, she was elected as the first African president of the International Association of Women Judges.

Justice Mukasa-Kikonyogo was fearless, always putting the rule of law first, even if it meant squaring up to the Executive arm of government and putting her own life at risk. One landmark decision that exemplifies her commitment to justice is her lead decision following the events of 16th November 2005. On this day, a security Anti-Terrorism Taskforce nicknamed the 'Black Mamba Squad' laid siege to the High Court and forcibly arrested retired Colonel Kizza Besigye, a prominent member of the opposition along with other men jointly accused of treason.

Their bail application had been granted by a judge of the High Court, who was later forced to withdraw from the case citing intimidation. The Court of Appeal, led by Mukasa-Kikonyogo, declared the actions by the state as an unjustifiable interference with the right to personal liberty and the right to a fair trial, and a violation of the independence of the judiciary. Her lead judgment in *Uganda Law Society versus Attorney General of Uganda 2005* is a must-read for any scholar of Ugandan constitutional law.

On the 1st of March 2007, history repeated itself. Acting Chief Justice Mukasa-Kikonyogo was now personally caught up in the events. The same five men- Colonel Besigye included were once again violently arrested by armed security forces after being granted bail by another judge of the High Court at Kampala. During the 'second court siege', Mukasa-Kikonyogo protested the invasion of the court. She held a crisis meeting in her chambers and negotiated a deal for the accused persons to be released. After a six-hour siege in which her Ladyship alongside the Principal Judge and other judges were held 'hostage' in the High Court by the security forces. After the men were released at around 8.30 pm, they were once again captured, beaten, and taken away from the High Court in a police

car stolen by the security forces. Justice Mukasa-Kikonyogo kept the courts closed in protest of the attacks by these special operations forces.

This moment was significant, as standing up to the executive and shutting down the courts at a time when political tensions ran high sent a firm message about the judiciary's stand on the protection of individual's human rights, and on its own authority. Justice Mukasa-Kikonyogo had other accolades up her sleeve - specifically on the religious front. After years of dedicated service to the Catholic Church, Mukasa-Kikonyogo was appointed by Pope Benedict XVI as one of two African Female Dames (Papal Knights) - a first in the history of the Catholic Church in Africa. On her appointment, and in true Kikonyogo style, she told *New Vision* newspaper in an interview in 2013.

"I am overwhelmed by the Pope's choice. Who am I to be his dame? I only thank God for such a great honour bestowed on me for I don't consider myself deserving..."

This statement sums up Dame Mukasa-Kikonyogo's philosophy of service, a deep sense of commitment to do right, but without seeking fame or feeling deserving of praise. She remained in her home, close to her community. Her sense of fairness was tempered with her concern for the well-being of others. As attorney Karoli Ssemogerere aptly puts it, Mukasa-Kikonyogo was able to combine the role of judge, feminist, and leader while remaining true to her Catholic faith even in public life.

Mukasa-Kikonyogo's distinguished career journey to the sixth-highest political position in Uganda, and the top of the judiciary leadership was not without its problems. Climbing up the rungs of the male-dominated judiciary was fraught with gender barriers along the way. Some were structural, like being allocated the smallest chambers in the court building not only as a newly appointed High Court judge but again as a senior Supreme Court judge. Gender bias likely motivated those within the judiciary who publicly fought her appointment as Deputy Chief Justice in 2001, claiming that she was ill-suited for the post.

Unsurprisingly, not a shred of evidence of her alleged incompetence has been brought to light. If anything, Mukasa-Kikonyogo was vindicated of such

allegations by fellow judges at a meeting chaired by then Chief Justice Sam Wambuzi. The following year, she went on to be elected as Africa's first President of the International Association of Women Judges, an election which is a resounding endorsement of Justice Kikonyogo's competence and capability as a judge at both the national and international level.

As a feminist, Kikonyogo fought for fairness and gender equality, a legacy that lives on in the organizations she co-founded like the Uganda Association of Women Lawyers (FIDA) formed in 1974, and the National Association of Women Judges-Uganda (NAWJU) established in 1994. With level-headedness that was truly exemplary, she successfully combined being a wife and mother with her demanding political and leadership roles. Although her career highlights the gendered hurdles that women judges face reaching top political and administrative positions, it also shows that if a woman is competent at their work and level-headed, these hurdles are not insurmountable. Significantly, at the time of writing in September 2020, there has not yet been another long-serving female Deputy Chief Justice appointed in Uganda. And, as Dawuni predicts, women will have to fight harder to break the 'concrete' ceiling before a woman is appointed to be Chief Justice in Uganda

# Hon. Justice Frederick Martin Stephen Egonda-Ntende



**Justice Frederick Martin Stephen Egonda-Ntende** is a Ugandan judge who serves as a Justice of the Court of Appeal of Uganda, which doubles as the Constitutional Court of Uganda. Prior to that, from 2009 until 2014, he served as the Chief Justice of the Seychelles. He was sworn in as Chief Justice on Friday, August 21, 2009 at State House in the Seychelles capital city, Victoria. Prior to that he served as Acting Justice of the Supreme Court of Uganda. He was also involved in the setting up of an independent judiciary in East Timor, where he served as a judge of the Court of Appeal.

He led a panel of Justices of the constitutional court who quashed Rule 8(2) and 3 of the Judicature Small Claims Procedure Rules of 2011, which bars advocates from small claims proceedings. A panel of five Constitutional court Judges led by Justice Fredrick Egonda Ntende ruled that the provisions barring advocates from small claims proceedings contravene the right to a fair hearing and legal representation.

This was the judgement from an application filed by Israel Ssejemba against the Attorney General in 2014.

He further noted therefore that the right to legal representation and cross-examination are at the core of the right to a fair trial or hearing under article 28 of the Constitution which is a non-derogable right under Article 44 of the Constitution and the Judicature Small Claims Procedure Rules cannot diminish or extinguish it. He was also involved in the setting up of an independent judiciary in East Timor, where he served as a judge of the Court of Appeal. He also has extensive experience in dealing with matters of drug trafficking while working as a judge in the United Nations Mission in Kosovo.

It is no doubt that this is a great contribution to jurisprudence.

Justice Egonda-Ntende lectured Law at Makerere University in Uganda and was the chairperson of the Law Reporting Committee of the Judiciary in Uganda.

He gave the judgement in a famous case of *Osotraco Limited V AG* that section 15 (1) (b) of the Government Proceedings Act not to be in conformity with the 1995 Constitution and made an ancillary order of eviction against the appellant and its agents, with costs. The order of eviction was to be complied with within 30 days of the date of the judgement. Even when the AG appealed, the court of Appeal maintained his judgement.

Justice Martin Stephen Egonda-Ntende took over from Justice Remy Kasule as chairperson of the Law Council after being nominated by the Attorney General, William Byaruhanga.

# Hon. Justice Dr Emmanuel Baguma



The Deputy Head of the Civil Division of the High Court, Hon. Justice Emmanuel Baguma, was on July 28, 2022 awarded an Honorary Doctorate of Laws (LLD) (Honoris Causa) in recognition of his contribution towards defense of human rights and civil liberties, in his long span of service as a Judicial Officer.

Hon. Justice Dr Baguma was bestowed on the award by the Commonwealth University in collaboration with London Graduate School awarded at a ceremony held in Dubai.

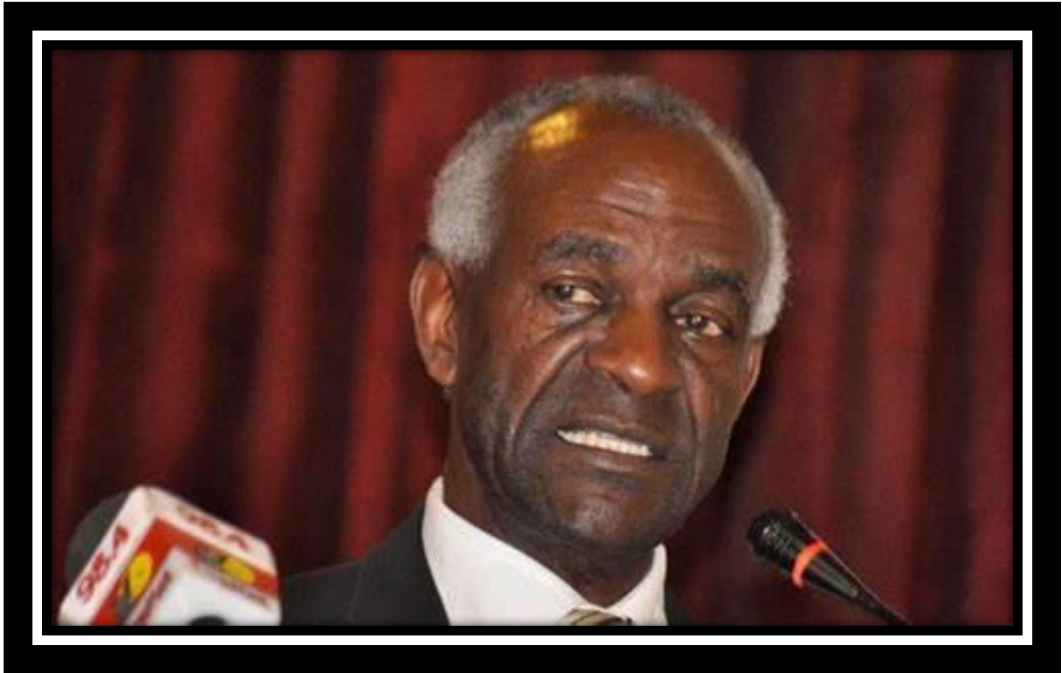
The University commended Hon. Justice Dr Baguma for his illustrious 25 years plus legal career in the fields of adjudication, management and conflict resolution.

Hon. Justice Dr Emmanuel Baguma holds a Masters in Law of Makerere University and Masters in Management Studies of Uganda Management Institute Kampala. He is also a member of Uganda Judicial Officers Association, East

African Magistrates and Judges Association and Commonwealth Magistrates and Judges Association.

His positive impacts to jurisprudence and human rights protection cannot go unmentioned, he is a legal General.

# Hon. Justice James Ogoola



Justice James Ogoola (sometimes referred to as James Munange Ogoola is the former Principal Judge of the High Court of Uganda and a Justice of the COMESA Court of Justice in Lusaka, Zambia. He is the also the former chairperson of the Judicial Service Commission of Uganda. Previously, he served as the chairman of the commission of inquiry into the mismanagement of The Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria. He was an Acting Justice of the Supreme Court of Uganda. He is a member of The East African Court of Justice.

## **Early life and education**

Justice Ogoola was born an only child to Mr. and Mrs Yukana Madangu on 15 August 1945 at Lumino, Busia in the then Bukedi district (currently Samia-Bugwe county in Busia District). His mother, Norah Akuku, Nataboona from the Bataboona clan, died when he was five and he was thus raised by relatives He attended Nabumali High School for his O-Level studies and Kings College Budo for his A-Level education. He studied law at the University of Dar-es-Salaam, from



1966 until 1969, graduating with the degree of Bachelor of Laws. His degree of Master of Laws, was obtained from Columbia University in 1974. He also holds the Diploma in Legal Practice from the Law Development Centre in Kampala, obtained in 1997.

## **Law**

Beginning in 1969, James Ogoola has worked in different capacities, including the following:

As a state attorney (legislative drafting), then senior parliamentary draftsman, then principal state attorney (Drafting), in the Department of First Parliamentary Counsel, at the Uganda Justice Ministry and the Chambers of the Attorney General, from 1969 until 1974.

As a legal officer in the Privy Council Office, at the Federal Department of Justice, Ottawa, Canada. He was the first African to be appointed legal adviser at the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in 1974. He was responsible for Latin American country operations between 1974 and 1978 at IMF headquarters, Washington DC, USA.

As a legal officer at the IMF office in Paris, France, from 1978 until 1980.

As the legal officer responsible for African & Middle East country operations at the IMF headquarters, in Washington, DC, from 1981 until 1988 and from 1991 until 1997.

Retired from the IMF after 23 years of service.

As Deputy Director of the Legal Department at the headquarters of the African Development Bank (AfDB), in Abidjan, Ivory Coast, from 1988 until 1991.

Concurrently designated as Deputy General Counsel and Deputy Secretary General at AfDB. Served as the Chairman of the AfDB Staff Disciplinary Committee, from 1989 until 1990.

Was an adjunct professor at the American University School of Law, in Washington, D.C., from 1996 until 1997. Taught a course on International Commercial Transactions and Banking Law to the Master of Laws class.

Member, Chief Justice's technical committee on the establishment of the Commercial Court of Uganda from 1996 until 1997.

Obtained certification to the Courts of Judicature, Uganda in 1997.

Member of the tribunal investigating abuse of office by Iganga District chairman in 1999.

Head of Commercial Court of Uganda from 1999 until 2004.

Chairman, Judicial Commission of Inquiry on Banking, January 2000 to October 2000.

Member of the tribunal investigating abuse of office by Sembabule District chairman in 2000. Member of the judicial panel on National Referendum 2000.

Appointed Principal Judge, High Court of Uganda, on 30 July 2004, replacing Justice Herbert Ntabagoba.

Member, judges administrative advisory committee, which advises the Chief Justice of Uganda on the administration of the Judiciary.

Represented the Judiciary at the Tripartite Conference of the Judiciaries of East African countries. Represented the East African judiciaries at the ministerial negotiations and drafting sessions of the proposed East African Treaty, with particular emphasis on the establishment of the East African Court of Justice.

## **Writing**

Ogoola leisure time is taken up almost entirely by matters of personal faith. He has just completed a draft translation of the New Testament Bible into his mother tongue, Lusamia.

In 2009, Ogoola's first collection of poems, *Songs of Paradise: A Harvest of Poetry and Verse*, was published, to favourable critical acclaim. One reviewer called it a

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"landmark for the industry". For the first time in more than 30 years, the media showed a lot of interest in the book. The Observer called it "a jewel, and one to read once and again and enjoy more each time". The Independent called it "one heck of a piece of writing" but wondered why there was nothing before 2005. On its largely Christian themes, he said: "Ogoola has attempted to paraphrase biblical passages in a text that is every inch prose but chopped and arranged as to appear as poetry".

# Hon. Justice Lydia Mugambe



**Justice Lydia Mugambe**, was appointed to the High Court by President Yoweri Museveni, on 3 May 2013. Lady Justice Mugambe Ssali was subsequently appointed by President Museveni as Inspector General of Government on 18th September 2020. She graduated from the Faculty of Law of Makerere University, Uganda's largest and oldest public university, with a Bachelor of Laws. She was then awarded a Diploma in Legal Practice by the Law Development Centre, in Kampala, Uganda's capital city. She also holds a Master of Laws from the University of Pretoria in South Africa

In January 2017, Justice Mugambe delivered a judgement against Mulago National Referral Hospital, which had been sued by *Jennifer Musimenta* and her husband *Micheal Mubangaizi*, for the disappearance of their newborn baby. The judge found the hospital culpable of negligence. Mugambe also awarded the couple USh85 million (approximately US\$24,000) in damages.

The ruling is hailed by legal observers and non-profit organisations in Uganda, as a watershed judgment, towards the recognition of "the rights of poor, vulnerable and marginalized women". The ruling was nominated for the *Center for Health, Human Rights and Development (CEHURD)*, award in 2017.

*CEHURD and 2 Ors v The Executive Directive Director Mulago Referral Hospital and the Attorney*,<sup>8</sup> where Justice Lydia Mugambe held that denying the parents of the child the opportunity to bury their baby, was a violation of their right to health in contravention of objectives XX and XIV (b) of the Constitution, in addition to Article 12 and Article 16 of the ISECR and the African Charter respectively which guarantee the right to health. This judgement is important because it demonstrates judicial activism where judges have relied on civil and political rights which are well defined in the Constitution to protect the right to health. Specifically, the court observed that the hospital's actions amounted to psychological torture which violated Articles 24 and 44 of the Constitution.

She is a legal General.

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<sup>8</sup> (CIVIL SUIT NO. 212 of 2013) [2017] UGHCCD 10

# Hon. Justice Paul Kahaibale Mugamba

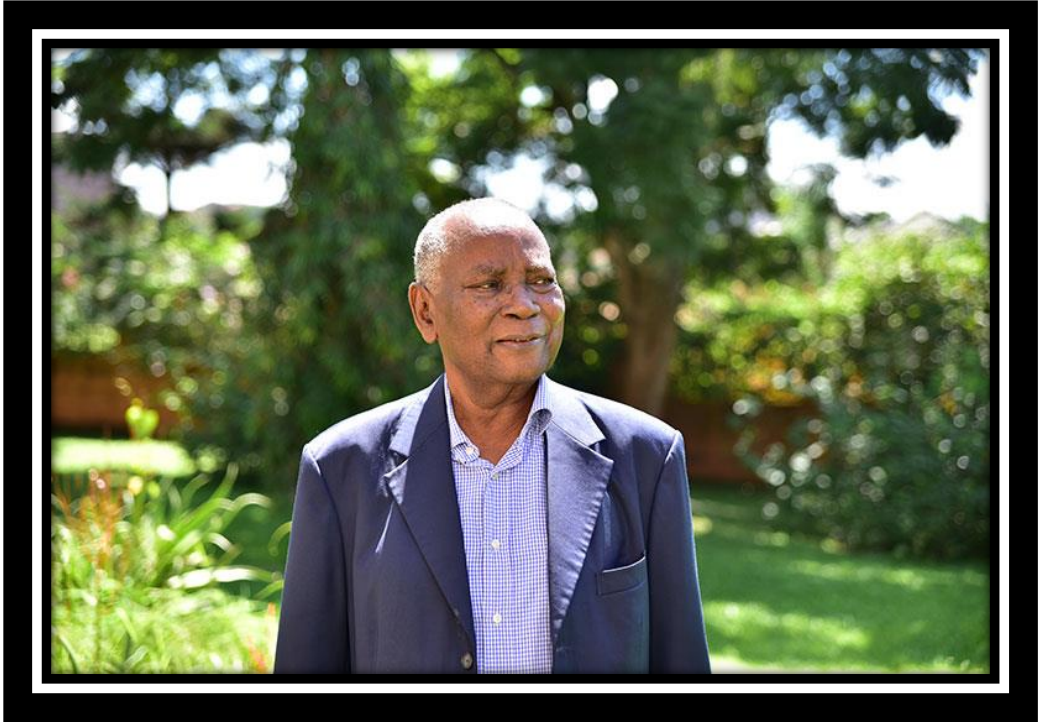


Justice Paul Kahaibale Mugamba is a Ugandan lawyer and judge who has served as a member of the Supreme Court of Uganda since September 2017. Immediately prior to his appointment to the Supreme Court, he served as a Justice of the Uganda Court of Appeal.

He was among the few judges that annulled the age limit. Justice **Paul Mugamba** also annulled the age limit amendment over the certificate of compliance. He is a retired Supreme Court Judge.

His positive works not only on respect of human rights but also on a number of cases he completed with his brilliant judgements. He is a Legal General.

# Hon. Justice John Wilson Nattubu Tsekooko



John Wilson Nattubu Tsekooko (30 January 1943 – 14 October 2019), was a Ugandan lawyer and judge, who served as a Justice of the Supreme Court of Uganda, from 1994 until 2015.

From the court One thing that the legal fraternity have in agreement about Tsekooko is that he was simply above the ordinary. His bench, legal practitioners say, that had justices; George Wilson Kanyeihamba, Arthur Oder, Joseph Mulenga, Benjamin Odoki, Alfred Karokora and, later, Bart Katureebe was the best the country has ever had.

January 23 1990, he was appointed a judge of the high court rising through to the Supreme Court in 1999 where he served until his retirement in 2013. He was appointed on a contractual basis and permanently retired in 2017 although he continued to do some consultancy work for the judiciary.

He was laid to rest at his ancestral home in Bunakhaima village, Butiru sub-county, Manafwa district. Tsekoko was a moving encyclopedia, sadly he died with his knowledge and could not remain relevant to the judiciary.



# Hon. Chief Justice Wako Wambuzi



Samuel Wako Wambuzi (January 23, 1931) is a Ugandan scholar and jurist who served three time as the Chief Justice of Uganda; from 1972 to 1975, 1979 to 1980 and 1986 to 2001.

## **Early life**

Wambuzi was born in Kaliro village, at Namalembe in the present day now known as Kamuli district, his mother Milyamu Naigaga died one year after Wambuzi was born and was raised by his stepmother.

He attended Makerere University College and Kabete Veterinary School, Wambuzi flanks in his examination mostly his final examination leading him not qualified in subject of profession but do excel other subject. He was intermediated by the love of music at his youthful age, he was a village musician performed mostly in Bugembe, Namutumba, Kaliro and Busoga villages.

He has been a chief judge since before the coming of the military leader; Idi Amin, that was due to his ever-faithful commitment to justice and loyalty to his homeland. He lived his whole together with family in Kampala, Uganda.

Wambuzi spanned over 40 years in the career, he served as the acting director of public prosecutions and president of the East African Court of Appeal during his service.

Wambuzi recorded straight regarding the treatise event of the country in a shake to its cultural, political, military and legal core.

In 2015, Wambuzi sued Red Pepper newspaper to high court over a story published title Exposed; 100 most indebted personalities revealed. He was among the 100 listed personalities (tycoons) that the publications were struggling to pay off loan of a business about Shs10bn that was gotten from a financial body to boast the GreenHill Academy, after the wordings from the story meant that in common with the 100 people that the Red Pepper newspaper was to serialized, according to Wambuzi.

In 2017, the court orders the newspaper to pay Wambuzi an amount of UGX 375M and extra UGX 50million for exemplary damages after the publication lost the case which was sought as general and exemplary damage for libel and for permanent injunction. This ruling was delivered by Justice Patricia Basaza Wasswa who ordered the Red Pepper newspaper to pay the Plaintiff for the general damage of libel and later in 2015 was granted the cost.

### **Personal life**

He was married to Gladys Wambuzi, the founder of Greenhill Academy in Kampala died of cancer, with her had 3 children; Maria, William and Samson. In 2008, he Marion Nakabuye Ddamulira at St. Paul's Cathedral, Namirembe.

# Hon. Chief Justice Benjamin Odoki



Benjamin Josses Odoki (born 23 March 1943) was the tenth Chief Justice of Uganda from 2001 to 2013.

## **Background and education**

He was born in Dhaka Village, Busia District, in the Eastern Region of Uganda, on 23 March 1943, in a family with modest means. He studied at King's College, Budo, in Wakiso District, for his secondary school education. He was admitted to the University College, Dar es Salaam, in Tanzania, where he graduated with a Bachelor of Laws degree in 1969. Later, he received a Diploma in Legal Practice, from the Law Development Centre in Kampala. In 1974, he achieved a Certificate in Development Studies from the University of Sussex, a Certificate in International Law from Geneva in 1975 and a Doctor of Law (LL.D) Degree (Honoris Causa) from the Commonwealth University Belize in London.

### **Career before judgeship**

He returned to Uganda after his studies in Tanzania. In 1969 he became an Advocate of the High Court of Uganda and was called to the Uganda Bar. The following year, he was appointed a State Attorney and was later promoted to Senior State Attorney a few years later. He also served as Director of the Uganda Law Development Centre.

### **Career as a judge**

In 1978, at the age of 35 years, he was appointed as a judge to the High Court of Uganda. From 1981 until 1984 was seconded to serve as the Director of Public Prosecutions. In 1986 he was appointed as a Justice of the Supreme Court of Uganda. From 1996 to 2000, he served as Chairman of the Judicial Service Commission. He became the Chief Justice of Uganda in 2001, serving in that capacity until his mandatory retirement at the age of 70 on 23 March 23, 2013. He did however serve a three months' extension until 23 June 2013 however the extension was controversial and generated mixed reactions from the public. He is currently serves as a Vice president/ Judge of the Administrative Tribunal of the African Development Bank and Judge of the Supreme Court of Swaziland.

He at one time taught at Makerere University Faculty of Law and at the Law Development Centre. He served as the chairperson of the Editorial Board of the Uganda Law Reports. He has written a number of books and has published articles on a number of subjects, including constitutional development, human rights and criminal justice.

### **Awards**

In 2012 he received the Gusi Peace Prize International Award in Manila at the Philippine International Convention Centre for Social Justice and Humanitarian Law. He also has the Distinguished Jurist Award by the Nigerian Association of Democratic Lawyers.

# Hon. Justice David Livingstone Lubogo



Arguably the first Ugandan to become an Advocate, worked in judiciary for long time and retired at level of deputy president Court of Appeal.

Late lord justice Yekonia Lubogo was born in July 12<sup>th</sup> 1920 to the late Yekonia K. Lubogo, a former treasurer in the Busoga government and later a Mayor of Jinja. The late Lubogo was born to Mariam Nagawa who died of bubonic fever six months after he was born.

In 1928, he attended King's college Budo Junior school. By 1932, he had made a significant impression on his father who then made arrangements for him to go to Britain. In 1937, the late Lubogo left Budo for Lovedale High School in Ciskeri, Cape Province, South Africa. He emerged the best student in Uganda and was awarded a scholarship to Achimota but his father rejected the scholarship and surrendered it for needy since his father could afford paying for his education. He

left Lovedale High school in 1939 for Achimota in Ghana. At Achimota, he met several other Ugandan students Francis Nalima, Bukadde and Paul Nsibilwa. He took a (BA) legal degree at Fort Hare University in South Africa and later went to Cape Town University. To acquire a degree in law. The racial laws in South Africa convinced Lubogo of a revolution so in 1948, he left Cape Town for Britain with bitter taste of racism in South Africa. Upon arriving in London, Lubogo enrolled at Grays Inn. There he met several students from east Africa including Apollo Kironde, Dr. Luyimbazi, and Charles Nyong'o of Kenya. Nyong'o and Lubogo actively participated in politics and organized political rallies in Trafalgar square for speakers like Dr. Kamuzu Banda of Malawi (Nyasaland). In 1953 he returned to Uganda and was among the first Ugandan lawyers. He rose from ranks up to deputy chief justice and head of the Supreme Court.

# Hon. Justice Oscar John Kihika



He is The Hon Justice of the Court of Appeal and The Constitutional Court of Uganda. He is a former President of the Uganda Law Society – a post he held for two consecutive terms (2007 – 2009). His practice as an advocate spans over a wealthy and diverse 20 years’ experience.

He is a founding partner of Byenkya, Kihika and Company Advocates (BK), which was started in 1992. He enrolled in the Uganda Law Society (ULS) on February 2, 1993 and was the society’s president from 2007-2009. Under his leadership, ULS held its inaugural Legal Aid Project week and purchased its first vehicle.

Justice Oscar is currently the Managing Partner at BK. He is a dynamic lawyer with extensive experience in handling any commercial matter be it dispute resolution, litigation, product liability, mergers, acquisitions, and joint venture transactions.

Justice Oscar is valued at the Firm for being highly intelligent and effective. He has the unique ability of crafting fantastic skeleton arguments, extemporizes brilliantly and possesses a remarkable all round intellectual ability to dissect any legal problem.

He is an integral part of our success. Often times his great sense of humor takes the edge off ruffled tempers at the Firm.

Even though BK is predominantly a civil/ commercial law service provider, Oscar's earlier experience working as a state attorney at the Ministry of Justice comes in handy when some people are faced with criminal prosecution.



# Hon. Justice Irene Mulyagonja



Hon. Justice Irene Mulyagonja Kakooza, is a Ugandan lawyer and judge who was nominated to sit on the Uganda Court of Appeal on 4 October 2019.

She was the Inspector General of Government, from 12 April 2012. Until 4 October 2019. She served as a justice of the High Court of Uganda, from 2008 until 2012.

## **Background**

She was born in 1963, in the city of Jinja, in the Eastern Region of Uganda. Her father was a civil engineer and entrepreneur, who owned his own construction company, and her mother was an elementary school teacher. She grew up in an upper-middle-class family of 13 siblings, four of whom were biological, between her two parents, while eight were between her father and other partners.

## **Education**

She attended Naranbhai Road Primary School, in Jinja town, for her entire 7-year primary schooling. She studied at Mount Saint Mary's College Namagunga for both her O-Level and A-Level education. She was admitted to Makerere University, Uganda's oldest and largest public university, to study law, graduating with a Bachelor of Laws degree. She also has a Diploma in Legal Practice, obtained from the Law Development Centre, in Kampala. Her Master of Arts degree in Counseling was awarded by Makerere University. She also has a Diploma in Women's Law, from the University of Zimbabwe.

## **Work before the bench**

In 1989, she was hired as an assistant lecturer at the Law Development Centre, serving in that capacity until 1993. She worked with two large law firms in Kampala, including at Muliira and Company Advocates, where she met her husband. When she left that firm in 1996, she and another female colleague, Eva Luswata Kawuma, formed Kakooza and Kawuma Advocates, an all-female law partnership. The firm was hired by the Non-Performing Asset Recovery Trust (NPART), from 1997 until 2006 when the Trust closed down.

## **Work as a judge**

In 2008, at the age of 45 years, Mulyagonja was appointed to the High Court of Uganda. She was assigned to the Jinja circuit for the first two and one half years. She was then reassigned to the commercial division of the high court, rising to the position of deputy head of the Commercial Division of the High Court, by the time she was appointed as Inspector General of Government, in 2012. In October 2019, she was named to sit on the Uganda Court of Appeal, pending approval by the Parliament of Uganda.

## **Work as the Inspector General of Government**

On 12 April 2012, she was appointed as the fourth Inspector General of Government, since 1986, following in the footsteps of Augustine Ruzindana, Jotham Tumwesigye, and Faith Mwendha.

# Hon. Justice Dr. Esther Kisakye



Justice Esther Kisakye is a senior member of the Supreme Court, she was appointed to that bench in July 2009 following her outstanding credibility, academically, knowledgeable and experience wise. She qualified locally as a lawyer holding a degree of Bachelor of Laws, from Makerere University, in Kampala. She also holds the Diploma in Legal Practice from the Law Development Center but then obtained a Master's degree in Women's Rights from Georgetown University Law Centre in Washington DC. This was followed by a doctorate in law from the American University, also in Washington DC. She is also prominent in organisations of women judicial leaders. She served as a lecturer at the Faculty of Law at Makerere University.

If one is asked the famous female Justices among the public which their counterparts see as Legal rebels, you won't fail to mention Lady Justice Esther Kisakye.

She rose to fame after her minority ruling regarding the conduct of the 2021 General Elections, she appeared to dissent from the Majority Judgment of the rest of other justices. She claimed to have been stopped by her boss to read her ruling

with a rationale that she had not circulated her ruling to the other members of the court. Strong enough with unseen boldness of a female Justice on the bench saying that the decisions had already been made and were well known to all the judges. What were contained in the written judgments were merely the reasons for the decisions, in law what we call “**ratio decidendi**”.

In her view it was good practice for members of the court to circulate their draft rulings, there was no law that required it. She averred that ‘I would have loved to have circulated my draft to my colleagues before’, but as was made clear in the majority decision, the constitution required that rulings had to be finalised within 45 days and, she implied, there had not been time to circulate her rulings within that timeframe. ‘Nevertheless, the whole court was aware of my decisions in the three applications that were called today. So I am very surprised that the Chief Justice of Uganda has chosen to use barbaric means and to use his powers in the manner that he has chosen.’

What amused the citizens was her statement that she had found that the order by the Chief Justice was unconstitutional and she chose to disobey it. She claimed that when she was appointed as a judge of this court, in 2009, she swore to uphold the constitution of Uganda. She also took the judicial oath, and she was confident to be acting based on those undertakings she made.

This was the first time in the history of Uganda’s’ jurisprudence for a lady Justice to remain on his constitutional duties and not to be a “Yes” Justice.

However, drama followed when her file was confiscated, power switched off and this brought about a huge hullabaloo in the public. After she returned with a copy of her decision, she found the court room closed but found a way in. Sitting alone on the bench, surrounded by the empty seats previously occupied by her colleagues, her isolation was emphasised by the absence of the sound system - it had been disconnected and all the electricity was switched off.

Several events have followed after this court drama among the members of the bench.

# Hon. Justice Solome Balungi Bosa



Judge Bossa was born on 14 April 1956 in Uganda and educated as a lawyer. Since 1997, she has served as Judge of the High Court of Uganda, the East African Court of Justice, and the United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda.

She currently serves as Judge on the Court of Appeal Uganda, the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights, and the Mechanism for International Criminal Tribunals. In a judicial career spanning eighteen years, she has advanced the rights and status of women, the rights of victims of simple and grave international crime, and human rights.

Uganda nominated Court of Appeal, Hon. Lady Justice Solome Balungi Bosa as its candidate for the post of judge of the International Criminal Court (ICC) whose election is now official following 4 rounds of voting held in New York. Her nomination took place in Addis Ababa during the 28th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the African Union. The news of

her election was announced via twitter by Uganda's Permanent Representative to the UN Ambassador Adonia Ayebare and read in-part — 'Glad to announce the election of Justice Barungi Bosa of Uganda as Judge of the ICC. Thank you team Uganda...'

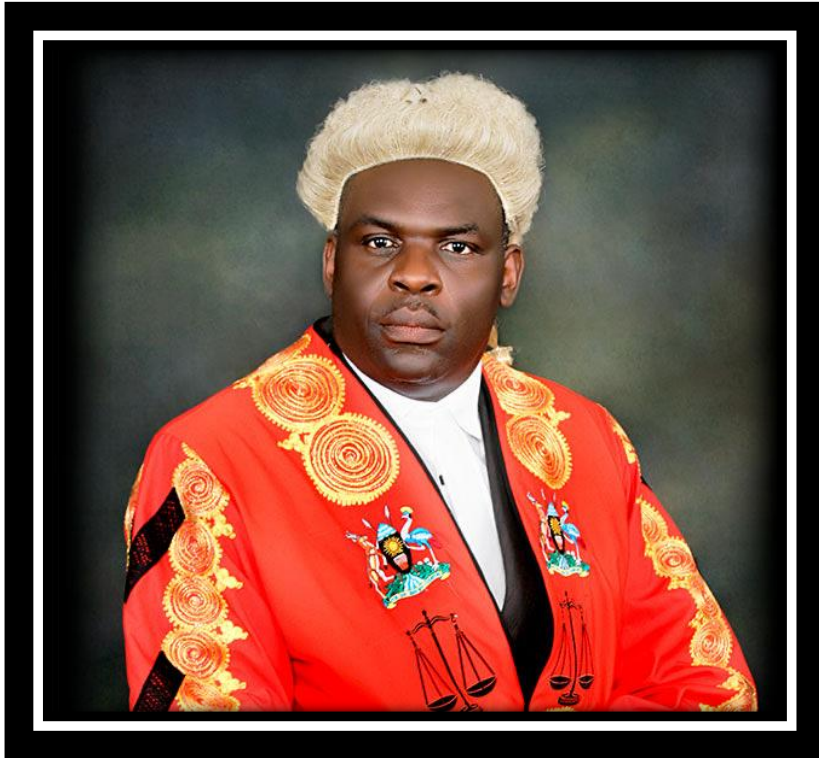
She has published papers and made presentations on varied contemporary legal issues. Before becoming a Judge, she served as a lecturer at the Law Development Centre of Uganda for seventeen years and as a legal practitioner for ten years.

As a human rights activist since 1980, she has co-founded and/or chaired non-profit organizations including the East African Law Society, Kituo cha Katiba, the Uganda Network on HIV, AIDs, Ethics and the Law, the National Organization for Civic Education and Election Monitoring, the Uganda Law Society, and the Legal Aid Projects of the Uganda Law Society and the Law Development Centre. She has also chaired Ugandan government entities like the Law Council and the Interim National Steering Committee on Community Service.

She is a member of the International Commission of Jurists, the International Association of Women Judges, the East African Judges and Magistrate's Association, FIDA Uganda, the National Association of Women Judges, and the Uganda Association of Judges and Magistrates.

She has received several national, regional and international awards in recognition of her distinguished services as a Bar leader, Judge and human rights activist.

# Hon. Justice Michael Chibita



Michael Chibita is a Ugandan lawyer and judge, who serves on the Supreme Court of Uganda, effective December 2019. From 15 August 2013 until 6 December 2019, he served as the Director of Public Prosecution in Uganda. Prior to that, he served as a justice of the High Court of Uganda.

## **Background and education**

Chibita was born in Buwesa Village, Butaleja District, in the Eastern Region of Uganda on 30 April 1963, to Clement and Edisa Duallo. After attending primary school locally, he was admitted to King's College Budo, in Wakiso District, where he completed his O-Level studies and went on to complete his A-Level education, graduating with a high school diploma in 1985.



He entered Makerere University Law School, graduating in 1988 with a Bachelor of Laws degree. He followed that with a Postgraduate Diploma in Legal Practice, obtained from the Law Development Centre, in 1989. Later, he obtained a Master of Laws degree in International and Comparative Law from the University of Iowa, in the United States.

### **Career**

Chibita lectured in International Relations and African History at the University of Northwestern – St. Paul, in Roseville, Minnesota, a suburb of St. Paul in the United States, in 1993.

In 1994, he returned to Uganda and was hired as a State Attorney, in the Attorney Generals Chambers. He served as a legal assistant to the Attorney General of Uganda from 1995 until 1996.

He was then appointed as the Private Secretary for Legal Affairs, in the Office of the President of Uganda, serving there for seven years, from 1996 until 2003. In 2003, he returned to the Chambers of the Attorney General of Uganda for another two years. He then served as an Assistant Commissioner, in Commissioner General's Office at the Uganda Revenue Authority, until 2010.

Between 2013 and 2019 he served as the Director of Public Prosecution (DPP). In December 2019, he was appointed to the Supreme Court of Uganda.

# Hon. Francis Joash Ayume



*Francis Joash Ayume* (1940–2004), was a Ugandan politician and lawyer. At the time of his death he was the incumbent Attorney General of Uganda

He was born on 18 August 1940, in Koboko District to Misaeli Onale, an elementary school teacher. Ayume attended *Nyangilia Primary School* in Koboko for his primary schooling. He attended Busoga College Mwiri for his O-Level and A-Level studies, graduating in 1964.

He was admitted to the University of Dar es Salaam, where he studied law, graduating in 1967. Later he was awarded a Diploma in Legal Practice from the Law Development Centre in Kampala, Uganda's capital city.

He started off serving as a State Attorney in the Ministry of Justice and rose through the ranks to the highest position available to Civil servants in the Ministry, that of Solicitor General. He held that position until the early 1990s when he retired from the Civil Service and went into private legal practice. Ayume, however, returned to public life when he joined politics and was elected to represent his constituency.

He was appointed to the then Ministry of Lands and Housing, during which time the drafting and debating of the Land Act 1998 took place. He was appointed to the then Ministry of Lands and Housing, during which time the drafting and debating of the Land Act 1998 took place.

It will be remembered that passage of that law involved a lot of acrimony and contention. It involved many vested interests, which sometimes seemed diametrically opposed. Yet Ayume managed to spearhead the passage of that law.

Indeed, it is partly because of his composure, listening and negotiating skills that the Act was eventually passed with most stakeholders reasonably appeased. While still shepherding the Bill through parliament, he was transferred to serve as Minister in charge of the Presidency and held this portfolio for a few months before he was elected Speaker of Parliament.

He handled his position as Speaker in the same way he did his other jobs, with a lot of care, humility and consensus building. His choice as Speaker was overwhelmingly backed by members from both sides of the aisle. His tenure as Speaker went quite well until the passage of the Referendum and other Provisions Act, 1999. That piece of legislation attracted a lot of acrimony from the house. Indeed, by this time the House had started showing signs of polarisation. The time given for passing the enabling law in order to hold the referendum was drawing dangerously close. Some members of the House decided to walk out to deny the Referendum Act the requisite quorum.

Ayume, as Speaker presided and the law was passed. It was eventually challenged in court and overturned with the courts holding that there was no quorum. I always felt that this was one of the most painful moments in his life as a leader and lawyer.

He was keenly aware of the approaching deadline and the looming constitutional crisis. With due respect to the court decision, I am almost certain that Hon. Ayume could not have let that law pass if he was convinced that there was no quorum.

As it were, that Act was to play a leading role in denying him another term as Speaker in the next parliament.

He was instead appointed Attorney General, a shift that allowed him to return to familiar waters of legal practice, which I am certain he was more comfortable in than the volatile world of politics.

Yet controversy was not to leave him. The Government got two judgments from the Supreme Court, which were not in its favour. Some people called for his resignation and indeed he was called upon to make a statement in parliament explaining why the Attorney General's chambers was losing cases.

This was completely unfair to him given the unpredictability of the outcome of any court decision. The strain of that unfairness actually showed on his face when he appeared before parliament to explain the workings of his chambers.

The pictures in the newspapers the next day showed the strain on his face. I had never, indeed many people remarked, that they had never seen him looking that stressed. That probably was one of the lowest moments of an otherwise illustrious career that has spanned several decades. At the time of his death, he was heavily involved in the matters of political transition.

Even when he was transferred to the Presidency, he was still charged with the responsibility of ensuring that the Land Bill, which he had initiated in Parliament became an Act before he could hand it over. Together with a team from the lands ministry led by Mr. Tibisasa, Justice led by Chinnery Hesse and another from parliament led by Michael Werikhe, he put in a lot of late hours to steer the team, keep it focused and united in order to perfect the Act and present it as an acceptable piece of legislation.

From 1998 until 2001, he served as Speaker of the House during Uganda's Sixth Parliament (1996–2001). He became Speaker of Parliament, after the late James Wapakhabulo became National Political Commissar.

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"In 2001, he was appointed Attorney General and represented Uganda in the International Court of Justice in a case where Uganda was accused of invading DR Congo and allegedly plundering its natural resources". At the Attorney General's chambers, his office was always open to members of staff to consult on diverse legal matters. He always treated his staff as colleagues and took advice as freely as he gave it.

Francis Ayume authored a book "Criminal Procedure and Law in Uganda". The book is incorporated in the curriculum at Makerere University School of Law.

# Hon. Abubaker Kakyama Mayanja



Abubaker Kakyama Mayanja was the first Secretary General of the Uganda National Congress party, the first political party in Uganda set up on 6 March 1952 by Ignatius K. Musaazi. Abu Mayanja was an MP, a Barrister, and Attorney General in the Government of Uganda, a politician, and Government Minister.

He became the Secretary General of the UNC in his youth and while an undergraduate student at Makerere University College, which later became Makerere University. Abu Mayanja helped Musaazi draft the Constitution of the Uganda National Congress party. Abu was a fighter for independence in Uganda and Africa, a strong parliamentarian and one who disliked injustice. He contributed greatly to the political life of Uganda as a constitutional expert, formidable parliamentarian, government minister at various times, and as an excellent Barrister in private practice. His written contributions in the Tribune magazine, Transition, Uganda Argus and New Vision newspapers were always well received and much respected.

In October 1968, following a critique of the 1967 Uganda Constitution in the *Transition Magazine* (April 1968 issue); which upset the then Government, Abu Mayanja was arrested and charged for sedition. At the time he was newly married to his first wife, Hadija. Abu was acquitted of the charges but immediately rearrested in Court under the emergency detention powers operating at the time. Amnesty International adopted him as a prisoner of conscience. He spent two years in Luzira maximum security prison, away from his wife Hadija, until 1970 when he was released. This was a charge of sedition which continued to be in our penal laws until of recent when it was declared unconstitutional in Andrew Mwenda's case.

Abu Mayanja with the *ex-parte matovu* case, *Mayanja* applied for the application to be referred to a bench of three Judges, presumably under the *Constitutional Cases (Procedure) Act* (Cap. 66) or Article 95. The applicant was arrested under the *Deportation Act* on May 22, 1966, and then released and detained again on July 16, 1966, under Emergency legislation which was brought into force after his first arrest. On August 11, 1966, the applicant was served in prison with a detention order and a statement specifying in general terms the grounds for his detention pursuant to art. 31(1) (a) of the Constitution of Uganda. Between February 22, and April 15, 1966, a series of events took place which resulted in a resolution of the National Assembly abolishing the 1962 Constitution of Uganda and adopting another referred to as the 1966 Constitution. Prior to this the President and Vice-President of Uganda were deprived, contrary to the 1962 Constitution, of their offices and divested of their authorities by the Prime Minister with the consent of his cabinet. After the 1966 Constitution was adopted a state of public emergency was declared and the *Emergency Powers (Detention) Regulations 1966*, were made. On September 9, 1966, habeas corpus proceedings were taken out in the High Court on behalf of the applicant. Despite formal defects it was possible to frame the constitutional issues to be referred to a bench of three judges of the High Court Page 515 of [1966] 1 EA 514 (HCU) for interpretation, namely, whether the application failed for non-compliance with art. 32 of the Constitution and the *Constitutional Cases (Procedure) Act*; whether the emergency powers invoked to detain the applicant were ultra vires the Constitution or were properly exercised, and whether the constitutional rights of a person detained under emergency laws

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as preserved by art. 31 of the Constitution, had been contravened. The court raised the question of the validity of the 1966 Constitution to which the Attorney-General objected because either it arose from a political act outside the scope of the court or it was the product of a successful revolution.



# Prosecutor Joan Kagezi



Prosecutor Joan Kagezi was a Ugandan lawyer and prosecutor. She was assassinated on 30 March 2015 in Kiwaatule, a Kampala suburb, on her way home. At the time of her death, she was the assistant director of public prosecution and head of the International Criminal Division in Uganda's Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs. She is remembered for standing with the truth and making Justice be seen done but not just heard.

She was born Joan Namazzi to Kaggwa Sserwadda and Mrs. Sserwadda of Luteete Village, Rakai District, on 14 July 1967. She attended Nsuube Primary School from 1973 to 1980. She studied at Mount Saint Mary's College Namagunga, an all-girls boarding senior secondary school in Mukono District, for both her O-Level and A-Level education. In 1987, she entered Makerere University to study law, graduating in 1990 with a Bachelor of Laws degree. In 1992, she earned a Diploma in Legal Practice from the Law Development Centre. At the time of her death, she was pursuing a Master of Business Administration from the Eastern and Southern African Management Institute.

Among the high-profile prosecutions that Joan Kagezi participated in or led, over her 21 years as a government prosecutor were the following.

- The prosecution of Ugandan-born Australian cardiologist Aggrey Kiyingi for the assassination of his wife, lawyer Robinah Kasirye Kiyingi. She was gunned down in July 2005 outside the gate of the family mansion in Buziga, an upscale neighborhood in Uganda's capital Kampala. The state lost that case.
- The trial and conviction of former Arua Municipality, Akbar Hussein Godi, whose wife was killed on 4 December 2008 in Mukono District. In February 2011, Godi was sentenced to 25 years in prison after being convicted of murdering Rehema Caesar Godi, who was 19 years old at the time of her death.
- The prosecution and conviction of Kampala businessman Thomas Nkulungira, also known as "Tonku", whose girlfriend was killed sometime between 21 and 30 December 2010. Her body was dumped in the septic tank at Nkulungira's house in Muyenga, a Kampala neighbourhood. On 13 August 2011, a judge sentenced Tonku to death for capital murder.
- The prosecution of Thomas Kwoyelo, a warlord in the Lord's Resistance Army, on charges of kidnapping, murder, rape, and human mutilation and torture. The trial was terminated when Uganda's Constitutional Court granted Kwoyelo amnesty. On appeal, however, the Supreme Court of Uganda reversed that decision on 8 April 2015, sending the case back to the Uganda High Court for trial.
- The prosecution that was ongoing when Kagezi died of 13 individuals accused of participating in the July 2010 Kampala attacks, which occurred during the 2010 FIFA World Cup Final match, killing at least 79 people.

# Senior Counsel J.W Katende



Senior Counsel John W Katende, studied from Harvard Law School, Master of Laws (LLM) in 1970. One of the very first East Africans to receive an LL.M from Harvard Law School, An African Fellowship Fellow. University of East Africa at Dar-es-Salaam, and a Bachelor of Laws (L.L.B) in 1968.

Senior Counsel John W Katende is one of the two Founding and Senior Partners of KATS.

His experience spans over fifty (50) years practice in Uganda and the East and Central African region. In his career, John has been involved in any and everything that has to do with law and legal practice in Uganda. Ask any judge or legal practitioner and with unanimity, they concur that without doubt John is one of the finest lawyers in the country's history. Co-founding Partner, John Katende is a highly respected individual in the Ugandan market with over 50 years' experience. He continues to be consulted for advice on both corporate mandates and litigious proceedings.

He has lectured law at Uganda's premier tertiary institution, Makerere University, teaching 'Introduction to Law' and the 'Law of Business Associations' throughout the 70's. He has authored many a learned treatise including '*The Law of Business Associations in East and Central Africa*' which is one of the leading texts in all the law schools across East and Central Africa. The 2 students he selected to work as his research assistants on the book were John Patrick Amama Mbabazi – who went on to become the Prime Minister of Uganda, and John Sentamu – who went on to become the Archbishop of York in the United Kingdom.

Many of his students have gone on to have exceptional careers as lawyers, judges of the Supreme Court, Court of Appeal and High Court, company secretaries, politicians, business men including but not limited to:

1. Chief Justice of Uganda, Hon. Bart Katureebe
2. The Speaker of Parliament, Hon. Rebecca Kadaga
3. Rtd Supreme Court Justice Karokora
4. Justice Amos Twinomujuni
5. Justice Constance Byamugisha
6. Justice Steven Kavuma
7. Justice Augustine Nshimye
8. Justice Stella Arach Amoko
9. Justice Moses Mukiibi
10. Rtd Justice Edmund Sempa Lugayizi
11. Justice Lamech Nsubuga Mukasa
12. Justice Ibanda Nahamya (currently Judge of the International Residual Mechanism for Criminal Tribunals (Mechanism))
13. Justice Vincent Kibuuka Musoke

14. Justice Atwoki Rugadya
15. Justice Margaret Oguli Oumo
16. Justice Ralph Ochan
17. Justice Vincent Zehurikiize
18. Julia Sebutinde, currently a Judge in the International Court of Justice
19. Hon. Khiddu Makubuya
20. Hon. Amama Mbabazi
21. Archbishop John Sentamu
22. Gen. Kale Kayihura
23. Hon. Sam Kuteesa
24. Peter Kabatsi
25. Elly Karuhanga
26. Elijah Wante
27. IGP Okoth Ochola
28. Hon Medi Kaggwa
29. Hon. Maria Matembe
30. Isaac Christopher Lubogo

The list is endless and one may ask how the senior counsel has maintained the standard and he is no doubt a father of all fathers. You will note that the above people have impacted a lot to the jurisprudence of the country this is because they passed through the great hands of **SENIOR COUNSEL J.W KATENDE**. He is a true a father of a Legal Rebel.

On the 31st March, 2017, Senior Counsel was also recognized by the Uganda Law Society (ULS) and awarded the ULS' first '**Distinguished Service Award**' at the Uganda Law Society Annual General Meeting held in Entebbe, Uganda on the 31st March, 2017.

He was also, one of the first 3 lawyers in the history of Uganda to be inducted into the ULS inaugural '**Roll of Honour**'. This award is given to lawyers who have distinguished themselves in the profession, have a proven track record of being excellent attorneys with stellar reputations and have also made significant contribution to jurisprudence or contributed to the development of a particular area in law.

On the 28th March, 2018, John was awarded the Special Rank of **Senior Counsel** (the highest honor in the legal fraternity) by the Chief Justice of Uganda, Hon. Bart Katureebe.

# Counsel Erias Lukwago



Counsel Erias Lukwago Ssalongo is a Ugandan lawyer and politician. He is the lord mayor of the city of Kampala, the capital of Uganda and the largest metropolitan area in the country. He was first elected to that position on 14 January 2011. Lukwago attended Makerere University between 1995 until 1997, graduating with a Bachelor of Laws Degree. He went on to obtain a Diploma in Legal Practice from the Law Development Center (LDC) in 1998. He also holds a Certificate in Advocacy Skills from the International Law Institute.

Since 1998, Lukwago has worked as the managing partner in the offices of Lukwago and Co. Advocates, a Kampala law firm that specializes in constitutional law and human rights law.

In 2005, he was elected to the Ugandan Parliament, on the Democratic Party (DP) ticket, representing the Kampala Central Constituency. While in parliament, he served on the Legal and Parliamentary Affairs Committee and the Local Government Accounts Committee.

He is among the best city lawyers who have come out to help entertainers who have faced imprisonments by offering free legal services to them. He is also a mayor of the Kampala Capital City. He is well known for his advocacy of the rule of law.



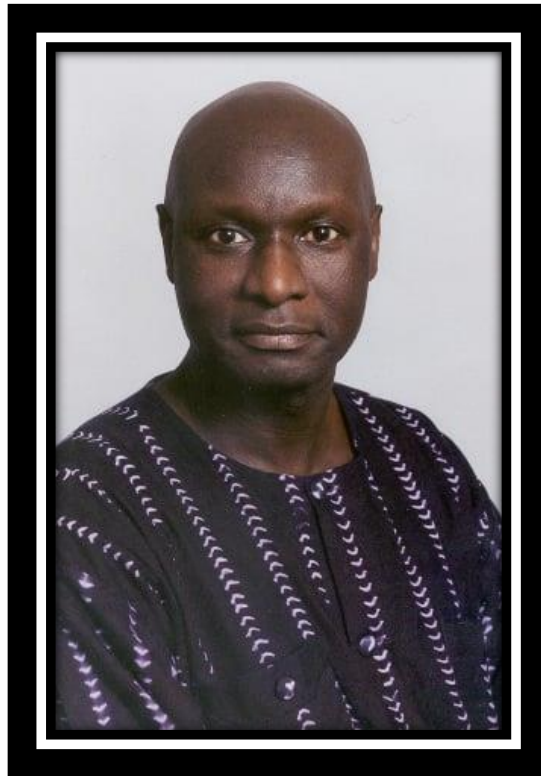
# Counsel Mbabazi Muhammed



Mbabazi is a senior partner in Nyanzi, Kiboneka & Mbabazi Advocates. He is a reknown constitutional lawyer and famously remembered to have represented Amama Mbabazi in the 2016 presidential election petition after the latter had lost the race to H.E. Yoweri Kaguta Museveni. During this petition, his words made rounds on social media when he submitted in court that; “If you don't have the number of verified voters, then where is the transparency needed from the machines?”

Due to his great exeperince in the field, he was also instructed to represent Hon. Robert Kyagulanyi in the 2021 presidential election petition. He is known to have represented top presidential candidates in election petitions where in he makes key statements questioning the operations of the electoral commission of Uganda.

# Counsel Olara A. Otunnu



**Mr Olara A. Otunnu** was born on 6th September 1950, he is a Ugandan politician, diplomat, and lawyer. He was President of the Uganda People's Congress (UPC), a political party, from 2010 to 2015 and stood as the party's candidate in the 2011 presidential election. Mr Olara Otunnu was Uganda's Permanent Representative to the United Nations from 1980 to 1985 and served as Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1985 to 1986. Later, he was President of the International Peace Academy from 1990 to 1998 .and he was an Under-Secretary-General of the United Nations and Special Representative for Children and Armed Conflict from 1997 to 2005.

From 1980 to 1985, Otunnu served as Uganda's representative at the United Nations. In 1980, he was appointed Uganda's permanent representative at the UN by President Milton Obote. During this period, he served in a variety of major roles. In 1981, he was named president of the UN Security Council, where he presided over the election of Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar and invented the

system of straw balloting commonly known as the Otunnu Formula still in use today. From 1982 to 1983, he served as Vice President of the UN General Assembly, as well as Chairman of the Contact Group on Global Negotiations. The following year he worked as the Chairman of the UN Commission on Human Rights.

From 1985-1986, Mr Olaro Otunnu served as Uganda's Minister of Foreign Affairs, and played a critical role in orchestrating the Nairobi Agreement of December 1985.

Mr Olaro Otunnu was appointed President of the International Peace Institute in 1990, and served in that role until 1998, transforming the profile of the organization, attracting major new funding, and expanding its operations.

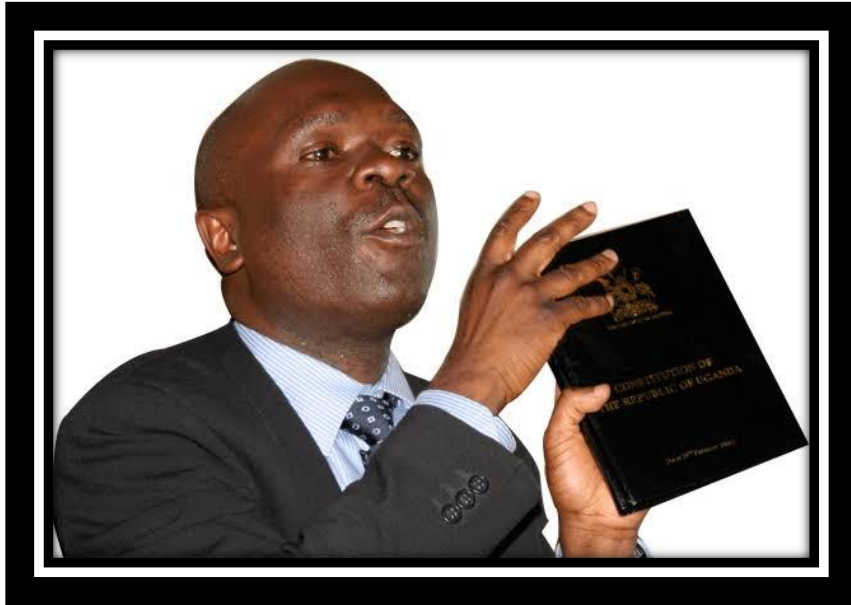
Mr Olaro Otunnu was appointed by United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan as Under-Secretary General and Special Representative for Children in Armed Conflict on 19 August 1997, taking office on 1 September 1997.

Mr. Olaro Otunnu ran in 2010 to succeed Miria Obote, wife of former President Milton Obote, as president of the UPC. On 14 May, he defeated her son, Jimmy Akena, at a UPC delegate's conference. UPC nominated him in November 2010 as its presidential candidate. On Election Day in 2011, however, he refused to vote, even for himself. He received 1.58 percent of the vote. Otunnu has received several major international awards, including the Distinguished Service Award from the United Nations Association of the United States of America (2001); German Africa Prize (2002); the Sydney Peace Prize (2005); and the Global Award for Outstanding Contribution to Human Rights (India, 2006). In 2007, he received the Harvard Law School Association Award, presented by its president Jay H. Hebert and Elena Kagan (an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States).

Mr. Otunnu serves a variety of advisory roles at an array of civic organizations, including: trustee at the Aspen Institute, juror at the McNulty Foundation, adviser to Aspen France, Aspen Italia, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Hilton Humanitarian Prize, the International Selection Commission of the Philadelphia Liberty Medal, the

International Crisis Group (ICG), the Council of African Advisers of the World Bank, the Advisory Committee of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), and founder of the LBL Foundation for Children.

# Counsel Yusuf Nsibambi



Nsibambi was born on April 4, 1965 to Hajji Ausi and Hajjat Jalia Kalega in a village called Kalagala, Nkozi, Mawokota, Mpigi district.

He went to Nkozi primary school, Kibuli secondary school for O and A-level and then Makerere University for a bachelor's degree in Law which he completed in 1989. After university, he joined Sebalu and Lule advocates for one year before joining Greenland bank. In 1995, he did a master's in International Financial Crime at the University of Florida.

Many know Yusuf Nsibambi as an FDC activist fighting to bring political change in the country. And to others at Makerere University, he is the soft-spoken lecturer imparting legal knowledge and skills to future lawyers.

On the streets of Kampala, he is known as a suave lawyer who will sort out your legal issues. Nsibambi, who made 50 years on April 4, is all that and more. In half a century, life has been fair to him, raking in for him numerous achievements.

At the age of 24, he was made company secretary of Greenland bank, an influential financial institution in the 1990s that was started by a group of mainly Muslim businessmen. Bank of Uganda closed it in 1999 after it became insolvent.

He was quoted in one of the interviews with a journalist that “I was probably the youngest corporation secretary in Uganda. I am the one who collected the license [Greenland’s] from Bank of Uganda,” he reminisced, shyly glancing away. Later as he talked about how the lending institution changed the face of banking in the country, he did so with a facial expression that suggested that he considers this as one of his biggest achievements.

Yet he is quick to admit that this had more to do with the fact that he was a Muslim and a Muganda and to the mentorship of Suleiman Kiggundu, the first chief executive officer of the bank. The former central bank governor, he says, imbued in him the spirit of hard work.

“All my life, I owe a lot to him [Kiggundu]. He was so hard-working. We worked eight hours a day, seven days a week. He was all there. Because of my busy schedule, I did not attend social functions. Infact the first wedding ceremony I attended was my own [on February 13, 1993]. Even up to now, I rarely attend social functions. I work. Whether it is Eid day, I first drive to work,” he says.

As an insider, he says the closure of the bank was triggered off by the decision to acquire Uganda Commercial Bank, what he termed as a suicidal move.

He said: “Insider lending could not have collapsed Greenland bank. It was our move to acquire UCB which was a trap by top politicians in government. I was involved in the drafting of the agreement for the purchase of UCB. I even contacted two prominent shareholders advising that we should not enter this venture, but Dr Kiggundu said, ‘No, let us ensure that the agreement is tight.’ I told him there is no way government can allow you to control a bank like UCB which had branches all over the country. This means that they are giving you economic, and ultimately, political power. It was a trap.”

Since he started working after university in 1989, he says, he first took his annual leave last year which he spent with his family at Maasai Mara in Kenya. At least he

has something to show for this hard work. While he will not talk about his wealth, those who know him say he is quite wealthy. He is said to own prime property in the upmarket areas of Kololo, Naguru and Ntinda.

### **Legal Practice, Teaching**

After the closure of Greenland bank, he joined a law firm, Nyanzi, Kiboneka and Mbabazi advocates as a partner. He worked there for seven years, but was forced to quit because of politics.

“The firm got a lot of pressure [because some people associated it with Kizza Besigye]. Clients were withdrawing instructions. Other partners were not politicians like me. We sat and agreed that I should leave. When I left, I formed a firm called Nsibambi and Nsibambi advocates,” he said.

Alongside his legal practice and political activism, Nsibambi has found time to teach Law at Makerere University. It is something he has been doing since 1991. Some of the prominent personalities, he says, he has taught are: Norbert Mao, Jacob Oulanyah, Maj Gen James Mugira and the late Brig Noble Mayombo.





# Counsel Sim Katende



Sim Katende is a partner at the Katende, Ssempebwa & Co. Advocates firm and heads the firm's banking & finance, corporate & commercial, energy, oil & gas, M&A and telecom, media and technology practice. Sim is widely acknowledged and internationally recognised as one of the leading transactional lawyers in East Africa. He boasts over 19 years' multi-jurisdictional practice experience, having worked in New York, South Africa and Uganda.

Sim's practice has received international recognition as a leading finance and corporate lawyer by a number of leading legal directories. Sim is widely acknowledged and internationally recognised as one of the leading transactional lawyers in East Africa. He boasts of over 20 years' multi-jurisdictional practice experience having worked in New York, South Africa and Uganda

Sim has worked closely with most of the leading commercial law firms in East Africa, South Africa and the United Kingdom including most of the magic circle firms and has developed an excellent working relationship with many of the key transactional lawyers in these firms. He is known for strengthening bargaining

positions and moving deals forward by understanding interests of all parties and all moving parts of complex transactions.

Sim has structured, negotiated, and executed landmark multimillion-dollar deals and financial transactions in Uganda and East and sub-saharan Africa in the fields of: Capital Markets, Banking & Finance, Technology, Media & Telecommunication, Insurance, Private Equity, PPPs & Project Finance, Energy, Oil & Gas and Mergers & Acquisitions.

Licensed to practice law as an Attorney and Counsellor-at-law in the State of New York as well as an Advocate, Commissioner for Oaths and a Notary Public in Uganda.

He is one of the partners that have nurtured and inspired young lawyers into practice. He is knowledgeable in all forms of transaction.

# Counsel John Chris Bakiza



## **Senior partner at Bakiza and company advocates**

Counsel Chris Bakiza, the Former Police head of Criminal Investigations, he is the managing partner of Bakiza & Company Advocates. Chris John Bakiza held four positions in the Uganda Police Force (UPF) before retiring to private legal practice in 200. He served as the Director of Criminal investigation Directorate (CID) in UPF(1996-2000), Director of Operations(1994-1996), Director of Administration (1993-1994) and Director of Legal Services (1988-1991). He worked for the Uganda Public Service for 20 years before retirement to the private sector. He is a holder of a Master's degree in Oil and Gas(UCU), a Master of Arts Degree (Exeter, U.K) and a Bachelor of Laws (Hons MUK). He holds a Post- Graduate Diploma in Legal Practice from LDC, Kampala. While in public service he carried out various comparative Police studies in collaboration with investigative and police (UK), Strathelide Police (Scotland), Ghana Police Service, Nigerian Police Force and Garda siokhana (Republic of Island), between 1986-1989 he was head of the fraud investigations unit at bank of Uganda.

Upon retirement from public service he joined private legal Practice and participated in high profile constitutional petition litigation. In the case of Severino Twinobusigye Vs Attorney General , Constitutional Petition No. 47 of 2011 in which he participated as a senior Counsel, the petition was premised on the claims that the Rt. Hon. Amama Mbabazi, Prime Minister of Uganda, Hon. Sam Kutesa, the Minister of internal affairs who were cited and investigated by the Ad-hoc committee of parliament of Uganda for allegations of bribery in the oil sector, should step aside their high offices for allegedly acting inconsistently with and in contravention of the Constitution of Uganda. The three ministers had been labeled” thieves” and “thugs” who should have been censored or publically executed in the Idi Amin style. Court held that the resolution of Parliament requiring the Prime Minister and the other Ministers to step aside pending investigations and a report of the Ad-hoc Committee of Parliament was unconstitutional and therefore null and void.

He was lead counsel in the landmark case of Hon. Sitenda Sebalu a reference from the Uganda Supreme Court to the East African Court of Justice (Reference No. 01 of 2010) for a decision, whether the delay in the conclusion of the protocol to operationalize the appellant jurisdiction of the East African Court infringed on the East African Treaty. The Justices unanimously held that the Secretary General and the East African Community had not fully discharged their respective responsibility regarding the conclusion of a protocol to operationalize the extended jurisdiction of the EACJ.

He is the author of “A Handbook of Criminal Investigations in Uganda”, First Edition, 2022.

# Counsel Charles Owor



Owiny-Dollo spoke of Owor, as an icon of legal aid who stood for the truth.

“A dedicated servant of God who carried out his practice in a way that glorified God. As a leader, Charles Owor, spoke fearlessly about the issues that affected the people he led as Constituent Assembly delegate, pushing for justice and leadership that served the people,” the founding president of Uganda Christian lawyers fraternity.

# Counsel A.D Hakim

According to records, the first qualified lawyer to practice in Uganda was called Mr. A. D. Hakim, who started practicing in 1904

After Uganda was declared a British protectorate in 1894, there was a need to set up a British type justice system. The Colonial government then came up with a law called the "Uganda Legal Practitioners' Rules" which allowed lawyers to operate in Uganda. in 1905, the first law firm in Uganda was opened by Dr. Henry Hamilton Hunter, who completed his legal studies from Dublin University.

# Counsel Ladislaus Kiiza Rwakafuzi



Mr. Ladislaus Kiiza Rwakafuzi is a human rights advocate. He is a distinguished Ugandan human rights lawyer, has dedicated his life to the fight against discrimination, oppression, and abuse of human rights through legal means. For the past 20 years, he has successfully argued several constitutional court cases in defense of freedoms and published a series of law reports that are critical for legal practice to advance justice. He also recently provided legal support to several September 2009 Buganda riot victims. The 54-year says he is not proud of the practice of law in Uganda. He says it is largely for financial gain rather than pursuit of justice. He is also a publisher of law reports. He has always been referred to as the poor man's lawyer. This is because he is ever defending clients without regard to money. Despite of the fact that the public is corrupted with the mind that Lawyers are over money, he is not defined by that.

Long time human rights defender and publisher of law reports advocate Ladislaus Rwakafuzi was awarded the first Civil Liberty Award on April 6, 2017. The award was part of the inaugural Human Rights Convention held under the auspices of Chapter Four Uganda that focused on the future of public interest litigation in the country

**The Award read:**

*“Chapter Four Uganda* with pleasure extends the first ever Civil Liberty Award to Mr. Ladislaus Rwakafuzi. Few individuals in Uganda embody the spirit of a world free of the abuses of power and the fight to provide shelter to the most vulnerable of our community like Mr. Ladislaus Rwakafuzi. His unrivalled commitment to using the law as a shield for the poor, the oppressed and the powerless has led the way for the legal profession and countless others in the public to dedicate their time to the defence of civil liberties. For his dedication and service Mr. Rwakafuzi is the reflection of the highest ideals of defense of civil liberties” Ends.



# Counsel Peterson Mwesigwa



He graduated with a First Class Degree in Electrical Engineering at Makerere University, later alone in 2011, he got his master's degree still in electrical engineering and is currently a Phd Student in the field of Engineering. Just after his master's degree, Peter enrolled a law course at Makerere It is a rare feat for an Engineer to conquer the law school while pursuing his PhD. Last week, he graduated with his first-class degree in law making him the first one in a decade and so Peter completed his high school studies at Ntare school in 2003. Here is brief profile; 2018: Bachelor of Laws, Makerere University 2012-2015: Doctoral Researcher, Communications Engineering at Makerere University/CSIR 2009-2011: Master of Science in Electrical Engineering 2004-2008:

# Counsel Princess Elizabeth Bagaya



Princess Elizabeth Bagaya of Toro was born in the capital of the Toro Kingdom, Kabalole, in 1936 to King George Matthew Kamurasi Rukiidi and Queen Kezia Byanjeru of the Toro Kingdom in Western Uganda. She married Wilbur Nyabongo in 1981 and they were together for five years until his death in 1986. Bagaya attended elementary school at Kyebambe Girls School in Uganda. Afterwards, she was sent to Gayaza High School, a prestigious girls boarding school in Buganda, central Uganda. At her father's insistence, she continued her education in England, at the Sherborne School for Girls, where she was the only Black student. A year later, she was accepted to the University of Cambridge, Girton College, and was the third African woman to attend this university. In 1962, she graduated from the University of Cambridge with a law degree and three years later in 1965 she qualified as a barrister-at-law, at London's Gray's Inn. She became the first woman from East Africa to be admitted to the English Bar.

Unfortunately, at about this time, Bagaya's father died, and so her brother, Rukirabasaija Patrick David Matthew Koboyo Olimi III, ascended to the throne.

As a result of these events, she returned home, where she joined Kazzora and Co, a law firm in Kampala, the capital of Uganda. She completed a six-month internship at the firm before she was called to the Ugandan bar in 1966, becoming the first woman to do so. In the same year, the then president of Uganda, Milton Obote, had violently abolished Uganda's traditional monarchies, and so Bagaya's life was in serious jeopardy. Fortunately for Bagaya, she received a personal invitation in 1967 from Princess Margaret and her husband Lord Snowdon to participate in a widely publicized Commonwealth fashion show at Marlborough House in London. She walked the runway in an outfit from a Uganda Collection designed by Phillipa Todd and was a big hit. After this appearance, she began her modelling career.

From there, she signed with the Peter Lumley Agency and modeled in several fashion shows that were featured in the British and American *Vogue*, *Harper's Bazaar*, and *Queen* magazines in 1967 and 1968. Between 1968 and 1970, she took her modeling career to New York, where she signed to the Ford Agency, the top modeling agency in America at the time. She then had an entire layout of the 1968 summer issue of *Vogue* dedicated to her. She was also featured in *Look*, *LIFE*, and *Ebony* magazines and became the first Black model to appear on the cover of a top fashion magazine, *Harper's Bazaar*. Considering her successful modeling career, the Ford Agency advised her to enroll in acting classes. She did so at the American Place Theatre and went on to act in a few films, including "Bullfrog in the Sun" (based on Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart*) and "Sheena: Queen of the Jungle."

In 1971, Idi Amin overthrew the Obote government in Uganda and Bagaya once again returned to Uganda to serve her country. Her first appointment under Amin was as Roving Ambassador, where for three years she used her fame and connections to get direct access to various presidents and dignitaries. This position led to her appointment as Foreign Minister in February 1974. Even though her tenure as Foreign Minister was short from February to November 1974, Bagaya revived Uganda's tarnished image abroad, attempted to soothe hostilities, and encouraged heads of state to visit the country.

Her tenure as Foreign Minister was cut short as her relationship with Amin soured over claims that she planned to overthrow him. Bagaya stated in an interview that because of these rumors, Amin had her placed under house arrest. If not for international and local pressure, she believes she would have been killed.

Bagaya left Uganda in 1974 and sought political asylum in Britain. She kept a low profile until she returned to Uganda in 1979 when Amin's government was overthrown. In the country's first free national elections, Obote returned to power in 1980, and his hostility and previous aggression towards the monarchy caused Bagaya to leave Uganda once more, until her final return in 1985 when he was overthrown and replaced by Yoweri Museveni. Museveni appointed Bagaya as Uganda's Ambassador to the United States between 1986 and 1988. As Ambassador, she used the media and contacts from her previous careers for the Ugandan cause, including arranging a meeting between President Museveni and then Vice-President George Bush and President Ronald Regan in October 1987.

After her husband Wilbur Nyabongo died in December 1986, Bagaya made the decision to leave public service and get involved in charity work. She resigned from her position as Ugandan Ambassador to the United States on July 21, 1988 and began promoting different causes through television appearances and her book, "Elizabeth of Toro: The Odyssey of an African Princess", published in 1989. In 1993, President Museveni's government restored cultural leaders in Uganda. This led to Princess Bagaya's return to serve as Princess Royale to her brother, King Patrick Kaboyo Olimi VII. She was a key player in restarting the kingdom, and when her brother died, she was named as one of her nephew's guardians, as the leadership was passed down to men/boys. She still plays an important role in the Kingdom, following a period where she was Uganda's Ambassador to Germany and the Vatican, and her subsequent appointment as Uganda's High Commissioner to Nigeria, based in Abuja, the country's capital.

Princess Elizabeth Bagaya of Toro is a pioneer woman in law for various reasons. She was the first woman from East Africa to be admitted to the English Bar, and the first woman to be called to the Ugandan bar. These are major accomplishments,

as regardless of her privilege in a royal family, she entered the male dominated profession and inspired many women to do the same in the following years.

As well as this, her modelling career was also boundary breaking, as she was the first Black model on the cover of Harper's Bazaar, and first Black model to have an entire layout in Vogue. In discussing her modelling career, she stated how she wanted to use it to "destroy the myth of white superiority in terms of beauty and sophistication". This was so important, as Euro-centric views of beauty were the standard for a long while, and her work as a model did a lot to counter this in the 1960s and 1970s. Her political career, where she operated as various Ambassadors for Uganda, was very successful and beneficial to promoting Uganda internationally. She helped better the country's international relations and always sought to uplift Uganda. For all these reasons, Princess Elizabeth Bagaya of Toro should be considered a pioneer woman in law.

# Counsel Isaac Ssemakadde



He attended Bright Grammar School, in Masaka District from where he obtained his Primary Leaving Examination (PLE). Ssemakadde passed PLE with top grades thereby winning him a scholarship at St. Mary's College Kisubi (SMACK), one of the top schools in the country from where he attained his O'&A certificates. He then joined Makerere University Law School on a government scholarship; he served as the President Makerere University Law Society.

He graduated in 2008 with a bachelor's degree in Law. In April 2018, Ssemakadde was named the most outstanding public interest litigation lawyer in Uganda by the Uganda Law Society.

Counsel Ssemakadde is described as a legal rebel following his unique style seen in his dreaded hairstyle; Be that as it may, this has called for a lot of criticisms at him. Confident like his language he is never moved by that entirely, he is focused to uphold the law and point out loopholes in our Jurisprudence among which include the relevancy of Law Development Centre. His mission is to change the world from layman misconceptions and start to think outside the box. Counsel Ssemakadde points out that they are trying to reinvent the law, their own way via

humble means as humanely as possible. He tells fashion is in his blood, something he cannot live without, he loves all about fashion and is so passionate about it.

Defending his stand on fashion, Ssemakadde says he will not let time pass him by, because he's still young with a right to do some experimental fashion procedures.

However, he asserts that he tries to be good at whatever he does because he represents the voices of the unheard people in society. Counsel Isaac Kimaze Ssemakadde began his career at Bowmans (A.F Mpanga Advocates), one of the most reputable law firms in the country. He is a co-founded Legal Brains Trust with a colleague while studying at the Law Development Centre (LDC). He has represented so many people and thereby highly appraised for his intelligent quotient and knowledge of the law. The man reads books.

His stylish nature and advocacy of human rights has won him a lot of following on social media, his rebellious traits and rich language is also another factor why we should venture to call him a true son of the Legal rebel. He has always been summoned over illegal communication but emerging out victorious due to his high level of critical thinking. He thinks outside the box.



# Counsel Verma Deepa



Ms. Verma enrolled and Advocate with a Bachelors of Laws Degree (LLB) and a Diploma in Legal Practice (Dip LP) and a Masters of Laws in Oil and Gas. She has over 22 years' experience in active legal practice claiming several wins in the litigation world and currently represents the lawyers in the Bar-Bench committee, (a conduct between the Advocates and the Judges of the commercial court). and practices in litigation and non-litigious fields of corporate and Commercial, Investment, Property, Banking and finance, labour law, Intellectual property, International Business transactions, Securities law, Immigration, Tax and Revenue. She has vast experience in providing Legal advice to local and international investors, notable amongst which is; investors coming into the country under the UK Funded Export Finance (UKEF), Joint venture development of Kabaale International Airport in Hoima as SBC (Uganda) Ltd, also provides legal advice to Multinational and National corporations, including but not limited to Import distribution, Tourism, Construction, petroleum, Pharmaceuticals, Hospitals, Telecommunication, Tea estates and companies,



Financial Services, Insurance companies, clearing and Forwarding and Manufacturing companies. She also advises several Non-Governmental Organisations, Churches and Schools. She has served on several Boards, prominent being as a company secretary to Orient Bank Limited and Executive Director of Quantum foods Uganda limited (Holding company of Quantum Foods South Africa). Advises and has served several clients on tax disputes including World Wide Movers Ltd, The Uganda Safaris Ltd, Fine Spinners Uganda Ltd, SBI international Holdings AG (Uganda), Reynolds Construction Company (N) Ltd among others.



### **Major Disputes Resolved:**

She successfully represented Uganda Safari Company Limited in an arbitration matter against the Lake Victoria Sailing Company Limited in a dispute over a

concession to run and manage a 500-acre resort island in Uganda wherein her client was awarded approximately US \$ 2,500,000.

She successfully represented Ketan Patel and 3 other shareholders in an arbitration matter against Comesa Commercial Company Limited and Tuffoam Uganda Ltd in a dispute over a the sale of company shares wherein her client was awarded approximately US \$ 2,200,000.

She successfully represented SBI Int'l Holdings AG (U) in an Adjudication against the Uganda National Roads Authority for the Civil works for Upgrading the Mukono-Kyetume-Katosi Kisoga-Nyenga Road Project wherein the Contractor was awarded the sum of approximately US \$ 1,500,000.

She successfully represented SBI Int'l Holdings AG (U) in an Adjudication against the Uganda National Roads Authority for Design and Build Contract for Strengthening/Rehabilitation of Malaba/Busia-Bugiri Road Project wherein the Contractor was awarded the sum of approximately US \$ 400,000.

#### **Awards and Positions:**

**2014: Best Female Practitioner-** Private Practice Category, Uganda Law Society

**2009-2011: Honorary Secretary,** Uganda Law Society

**1996: First Female President** of Makerere Law Society

**2015: President** of Lions Club International- Kampala Host.

**2019: Chief Executive Member** of The Indian Association Of Uganda

**2019: Member** of the Indian Business Forum.

# Counsel Florence Ndagire



Florence Ndagire is a female Ugandan lawyer, who works as a legal researcher and human rights lawyer at the United Nations based in Geneva, Switzerland. Ndagire, who is totally blind, also serves as the chairperson of the UN Women Regional Group, for Eastern and Southern Africa, comprising twelve countries.

She was the first Ugandan who is visually impaired to study law.

## **Human right policy advisor at World blind union**

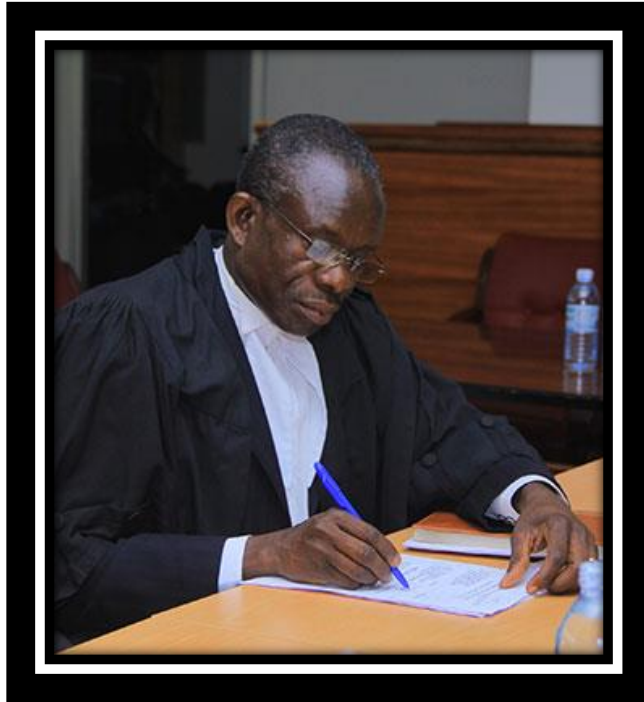
In her own words she said “My name is Florence Ndagire and I am the first visually impaired lawyer in Uganda. It took a lot of courage, pain, suffering and sacrifices to get to where I am today. Fortunately, I had a mother who loved and believed in me. She accepted me and knew that God had a purpose for creating me this way. Family and community members contended that she had brought misfortune to the family but that did not discourage her. She struggled but ensured that she took me to school and with the help of some other generous sponsors, I managed to pass with top grades in all my schooling. I made it into the top national university and

in 2008, graduated from Makerere University with a Bachelor's Degree in Law and a Diploma in Legal Practice from Law Development Center in 2009.

Her first job after her legal clerkship was as Policy Lobbying & Advocacy Officer at the Uganda Society for Disabled Children. She then joined Light for the World as a Development Officer before enrolling in graduate school sponsored by Open Society. In December 2014, she graduated with a Master of Laws in International & European Human Rights Law from the University of Leeds, UK.

Her experience to date has included advocating for the rights of children with disabilities, developing policies for the staff and the parent support groups, simplifying the legal instruments for the child rights clubs and the parent support groups, sensitizing these groups about the fundamental rights of children with disabilities, popularizing the convention on the rights of persons with disabilities and providing legal aid and support to persons with disabilities. she is currently Action on Disability and Development (ADD) as the Snr Program Officer/Project Coordinator 'her Story, her Rights'. she attended important meetings and workshops for the cause of children and persons with disabilities and make presentations on different topics across different fora. Having gotten this far in her career, we can't wait to see what the future holds! Florence is an international disability rights consultant who was recently hired by the National Council on persons with disability of Ghana to review the Persons with Disability Act 715 and to draft accompanying legislative instrument to implement the Act. The object is to domesticate the Convention on the rights of persons with disabilities into Ghana's legal framework, a consultancy she has completed successfully”.

# Counsel Peter Mukidi Walubiri



He is a former constitutional law lecturer at Makerere University, says a minister's work is by nature partisan.

Mr Walubiri is one of the lawyers who represented Dr Kizza Besigye in his 2006 presidential election petition against President Museveni. He is a managing partner of Kwesigabo, Bamwine & Walubiri Advocates

Counsel Peter *Walubiri* was accredited for his great move advocating for jurisdiction to be granted to Magistrates Courts to handle Human Rights cases across the country.

# Counsel Gawaya Tegulle



**Mr. Gawaya** Tegulle, A Learned Friend, He is a respected Journalist and Lawyer that was admitted to the bar as an advocate to the High Court of Uganda. He is a seasoned human rights advocate and defender of human rights.

# Counsel Ebert Byenkya



Ebert Byenkya is a founding partner at the firm and is largely responsible for having built up the Firm's blossoming practice. He heads the litigation department at the Firm and has done an undeniably impeccable job training up and mentoring a dynamic team that shows great commitment to BK's clients and its values.

Ebert is well respected as one of Uganda's leading attorneys in the field of litigation and possesses extensive experience in handling complex commercial matters and debt recoveries. He has over the years garnered peer endorsements for his impressive clientele skills and quick command of any kind of transaction. He also boasts of a flair for international finance having represented international lenders like the International Finance Corporation and Standard Chartered Bank for over ten years.

Ebert is usually the first port of call if a corporate client requires something innovative because as a lawyer, Ebert is technically and commercially very aware and up-to-date. These attributes enable Ebert to offer an insightful overview of the status quo in their respective industries.

# Counsel Edward Kato Sekabanja



He is a managing partner at Sekabanja & Co. Advocates

EDWARD SEKABANJA KATO is the Managing Partner of Sekabanja & Co. Advocates. He is an Advocate of the High court, and a commissioner for oaths. Edward's legal career began with the Attorney General's chambers in 1992 where he worked as a State Attorney. He then moved into private practice with M/s Mwesigwa Rukutana & Co. Advocates where he was the head of Litigation and administration. Throughout this time, he gained invaluable experience both in administration and financial management of the law firm. It is these same skills that Edward has successfully employed in Sekabanja & Co. Advocates. Indeed, Sekabanja & co. Advocates boasts of being one of the very few honest, reliable and financially credible law firms in Uganda today. Edward is an honors graduate of Makerere University, and received his Post Graduate Diploma in Legal Practice at the Law Development Center in 1991. With over 15 years' practice at the Bar in Uganda, Mr. Sekabanja has experience in banking, been the Legal Counsel for Crane bank, involved largely in debt collection, drafting, reviewing and registering mortgages, and debentures. Edward has successively represented and advised both



local and international corporations in areas of commercial law, banking and property conveyancy. These include; Crane Bank Ltd, Transroads (New Jersey), Kiva Microfinance - USA, Aid Health Care Foundation (AHF)- USA. Edward has also been a lecturer at the University of Nkumba where he taught various commercial laws. Firmly believing that an individual must give back to his community, Edward is a member of the Uganda Law Society, and the East African Law Society, Advocates International and the African Christian Lawyer's Fellowship. He is the former President of the Uganda Christian Lawyer's fraternity, and a board member of Habitat, Uganda and Navigators Uganda. He is the former president of the Budonian Club as well as the former Secretary of the Old Budonians Club.

## Senior Citizen (Augustine Luzindana)



Augustine Ruzindana served as Uganda's first Inspector General of Government between 1986 and 1996. On several occasions, he urged the government to reduce tension across the country if the country is to achieve the stability that all Ugandans want. he is known for being an advocate of peace and stability in the country.

Ruzindana urged the government and President Yoweri Museveni to evaluate some of the actions that they are taking, knowing that in the background of their actions is an already suffering population and disgruntled population.

# Counsel Meddy Kaggwa



Al-Hajj Meddie Ssozi Kaggwa (15 April 1955 – 20 November 2019) was a Ugandan lawyer, businessman, politician and corporate executive, who served as the Chairman of the Uganda Human Rights Commission, from May 2009 until his death on 20 November 2019.

Kaggwa was born on 15 April 1955 in present-day Mpigi District, in the Buganda Region of Uganda. He attended local schools for his primary and secondary education. His first degree, a Bachelor of Laws, was obtained from Makerere University, Uganda's oldest and largest public university. He went on to obtain a post-graduate Diploma in Legal Practice, from the Law Development Centre, in Kampala, Uganda's capital city. He was then admitted to the Ugandan Bar. Later, he obtained a Master of Laws from the National University of Ireland, in Dublin.

Kaggwa had a career spanning over 30 years in positions of leadership in politics, government, management and business within Uganda. He was a Member of the Constituent Assembly that drafted the 1995 Ugandan Constitution. Kaggwa also served as the head of the department of law at the Law Development Centre. At

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one time he served as Minister in charge of political affairs in the Office of the President.

He represented Kawempe South Constituency in the Constituent Assembly and later representing the same constituency in the Sixth Parliament between 1996 and 2001. Kaggwa also served as secretary and head of legal services in the Arab Libyan Bank for Foreign Trade & Development, from 1984 to 1991 and as Board Secretary of the Uganda Revenue Authority for five years, from 1991 until 1996. He was a member of the Makerere University Council from 1999 to 2002 and Vice Chairperson of Kyambogo University Council and Member of Senate at the same University in 2004.

# Counsel Godfrey Serunkuma Lule



Godfrey Serunkuma Lule was Born on the 10th September 1932. He is a Ugandan lawyer. From 1956 to 1961 he attended the University of Bombay, now called the University of Mumbai where he obtained a Bachelor of Laws. After graduating from the University of Bombay, Lule served as an apprentice to the Attorney General of India at the office in Mysore, India. He then returned to Uganda in 1962 having passed the bar exam in India at this point. He passed the bar examination of Uganda in 1967. He was Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs of Uganda for Idi Amin and defected, becoming a prominent international critic of Amin. He went on to found the prominent Ugandan Law and Consulting firm Sebalu & Lule Advocates and Legal Consultants.

Lule was honoured for mentoring a number of lawyers in criminal and commercial law.

As Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs of Uganda, a position that also made him the Attorney General of Uganda, Lule dealt with the complicated legal

justification of the unconstitutional actions of the increasingly erratic Idi Amin. He defended the 1975 Land Reform Decree 1975, which overhauled the country's land tenure system by overturning the Public Lands Act of 1969 and eliminating all private property in Uganda and making all land in Uganda to be public land owned by the government of Uganda, with land leased to private enterprises from the government of Uganda. He also had to deal with the legal consequences the Expulsion of Asians from Uganda where Idi Amin ordered the deportation of 80,000 Ugandans of Indian Descent from Uganda, adjudicating on what happened to their property left behind when Uganda's South Asian Minority was deported and Ugandan citizens of Indian ancestry voluntarily left due to increased Indophobia in Uganda. He also frequently travelled to Geneva, Switzerland and other cities to defend the Idi Amin regime to international bodies and foreign governments.

In 1980, Lule formed the law firm and consulting group Sebalu & Lule with Paulo Sebalu. Sebalu & Lule Advocates and Legal Consultants is a Ugandan law firm headquartered in Kampala, the capital city of Uganda. The firm is a member of DLA Piper and the DLA Piper Africa Group. The firm's advocates are members of various professional bodies, including the International Bar Association, the Commonwealth Lawyers Association, the East African Law Society and the Uganda Law Society.

Sebalu & Lule advises leading local and multinational organisations across the financial services, energy and infrastructure, insurance, telecommunications, construction, hospitality and leisure, private equity and processing/manufacturing sectors, several of whom are listed on the Uganda Securities Exchange and FTSE 100 index. The firm also acts for industry regulators, international financiers, the Government and governmental agencies.

Sebalu & Lule specialises in the following practice areas: banking and finance, capital markets, corporate and commercial law, commercial dispute resolution, projects and infrastructure, power (energy, oil and gas and mining), mergers and acquisitions, employment and pensions, non-profit organisations, real estate and tax. The firm has had significant success under Lule, who is still working as of 2019, with the firm receiving numerous awards. In the 2014 IFLR1000's financial and

corporate law rankings for Sebalu & Lule indicate that it is a Tier 1 financial and corporate law firm. The firm is also ranked as a Tier 1 energy and infrastructure law firm by the same legal directory. Sebalu & Lule was also ranked as a Band 1 Ugandan law firm in the 2014 edition of Chambers & Partners.

After returning to Uganda following his defection, Godfrey Serunkuma Lule initially kept a low profile politically focusing on working building up Sebalu & Lule into a successful and prominent firm. He did do pro-bono work consulting for the new Ugandan political leadership, especially working for the Indians of Uganda returning to Uganda following the Expulsion of Asians from Uganda under Idi Amin, a decision that Lule worked to defend, litigate, and sort out when he was Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs of Uganda.

Lule would enter Buganda politics from time to time throughout the 1990s and 2000s when the Kabaka of Buganda was close to Lule. The Kabaka of Buganda is the title given to the King of Buganda, a subnational kingdom for the Ganda People of Uganda. In 1993, he helped in negotiations to ensure that Kabaka Ronald Muwenda Mutebi II would be crowned, serving as his deputy attorney general.

In 1994–1995, Lule helped write the new Bugandan Constitution. Kabaka Ronald Muwenda Mutebi dissolved the Lukiiko in 1996 and appointed Lule to be Kampala's representative, although Lule refused to serve over the lack of transparency.

In 2005, Lule entered politics for a final time when he became the Bugandan attorney general when his long time ally Dan Muliika was appointed Katikkiro of Buganda, the title for the prime minister of the Kingdom of Buganda. After Muliika was sacked Lule resigned, citing his ailing heart. As of 2019, Lule continues to live in Kampala and practice law and run Sebalu & Lule

# Counsel Jennifer Musisi



Jennifer Semakula Musisi is a Ugandan lawyer and public administrator. She is the first City Leader in Residence at Bloomberg Harvard City Leadership Initiative at the Ash Center of the Harvard Kennedy School, in Cambridge, Massachusetts, United States. She was appointed to this position in January 2019

She served as the first Executive Director of the Kampala Capital City Authority. She was appointed to that position in April 2011 by the President of Uganda, following the creation of the new institution that replaced Kampala City Council. She assumed office on 15 April 2011. On 27 February 2014, the President of Uganda re-appointed her for another three-year term, effective 14 April 2014. Her contract was renewed in April 2017, to run from 15 April 2017 until 14 April 2020. However, on 15 October 2018, she tendered her resignation as KCCA Executive Director, effective 15 December 2018.



Musisi was born in Kampala in the Central Region of Uganda, during the 1960s. She did her O'levels at Tororo Girls School in Tororo District before transferring to King's College Buddo in Wakiso District for her A'levels. She graduated from Buddo on the top of her class in 1982. She also served as deputy head prefect during her time at the school.

In 1982, she entered Makerere University, Uganda's oldest university, where she studied law. She graduated in 1986 with the degree of Bachelor of Laws (LLB). The following year, she obtained the Diploma in Legal Practice from the Law Development Centre in Kampala, the capital of Uganda. Later, she obtained the degree of Master of Public Administration (MPA) from Makerere University. She also has qualifications in management, taxation, and law from several institutions including Harvard Law School and George Washington University in the United States. The exhaustive list of qualifications attained and training programs undertaken by Musisi are presented below.

She Master of Public Administration & Management, Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda (1996–1997). Diploma in Legal Practice, Law Development Centre, Kampala, Uganda (1985–1986). Bachelor of Laws (Honors), Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda (1982–1985).

Musisi is a lawyer, advocate of the High Court of Uganda and seasoned administrator with a strong legal, administrative and leadership background. She trained at Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda as well as numerous other institutions including the George Washington University, Harvard Business School and Harvard Law School.

Musisi briefly worked as a State Attorney in the Directorate of Public Prosecutions and moved on to become the Assistant Secretary Legal Affairs for Makerere University. She was then appointed Head of Legal Services for the Uganda Revenue Authority (URA). Her position was then elevated to Commissioner Legal Services and Board Affairs in the same institution, a position in which she served with distinction for several years. Together with Allen Kagina, Musisi led the formulation and implementation of the Institutional Reforms and Restructuring Programme at Uganda Revenue Authority.

In URA, Musisi was involved in policy formulation, legislative drafting and initiation of amendments, as well as policy implementation at the executive and board levels. She was also a key player in financial planning and management. During this period, she was responsible for originating several policies, like the whistle-blower policy, aimed at increasing integrity and stamping out corruption. One of her key achievements was the recovery of the 8-acre piece of land on which the URA headquarters stands today. She was also the leader and key member of the team which oversaw the recovery of vast sums of tax monies owed to Government, including taxes accruing from oil exploration activities. Her role as Commissioner Legal Services and Board Affairs also involved working closely with the Commissioner General and the Senior Management Team, the Board of Directors and various stakeholders including government ministries, the Tax Appeals Tribunal and the Uganda judicial system.

In 2011, Musisi was appointed by the President of Uganda as the first Executive Director of the Kampala Capital City Authority. She led the formulation and implementation of transformation of the City Administration from a Local Government to a corporate entity under the Central Government. In March 2014, her contract was renewed for another three years, to run from 15 April 2014 until 14 April 2017. Her contract was further renewed in April 2017, to run from 15 April 2017 until 14 April 2020. However, on 15 October 2018, she tendered her resignation as KCCA Executive Director, effective 15 December 2018, citing inadequate funding and irreconcilable competing interests between the KCCA Technical Team and politicians, that made it increasingly difficult to achieve the set transformational targets.

In her farewell speech, Musisi handed over 250 land titles belonging to KCCA, with another 56 still being processed (total of 306 land titles).

### Achievements

In her career at the helm of the various public institutions, Musisi has led several teams to register numerous successes, some of which are highlighted below. Established the Uganda Employment Service Bureau and Skills Development Centre.

Initiated the I-serve program for skilling young graduates. Established the Kyanja Agricultural Resource Centre of Excellence for Urban Agriculture.

Established the Kyanja Concrete Yard for Infrastructure Projects. Introduced Specialized Services in KCCA Health centers including a Renal Unit in Kisenyi Health Centre, 10 Dental Units

Constructed maternity units in Kawaala and Kitebi Health Centers

Upgraded Kawempe and Kiruddu Health centers to 200-bed Referral Hospitals

Established 6 Savings and Credit Cooperative Societies for KCCA Technical Staff, KCCA Health Workers, KCCA Teachers, KCCA Drivers, KCCA Law Enforcement and KCCA Waste Workers)

Established the Annual Kampala City Festival

Established the Kampala Sunday Street Market

Constructed the 2000-capacity Wandegaya Market

Procured and Initiated the more than 6-acre USAFI market and Transport Terminal Complex

Held the Inaugural East and Central African Cities Development Forum.

Restarted the Passenger Rail Services

Established the Kampala Water and Sanitation Forum

Established the Kampala Migration Forum

Established the Kampala Solid Waste Management Private Sector Platform

Initiated the Kampala Street Naming, House Numbering and Addressing Project

Established new and specialized Business Units in Kampala including the Land Management Unit, Risk Management Unit and Client Care

Established award-winning Social Media Platforms for KCCA

Held the only Future of Cities Forum in Africa

Established the Kampala Climate Change Action Plan

Oversaw the formulation of the Kampala Climate-Smart Capital Investment Plan

Revamped the Kabalagala Youth Centre

Revamped the KCCA Football Club into a Continental Powerhouse

Constructed the Phillip Omondi Stadium as the first FIFA-certified Astro-turf Stadium in Uganda

Established the East African Customs Union and law

### **Recognition and awards**

Musisi has been the recipient of numerous prestigious International, Regional and National awards. Some of the awards and honors she has received include:

Honorary Doctor of Philosophy in Humanities: United Graduate College, US, January, 2016

IHS Alumni International Urban Professional Award – Rotterdam, The Netherlands, 2018

African Virtuous Women Award: African Agent of Change 2018, Abuja. Grand Global Award for Integrity and Excellence in Leadership – Global Leadership Training USA, 2016.

Country Winner (Agencies and Regulatory Authorities Sector) CEO Global Africa's Most Influential Women in Business and Government Award 2015/16.

Regional Winner (Agencies and Regulatory Authorities Sector) CEO Global Africa's Most Influential Women in business and Government Award 2015/16

The Governance Award – African Leadership Award and Medal of Honor in Business. New York 2018. Selected as one of the 100 Exceptional Leaders in the Commonwealth 2014–15

Paul Harris Awards 2013 and 2014 from The Rotary Foundation of Rotary International. Vocational Award 2012/2013 for Dedicated and Selfless Service from the Rotary Club of Sunrise Kampala

Certificate of Appreciation from Inspirational Development Uganda. Appreciation award – Makerere University 82nd Guild Uganda

Airtel Woman of Substance Award 2013 for Outstanding Contribution to Uganda's Public Service

Inspirational Woman of Uganda Award for Exemplary Leadership – 2013. Philadelphia City Citation presented by the Mayor of Philadelphia Michael A. Nutter – August/September 2012

Medal of Achievement for Distinguished Service to the Nation – King's College, Budo – 2008. Award for Best Performing Student at King's College Budo – UCE 1982. National Award as the 4th Best Performing Student in Uganda – UACE 1982

# Counsel Macdusman Kabega



Commonly referred to as the ‘devils’ advocate’ by journalists and some fellow lawyers, Mr Kabega is a man loved and hated in equal measure, especially among security circles, especially at the Directorate of Public Prosecution. Mr Kabega is famous for successfully handling the most difficult criminal and corruption cases.

Commonly referred to as the ‘devils’ advocate’ by journalists and some fellow lawyers, Mr Kabega is a man loved and hated in equal measure, especially among security circles, especially at the Directorate of Public Prosecution.

Mr Kabega is famous for successfully handling the most difficult criminal and corruption cases and getting his clients rather effortlessly off the hook. While at it, he never walks into the court room without his clients.

Mr Kabega turned down an opportunity to become a High Court Judge in 1989, saying he was neither ready nor interested, opting to represent suspects in murder cases.

He began his career as a State Attorney in the late 1970s, before rising to the level of Director of Public Prosecutions in the late 1980s and started his private practice in 1995 specialising in criminal defence.

He has handled famous cases such as that of businessman Kato Kajubi, accused of murdering 12-year-old Joseph Kasirya. Though he lost, when President Museveni asked the DPP to revive the case, the Judge quoted him extensively in his ruling.

In the famous case in which former Arua Municipality MP Godi Akbar, Kabega lost but he put up a spirited thus saving his client from the noose when he convinced court that he acted in self-defence. He also represented Capt Magara, who shot at the crowd, killing two people instantly during an FDC rally at Bulange, Mengo in 2006.

He also represented former chief spy Brigadier Henry Tumukunde in the General Court Martial, where he was charged with spreading harmful propaganda, contrary to the Army Code of Conduct; and in the High Court, where he challenged President Museveni for forcing him to resign as Army MP in 2005.

In the same General Court Martial, Kabega represented Brig Stephen Kashaka over charges of creating 'ghost' soldiers.

He also represented renowned cardiologist Dr Aggrey Kiyingi, who was acquitted of accusations of masterminding his wife, Robinah Kiyingi's, murder by hiring gunmen.

While in the DPP office, he successfully prosecuted most of the high-profile cases that included the trial of former minister and spy in the Obote II government, Chris Rwakasisi, and former Vice-President, the late Paulo Muwanga. Rwakasisi was only recently pardoned by President Museveni.

His ability to handle corruption-related cases was made evident when he successfully defended former Vice-President Gilbert Balibasekka Bukenya, who was earlier this year let off the hook, when the Anti-Corruption ruled that prosecution had not put up a *prema facie* case worthy defending.

Mr Kabega is also involved in the Alcon Ltd against the NSSF case, which is still at the Supreme Court. At stake is \$16 million of workers' funds, which could be handed over to Alcon should the highest court in the land rule in its favour.

As police detectives handle multiple investigations into corruption scandal into different ministries, the man to watch is Mr Kabega, who is currently representing majority of those accused of embezzlement, causing financial loss and abuse of office.

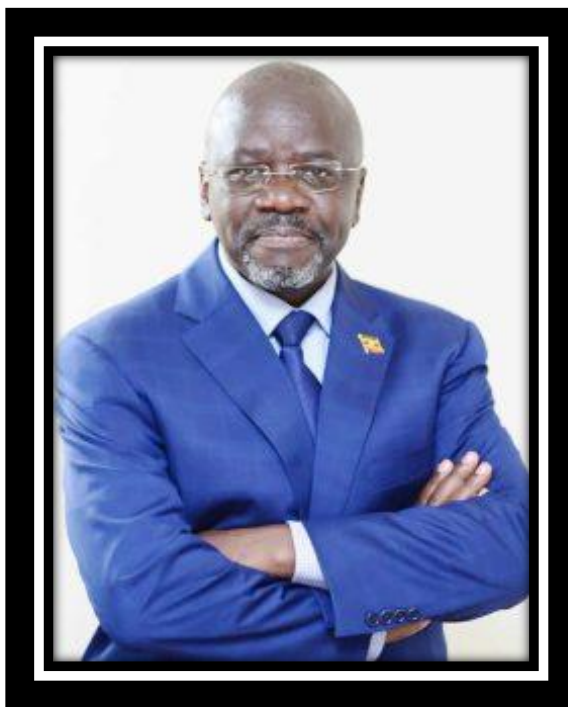
Mr Kabega is represented the interdicted Principal Accountant in the Office of the Prime Minister, Mr Geoffrey Kazinda, who is now in court for different charges. He is charged with embezzlement, false accounting, forgery, conspiracy to commit a felony and causing financial loss amounting to Shs316.8 million.

Interrelated investigations are into Ministry of Public Service Pension sector where more than Shs63 billion was allegedly paid to ghost pensioners through Cairo Bank. Mr Kabega is also representing six managers from Cairo International Bank, each with an individual role played.

Recently, when Cairo bank officials were being interrogated at the CIID Headquarters in Kibuli and Mr Kazinda was brought in a wheelchair, the lawyer was one, Mr Kabega.



# Counsel Godber Tumushabe



Godber Tumushabe graduated at Makerere LL. B (with an Upper class), LL.M (Mak), Dip. L.P. (LDC)

He is an Assistant Lecturer.

Godber W. Tumushabe is a farmer, a social entrepreneur, a lawyer and a policy analyst. He is currently Assistant Lecturer, School of Law where he teaches International Law, International and Regional Human Rights, and Environmental Law and Policy. Mr. Tumushabe is currently an Associate Director at Great Lakes Institute for Strategic Studies. He Tumushabe is also Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of Tarl Eco Farms Chairman of the Board of Directors of Ruhaama Real Estates Limited. In 2018, Mr. Tumushabe was elected to become a member of Evidence and Governance in Politics (EGAP) [www.e-gap.org](http://www.e-gap.org).

Mr. Tumushabe obtained his first degree in law (LLB Hons.) from Makerere University, Kampala in 1993. He attended a Post-Graduate Bar Course at Uganda's Law Development Centre where he obtained a post-graduate diploma in Legal Practice. He rejoined the School of Law at Makerere University where he obtained a Master Degree in Law (LLM) in 1996. In 2007, Mr. Tumushabe joined the Stanford Program in International Legal Studies (SPILS) at Stanford Law School where he was awarded a Master of Juridical Science (JSM) degree of Stanford University. In 2008, he attended the Stanford Graduate School of Business Summer Institute in Business Entrepreneurship.

Mr. Tumushabe's work career started in 1997 when he joined the Nairobi-based public policy think tank- African Centre for Technology Studies (ACTS). At ACTS, he directed Africa-wide policy research programmes on environmental governance, biodiversity and land governance. He returned to Uganda in 2000 as Founding Executive Director of the Advocates Coalition for Development and Environment (ACODE), a position he held until he retired in December 2013. During his 14 years as executive director, he oversaw the growth of ACODE into a dynamic and reputable independent public policy research and advocacy think tank in Eastern Africa. He designed and raised funds for flagship policy research and advocacy programs in the areas of biotechnology policy, environmental governance, budget policy and priorities, strategic minerals and petroleum governance and local governments strengthening.

Mr. Tumushabe has published widely on a wide range of international and national public policy issues. He is co-author of: *Governing the Environment: Political Change and Natural Resources Management in Eastern and Central Africa* (1999); *Harnessing Intellectual Property Rights for Development Objectives: The Double Role of IPRs in the Context of Facilitating MDGs Nos. 1 and 6* (2011); *Public Spending on Climate Change in Africa: Experiences from Ethiopia, Ghana, Tanzania and Uganda* (2016); and *Unlocking Africa's Future: Biotechnology and Law* (2018).

His currently research interests include: regional peace and security; strategic minerals and petroleum governance, climate change, and cyber policy and digital rights.

# Counsel Andrew Karamagi



Andrew Karamagi the doer of an unprecedented stunt; while at the new lawyer's day, the 25-year-old walked to Attorney General (AG) Peter Nyombi who was delivering a speech, whispered to him and took his speech leaving the AG panicky.

"I told him, 'You and I know that what you are saying is not right'," he says. Today, Karamagi is celebrated in the same measure that he is denounced.

Karamagi is lean and of medium height. When he speaks, you cannot miss his wit. He gestures to emphasise his words and occasionally borrows quotes from personalities that have influenced his thinking, to spice his opinions.

Even after spending three days as "a guest of the state", the lawyer and activist reveals the rationale of his mouth-gaping action like he would do it again if the opportunity presented itself

"Peter Nyombi lacks a spine. As AG, he is the principal legal advisor of government. But, when you advise the government against what the Constitution stipulates, you are not only offending the law but also betraying the purpose of

your office. That aside, at the behest of Nyombi, we, as a country, have entered into contracts where we have lost massive amounts of money to the detriment of the taxpayer,” Karamagi says, frowning a little.

“So I felt insulted and belittled to sit and listen to him lie to us that there is rule of law in the country. And you know after speeches, it is common courtesy to clap. And for us to clap would be stamping in approval of the illegalities rooted in Nyombi’s office. This is what drove me to do what I did. It was not pre-planned. It was spontaneous.”

### Praise and vitriol

His Facebook wall was inundated with posts from friends congratulating him for his heroic feat. However, there are also Ugandans who perceive him as an ill-mannered young man who disrespected his seniors. He laughs off this view and invokes Articles 3, 17 and 29 of the Constitution in his defence.

“I did not break any law. What I did was in obedience of the Constitution which is the supreme law of the land. Article 3 of the Constitution which stipulates that it is my duty as a citizen to protect it by all means. Simply, that is what I was doing.”

He is quick to clarify that he did not assault or rough up Nyombi as had been reported by some sections of the media. He says there is footage to absolve him.

# Counsel Peter Mulira



He Attended **Holborn College, London**

## **Bar at Law**

From 1968 - 1970

Activities and Societies: American Field Service, Gray's Inn Society, London, Rotary International, Uganda Law Society, Kampala Kids League.

School cricket captain, first African to study on AFS International Scholarship, columnist "The New Vision", past Asst District Governor Rotary International, former minister of Heritage, Buganda kingdom, have published over 100 articles on politics, land, constitution, history and culture currently appointed to be a Supreme Court judge by President of Uganda pending confirmation by parliament.

Constitutional lawyer Peter Mulira has often times rendered his opinion to the country towards ensuring respect for rule of law. For instance, he advised that

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parliament cannot use its legislative powers to amend the Constitution arguing that 'Constitutional matters are not legislative'.

Mulira argued that governments and parliaments govern through laws and not through the Constitution. He says that the procedure to amend the Constitution must be based on a specific Act of Parliament.

According to Mulira, the provisions under which the Constitution can be amended as spelt out in Article 259 can only be fulfilled through a procedure which is not specified. He states that this procedure can only be based on an Act of Parliament which has never been passed.

# Counsel Nicholas Opiyo



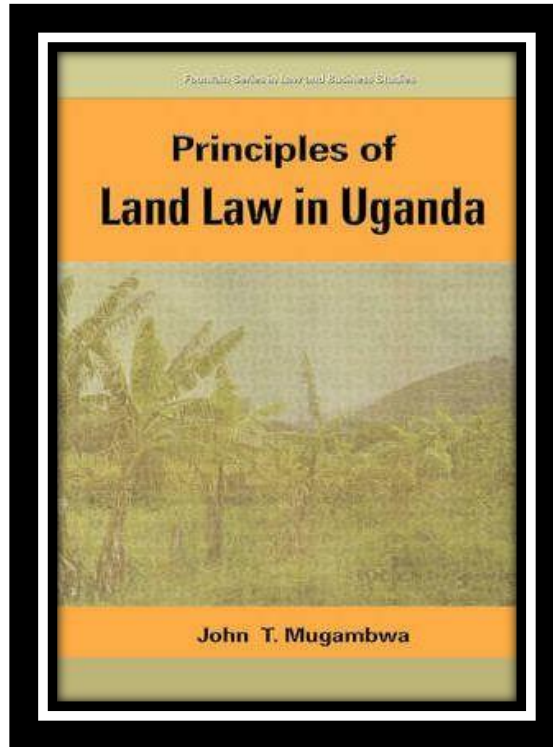
Nicholas Opiyo is the Executive Director and Lead Attorney at Chapter Four Uganda, a civil rights charity working to defend civil liberties. He is the recipient of German Africa Prize, 2017, Voices for Justice Award from Human Rights Watch, 2015 and the European Union Parliament Sakharov Fellows Prize, 2016.

He was until March of 2017, a member of the Team of Expert to the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Rights to Peaceful Assembly and Association. He is also a visiting scholar at the Centre for African Studies, Stanford University, CA, USA and the Global Health Program at the University of San Francisco (UCSF), California, USA.

Nicholas is the Board Chair of Action Aid Uganda, a member of the Human Rights Advisory Board BENETECH, a Silicon Valley human rights and tech company based in Palo Alto in California and African Middle Eastern Leadership Project (AMEL), a Washington, DC-based think and action group.



# Counsel John T. Mugambwa



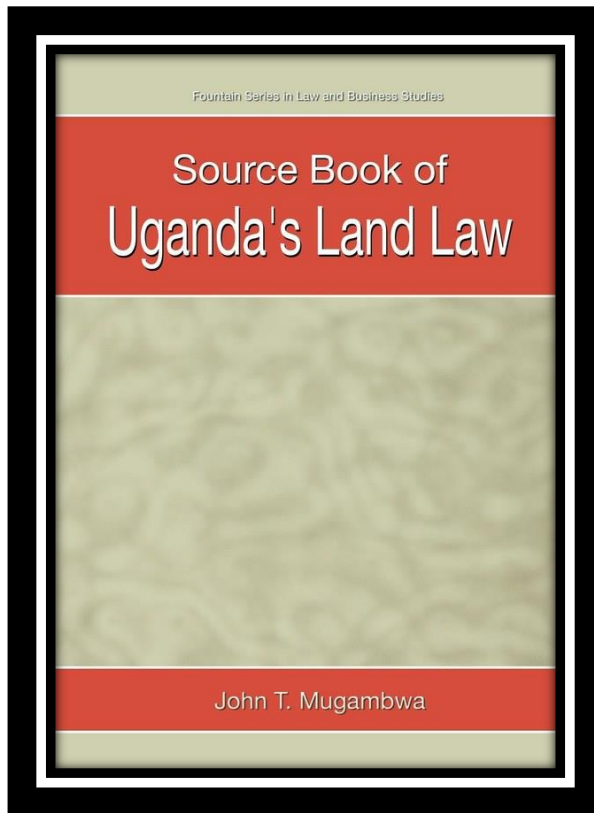
John T. Mugambwa is a legal scholar and author. He authored the first ever book of Land Law in Uganda. Land law is an area generally respected.

Source book of Uganda's Land Law

**by John T. Mugambwa**

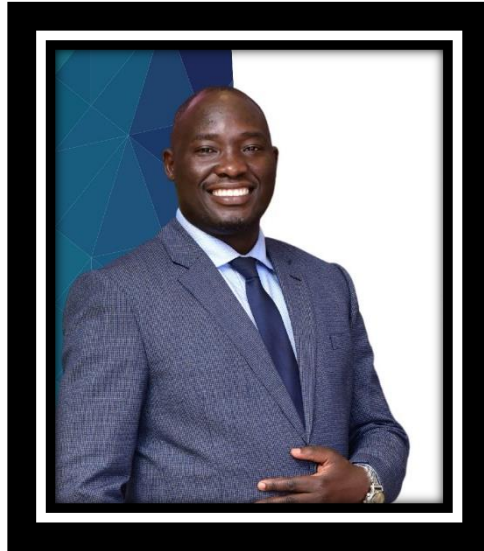
this book was Intended as a companion volume to Principles of Land Law in Uganda, providing information on aspects of Uganda land tenure law, and information about common land problems. It explains the background and principles of the law tenure system in pre-colonial and colonial Uganda. There follows an in-depth chapter on the proposals for land tenure reform, including policy options, consultancy reports and their recommendations. The remaining chapters cover: the land bill; customary land tenure; the land rights of spouses and children; settlement of land disputes; the potential impacts of the Land Act; the

legal conception of land; the registration of titles; leases, mortgages, co-ownership, and easements and restrictive covenants.



John T Mugambwa after a careful study on land Laws in Uganda he noticed that there was a wide lacuna in terms of books to deal with land issues, after his tiresome survey from makerere University law library and L.D.C finding nothing to refer to, he decided to open up the field of Land Law authorship in Uganda. The two books he authored are handled together.

# Counsel Moses Okwalinga



Mr. Moses Okwalinga Opolot the current Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of the Uganda Law Society.

Mr. Okwalinga a long serving staff at the ULS emerged the best candidate following Interviews conducted on November 18 and 19, 2020 by a panel of Executive Council Members who are mandated to recruit the ULS Senior Management.

Okwalinga has worked with the ULS for 10 years and has grown through the ranks having joined as a volunteer. “The interview and his record showed that he is an exceptional leader with strong experience in litigation, leadership and working with the development partners. He also does have skills that can build and inspire teams.

# Counsel Benard Oundo



Bernard Oundo is a Senior Partner at Citadel Advocates and the former President of the East Africa Law Society and current president of Uganda Law Society.

He is a certified Public-Private Partnership (PPP) specialist with over 10 years of experience in project finance gained from various advisory roles on government privatization and PPP projects.

He is experienced in evaluating project proposals, structuring project financing, negotiating concession agreements as well as carrying out due diligence.

Some of the projects he worked on include the Standard Gauge Railway line, crude oil pipeline, transmission lines, and oil refinery spanning four countries Uganda, Kenya, South Sudan, and Rwanda under the Northern Corridor Initiative.

Prior to joining legal private practice, he had worked for close to nine years with the Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, first as a Legal Counsel with the Privatisation Unit and thereafter with the Department of Project Analysis and PPPs.

He was also a member of the Board of the Uganda Railways Corporation, a position he held for three years.

He was responsible for providing guidance and oversight support to the management of the Corporation in the execution of its core mandate of monitoring the Rift Valley Railway Concession and ensuring that the Concessionaire meets its obligations under the Concession Agreement.

Oundo holds a Master of Laws in Petroleum Law and Policy with distinction from the University of Dundee – United Kingdom.

He also holds a Bachelor of Laws Degree (Summa cum Laude), from Uganda Christian University, and a Master of Laws, from Makerere University. He is the first African lawyer to serve in duo capacity as president of East African Law society and Uganda Law society.

# Counsel Innocent Ndiko



Counsel Innocent Ndiko he is one of the leading lawyers in Family Law Practice in Uganda currently working at Ngobi Ndiko Advocates, where she has gained almost 20 years of experience. Before that, she worked at Kasirye Byaruhanga & Co. Advocates, Uganda National Parks and Equity Trustees Ltd.

She was among a group of lawyers who petitioned the Constitutional Court seeking automatic grant of divorce on application by an aggrieved spouse.

In their petition dated October 15, 2020, Makerere University law don Dr Busingye Kabumba, Innocent Ngobi Ndiko, Nicholas Opiyo and 2 ors argued that section 8 of the Divorce Act that requires an inquiry into the collusion, connivance and condonation before allowing or dismissing a petition in divorce matters outlawed.

They argued that provisions in section 8 of the Divorce Act are archaic and not in

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consonant with Articles 20,21, 23, 24, 27 and 31 of the Constitution most especially where it requires parties themselves believe that they are no longer want to be bound in marriage. In what many people envisaged to be a tough legal battle, Kabumba and colleagues also wanted sections 4, 5, 6,7,8, 30, 33 and 38 of the Divorce Act outlawed arguing that they are inconsistent with Articles 20, 21, 23, 27, 28, 29, 31, 43, 44, 45, 126, 128 and objective 19 of the Constitution.

# Counsel Anthony Wameli



He was the Founder and Managing Partner, Wameli & Co. Advocates which has nurtured over 300 advocates through Internship and practice. He was a lawyer for now over 11 years and with a wide range of experience, He served as a Magistrate Grade 1 in the chief Magistrate of Nakasongola for about 3 years but decided to retire and embark on the practice. He was one of the best Human Rights Defense lawyer, not to forget his high profile criminal Defense.

Anthony Wameli Yeboah was named as the **best criminal defence lawyer of the year** by the Uganda Law Society (ULS) and his law firm, Wameli & Co Advocates was also selected as the best law firm of the year 2021.

He died in february 2023, after a long time of sickness. His work towards assisting people lagushing in prisons will always be remembered. He is a Legal General.



# Counsel James Nangwala



James Nangwala is a Ugandan lawyer notable for his defence of The Monitor (Uganda) Newspaper editors Charles Onyango-Obbo and Andrew Mwenda. He was formerly the head of the Bar Course at the Law Development Centre, the Statutory Body charged with the sole responsibility of training lawyers in Uganda. He is currently a senior lecturer at Makerere University.

During November 2009, after the first day of his defense of the Monitor editors in court, Nangwala was shot in the shoulder while outside of his home. He was seriously wounded and subsequently had to be operated on. The shooting caused the trial to be adjourned until January 2000. Three men were tried for the shooting during June 2010 and were charged with conspiracy to murder and attempted murder. One of the men was a police officer.

# Lawyer Male Mabirizi



After a successfully academic journey, he joined Makerere University Law School, after Law School, opted not to take the bar course to become an advocate

He rose to fame in 2015 after suing the Kabaka of Buganda, the first Kabaka case of Kkobe clan was a memorable one in which he claimed to have faced criticism from his family for suing such a divine being but he wasn't by that either, he insisted that he was helping them. It was unseen before for a Muganda to sue his king.

He avers that some people think everyone must be like them when this is not the case. It is no wonder some journalists have referred to him as “**The maverick lawyer**” He always inspired fellow juniors in the legal fraternity that when you get that chance to get educated, it would be useful to do something to give back to the community.



Looking around in the legal news one couldn't fail to point out this young city lawyer who rose to fame in the 2016 General elections after stumping court with a pick up full of legal books and pleadings. He was appealing against the age limit judgment by the Constitutional Court.

He has become an icon right from suing the Kabaka of Buganda, challenging President Museveni's candidature in the East African Court of Justice, to questioning Robert Kyagulanyi's academic documents, Bugingo and Makula's case, his so many cases in court and coming out to criticize Judicial officers in broad day light which so many lawyers feared to try, he can undoubtedly be called a legal rebel.

At his young age, He was a President Candidate 2016 who Garnered 24,498 votes and lost the election to His Excellency Yoweri Kaguta Museveni.

He has heavily been criticized by those he faces in court has being nosy, this also follows the famous Pastor Bujingo and Makula case. His criminal charges on a complain of oath have attracted the Director for Public Prosecution to pick interest in these cases he opens up and the recent one was Rajiv case son of Sudhir. He has made several contributions to our jurisprudence following some famous case of service through whatsapp and email the case was in the high court of Uganda at

Kampala (civil division) miscellaneous application no. 918 of 2021 (arising out of misc. application no.843 of 2021) arising out of misc. cause no. 287 of 2021 Male H Mbirizi k. Kiwanuka versus Attorney General. This Application was before Hon. Justice Ssekaana musa.

The applicant Male H Mbirizi k. Kiwanuka brought this application under Articles 28(1), 44(c), & 126(1) of the Constitution<sup>9</sup>, Section 33 & 39 of the Judicature Act<sup>10</sup>, Section 98 of the Civil Procedure Act, and Order 5 rule 7 and Order 52 rule 1 of Civil Procedure Rules for orders that;

1. The Order that the applicant be served with Misc. Application No. 843 of 2021 through e-mail be set aside.
2. The costs of this application be personally and individually paid to the applicant by Mr. Jimmy Oburu Odoi, Principal State Attorney in Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs. The applicant laid out grounds on which he sought to rely in his affidavit in support to his application and they included;
  - That the applicant did not exhaust all avenues of effective service of the applicant.
  - The applicant did not file a formal application for substituted service of the Applicant.
  - Service by email is not one of the modes provided for under the Civil Procedure rules.
  - The applicant's right to fair hearing was derogated. In reply, Mr. Jimmy Oburu swore an affidavit in reply in which he contends that this application is moot since the applicant was duly served with the respondent's application and affidavits in reply to which he duly responded.

Male H Mbirizi k. Kiwanuka was self-represented but never appeared in court while the respondent was represented by Ms. Patricia Mutesi-Assistant

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<sup>9</sup> The 1995 Constitution Of Uganda as amended

<sup>10</sup> Cap 13

Commissioner. Like in all other applications filed on the same day, the applicant never appeared in court when they were called for hearing and did not file any submissions in support of his case. The court decided to proceed to determine the same instead of dismissing the same for want of prosecution.

The learned Judge ANALYSIS was that Order 5 rule 18 of the Civil Procedure Rules S.I 71-1 grants the court powers to order substituted service to a party. It provides as follows; Where the court is satisfied that for any reason the summons cannot be served in the ordinary way, the court shall order the summons to be served by affixing a copy of it in the conspicuous place in the courthouse, and also upon some conspicuous part of the house, if any, in which the defendant is known to have last resided or carried on business or personally worked for gain, or in such other manner as the court thinks fit. The rules provide for personal service under Order 5 rule 10 of the Civil Procedure Rules, but personal service is only required wherever it is practicable.

The applicant in the main application for contempt informed court that it was not possible to effect service since the applicant was not picking their phone calls. It was upon this application that the court allowed the applicant to serve the respondent via his email which was conspicuously noted on his pleadings/affidavit in reply as part of his address of service. Like in all other modes of service, service by email or facebook or whatsapp or any other technologically advanced means are calculated at providing parties with notice of existence of a suit or hearing date for their response or attendance<sup>11</sup>. Service of court process electronically has come to be recognized in Uganda as one of the acceptable means of service through Companies Act – section 274 and also recently rules passed by the Rules Committee –The Constitution (Integration of ICT into the Adjudication Processes for Courts of Judicature) (Practice) Directions, 2019. Under Objective 3(a) it is one of the objectives of the rules providing for electronic service of court documents. Rule 5 provides for Use of Technology in Courtrooms; in every judicial proceeding, the court and the parties to the case may, as much as possible, use technology to expedite the proceedings and make them more efficient and

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<sup>11</sup>See Civil Procedure and Practice in Uganda by M. Ssekaana & S. Ssekaana 2nd edition page 215.

effective. Rule 5(5) provides; the court reserves the power to direct parties to use information technology in appropriate cases. This court was within its powers when it ordered service on the respondent by email since him trying to avoid service of court process in order to delay the trial of the application for contempt. Indeed, this service was effective and he filed affidavits in rejoinder and submissions after service by email. Based on the reasons given above, the learned Judge Musa Ssekaana dismissed the application.

Lawyer Mbirizi avers that he is afraid of grave consequences of collapse of rule of law which inflict equal pain on oppressors & their supporters as well as those opposed to oppression.

Lawyer Mbirizi was recently ordered to pay shs 300 million for contempt of court which he declined with a rationale that it was not done in the name of justice.

Like many legal rebels of this generation, many people think there is something mentally wrong with him, however a number of young lawyers applaud him for being a true definition of a patriotic.

Recently he posted on his twitter objecting the courts' order to produce him to court via video conferencing giving the literal meaning of Court which differs from Prison hence he reasoned that court should misuse the free gazette court room to turn into prison.



A Summary of the Age Limit Case: Mabirizi Kiwanuka & Other V Attorney General

### **Constitutional Appeal No.02 Of 2018**

The judgment was delivered on the 18<sup>th</sup> April 2019. Coram; Katureebe CJ, Arach Amoko, Mwangusya, OpioAweri, Tibatemwa Ekirikubinza and Mugamba JJSC, Tumwesigye JSC.

This was an appeal from the judgment of the Justices of the Constitutional Court Owiny Dollo, DCJ, Kasule, Kakuru, Musoke and Cheborion

The Chief Justice Katureebe discussed the basic structure doctrine in light of the declaration of the Constitutional Court; that sections 1, 3, 4 and 7 of the Constitutional(Amendment) Act No 1 of 2018 which among others removed the age limit of the President and the local council V Chairperson were in full compliance with the Constitution and thus remain lawful and valid provisions of the Constitutional (Amendment) Act No 1 of 2018.

The Appellants contended that the provisions offended the basic structure of the constitution of the Republic of Uganda.

**The basic structure doctrine means that a country's Constitution has certain basic features that cannot be amended by a legislative body. The amendment of such features would result in drastic changes that would render the Constitution unrecognizable.**

The Chief Justice noted that; in interpreting a Constitution, the history of the country and the prevailing circumstances have to be put into consideration. He referred to the preamble of the Constitution which shows that the history of Uganda is characterized by political treachery, military coups, and gross violations of human rights.

He further noted that he has seen nothing to suggest that in the constitutional history of Uganda, one of the problems has been either a very young or a very aged President. There is also nothing to suggest that the ideals espoused both in the preamble and the National Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy were

directed at the age of the person seeking the office of the president or Local Council V Chairperson.

**That what is clear is that the ideals were directed to over stay in power without the free will and consent of the people.**

CJ Katureebe pointed out that there was no evidence adduced to show that a person below 35 years of age or above 75 years of age has an inherent inability to be President. He further gave examples of instances where old and young leaders have been successful for instance; in Malaysia in May 2018, Prime Minister Mahathir Mohammad was popularly elected at the age of 92 becoming the eldest political leader in the world, in Austria, Sebastian Kurtz, the current chancellor was elected in December 2017 at age of 31. On the other hand, neither Idi Amin nor Hitler, who committed atrocities, were 75 years and above or below 35 years of age.

He also opined that one should not be denied a chance to participate because of age citing the preamble and National Objective II that promotes equality.

On this background, Supreme Court found that the Justices of the Constitutional Court were correct to find that the restriction on the age of the President or the Chairperson Local Council V was not a basic pillar of the Constitution of Uganda and was therefore not part of the basic structure. Further, the removal of the age limit didn't in any way negate people's power to choose a leader of their choice. The removal instead enhances their participation.



**MALE Hassan MABIRIZI Kassim KIWANUKA**

Currently imprisoned in Uganda Prisons  
Fundraising is ongoing via 0775371944 (Male Ismail)

REGISTRAR, COURT OF APPEAL



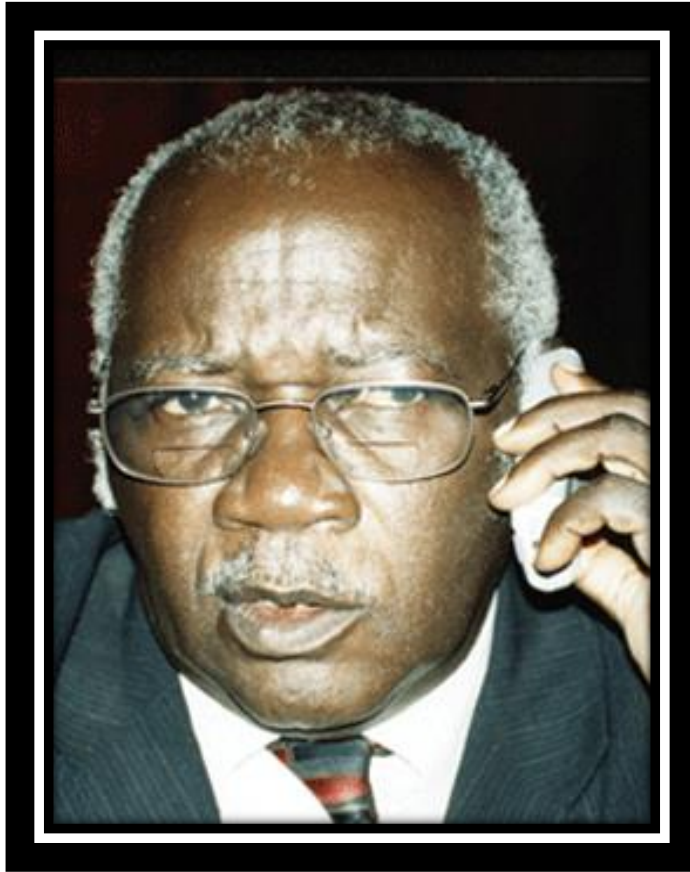
OBJECTION TO VIDEO LINK APPEARANCE IN CIVIL APPEAL  
287 OF 2022

1. Without obtaining my consent, you issued a production warrant to prisons to produce me via video link and I now write to notify you, as I indicated on the hearing notice that I will not appear via that process, which is optional.
2. A court is a free place gazetted for that purpose hence a prison cannot be turned into a court of sorts and I am not party to the technology to be applied.
3. I therefore request that you issue a fresh production-warrant for my appearance in a court, not in Prison.

.....*Malay*.....

MALE H. MABIRIZI K. KIWANUKA-  
APPEALANT.

# Hon. Sam Njuba



SAM KALEGA NJUBA was the former Constitutional Affairs Minister and member of the NRA's External Wing. He was born somewhere in Kalega Maggwa, Gayaza to Rev. Canon Malaki Musoke Njuba and Nantege Njuba on February 22, 1941.

He went to Nyenga PS in Mukono District for one year 1947-48. In 1949 he was transferred to Mpumu Primary School. Then in 1951 his mother was transferred to Gayaza and he joined Kadongo Gayaza Boys School. It had only four classes. So for P5 and P6, he joined Wampewo Primary School.

After P6, he tried to become a teacher so he joined Shimoni TTC. But he stayed there for only one week. From there he went to Kyambogo TTC. After that, he

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went to work at Namulonge Research Station as an assistant agronomist. he stayed there for about one year.

He went to study law at Dar-es-Salaam University where he studied with Fredrick Ssempebwa. He graduated with a second class upper degree in Law.

He was arrested in September 1979 after he told the entire liberation government of Godfrey Binaisa that if they were not careful, they would end up like Amin because they were doing the same things. This he said upon realising that many people were being killed for no reason and as president of the Uganda Law Society, he could not just look on.

# Hon. Muwanga Kivumbi



**Muwanga Muhammad Kivumbi** (born October 19, 1973) is a Ugandan economist, politician and member of parliament of Uganda from Butambala. He is the Chairperson of Buganda parliamentary caucus.

## **Early life and education**

Kivumbi was born in Butambala District, Central Uganda. He earned his First School Leaving Certificate from Gombe Primary School in 1986 and obtained Uganda Certificate of Education (UCE) from Kibuli Secondary School in 1990. He studied for his Uganda Advanced Certificate of Education (UACE) from 1990 to 1993 before enrolling in Makerere University where graduated with bachelor degree in Economics in 1998. In 2003, he earned an Associate Degree in Democracy and Development from Uganda Martyrs University and a Master of Human Resource Management from Uganda Management Institute (UMI) in 2004.

Kivumbi was a member of Democratic Party (DP) before defecting to National Unity Party (NUP). He was elected the Chairperson of Buganda parliamentary caucus in the 11th parliament.

# Hon. Peter Nyombi



Peter Nyombi was born on 23rd April 1954 and met his kismet on 7<sup>th</sup> October 2018. He was a Ugandan lawyer and politician. He was an Attorney General and member of the Ugandan Cabinet, appointed on 27 May 2011. He replaced Kiddu Makubuya who became Minister for General Duties in the Office of the Prime Minister. In the cabinet reshuffle of 1 March 2015, he was dropped from the cabinet and was replaced by Fred Ruhindi. He was also the elected Member of Parliament for "Buruuli County" in Nakasongola District.

## **Background and education**

Nyombi was born in Nakasongola District, on 23 April 1954, to Eriakimu Kajja, a schoolteacher and Mrs. Kajja, a full-time housewife. Nyombi is one of thirteen siblings, one of his brothers is Professor John Musisi Senyonyi, the Vice Chancellor of Uganda Christian University and another was diplomatic service member Henry Mayega, who was deputy head of mission for the embassy in China. Nyombi attended Nakasongola Primary School followed by Kings College Buddo for his O-Level and A-Level education. In 1973, he was admitted to Makerere University, Uganda's largest and oldest public university, established in 1922. He studied law,

graduating in 1976, with a Bachelor of Laws degree. In 1977, he received the Diploma in Legal Practice from the Law Development Centre.

### **Career**

From 1977 until 1986, he worked as a State Attorney in the Department of Public Prosecution in the Ugandan Ministry of Justice. For the next ten years, from 1986 until 1996, he served as Counsel in the Office of the Inspector General of Government (IGG). From 1996 until 2001, he worked as the Director of Legal Affairs in the office of the IGG. In 2001, he opened his own legal practice, Nyombi and Company Advocates, which is still operation as of June 2019. Also in 2006, he was elected to the Uganda's Parliament to represent "Buruuli County", Nakasongola District. From May 2011 until March 2015, he served as Uganda's Attorney General. Nyombi represented Nakasongola County in parliament from 2006 to 2016 when he lost his seat to Noah Mutebi. He helped to provide solar panels to maternity wards and health centres, renovate schools and provide boreholes for his constituency. Nyombi provided free legal advice to military veterans seeking compensation from the government and to constituents involved in land disputes.

### **Controversy**

In August 2013 the Uganda Law Society, an industry association suspended Nyombi from membership, citing three controversial opinions that he had rendered, opinions that contravened conventional legal understanding:

He advised Rebecca Kadaga, the Speaker of Parliament, that three MPs expelled by their political party, the National Resistance Movement, could keep their parliamentary seats.

He advised the President, Yoweri Museveni, that it was Constitutional for General Aronda Nyakairima, an actively serving officer in the Uganda People's Defence Force to serve in the Ugandan Cabinet, as Minister of Internal Affairs.

He advised the President that the former Chief Justice of Uganda, Justice Benjamin Odoki, who had attained the mandatory retirement age of 70 years, could continue to serve on the bench beyond the age of 70, as stipulated in the constitution.

The society issued Nyombi with a "certificate of incompetence" after a vote by its members during an extraordinary meeting which Nyombi chose not to attend. The suspension was to have lasted two years but Nyombi successfully fought to have it quashed in the Uganda High Court in December 2014.

### **Personal life**

Nyombi was married and father to four children. He was a devout Christian Nyombi suffered from hypertension and died of heart failure at the SAS Clinic in Kampala on 7 October 2018, having been rushed in with breathing difficulties.

You will allude to the fact that he is a Legal General basing on his ground work and positive impact he laid through out his life for the well being of others.

# Hon. Betty Nambooze



She was born in Mukono District, on 13 July 1969. She attended Bishop's Senior Secondary School Mukono, graduating in 1986. She later attended the Law Development Centre, graduating with a Diploma in Law, in 1998. In 2010, she was awarded the Diploma in Development Studies by Uganda Martyrs University.

According to her parliamentary profile, Nambooze worked as a news reporter (stringer), between 1993 and 2000. From 2000 until 2004, she worked as a law enforcement officer. From 2004 until 2005, she served as a personnel officer. She worked as a radio presenter between 2000 and 2009 at CBS FM. From 2005 until 2010, she served as the Spokesperson for the Democratic Party in Uganda.

On 24 February 2016, she was briefly arrested along with MP-elect Moses Kasibante for revealing documents describing election fraud taking place during the country's recent election.

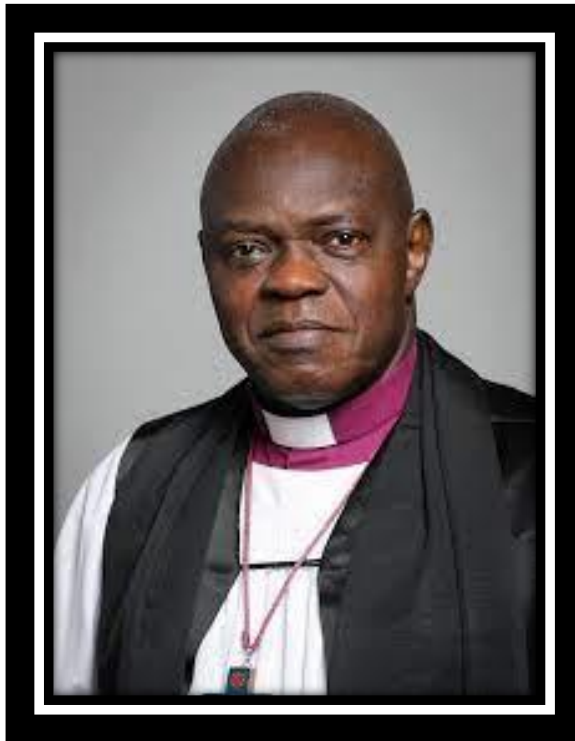
Nambooze has been arrested on numerous occasions on various politically-motivated, often trumped-up charges, but she has not as of yet been convicted in any court of law. Her life has also been threatened and even poisoned because of her political activities.



On 13 August 2020, Nambooze was declared a member of "National Unity Platform" political party joining forces with his fellow member of parliament "Kyagulanyi Sentamu Robert" a.k.a. "Bobi Wine" the party president. Together with her other party members, Nambooze are set on "Mission 2021" a party mission to unseat the ruling party in the upcoming the 2021 elections.

In the 2021 parliamentary elections, Namboze won another term of office (2021-2026) to represent mukono municipality on the NUP ticket after defeating her closest competitors Mr George Fred Kagimu of Democratic Party (DP) and Abbas Ssozi of National Resistance Movement (NRM). On 19th October police probed attack on honorable Betty Nambooze's home where they recovered two brand new pangas in a sack in a small garden of tomatoes.

# His Grace Tucker Mugabi Sentamu



Rt. Reverend Tucker Mugabi Sentamu, Baron Sentamu, PC is a retired Anglican bishop and life peer. He was Archbishop of York and Primate of England from 2005 to 2020. Born near Kampala in Uganda, Sentamu studied law at Makerere University before gaining employment as an advocate of the Supreme Court of Uganda. He was Born near Kampala in Uganda, Sentamu studied law at Makerere University before gaining employment as an advocate of the Supreme Court of Uganda. Speaking out against the regime of President Idi Amin, he was briefly imprisoned before fleeing in 1974 to the United Kingdom, where he devoted himself to Anglicanism, beginning his study of theology at Selwyn College, Cambridge, in 1976 and eventually gaining a doctorate in 1984. He studied for ordination at Ridley Hall, Cambridge, and was ordained in 1979. In 1996 he was consecrated as the area bishop of Stepney and in 2002 became Bishop of Birmingham. In 2005 he was appointed to the office of Archbishop of York.

Sentamu was born in 1949 in Masooli village, Gayaza, near Kampala, Uganda, the sixth of thirteen children. He obtained an LLB degree from Makerere University, Kampala in 1971, and practised as an advocate of the High Court of Uganda until 1974, being briefly a judge of the High Court. In 1973, he married his wife Margaret who is a deacon. Three weeks after his marriage, he incurred the wrath of the dictator Idi Amin and was detained for 90 days. In a speech in 2007, he described how during that time he had been "kicked around like a football and beaten terribly", saying "the temptation to give up hope of release was always present". He fled his home country to arrive as an immigrant in the United Kingdom in 1974.

### **Education and early ministry**

Sentamu studied theology at Selwyn College, Cambridge, where he subsequently received a BA degree in 1976, promoted to the Cambridge MA in 1979, and a PhD degree in 1984. He trained for the priesthood at Ridley Hall, Cambridge, being ordained a priest in 1979. His doctoral thesis is entitled "Some aspects of soteriology, with particular reference to the thought of J. K. Mozley, from an African perspective". He worked as assistant chaplain at Selwyn College, as chaplain at a remand centre and as curate and vicar in a series of parish appointments. Sentamu was consecrated a bishop on 25 September 1996 by George Carey, Archbishop of Canterbury, at St Paul's Cathedral; to serve as Bishop of Stepney, a suffragan and area bishop in the Diocese of London. It was during this time that he served as advisor to the Stephen Lawrence Judicial Enquiry. In 2002 he chaired the Damilola Taylor review. That same year he was appointed Bishop of Birmingham where his ministry, according to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Rowan Williams, was praised by "Christians of all backgrounds" Sentamu became President of Youth for Christ in 2004 and President of the YMCA in April 2005.

### **Archbishop of York**

On 17 June 2005 the prime minister's office announced Sentamu's translation to York as the 97th archbishop. He was formally elected by the chapter of York

Minster on 21 July, legally confirmed as archbishop at St Mary-le-Bow, London on 5 October, and enthroned at York Minster on 30 November 2005 (the feast of Saint Andrew), at a ceremony with African singing and dancing and contemporary music, with Sentamu himself playing African drums during the service. As Archbishop of York, Sentamu sat in the House of Lords and was admitted, as a matter of course, to the Privy Council of the United Kingdom. He was the first black archbishop in the Church of England.

### **John Sentamu outside York Minster on Easter Sunday, 2007.**

For a week in August 2006, Sentamu camped in York Minster, forgoing food in solidarity with those affected by the Middle East conflict, especially the children and other civilians killed and injured during the 2006 Lebanon War, when cluster bombs were used by Israeli forces.

On 7 March 2007, Sentamu was installed as the first Chancellor of York St John University. On 1 June 2007 he was appointed as the first Chancellor of the University of Cumbria. He took up the position when the university opened on 1 August 2007. In July 2009, he was awarded an honorary doctorate by University of Chester. On 15 July 2010, Sentamu was presented with an honorary degree from the University of York by the Provost of Vanbrugh College, David Eford of the Department of Philosophy, and on 16 July 2010 was presented with an honorary degree from the University of Leeds by the chancellor of the university, Melvyn Bragg.

On 16 July 2007, Sentamu was presented with an honorary degree from the University of Hull by the chancellor of the university, Virginia Bottomley, at Hull City Hall during the graduation ceremony for graduands of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. On 19 July 2007 he was presented with an honorary degree (Doctor of Letters) from the University of Sheffield in recognition of his distinguished career as a scholar and theologian.

In October 2007 Sentamu was awarded the "Yorkshireman of the Year" title by the Black Sheep Brewery. In his acceptance speech he praised the welcome he had received from the people of Yorkshire and made reference to the "African-Yorkshire DNA connection", joking that perhaps his parents had this in mind

when they gave him the name "Mugabi", which, spelled backwards, is "Ibagum" ("ee-by-gum", a stock phrase popularly supposed to be used to express shock or disbelief in northern England). In 2008 Archbishop Thurstan Church of England School in Hull was renamed Archbishop Sentamu Academy in his honour.

In October 2018, Sentamu announced his retirement, scheduled for 7 June 2020. In June 2019, he ordained his wife as a deacon.

### **Retirement**

It was announced in the 2020 Political Honours that he would be made a life peer. On 27 April 2021 he was created ***Baron Sentamu**, of Lindisfarne in the County of Northumberland and of Masooli in the Republic of Uganda*. He took his seat among the lords temporal on 25 May, the last life peer to be introduced by Thomas Woodcock as Garter King of Arms.

Sentamu moved with his wife to Berwick and, on 14 June 2021, was licensed an honorary assistant bishop of the Diocese of Newcastle

# Gen. David Sejusa



General David Sejusa (born 13 November 1954) (aka David Tinyefuza) is a Ugandan lawyer, military officer and politician. He was the coordinator of intelligence services and a senior presidential adviser to President of Uganda Yoweri Museveni. He served as army commander and also a member of High Command UPDF, [clarification needed] the UPDF defense council and a member of parliament representing the Uganda People's Defence Force. He had a falling out with Museveni and formed the Freedom and Unity Front in exile in the United Kingdom following being charged for plotting a coup where he has been allegedly planning anti-government activities by the Museveni government.

## **Early and personal life**

Tinyefuza attended Nyakasura High School. He holds the degree of Bachelor of Laws Honours (LLB) and Master of Laws (LLM) from Makerere University. He also attended the Law Development Centre for the Diploma in Legal Practice where he left after a clerkship for cadet training in Tanzania. He was also a student leader (head of students Guild) at Makerere University. A resident of Mitchel Hall at the university. He has obtained the senior command qualifications of PSC from the Uganda Senior Command and Staff College at Kimaka, Jinja, Uganda. He also holds a Certificate in Information Technology from an institution [which?] in

Canada. He also attended the Police Cadet Course in Tanzania and Senior Command Strategic Course. He is married to Juliet Tinyefuza.

### **Name change**

On 17 February 2012, David Tinyefuza officially changed his name to David Sejusa. He said that Sejusa is a family name that is also reflected on some of his academic documents but that he had abandoned it "around secondary school level" but that he would re-claim as "everybody back home" refers to him as such. He added: "There is nothing in reverting to my original name. It is comrades like you who didn't know it was my name but those elder comrades have always referred to me as such. And I suggest that from today you quote me as Gen. David Sejusa."

The Sejusa name is a Luganda rendering that is loosely translated as "I have no regrets;" it also has the same meaning in the Ankole rendition of Tinyefuza, which he said was a reason to take a new identity.

This was the first time many Ugandans got to know that a person can legally change his/her names.

### **Military career**

Prior to 1981, David Tinyefuza was a policeman with the Uganda Police Force serving as Assistant Superintendent of Police. In 1981, he became a combatant in the Uganda Bush War between the Uganda National Liberation Army (UNLA) of Milton Obote and the National Resistance Army (NRA) of Yoweri Museveni, from 1981 until 1986. For a period of 10 years following the victory of the NRA in 1986, he served as a member of the National Resistance Army Council (NRAC) and the National Executive Committee (NEC). Between 1989 and 1992, he served as Minister of State for Defense. In 1993, he was appointed Presidential Adviser on Peace and Security, serving in that capacity until 1997. He was appointed Senior Presidential Adviser and Coordinator of Intelligence in 2005, a position he held until 2013.

On 31st August 2022, Sejusa with other 34 generals were retired from the UPDF

Politics

The party was founded in November 2013, with an official announcement later made in London, United Kingdom, where former General David Sejusa was in exile. Sejusa said of President Yoweri Museveni: "He's had enough time. He can leave and go, and we start a new process of national healing. And we are organising ourselves, we are establishing a constitutional rule which he destroyed."

Sejusa denied seeking the presidency and said that it was "a waste of time" to run against Museveni within the structures of the current system. Two months earlier, Museveni challenged Sejusa to try to overthrow him, but added that whoever uses violence would be stopped. "If Sejusa wants to use force, let him come." In turn, Sejusa responded to questions of whether he would use force to bring change and said: "It's not so much that we want to do so. But if he continues to unleash terror on the population ours will be self defence."

Following a rift with the establishment in May 2013 about Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni's son, Muhoozi Kainerugaba, over allegation of nepotism and that he would eventually simply replace his father as president, a motion Kainerugaba denied, he founded the Freedom and Unity Front. Sejusa had earlier called on Ugandans to "build alternative capacity" and remove Museveni. He added, the week following his departure as an MP representing the military, that "no one should imagine that Museveni will be removed through elections."



# Gen. Mugisha Muntu



Gregory Mugisha Muntuyera, commonly referred to as Mugisha Muntu (born October 1958), is a Ugandan politician and retired military officer. He is the current President of the Alliance for National Transformation (ANT), a political party he founded in March 2019. He previously served as the President of the Forum for Democratic Change (FDC), an opposition political party, from 2012 to 2017. In September 2018, General Muntu parted ways with the FDC citing ideological differences with the new FDC leadership of Hon. Patrick Oboi Amuriat. On 27 September 2018 he announced in a televised press conference that he and some other leaders had begun what he called The New Formation which later became the ANT.

He served as the Commander of the Army, the highest position in the Ugandan military, from 1989 to 1998. When the National Resistance Army was renamed the Uganda People's Defence Forces (UPDF), General Muntu became Commander of the UPDF.

In 2008, he unsuccessfully contested for the FDC's presidency, against Kizza Besigye but was later elected as party president in 2012.

He is the founder and current Party President of Alliance for National Transformation (ANT)

### **Early life and education**

Mugisha Muntu was born in October 1958<sup>[3]</sup> at Kitunga village in present-day Ntungamo District, Ankole sub-region, Western Uganda, to Enock Ruzima Muntuyera and Aida Matama Muntuyera. He had an affluent childhood as his father was a strong government functionary and close friend of Ugandan leader Milton Obote. He attended Mbarara Junior School, Kitunga Primary School and Kitunga High School. (Kitunga High School was later renamed Muntuyera High School, in memory of his father, by Obote.) Muntu attended Makerere College School and subsequently went on to graduate in political science from Makerere University, where he was deputy president of the student's union.

### **Military career**

Muntu joined the guerrilla National Resistance Army of Yoweri Museveni the day he completed his university exams, to the chagrin of his family and President Obote, who considered him a son. Early into the rebellion he was shot in the chest but survived after receiving treatment in Kampala. Later he emerged as the head of Military Intelligence after the NRA victory in 1986. In military intelligence he had under his command personalities like Paul Kagame, who would later become the President of Rwanda.

Muntu underwent further elite military training in Russia before becoming a division commander in Northern Uganda. He rose to the rank of Major General within the UPDF. His rapid promotion did not go unnoticed by other senior officers in the Ugandan military. He was later to serve as Commander of the UPDF. That post was later renamed Chief of Defence Forces of Uganda. As army chief, he oversaw the demobilization of many sections of the army. Observers have attributed Maj. Gen. Muntu's quick ascension to the pinnacle of the NRA/UPDF

to his reputation as an incorruptible and loyal officer to the President of Uganda. This loyalty was rewarded by the support of the President during Muntu's many quarrels with sections of the army which accused him of trying to alienate them. Prominent among these were the so-called 'uneducated' officers, led by Major General James Kazini. Muntu was accused of creating a schism within the army by showing preferential treatment to educated officers while sidelining those he considered uneducated.

### **Political career**

Muntu was a member of the constituent assembly (1994–1995) and parliamentarian. After disagreeing with Museveni's approach to politics and the military, he was removed from the army command and appointed as a minister, a position he politely turned down. In November 2001, he was selected by the members of the Ugandan Parliament to serve as one of the nine Ugandan representatives to the East African Legislative Assembly (EALA).

On 21 November 2020, Muntu, along with fellow opposition presidential candidates Bobi Wine, Henry Tumukunde, Norbert Mao, and Patrick Amuriat Oboi, agreed to form an alliance together.

# Brig. Gen. Prof Godard Busingye



Brig. Gen. Dr. Godard Busingye holds a doctorate in law at Lecturer. He lectured at Uganda Christian University as well as Kampala International University. throughout his career of educating, he has inspired many scholars in the army and at law school to strive to make a difference in their respective profession.

Busingye became the second LLD Student in the history of the School of Law following Professor Ben Twinomugisha who was the pioneer LLD student at the Law School Makerere University.

# Brig. Nobel Mayombo



He was a lawyer and brigadier born in Kabarole District, Toro sub-region, Western Uganda, in 1965. He belonged to the Babiito Royal Clan in the Kingdom of Toro, one of the four constitutional monarchies in modern-day Uganda. His father, Canon James Rwabwoni, born in 1926, was still alive in 2007. He died in a South African hospital on 25 December 2009. Mayombo was the seventh born out of twelve children. Their mother, the late Beatrice Rwaboni Abwooli, died in 1997. He joined Makerere University but left Makerere to join the National Resistance Army (NRA), in their guerrilla war against the Obote II regime (1980–1985) and the military junta (1985–1986) that ousted him.

After the NRA captured power in 1986, Mayombo returned to the university and finished his law degree. He graduated with a Bachelor of Laws (LLB). He then obtained the Diploma in Legal Practice, that is required to practice law in Uganda, from the Law Development Centre in Kampala. He also held the degree of Master of Laws (LLM), specialising in Human Rights law, from Makerere University.

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In 1994, he was appointed by the Ugandan military to be one of the delegates to the Constituent Assembly that drafted the 1995 Ugandan Constitution. At age 29 years, Lieutenant Mayombo was the youngest member of the Constituent Assembly. He distinguished himself as an avid debater with a solid knowledge of the law and with a sense of humour. Following the ratification of the new constitution, Mayombo was appointed to represent the Ugandan military in the Ugandan Parliament. He resigned that position on 30 January 2006, to take up an appointment as Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Defence.

# Col. Dr. Kiiza Warren Besigye Kifefe



Alma mater Makerere University

Warren Kizza Besigye Kifefe (born 22 April 1956), known as Colonel. Dr. Kizza Besigye, is a Ugandan physician, politician, and former military officer in the Uganda People's Defence Force. He served as the president of the Forum for Democratic Change (FDC) political party and was an unsuccessful candidate in Uganda's 2001, 2006, 2011, and 2016 presidential elections, losing all of them to the incumbent Yoweri Museveni, who has been President of Uganda since 26 January 1986. The results of the 2006 elections were contested in court, where court found massive rigging and disenfranchisement. He allowed an early internal FDC election for a successor president, which took place on 24 November 2012.

## **Early life and family**

Warren Kizza Besigye Kifefe was born in Rwakabengo, Rukungiri Municipality, Rukungiri District, southwestern Uganda, on 22 April 1956. The second born in a family of 6, both his parents died before he finished primary school. His father

was a policeman. He went to Kinyasano Primary School and Mbarara Junior School for his Primary school education. He later joined Kampala's Kitante High School for his Ordinary Levels and then Kigezi High School in Kabale District for his Advanced Level education.

Besigye enrolled at Makerere University in 1975 and graduated with a degree in human medicine in 1980. While in the bush, he became Yoweri Museveni's personal physician. When the National Resistance Movement and Army (NRM/A) came to power in January 1986, he was appointed - at the age of 29 - Minister of State for Internal Affairs. He later held the positions of Minister of State in the President's office and National Political Commissar. In 1991, he became commanding officer of the mechanized regiment in Masaka, central Uganda, and in 1993 was appointed the army's chief of logistics and engineering.

### **Career**

After graduating, Besigye briefly worked at Mulago National Hospital. He later went into exile in neighbouring Kenya. While there, he applied to the Medical Board for registration to work as a doctor. After getting registered, he applied for a job at the Aga Khan Hospital which he was given, and then started working as a doctor and later at Kenyatta National Hospital - both in the Kenyan capital, Nairobi - before joining Museveni's rebel National Resistance Movement/Army (NRM/A) in 1982.

### **Political life**

In 1999, Besigye wrote a document critical of the government, entitled "An Insider's View of How the NRM Lost the Broad Base". The document accused the NRM of becoming a sectarian kleptocracy and a one-man dictatorship. Besigye was charged before a court-martial for "airing his views in the wrong forum". He later brokered a deal in 2000 in which the charges were dropped in exchange for an apology for publishing the document.

In October 2000, Besigye announced that he would run against Museveni in the 2001 elections. He retired from the Uganda People's Defence Forces in 2001, having attained the rank of colonel. During his campaign, Besigye, who was



Museveni's strongest opponent, accused the government of widespread corruption and pushed for an end to Museveni's "Movement" system, which he said had served its purpose as an instrument in Uganda's political transition to multiparty democracy.

He lost the election, which was marred by claims of widespread vote rigging, violence and coercion of voters. In March 2001 Besigye petitioned the Supreme Court to nullify the election results. A panel of five judges voted 5–0 that there had been cheating but decided 3–2 not to annul the elections. The life of KIzza, his arrests have a lot they have impacted onto the decisions made by court which have had a change on jurisprudence and others have portrayed the true picture and loopholes in Uganda's Justice systems such as the undermining of separation of powers seen from the army's raid on courts.

In June 2001, Besigye was briefly arrested and questioned by the police over allegations of treason. The government accused him of being behind a shadowy rebel group - the People's Redemption Army (PRA) - allegedly based in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). Besigye's supporters said the government had fabricated the existence of the insurgents to harm his credibility among Ugandans and the international community.

In August 2001, Besigye fled the country, citing persecution by the state. He said he was afraid for his life. He lived in South Africa for four years, during which time he continued to criticise Museveni's government. Besigye returned to Uganda on 26 October 2005, just in time to register as a voter in the 2006 elections. He was greeted by thousands and hit the campaign trail almost immediately, addressing throngs of supporters across the country. In November 2005, William Lacy Swing, the United Nations special envoy to the Great Lakes region, confirmed the existence of the PRA, naming it as one of the foreign, armed groups operating in the eastern DRC.

Besigye's campaign came to an abrupt halt on 14 November when he was arrested on charges of treason and rape. The treason charges pertained to his alleged links to the PRA and the 20-year-old northern Ugandan Lord's Resistance Army rebellion. The rape charge related to a 1997 accusation by the daughter of a deceased friend.

His arrest sparked riots in Kampala and around the country. Museveni was accused of trumping up charges against his main rival in an attempt to discredit Besigye or even prevent him from standing in the election. Both the local and international community came down heavily against Museveni's administration, urging it to release Besigye on bail. The government reacted by banning all public rallies, demonstrations, assemblies or seminars related to the trial of Besigye. It further barred the media from discussing the trial, threatening media houses with the revocation of their licences should they refuse to heed the ban.

On 25 November, Uganda's high court granted Besigye bail, but he was immediately sent back to jail on military charges of terrorism and the illegal possession of weapons. Besigye denied the charges against him and has argued that as a retiree from the armed forces, he should no longer be subject to an army court-martial. He was freed on bail by the high court on 6 January. Although the charges against him stand, Besigye continues to pursue his ambition to become the next president of Uganda.

### **February 2006 elections**

The general elections of 2006 saw FDC as the main opposition party and Besigye as the main challenger against Museveni for the presidency. He stood with Miria Kalule Obote, the first female presidential candidate for the Uganda People's Congress (UPC), Abed Bwanika, who stood as an independent, John Ssebana Kizito for Democratic Party (DP). Museveni was elected for another five-year tenure, having won 59% of the vote against Besigye's 37%. Besigye, who alleged fraud, rejected the result. The Supreme Court of Uganda later ruled that the election was marred by intimidation, violence, voter disenfranchisement, and other irregularities. However, the Court voted 4–3 to uphold the results of the election.

### **February 2011 elections and aftermath**

In the 2011 elections Besigye for the third time in a row lost to his main challenger, the incumbent Yoweri Museveni with a sharp decline from previous polls, failing to win in a single region. Though the election was lauded as one of the freest and

fair in Ugandan history, Besigye claimed that his challenger used intimidation and rigging to win a fourth term in office.

Following his poor performance in the 2011 presidential elections, Besigye directed his party members elected to the 9th parliament to boycott it. This was rejected by the newly elected MPs, claiming that the election victory was out of their personal effort and not Besigye's or the Party, contributing to rising tensions within the FDC.

Besigye was arrested for a fourth time on 28 April, during a "walk-to-work" protest over the high prices of food and fuel. He was sprayed with pepper spray and dragged from his car by police. This was the catalyst for additional protests leading to riots across Kampala, in which at least two people were killed and 120 people wounded, leading to some 360 arrests.

### **Anti-homosexuality bill**

Besigye opposed the re-introduction of the Uganda Anti-Homosexuality Bill into the 9th Parliament of Uganda by back bench MP David Bahati. Besigye's support of gay rights was a contentious issue in Uganda where homosexuality is already criminal under the Ugandan Penal Code (Gender References Amendment Act).

### **2012 arrest**

Besigye was arrested on 1 October 2012 after an attempt to make a speech to vendors in Kiseka market in Kampala, Uganda. He was taken to a central police station in the city. Earlier, police had deployed heavily at Besigye's home in a move to block him from travelling to town to hold his planned rally, but he managed to elude the security officials to a then undisclosed location until his arrest by police at the city market about an hour later.

### **2016 election**

In the 2016 elections, Besigye again stood as the FDC presidential candidate, going up against other popular candidates Amama Mbabazi and Yoweri Museveni, the President of Uganda for three decades. Besigye again lost to Museveni, receiving only 34 percent of the vote, while Museveni won 62 percent.

In the aftermath of this election, he urged his supporters to protest peacefully against the results, claiming that the electoral process had been rigged "using intimidation of voters, imprisonment of opponents, sabotage of rallies, late delivery of election materials, delayed opening of election centers, vote falsification at undisclosed tally centers, and bribery, among other malpractices."

On May 11, 2016 he secretly swore himself in as president of Uganda, a day before the official swearing-in ceremony of President Yoweri Museveni. He was arrested by the Ugandan Army moments into his swearing in. He later on established "The people's government" and announced a government as he believed he was the rightful winner of the 2016 elections.

## **2021 elections**

Besigye opted not to run for presidency in the forthcoming elections saying he will lead the opposition in plan 'B' to cause change in the country. He is going to ally himself with the main opponent of Museveni Bobi Wine to help him win the 2021 elections. After the 2021 elections Besigye launched the people's front for transition, an umbrella movement with a common goal of causing change in Uganda.

## **2022 arrests**

In May 2022, Besigye was arrested during his protest over skyrocketing commodity prices in Uganda. He was granted bail by the court's magistrate Buganda Road Court Grade One Magistrate Siena Owomugisha on condition that he would pay a USh 30,000,000/= fee for the court bail. In protest of the high fees, Besigye turned down the offer by the court and opted for prison. His lawyers led by Erias Lukwago appealed for the reduction of the bail fees and it was granted as Besigye was told to pay 3,000,000/=. He was then granted bail and came out of prison.

A few days after his release from prison on court bail, Besigye resumed protests on Kampala streets and was promptly arrested by Uganda police again. He was

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arrested together with his colleague Samuel Lubega Makaku, and sent to prison. Efforts to apply for bail were futile since it was past court hours and his lawyers had to apply for bail on another day. The nature of the court session was protested by Besigye's lawyers who insisted that the suspects had been attended to by the presiding magistrate past official court hours. The bail application that was later filed was also denied and dismissed by the Buganda road court grade one Magistrate Asuman Muhumuza that said he had no guarantee that Besigye would not commit similar acts once released on bail again.

# Ignatius K. Musaazi



Ignatius Kangave Musaazi (1905–1990) formed the first political party in Uganda, namely the Uganda National Congress (UNC) party on Sunday 2 March 1952. Musaazi became its first President, and Abubaker Kakyama Mayanja was the party's first Secretary General. Other key figures of the UNC included Apollo K. Kironde. Who was the legal advisor to the party, towards the end of 1951, Ignatius Musaazi rented part of the ground floor at Musajjalumbwa's house, a house on what is now known as Musajjalumbwa Road near the Lubiri (palace) in Mengo. The house belonged to the late Yakobo Musajjalumbwa, a former Treasurer (Omuwanika) of the Buganda kingdom. This house become a centre of political activity and in 1952 witnessed the birth of the Uganda National Congress.

## **National hero**

I. K. Musaazi is a national hero (1990), and agreeably the father of the nation, of the republic of Uganda in East Africa, and is buried at Kololo heroes ground, part of Kampala, the capital city of Uganda. He participated in the Buganda riots of

1945 and 1949[3][4] which resulted in the burning down of houses belonging to pro-government (British Colonial Government) Baganda chiefs. Buganda is part of Uganda, and the people of Buganda are called Baganda; they speak Luganda.

### **Buganda riots – 1945 and 1949**

Briefly, the background to the Buganda riots mentioned above, is that the rioters demanded the following:

- (1) The right to bypass the price controls on the export sales of cotton imposed by the British colonial government,
- (2) Removal of the local Asian monopoly over cotton ginning – the Asians in Uganda were deemed to have an unfair advantage by having exclusive rights over cotton ginning,
- (3) The right to have their own representatives in local government and thus replace the chiefs appointed by the British Colonial Government. Ignatius Musaazi was viewed by the British Colonial administration as being behind the riots. The British Governor at the time, Sir John Hathorn Hall (Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Uganda 1945–1952), regarded the riots as the work of Communists. He refused to give way on the rioters' demands.

### **Uganda African Farmers Union banned**

Musaazi had formed the Uganda African Farmers Union (UAFU) in 1947 and the UAFU was blamed for the 1949 riots. The Union was banned as a result. Many supporters went into hiding. Musaazi himself was no stranger to prison as the colonial establishment tried to stop his efforts to bring about change in favour of the African farmers and Ugandans in general. I. K. Musaazi formed the Federation of Partnerships of Uganda African Farmers (FPUAF) union following the banning of the Uganda African Farmers Union. He gave up his job as a teacher at the department of education, at what was then Makerere University College (later became Makerere University), in order to help African farmers, oppose the prevailing unfairness in trade, especially for cotton.

## Help from LSE and Fenner Brockway

I. K. Musaaazi went to London in 1950 and lobbied the British Parliament for support of the FPUAF and its aspirations. Among many in the British Parliament who supported him was Fenner Brockway, a British Labour Party Member of Parliament (MP). He also received support from many intellectuals, particularly from the London School of Economics (LSE), who were sympathetic and supportive. While in London, Musaaazi had the opportunity to speak to LSE students and among them was an American, George Shepherd who was completing a PhD in Political Science. George Shepherd accepted Musaaazi's invitation to provide technical help for the FPUAF. The main aim was to fight the agricultural policies in Uganda which greatly disadvantaged Africans in favour of Asians and Europeans.

George W. Shepherd arrived in Uganda in 1951 when he was only 25 years old. His presence in Uganda was unwelcome by the British colonial government. Although Musaaazi was already perceived as a trouble maker by the colonial government, George Shepherd and his FPUAF colleagues managed to succeed on several fronts: (a) they reorganised the accounting books of the FPUAF, (b) the FPUAF by-laws were redrafted, (c) transport issues affecting the FPUAF were sorted out. Significantly Shepherd and his FPUAF colleagues drew up a strategy to address the unfair agricultural policies.

Shepherd's approach to racial reconciliation is perhaps one of the most significant contributions he made for Musaaazi and his Federation of Partnerships of Uganda African Farmers (FPUAF) union, and indeed for Uganda as a whole. Shepherd was in Uganda for only two years but with the help of his FPUAF colleagues left a significant mark on the political landscape of the country.

## **Progressive climate**

The arrival of Sir Andrew Cohen (Governor of Uganda, 1952–1957) in January 1952, provided for a more progressive climate in colonial Uganda. Sir Cohen constituted a Commission to look into the farmer's demands and conceded to most of them. Prior to the arrival of Sir Cohen, there was much needed change in Uganda. Up to that point matters tended to progress very slowly, for example it



was not until 23 October 1945 that the then new Governor, Sir John Hall, approved the nomination of 3 Africans as members of LEGCO – the Legislative Council, in effect the Parliament of that colonial period. Up to then LEGCO was dominated by Europeans. The three African representatives who joined LEGCO were sworn in on 4 December 1945. They were: Michael Ernest Kawalya Kaggwa (Katikiro, i.e. Prime Minister in the government of Buganda Kingdom), Petero Nyangabyaki (Katikiro of Bunyoro), and Yekonia Zirabamuzale (Secretary General of Busoga) LEGCO was set up by the Colonial authorities in March 1921 and at the very start it was a small group composed of Europeans: the colonial Governor, four officials, and 2 nominated non-officials.

### **1952 – UNC formed, later split**

With the success of having most of the farmers' demands accepted by Sir Andrew Cohen, Ignatius Kangave Musaaazi and Abubaker Kakyama Mayanja formed the Uganda National Congress party (UNC) on Sunday 2 March 1952. The party was a force for political change in colonial Uganda.

The UNC party split up later into factions but the groundwork for Uganda's independence was laid by the UNC and its founder, Ignatius Kangave Musaaazi, who died in 1990 at the age of 85 at Namirembe hospital. President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, the current President of the republic of Uganda is patron of the I. K. Musaaazi Memorial Foundation. President Museveni was present and delivered a speech about Musaaazi, when Professor George W. Shepherd delivered the first annual I. K. Musaaazi memorial lecture at the Kampala Sheraton Hotel on Friday 28 September 2007.

### **Early life and career**

Musaaazi was born in a village called Timuna, near Wobulenzi, Uganda. He attended King's College Budo then gained a scholarship to study divinity in the UK. On completion of his studies in the UK he was told that he could only graduate in his own country Uganda.

Musaaazi met Mary Ritah Nansikombi while he was at King's College Budo and she was at Gayaza High School. In 1936 they were married in Kenya. They were blessed

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with 11 children. Mary, who is now 94 years old, is the granddaughter of Sir Apolo Kaggwa who was a Katikkiro (Prime Minister) in the kingdom of Buganda Government, and is the daughter of Mary and Sepiriya Kaddumukasa. She recalls the difficulties which she and her family faced because of her husband's resolve to fight for Uganda's independence: "My husband was imprisoned 37 times.... he was charged with treason for organising Ugandans to rebel against the colonialists."

# Paul Kawanga Ssemwogerere



Paul Kawanga Ssemogerere (11 February 1932 – 18 November 2022) was a Ugandan politician who was the leader of the Democratic Party for 25 years, and one of the main players in Ugandan politics until his retirement in 2005.

## **Early life and education**

Ssemogerere was born on 11 February 1932, in the Buganda Region (present-day Kalangala District) of Uganda. He attended St. Henry's College Kitovu for his high school. He received a Diploma in Education from Makerere University in Kampala. He studied the Politics and Government Program at Allegheny College in Meadville, Pennsylvania. In 1979 he obtained a Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) degree in public administration from Syracuse University in Syracuse, New York.

## **Political career**

From 1961 to 1962 Ssemogerere was elected as a member of the Uganda Legislative Council, and afterwards of the National Assembly of Uganda as Member of Parliament for North Mengo Constituency. In 1972, he replaced Benedicto

Kiwanuka as the leader of the Democratic Party, having previously served as his Parliamentary Secretary. Following the 1971 coup, Ssemogerere was in exile until 1979, when he returned as Minister of Labour.

In 1980, Paul Ssemogerere assumed leadership of the Democratic Party. In 1984, he was reelected as leader over the challenge of Okeny Atwoma. In response to Okeny Atwoma's unsuccessful challenge, Atwoma established the Nationalist Liberal Party alongside former minister Anthony Ochaya, Cuthbert Joseph Obwangor, and Francis Bwenge.

Ssemogerere was a Presidential Candidate in the disputed 1980 General elections which were won by Milton Obote's Uganda People's Congress. Ssemogerere then became the leader of the parliamentary opposition from 1981 to 1985. He was appointed Minister of Internal Affairs during the presidency of Tito Okello (1985–86).

After Yoweri Museveni became president in January 1986 following a coup, Ssemogerere was consecutively Minister of Internal Affairs (1986–88, Foreign Affairs (1988–94) and Public Service (1994–95) and at the same time held the post of deputy prime minister in Museveni's National Resistance Movement government (from 1986). He resigned from his government posts in June 1995 because he was the presidential candidate for the mainstream opposition, but he lost the 1996 presidential elections to Museveni. Ssemogerere was also a delegate to the Organisation for African Unity (OAU), and was chairman of the OAU Council of Ministers from 1993 to 1994.

After his retirement from politics in November 2005, he was succeeded as party president by John Ssebaana Kizito, the mayor of Kampala at that time.

### **Personal life and death**

Ssemogerere was married to Germina Namatovu Ssemogerere, a professor of economics at Makerere University. Their children include Grace Nabatanzi (1963–2011), who married Gerald Ssendaula; Karoli Ssemogerere, an American-

trained lawyer; Anna Namakula, a public policy analyst with the Foundation for African Development, Immaculate Kibuuka, a fashion designer; and Paul Semakula an ICT Consultant. He was a member of the Roman Catholic religion. Ssemogerere died on 18 November 2022, at the age of 90.

# Susan Kigula



**Susan Kigula** (born 1980) is a Ugandan prison reformer. Her case (*Susan Kigula and 416 Others vs Attorney General, 2009*) resulted in changes to Ugandan law regarding the death penalty.

She was born from Masaka district and used to work in a small gift shop in Kampala Uganda.

Susan Kigula was imprisoned in 2000. Along with her maid Nansamba Patience, she was accused of the murder of her partner, Constantine Sseremba. The court case hinged on the testimony of her three-year-old stepson. In 2009 she was sentenced to death by hanging.

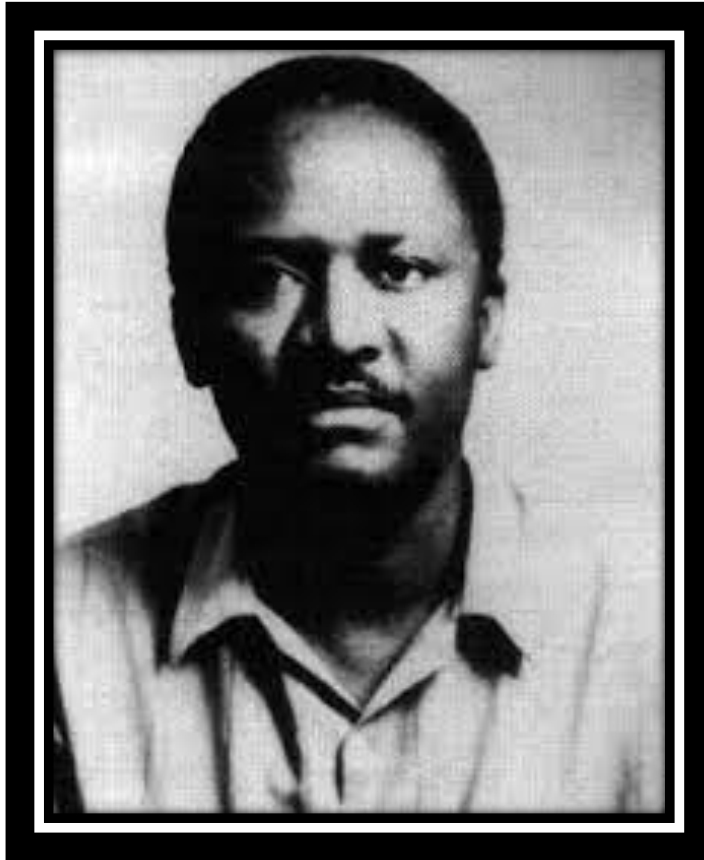
Susan Kigula challenged the death sentence ruling in the Supreme Court of Uganda, resulting in changes to Ugandan law regarding the death penalty. The two principal changes were: the death sentence was no longer mandatory in cases of murder, and the death sentence would be commuted to life imprisonment if the

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execution was not carried out within three years of sentencing. As a result of these changes, around 180 prisoners on death row had their death sentences rescinded.

In November 2011, at a retrial, Kigula's sentence was reduced to 20 years in prison. She began to study for a law degree, which she completed in 2018. Kigula was released from prison in 2016. She maintains her innocence in regard to Sseremba's murder.

# Okot P'Bitek



**Okot P'Bitek** (7 June 1931 – 19 July 1982) was a Ugandan poet, who achieved wide international recognition for *Song of Lawino*, a long poem dealing with the tribulations of a rural African wife whose husband has taken up urban life and wishes everything to be westernised. *Song of Lawino* was originally written in the Acholi dialect of Southern Luo, translated by the author into English, and published in 1966. It was a breakthrough work, creating an audience among anglophone Africans for direct, topical poetry in English; and incorporating traditional attitudes and thinking in an accessible yet faithful literary vehicle. It was followed by the *Song of Ocol* (1970), the husband's reply.

The "East African Song School" or "Okot School poetry" is now an academic identification of the work following his direction, also popularly called "comic



singing": a forceful type of dramatic verse monologue rooted in traditional song and phraseology.

He is so much applauded in law whereby different legal scholars; analysts have used his work in jurisprudence. Such works like *Artist, the Ruler: Essays on Art, Culture and Values* (1986), *Africa's Cultural Revolution* (1973); essays, *African Religions in Western Scholarship* (1971, Nairobi)

He will always be applauded by the Nubians for his great support towards them, he averred that The *Nubian* community in Uganda should no longer be treated or referred to as foreigners, but citizens of Uganda. In reference to the constitution he put it clear that the Nubian community are no longer foreigners in Uganda basing his argument on the constitution of Uganda since they had lived in Uganda for over 100years.

### **Song of Lawino**

Song of Lawino, which is a narrative poem, describes how Lawino's husband, Ocol, the son of the tribal leader of their Acholi tribe, has taken another wife, Clementine, who is educated and acts European. Although Ocol's polygamy is accepted by society, and by Lawino herself, her description of his actions shows that he is shunning Lawino in favour of Clementine. Ocol is also said to be fascinated with the culture of the European colonialists. As an example of this, Lawino says Ocol no longer engages, or has any interest in, the ritualistic African dance but prefers the ballroom-style dances introduced by the colonising Europeans. This loss of culture on the part of Ocol is what disturbs Lawino the most. The poem is an extended appeal from Lawino to Ocol to stay true to his own customs, and to abandon his desire to be white.

The book also advocates for the African culture that has been lost by the educated elite. Lawino bemoans her husband's lack of African pride and she romanticizes all that is black. Lawino says "**all that is black is beautiful.**"

# Mahir Balunywa



Balunywa Mahiri holds a degree in social sciences, specializing in Public Administration and Political Science from the Islamic University in Uganda, and a masters' degree in Public Administration and Management from Makerere University. He is the outgoing Director General of Career Skills Governance and management consults, until recently he has been a lecturer and administrator at Kampala International University. He is recognized for his numerous literature works which have influenced and inspired even lawyers. Some of the books he has written include "The Collapse of Local Government & Decentralization Policy in Uganda: An Analysis from the Conflicts and Center-Periphery Relations Perspectives, a book which he authored.

He also wrote; The Collapse of Local Governments & Decentralization Policy in Uganda: An Analysis from the Conflicts and Center-Periphery Relations Perspectives in 2012. Some of the books he has authored have sparked off major changes in today's government policies such as in wealth creation, music, the law and politics. Mahir is a student of interdisciplinary PhD in Social Studies.


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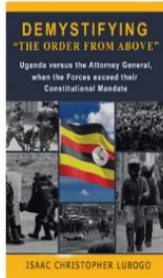
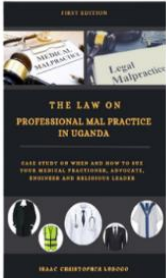
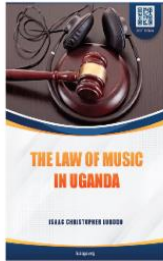
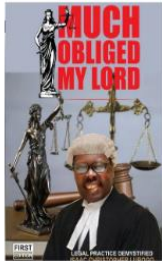
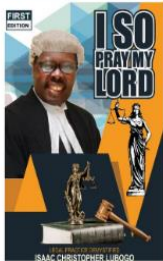
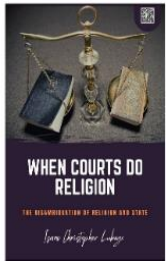


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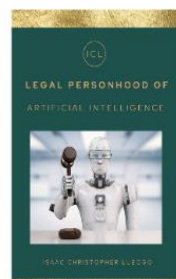
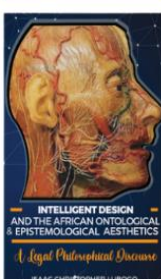
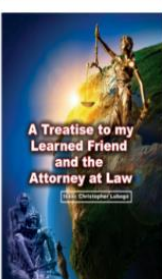
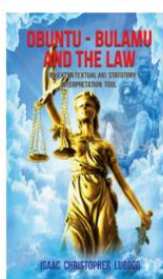
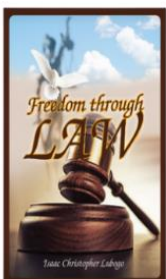
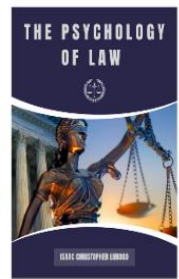
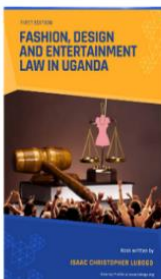
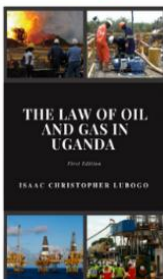
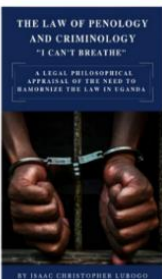
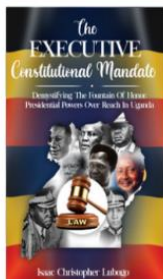
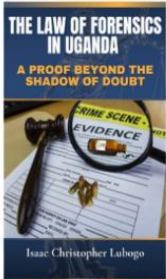
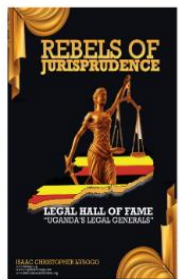
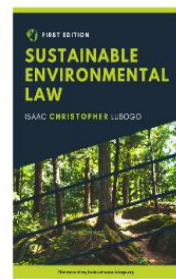
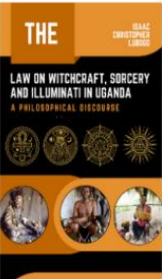
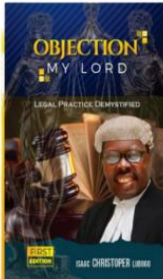
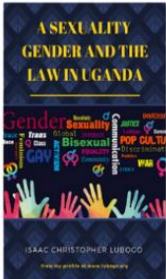


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## ABOUT THE BOOK

■ In this book we are analysing some of the foremost authorities of legal jurisprudence who have described their myriad of experiences covering a spectrum of subjects in a frighteningly unimitable style, probably because they are and were self-taught and talented and looked up to no one to shape their writing style.

Interestingly, even those great jurists like Lord Denning, Lord Artkins, Justice Oliver Weddell Holmes, Allan Dershowitz, Jonnie Cochran, who have gifted the world with the greatest legal principles ever experienced.

The people identified in this book are legitimate conscience objectors who enjoy thinking outside the box hence described as legal giants and therefore Legal Rebels.

For this season we have chosen to highlight judges, lawyers and legal professionals who have helped bring about changes to the judicial system, according to us

“Through their work, they’ve established the blueprint for courts to better serve the general public with or without a pandemic.

This book will discuss some of the Legal Rebels and perhaps you can put some of their outside-the-box thinking to use in your life.



ISAAC CHRISTOPHER LUBOGO  
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