

MAKERERE HISTORICAL JOURNAL

**Journal of the History Department of
Makerere University, Kampala**

Vol. 3 No. 1 1977

editor: SEMAKULA M.M. KIWANUKA
associate editor: B. RUGYEMA
review editor: JAMES MULIRA

KENYA LITERATURE BUREAU

Makerere Historical Journal

JOURNAL OF THE HISTORY DEPARTMENT OF MAKERERE
UNIVERSITY, KAMPALA

EDITOR: PROFESSOR SEMAKULA M. M. KIWANUKA

ASSOCIATE EDITOR: B. RUGYEMA Ph.D.

REVIEW EDITOR: J. MULIRA Ph.D.

EDITORIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

DR. P. MUTIBWA, (*History*) *Makerere University*

DR. R. HERRING, (*History*) *Kenyatta University College*

PROFESSOR G. WERE, (*History*) *University of Nairobi*

PROFESSOR J. A. TEMU, (*History*) *University of Dar es Salaam*

DR. AKIHI MUJAJU, (*Political Science*) *Makerere University*

DR. TOM TUMA, (*Religious Studies*) *Makerere University*

DR. P. KIBUKA, (*Social Work*) *Makerere University*

MR. SIRUMU, (*Economics*) *Makerere University*

DR. MUYANDA MUTEBI, (*Education*) *Makerere University*

MANUSCRIPT ADDRESS:

The Editor,
Makerere Historical Journal,
Makerere University,
P.O. Box 7062,
Kampala.

PUBLISHER:

Kenya Literature Bureau,
P.O. Box 30022,
Nairobi,
Kenya.

ISSUES: One volume a year; consisting of two issues

SUBSCRIPTION:

Annual subscription within Africa Sh. 24/-.

OUTSIDE AFRICA: U.S. \$5.20; U.K. £2.10.

REPRINTS: Authors will receive 25 reprints free of charge. Extra reprints may be procured on cost.

THE ECONOMY OF PRE-COLONIAL BUGISU

PROF. GIDEON S. WERE, *University of Nairobi, Kenya.*

Bugisu is the home of the Bantu-speaking Bagisu of eastern Uganda who prefer to be known as Bamasaba. In 1959 they numbered about 329,251. Many of them live on the foothills and slopes of Mount Elgon (which is locally known as Masaba) while others occupy the southern and south-western plains. In the north and north-east they are bounded by the Sebei; by the Iteso in the north-west and south; on the west by the Bagwere and Basoga; and on the south-west, east and south-east by the Banyole and Abaluyia, respectively. Mount Elgon is also the home of the Kalenjin-speaking Kony and Sebei.

An extinct volcano, Mount Elgon, which is about 14,584 feet high, is the most conspicuous single feature in the entire country. It is famous for its alpine vegetation, snow (which falls on its highest peak) and the numerous caves in which the local inhabitants formerly lived. It is also the source of several rivers which traverse Bugisu such as Malaba, Manafwa, Siroko and Namatala. On the whole Bugisu is well watered, enjoys a good rainfall and has some of the best land in Uganda. All this has substantially influenced the mode of livelihood:

The topography of the country has largely determined the occupation and mode of life of its inhabitants. Thus the slopes and foothills of the mountain and the numerous hills and ridges are littered with settlements. These are invariably surrounded by thick banana groves which also abound in the valleys. Millet and eleusine are grown as is also coffee, a leading cash crop. Eleusine and millet are the staple food in Central and South Bugisu. . . . In these two areas bananas are not as important as in the north. . . . Here again cattle, goats and sheep are kept.¹

It is still uncertain as to when Bugisu was first settled by modern man. However, it is apparent that by about 1000 A.D. the country between the Kavirondo Gulf and Mount Elgon (including Bugisu) was already settled by Bantu-speaking people and a group of people whose language was akin to Kalenjin. The latter, who are now called the Kitoki Southern Nilotes, were eventually assimilated by their Bantu-speaking neighbours, the ancestors of many of the present sections of the Abaluyia and the Bagisu.² Since the southern Nilotes who intermingled with the Bantu-speaking progenitors of some of the Bagisu and Abaluyia are believed to have earlier come into prolonged contact with Southern Cushites from Ethiopia in Kenya's western highlands, it is adjoining to conclude that by the end of the first millennium

A.D. Bugisu and adjoining parts of western Kenya were occupied by a mixture of the Bantu, Southern Cushites and Southern Nilotes.

According to oral tradition it would appear that by the close of the 15th century Bugisu was partly settled by the bulk of its modern inhabitants. Certainly by early 16th century immigrants of Kalenjin (Sebei and Nandi), Maasai, Ethiopian and Bantu origins were living in parts of the country. Mount Elgon in the north was the original area of settlement by the first three categories of immigrants who also seem to have constituted the core of the modern Bagisu. In all probability the newcomers intermingled with their predecessors who, as we have seen, occupied the country sometime in the first millennium A.D. The result was a heterogeneous Bantu-speaking community whose culture was substantially influenced by those of the component ethnic groups. "It goes without saying that their language is a product of the various cultural groups which mingled together.... As a result of centuries of mixing, intermarriage and cultural interaction, the Bagisu finally emerged as a distinct cultural and linguistic entity."³

It is against this geographical and historical background that we must now proceed to consider the issue of economic development up to the late 19th century. In view of the preceding observations on origins and settlement, it is reasonable to assume that many of the developments under discussion date back at least to the late 15th century. It is needless to add that events in earlier centuries must have influenced such developments. The four centuries following the occupation of Bugisu by its modern inhabitants witnessed significant economic and social changes. By the late 19th century, Bugisu had emerged from the original simple stage of reliance on hunting and gathering (supplemented with pastoralism) as a means of livelihood to mixed agriculture as the economic mainstay. By this time too, the country had outgrown the old restricted, if rather unrewarding, trading activities which were circumscribed by local village needs and established an elaborate and highly lucrative network of domestic and external trade with significant consequences. Such a tremendous economic transformation could only have been made possible by a combination of favourable factors. The task of this paper is to analyse the nature and scope of this economic transformation; the chief determinants of economic growth; and the impact of all this on the country.

Broadly speaking, four principal stages are discernible in the economic growth and transformation of Bugisu. The first stage is one where hunting and gathering formed the basis of livelihood. It was supplemented with pastoral products. At that time sheep and goats were still few and not widely distributed. During the second stage hunting and gathering as a means of livelihood was vigorously challenged by agriculture as agricultural tools and techniques gradually became more refined and efficient. However, agriculture and pastoralism were still subordinate to hunting and gathering as a source

of livelihood. The third phase, which merges into the fourth, witnessed fantastic growth in external trade. The most important single result of that trade was the introduction of the iron hoe coupled by the acquisition of new food crops. Consequently, agriculture was greatly stimulated and the economy was so revolutionised that by the middle of the 19th century agriculture, rather than hunting and gathering, was the economic pillar. Agricultural growth was in turn stimulated by trade.

Traditional evidence suggests that by about the beginning of the 16th century the inhabitants of Bugisu (who at that time lived on Mount Elgon and its associated range of hills) lived by hunting and gathering. The country was full of game such as elephants, antelopes, rats, bucks, buffaloes, hyenas, foxes, lions, leopards and monkeys. Of these, the first five were killed for food while the rest were destroyed as a menace and a nuisance. Hunting was the most important occupation during the sojourn on the mountain and game was either trapped or killed with spears and arrows. While dangerous animals such as lions and leopards were often killed with poisoned arrows, those intended for food were generally killed with ordinary weapons but smaller animals like squirrels, rabbits and rats were either trapped or hunted with sticks. In addition to providing food, wild animals were useful as a source of dress and beddings for which their hides and skins were highly valued.

Throughout this early period the Bagisu partly depended on forest products for their livelihood. Since the country was thickly forested such foodstuffs were in plenty although they were supplementary to the meat of wild animals. During their stay on Mount Elgon the early Bagisu fed on young bamboo shoots called *Kamaleha* or *Kamaleya* which were in plenty and which are still cherished to this day as a special dish. Without doubt this was the most important single forest product used as food. Others were wild fruits such as pumpkins and bananas and wild roots of which yams and sweet potatoes were important. Finally, whilst still on Mount Elgon and later, the adjoining plains, honey was an essential part of the Bagisu's diet. It is suggested that the forest was littered with beehives.

Available information suggests that pastoralism must have been practised by the ancestors of the Bagisu long before the 16th century. Though accounts differ about the origins of cattle-keeping, there is no doubt that cattle were imported into Bugisu from at least four sources.⁴ First the early immigrants of Kalenjin origin are said to have brought some cattle with them from Kenya's Rift Valley Province. Ethiopia is another possible source of cattle for, according to tradition, the core of the Bagisu consists of people of Ethiopian origin. The Ethiopian immigrants are said to have brought some cattle with them. It would further appear that the early Bagisu acquired some cattle from the Maasai and Sebei around Mount Elgon. Later during the 18th and 19th centuries more cattle were raided from the neighbouring Iteso and increased in number. The conclusion to be drawn from all this

is that the early Bagisu kept some cattle and fed on milk, blood and beef as oral tradition asserts. However, it is quite possible that some of the earlier elements in the population were not pastoralists. Such people will have acquired their cattle and goats from their pastoral neighbours whom they preceded in the country. For example, some traditional evidence suggests that the first cattle were domesticated in Bugisu when some stray calves were found grazing among certain wild animals. Whatever the case, it is apparent that cattle products formed only a small part of the diet of the people as a whole.

It is paradoxical but none-the-less true that agriculture, which was later to become the backbone of the economy, was not at first practised during the settlement on Mount Elgon. In fact, for a long time during their sojourn on the mountain the Bagisu do not seem to have known anything about cultivation although many of the present crops were known. This contradicts Gayer's suggestion that the early Bagisu practised agriculture and that agricultural products formed their main diet which was *supplemented* with honey as the meat of wild animals.⁵ It is even in sharper conflict with George Wamimbi-Masaaba's comment on the economic life of the Bagisu: "Right from the beginning of the existence of the Bamasaba tribe, the main work among the Bamasaba was agriculture."⁶

Accounts about the origins of agriculture are in broad agreement that the planting culture was developed while on Mount Elgon through the process of trial and error. But before we can develop this theme it is worth noting that there also exist myths about the origins of certain foodstuffs. According to one of these legends Masaba (the eponymous founder of the Bamasaba or Bagisu) was given a banana sucker and eleusine grains by God; these provided Masaba and his descendants with food. Another one claims that Masaba brought with him some eleusine grains from Ethiopia. Finally, there is a myth which claims that the first man in Bugisu, called Mundu (or Shindu or Kintu), lived on the milk and dung of his cow until Walumbe and his daughter, Nambi, came from heaven and later actuated his ascent thither. After marrying Mundu, Nambi was asked by her father to name the food she would like to eat with her husband when they returned to the earth. This list included bananas, eleusine, potatoes and cow peas all of which grew in a wild state in the forest.

The conclusion to be drawn from these legends is that originally Mount Elgon was inhabited by hunter-gatherers who kept some cattle as well. Later there was an immigration of pastoralists who had also some knowledge of agriculture. For a long time, however, the impact of agriculture on the economy as a whole was insignificant. Cumbersome and laborious by nature, agriculture was unnecessary since plenty of food could be had either for the taking or with a minimum of exertion. Indeed, very few people, if any, must have practised it to any meaningful degree. McMaster has suggested that immigrants from

the north in Ethiopia may have been responsible for the introduction of "The planting culture, including the banana" via West Africa, the Cameroons and "the easy Congo-Nile divide." He adds: "Such a movement could have brought the Bantu-speaking agriculturalists to Uganda within the last 1,500 years and with them the main planted crops. If the banana was among them, considerable variation would already have been present upon which later selection has drawn." However, as will be demonstrated below, though many of the food crops were imported, diffusion does not seem to account, to any significant degree, for the origins and spread of the planting culture in Bugisu.

Agriculture would appear to have increased in scale and importance as population gradually expanded into the lower foothills of the mountains and, ultimately, into the central and southern plains. As long as people lived in the forests on the mountain there was plenty of food which could be had with a minimum of labour. Moreover, such food was attractive and delicious. There was therefore no incentive for cultivation, a most laborious means of getting food. In addition, while one had to wait for at least two or three months before the crops could yield some food, wild animals, forest and cattle products were a ready source of food.

By about the beginning of the 17th century, however, the situation was slowly changing as population gradually expanded southwards and, therefore, away from the thick forests, the rich source of food. This development was partly precipitated by population growth; an increase in the livestock coupled with the exhaustion of old pastures and, consequently, the need for fresh ones; the harsh mountain climate characterised by excessive rain and cold; volcanic activity and its threat to human life; and the attractions of the less thickly forested plains with a warm climate and moderate rain.

The movement into the lower foothills of the mountain accelerated the growth of the planting culture based on eleusine, sorghum, bananas, cow peas, sweet potatoes and beans. Originally these crops are said to have grown in a wild state in the mountain forests. It was not until later that they were adopted as food. It is claimed that when birds were seen eating ripe bananas, people tasted them and, finding that they were harmless, adopted them as food. Elephants are also widely claimed to have facilitated the dispersal of bananas by carrying banana suckers on their trunks and depositing them in different parts of the forest. Elephants and birds are further associated with the spread and use of eleusine as food. According to traditional evidence some elephants fed on eleusine plants and later deposited their dung elsewhere. The eleusine grains, which were in the dung, germinated and grew. When people saw birds feeding on the grains without any ill effects they also tried to eat them. Eleusine proved to be harmless and was accordingly adopted as human food.

Many other types of food were also adopted as a result of the process

of experimentation. Often a mother would at first taste strange leaves, roots, fruits or grains to see if they were harmless in which case the rest of the family would be allowed to eat them. If they turned out to be injurious, they were not eaten. It was in this way, for example, that sweet potatoes were adopted as food. A woman who had gone into the forest to look for vegetables is said to have dug up a protruding potato tuber and when she saw that it looked good, tasted it. When it proved harmless, she took it home and cooked it for the family.

The planting culture would appear to have been slow in taking root partly because of the availability of food in the forests and partly due to lack of efficient tools for cultivation. Gradually, however, the exhaustion of the traditional forest products and of the new foodstuffs (which grew in a wild state) necessitated and encouraged the cultivation of food crops on a relatively large scale. Nevertheless, transition from hunter-gathering to agriculture was long and slow owing to lack of efficient tools. Up till about the late 18th century the only tools used for cultivation consisted of wooden implements and the hip bones of animals. The hip bones used for cultivation were called *kamayitsu* or *gamaitu* and were taken from the forelegs of animals such as cows, goats, sheep and wild animals. Sometimes rib bones were also used for cultivation. The digging stick was used as were also larger wooden implements which were shaped like *kamayitsu* and which resembled the cooking stick. Instead of digging a whole plot as is the case today, holes were dug into the soil and seeds dropped into them and covered with soil. Later on the plants were weeded while the spaces between the plants remained bushy.

This method of agriculture was only possible as long as it was applied to the relatively soft and fertile soils of the forests and their periphery. It proved more difficult and less effective in the drier and less fertile soils of the plains thereby hindering agricultural advance. Clearly, if agriculture was to develop and become the mainstay of the economy the existing methods of cultivation had to change. To provide ample food for the growing population new and more efficient agricultural tools and techniques as well as additional food crops and a more systematic approach to cultivation were required. These prerequisites for the transition from hunting and gathering to agriculture as the economic pillar were fulfilled about the beginning of the 19th century, thanks to the establishment of trade links with the outside world. As a result of the iron hoe trade and the acquisition of new food crops agriculture was revolutionised and the general economy substantially transformed.

To appreciate the significance of the economic changes of the period, it is necessary to examine the nature and extent of trade (especially with the outside world) since this was the most important single stimulant to economic and social development. Though organised markets did not exist until the late 19th century, trade by barter was an ancient occupation in Bugisu. Before

establishment of contacts with the outside world local trade involved, among other things, the exchange of foodstuffs; implements such as knives and digging tools; spears and arrows; ornaments such as bangles, rings and bracelets; pots; and rats, chickens and livestock for bridewealth. Though the rate of exchange varied from time to time and from place to place, it was generally known that so much millet or eleusine would fetch so many rats which in turn would be exchanged for so many hens, goats and cows, according to the case. In the majority of cases a poor person started his struggle for economic and social improvement by trapping rats which he dried and exchanged for other goods as follows:

10-30 hens	= 1 hen.
3-20 goats	= 1 goat.
10-20 goats	= 1 cow.
7 cows	= 1 bridewealth for a wife.
20-30 dried rats	= 1 bridewealth for a wife.

Most people simply allowed their hens, goats and cows to increase through the natural process in order to accumulate sufficient numbers for such transactions.

For all that, it was the establishment of trade relations with the outside world which stimulated economic change and growth in Bugisu. The precise date when such links were first established is still uncertain. However, by the early 19th century Bugisu was the focus of many important trading activities which flourished till the end of that century. Imports into the country consisted of iron hoes; foodstuffs and food crops; bark cloth and skins for clothing; goats, sheep and cattle; and ornaments. These were exchanged for the local foodstuffs (eleusine, sorghum, beans, cow peas and bananas); ivory; hens, goats, sheep and cattle; hides and skins; and girls and children in famine time. The imports came from different sources. For example, in famine time the Banyore of eastern Uganda brought cows, goats and sheep which they exchanged for bananas and sorghum. Occasionally they also brought children. The Banyole and the Jopadhola of the same area also brought some eleusine and cow peas whereas the Abaluyia of Bukhaya in western Kenya brought some cow peas which was exchanged for livestock. And from neighbouring Bugwere to the south-west came a sweet brand of sweet potatoes as well as groundnuts while Busoga was the source of the red sweet potatoes. During this period, therefore, new food crops were acquired, more food was obtained and the livestock population increased through external trade.

A brief examination of the iron hoe trade shows that iron hoes were the most important single commercial commodity. In fact, by the mid 19th century iron hoes had become the local currency and people thought and spoke in terms of iron hoes. In a real sense, therefore, the 19th century may be described as the age of the iron hoe mania. Iron hoes are said to have

been immediately preceded in a few parts of the country by *gamamomo* hoes which were made from smelted stones from Bumbo in South Bugisu and resembled *Kamaitso*. However, they do not appear to have made any significant impact on the economy.

The 19th century economy of Bugisu was founded on the iron hoe trade. The hoes were imported and exchanged for local goods. By far the most important sources of hoes were Bukoli in Busoga, Samia (astride the Kenya-Uganda border and near Lake Victoria), Wanga and Bukhayo in western Kenya. Some hoes were also acquired from Bukusu in western Kenya, Bugwere and Bunyoro while others were brought much later by the Baganda, Nyamwezi, Arabs and Swahili. Though in the majority of cases the hoes were brought by traders from the country of origin, in a few others Bagisu traders bought the hoes at source and brought them home where they in turn sold them to local dealers. The hoes would appear to have been generally of two types, *gamasesere*, or *kamasesere*, which were heavy and shaped like a spear and the *namwesi* or *namwitsi*, which "had something like ears and resembled the new moon when held by the edges", hence their name. The former were originally introduced by the Bagwere and were most probably few than the *namwesi* which were associated with traders from Busoga, Wanga, Samia, Bukhayo and later, the Nyamwezi, Arabs and Swahili. When the *namwesi* and, later, modern hoes were introduced, the *gamasesere* from Bugwere were already in general use and so the Bagisu applied the Bagwere word, *imbako*, for the hoe to them as well. This is the name by which the hoe is still known in Bugisu.

And now a word about the nature of trade and, in particular, the exchange rates which varied from place to place and often even, within the same locality, depending on the kind and quality of the commodities being exchanged. After the hoes had been brought into Bugisu they were sold as follows:

1 big hoe	= 2 rings or bangles.
1 small hoe	= 1 ring or bangle.
1 hoe	= 1 pot.
1 hoe	= 2-5 hens.
2 hoes	= 1 goatskin.
3 hoes	= 1 small cowhide.
5 hoes	= 1 big sowhide.
10 hoes	= 1 small tusk.
20 hoes	= 1 big tusk.
1-10 hoes	= 1 goat.
15 hoes	= 1 big she-goat.
10-30 hoes	= 1 cow.
40 hoes	= 1 big cow.
10-20 hoes	= 1 bridewealth for a wife.

When Arab, Swahili and, later, Indian traders introduced the modern hoe it was initially sold for fifty cents and later still for one-two shillings.

The network of the 19th century trade was rather complex and involved more people than the actual buyers and traders, the Bagisu and the foreign traders. Some Bakoli from Busoga, for example, went to Mount Elgon where they got some ivory from the Sebei and certain Bagisu which they took to the country of the Acholi in northern Uganda. In Acholiland the ivory was exchanged for hoes which were consequently brought into Bugisu by Bakoli traders and exchanged as already indicated. Apart from hoes, Arab, Swahili and Wanga traders brought beads called *kamatongo* or *matongo* and cloth from the distant coast and sold them locally. The Arabs and Swahili exchanged their goods for ivory (which in turn had been obtained from the Sebei), bangles, banana fibres, hides and even some children. Additionally, some local traders were friends with the people of Busoga who gave them hoes which they exchanged for goats at home and returned to Busoga with the goats to buy more hoes for the home market. Finally, after the traders from Bukhaya in western Kenya had exchanged their hoes for local commodities, which included bangles, rings and bracelets, some of these goods were smelted back home, manufactured into hoes and resold to the Bagisu.

All these developments had a permanent impact on the Bagisu society by ushering in a new civilization in which agriculture was the cornerstone of the economy. The acquisition of iron hoes in large numbers accelerated the transition from hunter-gathering to agriculture as the principal source of livelihood. The iron hoe was a more efficient agricultural tool than any that had preceded it. Agricultural techniques were transformed and more land than ever before was brought under good and proper cultivation. This was coupled by the clearing of the forests (by means of better and more efficient iron weapons such as big knives, hoes and axes) and the planting of the new food crops acquired through trade. By the late 19th century practically everybody owned and used iron hoes and, therefore, had larger plots under cultivation and a bigger harvest than ever before. Conversely, as agriculture gradually became more efficient and the forests receded, forest products and game became increasingly scarce until in the end they became supplementary to agriculture and pastoralism as a source of livelihood. The coming and widespread application of the iron hoe had permanently revolutionised the economy.

This economic revolution had important effects on society. Though the country enjoyed a higher degree of prosperity than ever before, there soon developed a serious cleavage in society. The iron hoe culture with its attendant trade bestowed unprecedented wealth into the hands of those who were enterprising, thrifty, patient and lucky thereby creating a new class of the rich and comfortable. Such men owned lots of hoes, goats, cows and foodstuffs and had many wives and large families. They wore goatskins and slept on

cowhides. They had a rich variety of food and enjoyed considerable respect in society. Their wives and daughters were fabulously adorned with bangles, rings and beads and other ornaments. In contrast, the vast majority of people were relatively poor and could not afford the luxuries enjoyed by their better placed countrymen. They had small houses, and most of them could not afford to own cowhides, for cover at night, and goatskins for clothing. In fact, for the most part they slept on banana leaves. The argument is that though poverty and scarcity were as old as society itself, the replacement of the old hunter-gathering economy by agriculture and trade widened the gap between the rich and poor for there were now no more things to be had virtually for the taking as in the past.

FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES

- * Paper read at the Third International Congress of Africanists, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, December 1973.
- This paper is based on my fieldwork findings which have not yet been published. They range from straight history — origins, settlement and evolution of the Bagisu — to religion, economics, political and social and organization as well as warfare.
- 1. G.S. Were, "Further Thoughts on the Early History of the Bagisu," *Journal of Eastern African Research and Development*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1971, Nairobi, pp. 99-100.
- 2. For further information see C. Ehret, *Southern Nilotic History*, Northwestern University Press, Illinois, 1971, pp. 50-63.
- 3. G.S. Were, *op. cit.*, p. 103. See also my article entitled "A Historical Background of Circumcision among the Bamasaba", *Imbalu: Circumcision Rites among the Bamasaba*, Acta Musicologica et Linguistica, Vienna. (In Press.)
- 4. There are also several myths about the origins of cattle. According to one of them the first man in Bugisu was given a cow by God and he fed on its milk and dung. It was the source of all cattle.
- 5. C.M.A. Gayer, *Land Tenure in Uganda*, Uganda Government Printer, Entebbe, 1957.
- 6. G.W. Wamimbi-Masaba, "A History of the Bagisu", Unpublished Ms.
- 7. D.N. McMaster, "Speculations on the coming of the banana to Uganda", *Uganda Journal*, Vol. 27, No. 2, 1963, pp. 172-173.
See also B.W. Langlands, "The-Banana in Uganda — 1860-1920," *Uganda Journal*, Vol. 30, No. 1, 1966.
- 8. The number of rats, hens, goats or cows was determined by the size of the other commodity. So that a big goat would cost more hens and a big cow more goats.

THE EMANDWA CULT IN WESTERN UGANDA AND RWANDA

B. TURYAHIKAYO-RUGYEMA, *Makerere University.*

The *Emandwa* cult is mainly associated with the pastoralists in western and south-western Uganda; its emergence dates from their incursion into this region, from about the seventeenth century. The *Emandwa* is popularly associated with the Bacwezi rulers of the former empire of Bunyoro-Kitara, though it was worshipped throughout the whole of the interlacustrine region down to Rwanda and the Unyamwezi region. In terms of historical developments there must have been a tremendous interaction among the various ethnic groups in this region for this religious complex to cover such a vast area. No individual society lived as an isolated group, especially as inter-marriage between the ruling families in this area was the order of the day. The *Emandwa* were more powerful than other earlier religious mediums in the area. In some areas, where *Emandwa* were very much entrenched, the *Bazimu* (ancestral spirits) went underground completely. The people of the area called upon the *Emandwa* to quieten the rage of the living-dead. In Rwanda, Ryangombe, the king of the *Emandwa* was raised almost to the status of a king. In a society which was wracked by ethnic divisions — Tutsi, Hutu and Twa, in descending order — the ruling family had to devise something to hold society together. The *Emandwa* fulfilled this goal since it was worshipped by everyone. In essence, it was a religion of the ruling "clan" although the Bahutu are supposed to have worshipped it before the arrival of the Nyiginya ruling family in Rwanda. The Bahutu, who are analogous to the Bakiga, had to find a mobilizing force around which they could rally their efforts to resist Rwandan domination. It was under the banner of unity against such domination that the individual Mukiga found refuge in the Nyabingi cult. Nyabingi, too, was much more powerful than the family mediums through whom the people communicated with God. Nyabingi was regarded as an end in itself. The unity created in Rwanda by the worship of *Emanawa* tended to fall apart with the emergence of Nyabingi, mostly in the nineteenth century, since Nyabingi, associated with the earlier rulers of the kingdom of Mpororo, opposed Rwandan expansionism. In this context, Nyabingi was as much a unitary force among the Bakiga as it was a divisive one *vis-à-vis* the relationship between the Bakiga and Rwanda.

The purpose of paper, therefore, is to delineate how these religious deities revolutionized the 'social' and 'political' set-up in the interlacustrine region

including Rwanda. The *Emandwa* were spread by the mediums in their endeavour to create religious and political empires. This was a departure from the earlier religions based on individual family spirits. The former could be worshipped on a family and a "clan" level.

Definition

The *Emandwa* derives from the word *kubandwa*, the process of deification in which society supplicates to the spirits that are distinct from those of one's ancestors; *Emandwa* are the deities themselves. Further, when people are performing the *kubandwa* rite, those involved are called *Emandwa*. There was a special type of *Emandwa* called Nyabingi which differed from other *Emandwa* in that it was supposed to be subversive and unitary, more authoritarian than the others which tended to be conservative and hence respectable. In most respects, the Batutsi of Rwanda tended to prefer *Emandwa* to Nyabingi, but it should be indicated that Muhumaza, a widow of king Rwabugiri (d. 1895), a mututsi, in her bid to install her son on the kingdom of Rwanda, used Nyabingi against the Batutsi of Rwanda and later against the British in Southern Kigezi in early 1900s. Oral tradition among the Bakiga stipulates that the main differences between the two cults is that *Emandwa* could be made in the form of Runyegye (rattle), and hence could be purchased from someone else. It was not so with Nyabingi which chose its own personality and spoke through its medium. The person so chosen would be called the *mugirwa* (medium) of Nyabingi, while in the case of *Emandwa*, the person so possessed tended to become the *Emandwa* itself. It was not unusual for the spirit to speak through a certain personality by "sitting on his head". Since the element of centralisation was relatively lacking in so far as the *Emandwa* were worshipped, there tended to be many of them compared to the Nyabingi *bagirwa* among the Bakiga. In the final analysis, the absence of initiation into the Nyabingi cult was the main difference between Nyabingi, and *Emandwa* since the latter involved initiation rites.

Some sources indicate that there were two types of *Emandwa* worshipped by the Bakiga — the first was referred to as *Emandwa za bakazi* (the *Emandwa* of women), the second as *Esiriba* (represented by snakes), based on individual magical powers, while the former entailed "an actual cult or cults in which group initiation ceremonies and secret rites were practised."¹ Under this classification, *Esiriba* was the only *Emandwa* that could be possessed and worshipped on an individual basis while I contend that there were very many more *Emandwa* that fulfilled the same role as that of *Esiriba*. In fact, while *Esiriba* was dominant among the Basigi of Kagalama in Southern Kigezi, it was relegated to a lesser position among the Bajara in Kinkiizi where *Rukiika* was very dominant. In addition, it was not only the *Emandwa za bakazi* that involved group initiation ceremonies, there were also occasions when group ceremonies were the norm, especially on a "clan" level.

The historical origin of Emandwa

The historical evidence pertaining to the origin of *Emandwa* is not very clear. Iris Berger indicates that it was the pastoralists mainly from Ankole who spread the *Emandwa* cult into Kigezi, possibly between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.² This is possible, since, geographically speaking, the western part of Ankole is very similar to some parts of northern Kigezi which was also inhabited by pastoralists. She enhances her argument by pointing out that Rwandan influence was much more concentrated in Bufumbira, but even this was a development of the nineteenth century. In this context, Ryangombe, king of the *Emandwa* in Rwanda (Ruhumba for the Bagahe, and Ruhumbura for the Basigi) took root among the people in the nineteenth century since this was the time when they were reaching southern Kigezi.

However, Father F. Geraud argues that before the arrival of the Bashambo into southern Kigezi, the above-mentioned *Emandwa* were worshipped by the "clans" concerned, an indication that they must have been worshipping them before their emigration from northern Rwanda.³ Since there is no concrete evidence that there was a dominant Ankole influence in Rwanda, we can rest assured that those *Emandwa* must have come from Rwanda. Moreover, the cult of Ryangombe is dated as far back as the reign of Ruganzu II Ndori, king of Rwanda in the seventeenth century.

Berger further states that the *Emandwa* which appear in Ankole also occur in Kigezi.⁴ These are Muhima, Rutwe, Itwara, the last two appearing only in Rukiga and Ankole, while Muhima is widely worshipped in Rukiga, Rwanda, Buhunde (near Zaire), Bushi and Bukonjo. At this point, Berger fails to pinpoint the exact location of the *Emandwa* and simply leaves the matter hanging in mid-air by indicating that it could have been Rwanda or Ankole that served as the original home of these *Emandwa*. According to further evidence, she tends to rely on Ankole much more than on Rwanda, simply because of linguistic connections, namely that the terminology for the *Emandwa* in Ankole is similar to that found in Kigezi. One could also argue here, that since, linguistically speaking, Kigezi and Ankole are similar, in fact that the *Emandwa* could also have been adopted from Kigezi, taking into account that with the expansion of Rwanda, most people moved northwards from southern Kigezi, especially the Bashambo and Bashengera towards Mpororo and some parts of western Ankole. These people could have carried their *Emandwa* with them. But it has already been asserted that the Bakiga venerated certain *Emandwa* before the arrival of the Bashambo into southern Kigezi. Therefore, Berger's argument that the *Emandwa* might have spread from Ankole does not carry much weight.

By arguing that the *Emandwa* took root in Kigezi "as the forces of the Becwezi cults diminished in potency,"⁵ Berger implies that before the adoption of *Emandwa*, the Bacwezi cult must have been dominant among the Bakiga.

While it is true that the Bakiga were not unaware of the Bacwezi, the memory of the latter is generally weak. Moreover, oral tradition asserts that the Bacwezi had no dominance over the Bakiga, so there is no reason to believe that the Bakiga ever worshipped the Bacwezi cults. In this contention lies Berger's failure to understand the impact of the Bacwezi cult over the area concerned. Moreover, the names of a few Bacwezi, such as Mugasha, Murindwa, and Ndahura, were known to have been brought in by the Bahima, although it is possible that even these were confined to the Bahima themselves.

If Berger's argument⁶ is correct in saying that *kubandwa* (the cult of the *Emandwa*) became widespread after the disappearance of the Bacwezi in Bunyoro, Ankole and Karagwe in the fifteenth century, then *kubandwa* was itself initiated by the Bacwezi, and it must have been the Bacwezi pastoralists who were responsible for its dissemination throughout the rest of the inter-lacustrine region, including Rwanda, reaching there between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The absence of the Bacwezi cults in Rwanda is attributed to the anti-Bahinda (hence anti-Bacwezi) sentiment, whose explanation is beyond our present knowledge.

Thus, it was during these migratory movements that *kubandwa* reached Kigezi and the Bakiga. This would be in line with the argument advanced by Luc de Heusch⁷ that the origin of *kubandwa* should be sought in the oldest civilizations of Bunyoro-Kitara, via Karagwe and finally Rwanda. It is associated with the disappearance of the Bacwezi from Bunyoro, establishing their dynasties in Ankole and further south to Karagwe. As Vansina tells us, King Cyilima II-Rujugira (mid-eighteenth century) was the first to designate the first king of the *Emandwa* charged with the task of bringing the sovereign under the protection of the *Emandwa*. Father Alexis Kagame attributes the creation of this post to a former king, Mutara I Semugeshi (first half of the seventeenth century, according to Vansina's chronology). How the Bahutu adopted it is not clear, but we know that the Batutsi found the Bahutu already worshipping it in the sixteenth century so that its connection with the Bacwezi might sound plausible, since this was after their departure from Bunyoro as a result of the invasion of the Lwo people.⁸

Ryangombe, king of the *Emandwa* in Rwanda is reputed to have been the brother of the last Mucwezi king Wamara. Their separation took place in Karagwe, with Ryangombe heading for Rwanda where he was later fatally gored by a water buffalo while hunting. While Ryangombe was anti-pastoralist and anti-cattle culture, his cult was worshipped by both the Batutsi and the Bahutu, as well as the Batwa, contrary to Nyabingi which was persecuted by the Batutsi and worshipped by the Bahutu.

The story of Ryangombe is shrouded in myth. One day, his mother Babinga dreamt that Ryangombe would go hunting. In the process Ryangombe would meet two people, chimepenebere, and Nyakitindi, whom she should greet. He would cross a river flowing upwards, and then kill a hare without

a tail. Later, he would meet a black buffalo which he should also kill. Afterwards the story begins to unfold before Ryangombe as he proceeds on his hunting expedition.

Ryangombe, takes two men with him; they cross the river flowing upwards, and they kill a hare without a tail. They meet Chimepenebere and Nyakitindi, who are carrying a naked child. They seize Nyakitindi but Chimepenebere bewitches Ryangombe. Chimepenebere asks Ryangombe to produce a skin for dressing the child. Acting promptly, Ryangombe kills a water buck and secures the skin for the child, but Chimepenebere complains that the skin is too small for the child. As Ryangombe tries to look for another skin he encounters a black buffalo which gores him with one of its horns. Of course, Chimepenebere and Nyakitindi are jubilant at the death of Ryangombe. Before he dies, he calls upon his child Binego to avenge his death. Binego arrives in time with a sceptre made of iron, and slaughters both Chimepenebere and Nyakitindi. Thereafter he inherits his father's kingdom, after burying his father under an erythrina tree.

Ryangombe today is one of the "heroes" of *Emandwa*. According to legend, his father was already in possession of the *Emandwa's* kingship, but the other heroes are not specified; At the death of his father, after defeating another contestor to the throne, with the help of his son, Ryangombe became the king of the *Emandwa*. At his death Ryangombe announced his empire on the spirits of the dead. He established his residence on the top of the highest volcano among the Mufumbiro range. He appeared to one of the kings of Rwanda Ruganzu II and transmitted his spiritual testament to him. Thereafter, all the inhabitants of Rwanda had to honour him in the form of *Emandwa* cult. The cult of the *Emandwa* today carries the name of Ryangombe.

The doctrine of the cult makes a distinction between the fate of those who are initiated into the cult and those who are profane. The spirits of the former dwell in one of the extinct Mufumbiro volcanoes, Karisimbi, regarded as paradise while in the latter case the spirits will be tormented by the fire of Nyiragongo, an active volcano in the same range. The spirits of the initiates have a happy future in contrast to those of the non-initiated that are destined to a gloomy existence.

The power of Ryangombe is twofold. Not only is he the king of the "heroes" but also of ancestral spirits (zabimu) whom he commands to refrain from harming the living. On the other hand, the spirits of the dead can ask their descendants to honour certain specific *Emandwa* that they themselves did invoke during their earthly existence, and who should continue being protectors of their home. Refusal of this request tantamounts to calamities befalling on the entire family. In this way the spirits of the dead and the *Emandwa* cults are closely linked. The fear of one inspires the cult of the others. To honour the *Emandwa* among the Bakiga is one way of protecting themselves against the malice of the spirits of the dead.

Names and Functions of the Emandwa

There were various names for the *Emandwa*, each being more recognized and venerated by one "clan" than by another. The *Emandwa* took on the names of their own functions. But there were cases in which their duties would overlap, though this did not imply that either of the *Emandwa* concerned would necessarily have two names. For instance, *Mugasha-Rweibebe* who was responsible for the protection of food crops while they were still in the ground occasionally interfered with *Kasente* as the latter was responsible for riches and property around the home. However, the end result was favourable, as this overlapping produced some competition between the *Emandwa*, implying that greater efficiency was thus achieved than would have otherwise been the case. This process also worked in favour of the people as it enabled them to offer sacrifices of the same kind to both the *Emandwa* concerned. In certain instances, some people have assumed the names of the *Emandwa*, an indication that those *Emandwa* must have worked efficiently. The names *Rukiika*, *Mugasha*, and *Kasente* are reminders of such *Emandwa*.

There was a marked hierarchy of gods among the *Bakiga*, but whereas *Bukiika* was supreme among the *Bajara*, *Bazigaaba*, *Baitira* and the *Bazira*, *Bihara* was the supreme *Emandwa* of the *Bazobiki*, just as the *Esiriba* was supreme among the *Basigi*. The case in point is that of the *Bajara*:

1. *Kazooa Nyamuhanga* — Supreme Being.
 2. *Rukiika-Rwamuhangi*.
 3. *Mugasha-Rweibebe*; *Nyakyasa*, *Kasente*, *Muhima*.
 4. *Businde*, *Ebinyegye*, *Esiriba*, *Nyinakyoma*, *Karisimbi-Karonda*.⁹
- The difference between the lowest rank of *Emandwa* and those of a higher order was that the former could be purchased from another "clan" or adopted from elsewhere, whereas that was not the case with those of higher rank.

Rukiika-Rwamuhangi

Among the *Bajara* in *Kinkiizi*, *Rukiika-Rwamuhangi* was the head. According to its second name ("the creator"), it was believed that it had more authority than any other divinity in protecting the family or "clan" of the *Bajara*. *Rukiika* acted as a prime minister compared to the lesser gods. But instead of the *Bajara* presenting their problem first to the lesser *Emandwa* who would then forward them to *Rukiika*, it was, in fact, *Rukiika* who was consulted directly. For instance, if a family lacked internal discipline, *Rukiika* was consulted first, then his subordinate *Nyakyasa* who was specifically responsible for discipline in families. By the nature of this work, *Rukiika* was supposed to stay out of the shrines; his place of abode was usually located by the gateway so as to prevent any magic or charms from entering the family compound.

The process of divination was composed of two stages: (1) stating the cause, and (2) dealing with solutions to the particular problem. The *Emandwa* were usually consulted in the latter case. The problem could be overcome often times by giving medicine by making small incisions on the chest or forehead into which was rubbed some medicinal powder made from herbs. In the process, Rukiika was called upon in order to make the medicine more effective, with the following words (which, unfortunately, are practically impossible to render into English).

1. Kaitweme Rukiika-Rwamuhangi
 Tokahangwa burogo
 Tokahangwa muzimu
 Tokahangwa mwangi
 Tokahangwa mutambiriko
 Tokahangwa enjoka
 Tokahangwa mugyenzi
 Nakugyera ninkugyererura
 Hakura omubiri
 Hi! Ha! Nakubyarira akati
 Otarirengwa
 Nakubyarira akoma, otarirengwa
2. Tokangwa ncurazara
 Tokangwa muzeire
 Nakuheereza akooma kaasebateera
 Otarirengwa akati katambikirwe
 Otarirengwa murabyo
 Otarirengwa burogo
3. Mbinga emizimu, mbinga enkuba
 Mbinga oburogo, mbinga Emandwa
 Orikuroga ayangwe akaso kawe.

In this ceremony, the *omufumu we mandwa* (medicinemán) uttered words designed to safeguard his client against sorcery, poison, evil spirits, and divinities, all enemies that might be put in his way.

During the second part of this ceremony, the *omufumu* told his client how he was now safeguarded against thunder and lightning, and against curses called down upon him by his enemies. He then recounted his own capabilities for casting out spirits, averting thunder and lightning, and sending away sorcerers and malevolent *mandwa*.

Lastly, he concluded by telling his client that whosoever hated him should also be hated by others, which, for the client must have proved the most reassuring and effective means of identifying his tormentors.

Nyakyasa operated on a family level, being concerned with family discipline.¹⁰ In this case, the young were supposed to respect the elders inasmuch

as the elders were expected to respect Nyakyasa. Should the *omufumu* we *mandwa* fail to render appropriate offerings and sacrifices to the *Emandwa*, he would of necessity be visited by calamities.

As the name implies, Nyakyasa derives from *okwasa* ("to split"). In this respect, someone troubled by Nyakyasa suffered from constant splitting headaches. As for *Rukiika*, the word derives from the verb *kukiika* ("to lay across"), implying that *Rukiika* attacked the chest as though strapping it with bands of iron, causing difficulty in breathing and speaking. *Rukiika* could also manifest itself in the form of snakes that appeared in the compound. Also, red ants running across the compound, or butter or ghee falling from the sky were signs of *Rukiika* coming back from his mission (or perhaps of someone with a strong throwing arm!)

Mugasha-Rweibebe and other Emandwa

Mugasha derives from the verb *kugasha* ("to satisfy").¹¹ In this respect, *Mugasha* satisfied the *Bakiga* by protecting their food crops. For instance, when someone had stolen food from someone else's garden, *Mugasha* attacked him unless he made restitution. The thief would suffer from stomachache for so many sleepless nights that he would eventually die.

Kasente derives from the noun *esente* ("money").¹² Apart from engaging in money matters, he also protected food that had been harvested from the gardens. Whenever anyone came to consult *Kasente*, he was supposed to bring money and nothing else. Should someone unauthorized misappropriate such money, he would in most respects fall sick and could be cured only by appeasing *Kasente*.

Muhima, as the name suggests, was concerned with those people who kept cattle. His function was to look after the welfare of domestic livestock and to ensure that they were fertile and that they remained untouched by thieves.¹³ Unlike other gods, *Muhima* did not stay in a house or shrine, but instead somewhere near the gate. As his speciality lay in the protection of domestic animals, he was naturally given meat to eat. In this respect, it was almost impossible for someone to possess *Muhima* since he would not otherwise be able to feed him; in any case, there would be little point in doing so as *Muhima* would then have no duty to perform.

The origin of *Karonda* — *Businde* and *Mpangi* lies somewhere in *Kayanza*, and they were mainly connected with hunting.

Karisimbi is alleged to have come from Congo; it was adopted by hunters in much the same manner as were *Karonda*—*Buside* and *Mpangi*.

The origins of *Esiriba* and *Ebinyegye* are not clear although they may also have come from Rwanda or the Congo. The characteristic of *Ebinyegye* was that they stayed in horns and spoke the language of their masters. They were used by an *omufumu* in the process of *kuragura* and were designed to protect that family as were the *Esiriba*. In addition, the *Ebinyegye* were

concerned with discipline in the family. They normally manifested themselves in the form of lizards and snakes. The *Esiriba* were highly regarded and feared among the *Basigi* at Kagalama.

Nyinakyoma was an *Emandwa* adopted by the *Bajara*.¹⁴ Its origin was associated with a *Munyarwanda* woman named *Burora* who died while visiting a *Mujara* (individual of the *Bajara* lineage). Her spirit was venerated and in her capacity as visitor, the *Emandwa* was not supposed to be harmful to families. It functioned only when its owner was administering medicine to someone so as to make the medicine more effective.

Kariisa, like *Muhima*, was an *Emandwa* for herdsmen. In this respect, the *Bakiga* prayed to *Kariisa* to increase their herds of cattle, sheep, and goats.

Rutwa and *Nyarufunjo*, including *Kariisa*, were not as important as the others since the *Bakiga* were mainly agriculturalists rather than pastoralists.¹⁵ Consequently, they had no shrines. The distinction between these and those without shrines was that these "sat on the head" of the medium when the latter was possessed. Also, the *Emandwa* who lacked shrines only drank beer, while those with shrines consumed meat as well as beer. Therefore, in the ceremonies the sacrifices were those of meat for those *Emandwa* with shrines. Should someone offer something that was not perfectly satisfactory to the *Emandwa*, the latter would make a strong objection. One *Emandwa* is reputed to have rebuked Mrs. Nyakaboko of *Kihanda* thus:

I am a *Munyarwanda* woman and I do not eat hoofs of cows. you buy in the markets to deceive me; I eat real cows. Buy me a real cow or else I'll kill this patient.

Initiation into the Emandwa cult

Certain preparations had to be made before the actual night when someone was to be initiated. He had to make beer, obtain a cow for slaughter, build a shrine, and inform all the elders of the impending ceremony. The *omubandisa* (initiator) who performed the ceremony was, usually from the place of the *Emandwa*. In the absence of such a man, it was performed by one of the elders who was not supposed to reveal the secrets.

When the cow was slaughtered, special cuts had to be selected and roasted for *kushumbya*.¹⁶ The parts thus chosen were *ekishamba* (the stomach), *amara* (the intestines), *obwigura* (the oesophagus), *orwigara* (the diaphragm) and *ebihaha* (the lungs).

On the actual day, the "clan" elders embarked on a journey to the place of worship called *omuhambo* under a big *omurinzi* tree (*erythrina abyssinica*) on top of a hill. Those engaged in the ceremony changed their clothes, putting them back on inside-out. At this juncture, the details of what went on would not be revealed to the *omubandwa* (initiate). Nevertheless, the initiate was brought into the midst of the elders sitting in a circle. He was then asked to reveal all the wrong and distasteful things he might have done previously,

such as having sexual intercourse with an animal or committing theft. Otherwise, the elders could force him to confess by tormenting and even beating him. This was an indication that the *omubandwa* was purifying himself, ready to join the world of the *Emandwa* and forsake his former worldly life.

All this was but a prelude to the revelation by the initiator to the initiate of all the secrets of *kubandwa*. Since the latter had revealed and forsaken all wrongdoing, it was a sign that he could now become a "holy man" to be entrusted with the powers and secrets of *Emandwa*. He was then asked to strip naked, and to be sworn in as a member of the *Emandwa* cult with the injunction that he would never break any promise or betray any secret. To drive this point home, a white pebble was placed on the ground by the *omubandisa* to be picked up by the *omubandwa* with his tongue or mouth, a very trying exercise. This ceremony which was completed by swallowing the pebble was called *okumira eibanga* ("to swallow a vow"), while the act of betraying this vow was referred to as *Okwata eibanga*. Should the initiate do anything contrary to this oath, the *Emandwa* had the power and right to kill him.

In connection with the ceremonies, secret offerings were made and a feast was held, usually at harvest time when there was plenty of food, often as a fulfilment of a promise made during the year when the help of the *Emandwa* had previously been sought to avert some calamity. The night featured feasting and principally beer-drinking, but an eye had to be kept on the initiate to make sure he did not fall asleep. If he did so, he could be overcome by the *Emandwa* (*Emandwa ziramukyanya*).

The next morning, like a bride, the initiate was brought out of the seclusion he had entered the previous night, and was allowed to dress himself in a couple of skins. He was then taken to the top of a hill where someone had placed a low stool for him to sit on. He was now invested with the power of *Emandwa*, putting him in a position whereby he could supplicate his father's *Emandwa*. The idea of *Kubandwa* was generational, that is, one could inherit his father's *Emandwa*, but only after becoming initiated himself.

The whole group then departed for home after the swearing-in ceremony. However, the *omubandisa* and *omubandwa* stayed behind so that the latter could be introduced to the shrine of the *Emandwa* as he had now become their servant. The "old" *omubandwa* then fed the new *Emandwa* with meat and beer; this ended the main part of the ceremony.¹⁷

The return journey home was marked by the ritual of "begging" which gave rise to the expression *Nashega nkemandwa* ("He begs like *Emandwa*"). He could not leave anyone alone until he had been given something. The items of food thus collected were always shared among the whole group that accompanied the *omubandwa*. Only after passing through these ceremonies could one carry out the regular rites known as *kubandwa*: the initiate then "became" *Emandwa*.¹⁸

The functions of the Mugirwa we Mandwa

The *Omufumu we Siriba* was also known as a herbalist; using *Esiriba*, he punished evil-doers on someone's behalf as much as he used it to bring about cures. This dual role of a sorcerer was socially acceptable among the Bakiga since they justifiably detested wrong-doers. Cases of witchcraft and adultery were punishable in this manner.

The *Emandwa* of the herbalist and the *mugirwa we mandwa* was kept in a horn to facilitate carrying it during his travels. This horn was made in the following manner:

The horn in which these spirits live is a large sheep's horn whose wide end is covered by a bit of hide with a hole in the middle. This represents the mouth through which gruel and blood are fed to the spirits. There is a dried beetle inside the horn which rattles when the horn is shaken.¹⁹

In addition, the other paraphernalia of the sorcerer included bells, a gourd rattle, a string head-dress adorned with charms and sacred shells.²⁰

When the *omufumu we mandwa* wanted to find out, for example, who had stolen someone's property where no one had any knowledge of the thief, he employed the process known as *kusisya* (seance) which involved "sending horns" to the accused. These would either beat him or force him to confess his guilt and return the stolen goods. The process of seance has been described as follows:

When the magician arrives for the seance, he sits in the place of honour by the fireside and is feasted with beer and freshly butchered meat. Everyone is somewhat in a solemn mood—about midnight the sorcerer sets to work, setting the *Emandwa* in its own horn upright between his knees in the mortar of the door way. First he shakes the rattles, and then the *Emandwa* speaks in "a tiny chirping voice", asking "why are you beating me?" The sorcerer explains that its help is needed and then makes an offering. A sheep is butchered and the blood is allowed to spurt into the horn. . . . The tongue of the sheep is cut off and eaten raw. After this the sorcerer addresses the spirits again and explains what he wants them to do, to send sickness to some thief whose crime is known although his identity is not, or perhaps to cause green grass to grow on the pubes of a runaway wife whose whereabouts are unknown. The answer is expected in the voice of the person against whom the action of the spirit is directed, who is supposed to have been caught by the horn. He confesses to the crime and tells whether he is too well protected. In the latter case they desist and seek out another practitioner with more power. Otherwise the spirits set out at once on their errand.²¹

These spirits manifested themselves in the form of large snakes, especially at the graveside when the victim was being buried, or at the gateway.

The other duties of the *omufumu we mandwa* were to treat sick people and to use his *Emandwa* to render malignant forces harmless, as much as to

safeguard the people from witchcraft. The childless could be induced to bear children. For all these and many other services, the *omufumu* was highly regarded and well paid; otherwise, the *Emandwa* could and would kill the person who received those services without offering remuneration on some form.

The Worship of the Emandwa

The worship of *Emandwa* was known as *kubandwa*, the term referring both to the situation when sacrifices for the atonement were being made and also to the occasion when the Bakiga expressed their praises and thanks to the *Emandwa*. The process of *kubandwa* was almost synonymous to supplication (*kuterecereka*) although the latter referred specifically to atonement. In this section, the two terms will be used interchangeably.

The ritual of *kubandwa* was performed on two levels. In its narrower but more common context, it was resorted to on the family level; but in its wider but rarer form, it was practised on the "clan" level. *Kubandwa* on the family level was conducted by the head of the family who normally chose his successor before he died. The successor passed through a lengthy apprenticeship, but so long as the father lived, the son was not permitted to practise with the *Emandwa*. The father had the power and the right to render them powerless if the son insisted on using them without his father's permission. This process was known as *kukwatira*.²²

Thus, supplication on a family level was led by the head of the household or another *omubandisa* (the one who leads the ceremony) from outside the family but within the same "clan", and who was skilled in the powers of the *Emandwa*, using an *Emandwa* similar to that owned by the family concerned. Special food — meat, beer, or butter — was brought to the shrine for the *Emandwa*; then the whole family gathered around the shrine.

The ceremony was marked by the slaughter of a sheep to be offered to the *Emandwa*. Nine leaves were plucked from the *omurinsi* (protected tree and rubbed onto the back of the animal thus offered. The meat was then roasted and beer was poured into a special pot from the shrine of the *Emandwa*. The *omubandisa* dressed up in a special attire composed of the *ekisingo* (the skin of a lion's neck with the mane still attached, and adorned with bead embroidery around the bottom edge) and the *oruhu* (a skin with small pieces of metal attached to it all the way around except where it fastened; it was worn on the head). He then addressed the *Emandwa*, in a special language: not *Keije, buhooro huhooro gye*, but *Muyanda owandeebya owakasa bateera, akaasereire bwita, orikura akandeebya*,²³ implying that, ultimately, when the *Emandwa* reached maturity, it would be likely to betray him.

The *omubandisa*, still sitting beside the shrine, consumed some beer through a long tube. At this stage, the *omubandisa* became possessed by the

Emandwa (aided presumably by the receptivity induced by a warm beery glow!) and subsequently became the *Emandwa* itself than merely an *Emandwa* medium. The family then began praying to the *Emandwa* for its protection and blessing. The *runyegye* and *burengo* were rattled to the accompaniment of brisk dancing. As the dance approached its end, the *Emandwa* signalled this by raising his arm with the word "*Nacunga*": this was also the sign that *Emandwa* was dispossessing the *omubandisa*. Thereafter, the *omubandisa* removed the clothes that he had worn for the occasion. The food and beer left over after the family had departed had to be consumed by the *omubandisa*, and it was assumed that when he was thus satisfied, so too was the *Emandwa*. As for the *Emandwa* which do not ordinarily stay in shrines, eating was carried on outside.

The following words were uttered by the *omubandisa* when calling upon the *Emandwa*:

Hi! Ha! aa—! aa—!
 Kaitwe Rukiika-Rwamuhangi!
 Nyakyasa, Mugasha, Muhima, Kasente
 Karonda-Businde
 Akaseire engogoore
 Hi! Ha! aa—! aa—!
 Akasereire Bwita, Kyangwe Kyambiribiri
 Omugyendera seeri
 Hi! Ha! aa—! aa—!
 Kaitwe Rukiika-Rwamuhangi
 Omurinzi, Omugabi wa byona
 Abaana, obusingye, Amatungo, Emigisha
 Hi! Ha! aa—! aa—!
 Muhima, Nyakyasa, Kasente, Mugasha
 Hi! Ha! aa—! aa—!
 Kaitweme Rukiika-Rwamuhangi
 Emandwa Nkuru
 Kareeta busingye, obugaiga, Amatungo
 Hi! Ha! aa—! aa—!²⁴

With these words, the *omubandisa* called upon the various *Emandwa* by name: Rukiika-Rwamuhangi, who as senior *Emandwa* had the power to bestow all the blessings of life, be they children, peace, riches or good fortune, who had the power to protect such gifts, a power equal only to his power to take it all away, including the gift of life itself; other *Emandwa* addressed were Nyakyasa, Mugasha, Muhima, Kasente, Karonda and Businde in a veritable catalogue of divinities.

Supplication on the "clan" level

This was joint worship for the whole "clan", also held on a special hill — *Omuhambo*. The nature of the preparations was similar to those made on the family level. For the ceremony, each family prepared beer, bread,

milk, firewood, seeds, rattles, bells used for hunting, stools, spears, *Ebisingo* (crowns) skins (*Empu*); all these articles would find their way to the place of worship. Someone also secured a goat for slaughter. The mode of dress was the same as that used on the family level. The leader of the *babandisa* (plural of the singular *omubandisa*) then led the ceremony. As the *Emandwa* did not eat together, they were fed separately. The leader also put meat into a bowl for the ancestral spirits to eat. The meat for those *Emandwa* whose names he might have forgotten was also put aside.

After all this preparation the ceremony proper finally began. Since all the worshippers present were *babandisa*, there was no need to translate the special language of the *Emandwa*. The *Emandwa* would then be appraised of the problems facing the whole "clan" in general. In his address to the crowd, the *omubandisa* would say, "*Murye zabasigira*," (that the people should eat the food offered them by the *Emandwa*). Hearty feasting followed, accompanied by dancing to the tune of bells and rattles, including the *Ekinyegye*. When the leader of the ceremony felt satisfied that the *Emandwa* were pleased, he then announced: "*Naacunda*," implying that he had finished. Every morsel of food was consumed there and then, for no one was allowed to take home any food for the *Emandwa*, lest the "clan" *Emandwa* be bewitched or rendered powerless, depending upon the circumstances.²⁵

Reflections on Emandwa

Throughout the Great Salt Lakes Region *kubandwa* was a religion of initiates. As the cult was exercised within the lineage group, the priests and the people lived rigorously separated from one another. The religion of the *Emandwa* was ambivalent with respect to the ancestral spirits, fear of malevolent sorcerers (*barogi*), and the predominant role of the diviner charged with the task of neutralizing all of these influences. The ancestral spirits were generally hostile to their descendants and lived in an underworld, leading somewhat lack-lustre existence there. On the other hand, the spirits of the *Emandwa* did not join the other spirits on death; they had their own place of abode, such as the volcanic peaks of the Mufumbiro Mountains. They reigned powerfully in this new world, although how they reacted to all the other ordinary spirits who were not *Emandwa* still remains a mystery.

The importance of *kubandwa* lay in the fact that those who were initiated were protected by the *Emandwa*, as the initiate was projected into a new family, a sacred world which sheltered him from the profane world of the hostile *bazimu* and evil sorcerers. Thus, the *Emandwa* interposed between the living and the living-dead who were so greatly revered, filling a chasm that the traditional system had hollowed out between the one and the other.

The hierarchy of *kubandwa* was composed of two grades of initiates, each equally accessible to both men and women. The first rank of initiation, *kwatura*, entailed a "rebirth" into the cult of *Emandwa* in terms of being

ritually "put to death". This initiate was integrated into a new family after having symbolically renounced one of the fundamental rules regarding incest. The initiate was at once a child and a new bride of the *Emandwa* world. In the second state, the child had already become an adult, quite detached from the profane world. When he left the protection of the sacred erythrina tree at the initiation site and approached the family home, he was not, strictly speaking, "going home". Rather, he was symbolically joining another world by crossing an imaginary Rubicon. Hereafter, in this other world, he was in actuality *Emandwa*, while in this secular world, he enjoyed total immunity. He could henceforth incarnate the spirits of *kubandwa* in the course of the ceremonies. He had become the priest of the cult and its medium, much more powerful by dint of the talisman he had received under the sacred *Omurinzi* (erythrina) tree. The break with the secular world was symbolized by the ritual of "begging" as he returned home. In this endeavour he was congratulated by his peers, a sign that he was now their equal and hence ready to be introduced to the other *Emandwa*.

The significance of the language used by *Emandwa* lay in the fact that the world of the *Emandwa* regarded itself as being totally independent from the norms of the secular society which it called "profane". It should be noted that the British in their confused efforts to fight Nyabingi in the 1920s in south-west Uganda suggested that the worship of *Emandwa* be encouraged in order to uproot the worship of Nyabingi, the latter being regarded as far more inimical to colonial interests than the former. Nevertheless, all opposition notwithstanding, Nyabingi continued to flourish side by side with *Emandwa*.

FOOTNOTES

1. May M. Edel, *The Chiga of Western Uganda* (New York: Oxford University Press for the International Institute for African Affairs, 1957), p. 141.
2. Iris Berger, "The Emandwa Cult in Kigezi," in *The Impact of Rwanda on the History of Uganda*, ed. Donald J. Denoon (forthcoming).
3. Father F. Geraud, "Traditional Religion" in *A History of Kigezi* (Adult, Centre, Kampala), 1972, p. 164. ed. D. Denoon.
4. Berger, *Emandwa*, p. 16.
5. Ibid.
6. Berger, *Emandwa*, p. 16.
7. Luc de Heusch, "Mythe et société féodale: la culte de *kubandwa* dans le Rwanda traditionnel," *Archives de Sociologie des Religions* 9, 18 (1964), p. 143.
8. de Heusch, "Mythe," p. 134.
9. Interview with Yokana Murera, Bubale, November 1972.
10. Interview with Ngologoza, Kabale, 1972.
11. J. Basingwire, "African Traditional Divinities and Christianity in Nyakabungo Parish, Kigezi," MS, Bishop Tucker College, Mukono, 1960; interview with Murera.
12. Ibid.
13. Interview with Rwabikoha, Kagalama, November 1973.

14. Reverend Mr. Twesigye, "Death Among the Bakiga of Uganda," MS, Dept. of Religious Studies, Makerere University, Kampala, 1970.
15. Berger, *Emandwa*, p. 16.
16. *Kushumbya* means feeding the *Emandwa* during the process of supplication.
17. Edel, *Chiga*, p. 147.
18. Y. K. Bamunoba and F. B. Welbourne, "Emandwa Initiation in Ankole," *Uganda Journal*, 29, 1(1965), pp. 13-25.
19. Edel, *Chiga*, p. 141.
20. Ibid. The shells were collected from Rwanda. One could collect only as many as the number of children his mother bore, and no more, under penalty of death.
21. Edel, *Chiga*, p. 143.
22. Interview with Kacwagure, Butobere, June 1973.
23. Basingwire, "Divinities."
24. Basingwire, "Divinities," appendix 6.
25. Interviews with Rwehuha and Magambo, 1973.

UGANDA AND WORLD WAR ONE

S. LWANGA-LUNYIIGO, *Makerere University.*

This paper will not attempt to give a systematic account of the campaigns in East Africa of the 1914-1918 War. This has already been done with great precision elsewhere.¹ What we shall attempt to define are the white attitudes towards the Uganda Africans as fighters in particular and the Africans as fighters in general. We shall examine why the black man fought for the white man when he was ignorant of the causes of conflict between white and white and lastly we shall discuss conditions of service and what happened to him when he was no longer needed.

The conquest of the African continent was largely undertaken by Africans acting on behalf of various European powers. Sometimes the Africans were fighting, as far as they were concerned, with their traditional enemies, but for most of the time the Africans were fighting purely as mercenaries against distant Africans. General Louis Faidherbes' *Tirailleurs Sénégalais* were turned loose on the muslim states in the Futa-Djallon region in the later part of the nineteenth century; the West African Frontier Force (WAFF) was instrumental in the last Ashanti war of 1900 in turning the tables against Ashanti and the King's African Rifles (KAR) was used extensively in East Africa to bring stubborn societies to their senses. Of all the colonial powers, the Portuguese relied on the Africans least because white conscripts were easily obtainable from poverty stricken Portugal.

In Uganda, the employment of black to fight black by white men began in 1890, when Lugard left Mombasa with seventy Sudanese *askaris*, recruited for the Imperial British East Africa company (IBEAC) by Captain W. H. Williams in Egypt. The following year, Captain Williams joined Captain Lugard in Buganda with another contingent of a hundred Swahilis and seventy-five Sudanese troops. Another contingent of Sudanese troops was added the same year when Lugard convinced Salim Bey and his men to join him. Later, in 1893 another polyglot collection of Sudanese, Egyptians, Pygmies and Ethiopians under Fadl el Maula was attracted to Uganda by Thurston. This collection formed the basis of what became the Uganda Rifles in 1895 when under the Uganda Rifles ordinance, provision was made for a commandant who was to be white, chief officers who were also to be white and African officers, under officers and privates who were to sign on for a period of twelve years.

Lugard had used the Sudanese and Baganda levies, about 25,000 against Banyoro in 1891 and Colonel Colville also used the Sudanese and the Baganda

against Bunyoro between 1873 and 1895. Major Cunningham used the same forces against the Nandi between 1895 and 1897. The Baganda were again used against themselves in 1897. Mwanga was at large in South West Buganda and a detachment of the Uganda Rifles including 14,000 Buganda levies under the Katikkiro and the overall charge of Ternan left Port Alice (Entebbe) to attack the very elusive Mwanga. When the force was recalled in July 1897, Ternan received a message of thanks from Queen Victoria on the occasion of her Diamond Jubilee and the contents of the message were passed on to the Baganda chiefs and the Buddu Field Force. The *askaris* were in fact awarded a special gratuity of one month's pay. Between 1900 and 1914, the KAR, as the Uganda Rifles and the East African Rifles had become by 1902, was used extensively in punitive and pacification campaigns in northern Uganda, western Kenya and Somaliland.

Before 1914, the security of East Africa as a whole was thought of as an internal matter. In any case, if the need arose, the Indians and South Africans would be called in to defend British East Africa against external attack. The Africans were not thought capable of undertaking the defence of East Africa against external attack and although in the regulations of the KAR issued in 1905, the training of the KAR was not to be limited to local conditions only, the KAR was ill-equipped for the purposes of external defence. Indeed, certain clauses of the Berlin Act of 1885,² had provided for the neutrality of Africa in case of war elsewhere. These articles were to become operative, however, if the powers concerned so proclaimed the fact and fulfilled the duties, which neutrality requires. And at the outbreak of World War One attempts to invoke these clauses of the Berlin Act proved ineffective. Considering the shortlived resistance of the West African German colonies of Togo and Cameroon against the Royal West African Frontier Force (RWAFF), those concerned with the defence of British East Africa, thought that the KAR would repeat what the RWAFF had done in West Africa. This as it turned out, was a gross miscalculation and by 1916 the British had begun to recruit masses of 'natives' into the army, giving them three month sandwich courses before letting them loose on the war fronts.

What kind of African did the whites prefer in the armed forces? There was general preference for recruitment among the remote ethnic groups from communities which were detached and even hostile to the 'urban' Africans.³ Until World War II northerners in Nigeria and, in particular, the Hausa provided the bulk of military recruits. In Ghana, the northern illiterate was preferred for recruitment and until 1960, in Ghana, 60% of the recruits came from the north. Sierra-Leone was the same. Illiterates such as the Korankos, Mandingos, Fulas and Limbes were preferred for recruitment. The British and French preferred the illiterates to others because they had very little enthusiasm for the sophisticated Africans who, in the main, had embraced

Christianity and the trappings of western civilization. In other words, the whites hated the uppy nigger of the colonial period.

In the mechanised armies of the twentieth century, basic education was sometimes needed. Where this was the case, whites preferred to educate the illiterates within the ranks rather than recruit the educated schoolboys from the mission schools.

The Hamitic Theory was sometimes brought to bear upon recruitment. The greater the infusions of this exotic 'hamitic' blood the more martial, ethnic groups were considered to be. Indeed Lloyd-Jones observed:

It would appear that the central African races possess military qualities in direct proportion to the amount of influence left by foreign invaders. The Abyssinians and the Somalis, of course, are not of African origin and there is little doubt that the Gallas, Masai and Nandi have traces of non-African strains in their blood. Again the Nilotic Sudanese and the tribes of northern Uganda show signs of the effects of former Asiatic invasions to which they owe their warlike characteristics.⁴

It seems that considerations of how much 'hamitic blood' each ethnic group had weighed least upon the conscience of the recruiters during World War One. In Uganda the Bahima who are, for instance, reputed to have very heavy doses of this exotic blood, did not feature at all in the colonial armed forces.

The Baganda had been used in the 1890's against Kabarega, the Nandi and Mwanga and when war broke out in Europe in August 1914, the Baganda were among the first people to be called upon to shoulder the war burden. On the 8th August, 1914, the Acting Governor H. R. Wallis, speaking on the occasion of Kabaka Chwa's coming of age, concluded his speech by appealing to Daudi Chwa to make a contribution to the war: He said:

It will be your duty as an officer in the KAR and those of your people to push the enemy back in the event of attack.⁵

Indeed, in September 1914, Daudi Chwa in his address to the youths declared:

The wars that the British are involved in these days will also involve us who are under the British flag. It is our duty to defend our country. I know that you are prepared for this.⁶

It was reported in the *Uganda Annual Report* of 1914-1915, that the outbreak of war was followed by widespread expressions of loyalty to the British Government and offers of service and assistance from the *Chiefs* and people of the Protectorate. Valuable help, it was further reported, had been rendered the military authorities by the Baganda, Banyoro and other ethnic groups, under the guidance of *their Chiefs* and that praiseworthy activity was evinced in the mobilization of a force of African levies, the collection of recruits and African carriers and in the Organisation of local food supplies. Considerable bodies of Africans were despatched to East Africa after the

commencement of hostilities to assist in the military transport to that country; large numbers, in addition to regular troops were occupied in combatant and not combatant duties on the southern and western frontiers of the Protectorate.⁷

There was no lack of enthusiasm among the chiefs with regard to the defence of the British empire and its expansion. The chiefs were the major beneficiaries of British imperialism in Uganda and heartily responded to the call to arms. The war represented no immediate threat to the chiefs who rarely participated in the actual campaigns. What they did was to send those under their charge to die for the British in German East Africa. The British had, for instance, brought death, famine and misery to Bunyoro during the 1890s and the Bahyoro could not have easily forgotten what the British had done to them to fight willingly on their behalf. They were simply forced by the chiefs to enlist in the forces and it is the chiefs who got the credit for their people's participation.

One of the strongest supporters of British imperialism in Uganda and chief British war propagandist was Z. K. Kisingiri, one of the regents during Daudi Chwa's minority. Kisingiri, as a matter of fact, offered to lead 500 African warriors to Europe to help the British in the fighting there.

In the *Ebifa* of November 1914, Kisingiri was reported to have said:

George the kind father gave us the honour of K.C.M.G. and we should therefore, pray for the British and assist them.

Kisingiri's letter to the Provincial Commissioner was, indeed, a vivid protestation of loyalty and probably represented the views of most chiefs in the country at the time. At the beginning of the hostilities in 1914, H. H. Daudi Chwa, Sir Apolo Kagawa, W. S. Kahaya (Omugabe of Ankole) and Nuwa Mbaguta were granted honorary commissions of Lieutenants in the KAR. Some chiefs went into active service. Aloni Kiyimba, the Saza chief of Bugangaizi, who was posthumously awarded the Bronze Medal of the Lion, on the recommendation of the commanding officer of the Belgian Congo Eastern Forces, on 3rd September 1916, by the Governor-General of the Belgian Congo for rendering service in the Congo carrier section, died in active service.¹⁰ At any rate, there were not many chiefs who actually went to the battle fronts.

The other important element in the recruitment campaign were the missionaries. They, being teachers and managers of men in general, were in touch with the educated youth needed in the more sophisticated services such as the medical corps. Young men needed for these services could only be obtained from the mission schools.

Indeed, the Rt. Rev. Dr. Willis, Anglican Bishop of Uganda, placed the services of the Rev. W. B. Gill at the disposal of the recruiters to help with recruitment in C.M.S. schools and the Catholic Missions likewise flung the doors of their schools open for recruitment.¹¹ To emphasize the link

between loyalty and royalty, Prince Joseph Musanje was gazetted as second lieutenant in the medical corps, thus becoming the highest ranking African on active service from Uganda.

Chiefs were also used in the all important task of keeping the morale of the participants high. A letter written by Daudi Chwa on 12th April 1918, to his men in the field, clearly indicates this role. The letter was issued in the daily orders.¹²

Apolo Kaggwa who was also a major recruitment agent visited the men in the field on several morale boosting missions.

Not all chiefs, though, echoed Kisingiri's views. Kigezi chiefs stood out against this belated sympathy with the British cause. In 1915, an important chief in Kigezi, probably Katulegi, of Mutongo village, was giving trouble "owing to his German proclivities".¹³ An expedition was sent against him and he retired to an Island in lake Bunyonyi after having removed all the canoes from the shores. His people who attacked the expedition were reported to have been severely punished. In the *Uganda Annual Report* (1916-1917) attempts to undermine European authority in Kigezi were again reported.

We have discussed the role of chiefs in the recruitment drive. Indeed, there were no conscriptees, only volunteers during World War One in Uganda. Some European observers in Uganda at the time, noted, however, that the voluntary system as Europeans understood it was not comprehended and that the raising of the levies could hardly be described as a voluntary effort on the part of the indigenous people.¹⁴ Among the Native Medical Corps few 'volunteers' wished to be re-enlisted. The reason given for the lack of enthusiasm by the Europeans was that training was hard and discipline rigid. The wave of patriotism had passed and the original ardour had been damped by six months of field service.¹⁵ In the case of the Baganda volunteers no lesser a person than the Katikkiro, Apolo Kaggwa had to be sent to the field, both as a British and Buganda Government representative to entice the 'volunteers' into re-engagement.

Apart from what they were told by the chiefs, there is no account of what the ordinary man thought of the war. Many ordinary folk could not even distinguish between the Germans and the English and rendered service to both. In 1911 the 2nd KAR (Yao battalion) was disbanded because the British officials were unable to read the writing on the wall. Many of the disbanded KAR *askaris* joined German service and served the Germans during World War One without deserting to join their former masters. The British naively hoped that the *askaris* would desert their "brutal" masters and serve them. This naive hope never materialised.

During World War Two, however, ordinary Ugandans expressed their opinion of the war. Paulo Wanyama from Bukedi, when asked why he joined the war, replied that he was told by the chiefs to join and that he hoped

that the war would provide plenty of opportunity for 'adventure'.¹⁶ Another more sophisticated Ugandan who attained the rank of Regimental Sergeant Major, the highest rank that an African could reasonably expect, and a former Makerere student of the late 1930's, Robert Kakembo, noted that the majority of Africans did not participate in the war to fight for King George nor to defend the Empire. They joined to help the missionary who were kind to them or the kind D.C.'s wife whose children played with his own. There were those who simply joined to get a job and consequently money.¹⁷ In a forward to Robert Kakembo's book *The African Soldier Speaks*, George Turner, the Principal of Makerere, described Kakembo as a thoughtful and able man and noted that the war was doing what some people feared, namely the putting of ideas into the Africans' head. The book was not allowed to circulate, was given confidential cover by the Government, and was only for official use. Kakembo discussed more fundamental issues such as the likely effect of the war on Africans, which issue alarmed the government but does not concern us in this paper. It is probable that the participant in World War One, like his counterpart in World War Two, was fighting, because he had been told by the chief, because, he loved adventure and most important, probably, because he wanted to earn money and improve his lot. Unlike Kisingiri, the ordinary man was neither fighting for the British Empire nor for his country. Indeed, the Africans according to Dolbey wanted the war to end as quickly as possible because they were tired of forced labour, of food requisition, and the terrorising of the civilian population.¹⁸ King George did not come into the picture at all.

On 5th August, the Acting Governor of Uganda, H. R. Wallis, issued three proclamations, published in the *Uganda Official Gazette*. He declared that war had broken out between Britain and Germany; that the KAR, Uganda Police Force and Uganda Volunteer Reserve will, until further notice, be under conditions of active service and that, under the KAR Reserve Forces Ordinance of 1912, every reservist will be called out on permanent service, within or without the Protectorate. With the exception of the Uganda Volunteers Reserve which was exclusively European and Asian, the majority of the people concerned in the second and third proclamations were Ugandan Africans.

Three days after the issue of the proclamations, on 8th August, 1914, the Acting Governor, while addressing the Lukiiko on the occasion of Daudi Chwa's coming of age, declared that it was the duty of Chwa, as an officer in the forces of His Majesty to defend the country.

The response from Buganda and elsewhere has been described as prompt. There were four categories of participants in the war. There were the Troops, the Soldiers, the Followers and the Porters. The majority of participants from Uganda were either Followers or Porters. Only the Africans specialised work, such as medical work attained the dazzling heights of troops status.

At the outbreak of the war, the 4th Battalion of the KAR at a strength of seven companies was scattered on varied tasks.¹⁹ The immediate task of the 4th KAR and the hastily recruited levies was the defence of the Uganda Railway and from the outset four companies of the 4th KAR and auxiliaries were despatched to Kisii to defend the Uganda Railway against German incursions. Two companies of the 4th KAR were posted to Masaka and Sanje for the defence of the southern border. The southern border was also reinforced by the Uganda Police, which had been hastily turned into a service battalion, and the Baganda Rifles. These later reinforcements were stationed at Masaka and Mbarara respectively. In all, about 3,000 Baganda spearmen were employed in the defence of the southern frontier and another 15,000 assorted Africans were on reserve.

The Belgians who were attacking the Germans from the west and made the crucial strike at Kigali in mid 1916 needed the support of the Ugandans. The Belgians were short of porters because the Batutsi had proved stubborn. They therefore, turned to Uganda for their transportation requirements. A base for operations against the Germans was set up by the Belgians in Uganda, at Bukakata, and the necessary carriers and ox-wagons were provided by Uganda.

At the beginning of the war the Germans had an armed tug at Bukoba but no passenger or cargo steamers. Nevertheless, the British took the greatest precautions in the defence of Lake Victoria. Accordingly, a canoe patrol, based at Port Bell was set up and this African flotilla participated in the naval action which soon rendered Bukoba a useless military base.

The 4th KAR took a lions share of the fighting in the Voi and Kisii areas in 1914. At the beginning of 1917, the original battalion had grown to four battalions, and a fifth was in the formative stage at Bombo when the war came to an end in 1918. All these battalions, almost to a man, were recruited from Uganda, about 7,000 men in all.

In June 1916, after the whole of the Lake region had been cleared of the German enemy, and Lake detachment, the Uganda Police Service Battalion, the Buganda Rifles and the Uganda Transport Corps were disbanded and from then until the end of the war, Uganda's war effort was directed towards the keeping of the KAR supplied with men and to keep going the medical services in the field.

As we noted earlier, most of the African recruits were used in the carrier services. By 1915 about 4,500 Africans on three month reliefs manned the transport corps. By 1916, when a lot of the Followers and the Porters were retired, 38,000 had been registered in the carrier services alone, exclusive of the specialist carriers such as machine-gun carriers. Uganda also had the task of supplying the Belgians with porters. About 8,400 Bakiga and Banyankole were employed in the Belgian Service Corps. In 1917 the policy was to recruit

carriers from the "grain eating tribes" of the Eastern Province for service in the interior of German East Africa.

At the outbreak of the war, the missionary hospitals in Kampala and the government hospitals at Entebbe were turned into military hospitals and forty Africans were withdrawn from the Government Medical Services to constitute a Uganda Stretcher Bearer Company. There was another medical team in Kampala, at the time undergoing medical training for the anti-venereal disease campaign and this team along with the Stretcher Bearer Company formed the nucleus of the Uganda Native Medical Corps (UNMC). The strength of the UNMC was boosted by further recruitment from the mission schools, and the first school recruits came from Mengo High School. The recruitment from the schools run counter to the policy of recruiting illiterates because the nature of the work was too sophisticated for illiterates. A Corporal in the UNMC had to have a knowledge of reading and writing; he had to know enough English to enable him to name the articles used in the dispensaries; he had to have an elementary knowledge of dispensing of simple stock medicans; he had to be capable of keeping simple records such as the admission and discharge records; he had to be able to prepare blood films and, preferably, be able to type.²⁰

As we noted earlier the overwhelming participants were either followers or porters. In the case of the UNMC there arose problem of the status of the ex-schoolboys. They could not accept the status of either followers or porters and the status of troops was secured for them with the utmost difficulty from the General Headquarters in Nairobi.²¹ The UNMC served with the KAR the Lake Force and the Belgian Forces and after the capture of Tabora in June 1916, the members of the UNMC attached to the Belgian and Lake Forces were paid off. Those with the KAR remained in the service until the end of the war in November 1918.

In 1917, there was a reorganisation of the Medical Services and the Uganda and East African Medical Corps were brought together into the new African Native Medical Corps under one director, Major-General G. D. Hunter. Once more, the schools provided a substantial number of UNMC's and in Uganda D. G. Tomblings was in charge of fresh recruitment. Tomblings was chosen for the task because he was well known to the Chiefs (he was an Assistant District Commissioner) and the missionaries. Members of the corps served in distant places. They were distributed throughout the KAR and travelled as far north as Ethiopia and as far south as Durban.

Material contributions to the war effort were also considerable. At the outbreak of the war, a Uganda War Relief Fund was established and later, in the year, the Belgian Red Cross Fund. "It was not possible in the 1914-1915 Financial Year to contribute to the Imperial expenses in connection with the war."²² There were multiple appeals for donations from the National Committee for Relief in Belgium. There were appeals from the Overseas Club, London, for donation towards the financing of an aircraft flotilla and

there were appeals from the British Red Cross Society and the Order of St. John.

In January 1915, Zakaria Kisingiri, whom we have met before, began a vigorous campaign of fund raising, giving many reasons for his fresh move. In his appeal published in *Ebifa* of January 1915 Kisingiri said that the money was going to 'feed the soldiers,' widows and orphans; to feed the Belgians; to feed prisoners of war; to be used in the buying of arms and ammunition; to buy medicines and to be used in the case of those with injuries. These were very noble tasks for Uganda's donations. What Kisingiri ignored was the fact that in Uganda and in East Africa Africans were suffering as a result of the war and yet donations from Africans were going abroad to relieve the suffering Europeans. Charity seems to have begun outside home and this was unnatural. In the *Uganda Official Gazette* a record of contributions and contributors was faithfully kept throughout the war period. Contributions by Europeans, Asians and prominent African Chiefs were individually acknowledged. In the case of contributions from the mass of the Africans there was the notorious habit of lumping together the contributions from them and recording them in the Gazette as contributions from various "natives".²³ In the case of the really important persons, making donations, even very important officials in the British Government, were informed of such donations.

On 26th August 1915, Bonar Law, the British Colonial Secretary, wrote a letter to Governor Jackson in which he expressed his gratefulness to Apolo Kagwa for his contribution of Rs. 250 to Queen Mary's Relief Fund.²⁴

Considering Uganda's resources at the beginning of the 20th century, the contributions were considerable. On 7th September 1915, 55,770 pounds of coffee were shipped from Mombasa, being a gift on the people of Uganda to Britain, intended for war relief. This gift was divided between the War Office (for the benefit of the British Army) and the National Food Fund for the Relief of Belgian refugees in England. In addition to contributions to various war funds, the problem of food supply within East Africa fell squarely on the Africans. Food was requisitioned for most of the time and soldiers on the march used to forage for food often causing a lot of hardship to the civilian population. Phillip Mitchell, writing on the problems of supply, commented: "The unfortunate villages through which we passed in succession must have been reduced to destitution."²⁵

At the beginning of the war the Europeans had a tongue-in-cheek attitude towards the participation of the Africans and had grave doubts about their ability to stand fire and so on. In the House of Commons this very issue was discussed, and Mr. Bonar Law, the colonial secretary, eventually stated government policy towards the natives in this respect. He stated:

The Government was carefully considering the recruitment and training of native troops in East, Central, and West Africa and also the steps to be taken in order to make the best use of natives of Tropical Africa.²⁶

Despite these doubts the Africans were used and acquitted themselves pretty well. Lloyd Jones stated in this connection:

The 4th KAR established a reputation for gallantry in action which was amply confirmed later in many hard fought actions and which disproved for ever the contemptuous assertions of those contemptuous Europeans who had frequently and publically prophesied that the KAR niggers would not stand fire.²⁷

Phillip Mitchell also paid tribute to the African soldiers thus:

They were intelligent, smart, efficient, and wholly dependable and when on mobilization in 1914, they had to adjust themselves to working with a large number of European Volunteers like myself who were appointed as action leaders, machine gunners and the like, most of us totally untrained and ignorant; they made an admirable job of a difficult situation. No one in those days would say bluntly that these African Warrant Officers were our superiors but that was the fact, and they dealt with us while they taught us our business tactfully and sensibly so that they were respected and obeyed.²⁸

Although a lot of praise was heaped on the Africans during the war years they were discriminated against as usual. There were differentials in pay, different honours were bestowed, and there were differences in the overall treatment of Africans. For instance, the Distinguished Service Medal (DSM) was the highest honour to which an African was eligible. On this Lloyd-Jones comments: "For some reason best known to the authorities the African *askari* alone of all King's soldiers is ineligible for the VC (Victoria Cross)".²⁹

In 1903, Sergeant-Major Nderemani had been awarded the DSM in connection with the Gumburi incident in Somalia. The two British officers who participated in the act of great gallantry along with Nderemani were awarded the Victoria Cross. The three men had saved wounded men from deadly enemies.³⁰

Of the honours created during World War One the Military Cross (MC) created on 1st January, 1915, and the Military Medal created on 5th January, 1916, the Africans were entitled to the latter and not the former. One had to be an officer, or a Warrant Officer in Britain or India to be entitled to the MC.³¹

In Uganda, the honour which was generously dished out to the Africans was the African Police Medal for Meritorious Service. It seems, however, that the Belgians were more generous with their honours than the British. In 1917, the Belgians awarded sixteen bronze medals to Ugandans of the Congo carrier section, of the East African Transport Corps. Such generosity was unheard of in the British colonies. In addition, to discrimination in the granting of honours, there was differences in pay as between Asians and Africans of the same ranks. For instance, the African Regimental Sergeant-Major (RSM) (and this was the highest rank an African could reasonably aspire to at the time) was paid Rs. 9 per month while the Subadar Major

(the equivalent of RSM) was paid Rs. 200 per month. While African privates were paid Rr. 4 per month, the Indian sepoy was paid Rs. 40.

The porters got off worst during the war. They were simply regarded as a means of transport in the same manner we regard cars these days and were treated as such. With regard to the treatment of porters Dolbey noted:

Toiling behind the column on marches in the long and ragged line, the native porters, the human cattle that are after all the most reliable form of transport in East Africa porters normally marched a distance of ten miles a day with loads of 40-60 pounds. The porters were fair game since they did not have the means for self-defence and they were liable to destructions such as any other form of transport such as the ox-wagons.³²

There was much loss of life among the porters. It was impossible to provide them with their accustomed food. The eating of grain gave rise to intestinal diseases and repatriated carriers came home with various diseases including tuberculosis and at the end of the war Uganda was besieged by all kinds of epidemics.

Even specialised personnel such as the Medical Corps were subjected to all sorts of humiliation. Keane commenting on the treatment of UNMC said:

Any attempt to display technical knowledge such as the reading of the thermometer or the keeping of temperature charts or any medical skill was unexpected and was looked upon as a species of impertinence.³³

It is not easy to assess the effects of this experience on the Africans because no Africans left memoirs of their war experience. We can only deduce their feelings from the whites who wrote about their experience of African participation in the war at the time. Many whites agreed that success in the East African campaigns, depended upon the discipline and devotion of the indigenous troops. And Dolbey observed that their participation left the future clouded with potential trouble for in the war the black man had seen the white man on both sides run away from him. The black man had been armed and trained in the use of the rifle and the machine gun and his intelligence and capacity had been attested to by the degree of fire control that he mastered.

Other observers saw the whole black experience in a different light. Cameroon, commenting on the effects of the war on the Africans stated:

What will be the attitude of the natives after the disturbing and exciting experience? What will be their future outlook; both in our own protectorates and in the newly acquired territories? Time will show. That they responded nobly to the call to assist in the defence of the British Raj was indisputably made manifest and we can look forward hopefully to a period of increasing happiness and the establishment of good government, and peaceful progress and prosperity among the natives of the Central African dominions of the crown.³⁷

The Second World War has been credited with the great breakthrough in the decolonisation process but World War One has not been credited with anything very significant. The contribution of World War One to political awareness needs urgent attention. Some of the blackman's fear of the European probably evaporated considerably after the war as the Africans had decisively proved to the Europeans that they were also men.

FOOTNOTES

1. H. Moyse-Bartlett, *The King's African Rifles*, Gale and Polden, Aldershot, 1956.
2. See Berlin Act, 1885, Chapter 2, articles X-XII.
3. W. F. Gutteridge, in L. H. Gann and Duignan's *Colonialism in Africa*, Vol. II, Cambridge, 1970, chapter 8.
4. W. Lloyd-Jones, *The KAR*, Arrowsmith, 1926, p. 139.
5. *Ebifa* No. 92, September 1914.
6. *Ebifa* No. 93, October, 1914.
7. *Uganda Annual Report*, HMSO, London 1914-1915, p. 20.
8. The other four chiefs willing to participate in the exercise were J. M. Kago, H. M. Magatto, E. Kezimbira and S. Muwanguze. The offer was rejected by the government with a promise to bring "this striking evidence of loyalty to the notice of H. M. the King". (See Appendix A.)
9. Sir Apolo Kagwa was honoured by the British. His was given the KCMG.
10. *Uganda Official Gazette*, 1916-17.
11. At the outbreak of the war recruitment from the schools, into the Medical Corps was as follows: King's School Budo 51 boys; St. Mary's School, Rubaga 37 boys; Mengo High School 7 boys; Mengo Central School 16 boys; Kako Central School 10 boys; Mbale High School 7 boys; Toro High School 30 boys; Kamuli High School 7 boys.
12. Quoted in G. J. Keane's *The African Native Medical Corps*. See Appendix B. Richard Clay and Sons, London, pp. 34-35.
13. *Uganda Volunteers*, p. 76.
14. *Uganda Volunteers*, p. 60.
15. *The ANMC*.
16. S. G. S. Wamala, *Paulo, Wanyama mu Lutalo Olwakaggwa*, Eagle Press, Kampala, 1954.
17. R. S. Kakembo, *An African Soldier Speaks*, Kampala, 1944.
18. R. V. Dolbey, *Sketches of the East African Campaign*, John Murray, London, 1918.
19. The seven companies of the 4th KAR were deployed as follows: 2 companies — Rudolf Province; 3 companies — British East Africa; 1 company — Entebbe; 1 company — Mambo.
20. *ANMC*, pp. 61-62.
21. *ANMC*, p. 14.
22. *Uganda Annual Reports*, 1914-1915, p. 23.
23. *Uganda Official Gazette*, 15-10-1915.
24. From Bonar Law to Jackson, published in *Ebifa*, Sept. 1916.
25. *African Afterthoughts*, p. 40.
26. Speech quoted in *Uganda Volunteers*, p. 55.
27. Lloyd-Jones — *The KAR*, p. 173.
28. *African Afterthoughts*, p. 46.

29. Lloyd-Jones, *KAR*.
30. *Afterthoughts*, p. 47.
31. *Uganda Official Gazette*, 15-7-1916.
32. *ANMC*, p. 5.
33. *Sketches*.
34. *Uganda Volunteers*.

APPENDIX A

P. C. Buganda, 14th October 1914

Sir,

I have the honour to write you this letter *on behalf of myself and four other chiefs*, asking you to be good enough to bring our request before his Excellency the Acting Governor.

We would be very pleased if the Governor would kindly allow us and our five hundred men to proceed to England and join the British army which is now on active service. The reason for our wishing to join this war which has broken out between Great Britain and Germany is that because sometime ago H.H. the Kabaka and several chiefs of Buganda paid a visit to England where they were warmly received and given a cordial reception everywhere and also that (sic) because we are always well treated by the British Government: H.H. the Kabaka and his party told us many interesting things when they returned to Buganda and they well (sic) enjoyed themselves while in England and the English people were very glad to see them in their lovely country. Now if the English showed us such a great kindness during the period of peace, we must also do something to show faithful friendship we have with his most gracious Majesty and the English people to join with them in facing the hostilities which confront the whole British Empire. We are quite ready and anxious to fight for the British Union Jack which we like to see flying all over the great parts of Africa and we never wish to be trampled down by other nations of Europe.

Z. K. Kisingiri,
Omuwanika.

APPENDIX B

Chwa's Letter to the Baganda Who Joined the War in 1917

Now some eight months have passed since you volunteered for active service in German East Africa as dressers and attendants of the sick and the wounded in the forces of H.M. King George V which are now fighting against the Germans to secure the peace and justice which they would seek to destroy. News reaches us from time to time of the excellent work you are doing and that you perform your duties earnestly, willingly and steadfastly, and bear cheerfully all hardships. Moreover we learn with regret that some of your numbers have died in the service. *Let not your sufferings, and the sacrifice of these lives be in vain, rather let them help to spell the good name of your country: I and the Lukiiko of Buganda are proud of you.* I therefore write you this letter to thank you. . . . It is my wish that you should continue faithfully until the end of the war.

Quoted in S. J. Keane's *The African Native Medical Corps*, Richard Clay and Sons, London, p. 34.

TOWARDS THE AFRICAN SOCIAL REVOLUTION: THE CASE OF TANZANIA.

JIMMY K. TINDIGARUKAYO, *Makerere University.*

Every people on earth go through two revolutions: a political revolution that helps them recover their right to self-government from the hands of a despot who had imposed himself upon them, or free themselves from the domination of alien armed forces which had installed themselves in the land against their will; and a social revolution — a class conflict that ultimately ends in the realization of social justice for all inhabitants of the country. (G. A. Nasser.)

From a historical perspective, the concept of revolution has two facets as G. A. Nasser observes in the above quotation. First, there is a revolution, which out of sheer necessity for political freedom, sets out to get rid of imposed power upon the inhabitants. This imposed power can take a form of one person, as it was the case with the Russian Revolution and the Zanzibar Revolution, to overthrow the Czarist and the Sultan regimes respectively. It can also take a form of alien rule, without the due consent of the governed, as it was the case with overthrow of the imperial power here in Africa and elsewhere. Second, a revolution can also be social in content, aiming at changing the social, political, economical and cultural structures, so as to facilitate progress and harmony in a given society. Talking about the cultural revolution of the Libyan Arab Republic, the commentator had this to say:

The Libyan Arab people have endured harsh sufferings from reactionist ideological domination, Eastern and Western ideological invasion and infiltration. Therefore, it was a must to liberate these people from all aspects of cultural invasion and ideological domination. Deeply believing in the importance of man being the first and last fact in social construction, the revolution has realised that this aim cannot be achieved but through a cultural revolution, not only to expose importance of exported methods and to check reactionary, infiltrating and suspected ideologies, but also to present a substitute compatible with the nature of the revolutionary period our society is passing through. The aim is not to ban modern ideas, but to subject them through filters to choose what suits our heritage, traditions and needs and to leave what contradicts with them.¹

This quotation strikes a clear balance between the revolution for political freedom and the social revolution. Whereas political revolution aims at physical removal of the imposed leadership; the social revolution is pre-

occupied with the changing ideas, cultures and general behaviour, which have been inculcated into the society by the influence of the imposed leadership. Although the two are connected in this regard, they differ fundamentally, especially when we consider the methods used to effect them.

To effect a political revolution, more often than not, an element of violence is evident. The "Mau Mau" movement which claimed tolls of life to remove the imperial power from Kenya, and the bloodshed witnessed during the Zanzibar revolution of January 1964, organized by the Youth wing of the Afro-Shirazi party to overthrow the Sultan's Monarchy, are examples substantiating this notion.

Social revolution, however, in most of the cases, takes a more salient form. It would be better if it can be achieved through persuasion, although of course, there are some examples on the scene where coercion has become a second alternative. Even then, it can still be maintained that persuasion other than coercion remains the ideal method. This is precisely because, social revolution aims at the orientation of mind towards a set of certain values and ideals. It would be a layman's method to try to change one's mind by using force.

Given these two facets of revolution, it remains the concern of this paper to explore the social revolution, especially in connection with Tanzania. The landmarks of Tanzanian social revolution bear the core in the establishment of Ujamaa² Socialism, as a political philosophy which Tanzanian leadership was, and still is, to be guided.

It should be spelled out from the start that the Tanzanian Social revolution has been, and still is, spearheaded by Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, who is not only the leader of the ruling party, TANU, but also the President of the Nation since December 1962. In his elaborate article; "Ujamaa—The basis of African Socialism",³ a paper which he wrote during the interim period between his resignation as a Prime Minister in January 1962, and December 1963, when he returned to power as a President, Julius Nyerere defines and explains what he means by Ujamaa Socialism.

Socialism, like democracy, he argues, is an attitude of mind. As much as a wretched can be a potential capitalist, a millionaire can equally be a socialist. His analysis here distinguishes a capitalist from a socialist only by attitudes either of the two have towards the use of the available resources at hand. Anyone, whether poor or rich, who is preoccupied with the idea of using wealth to dominate others, is a capitalist at heart, while the one who would like the wealth to be put to the service of the society as a whole is a socialist.

The remarkable thing about this article, is that Nyerere is not only appealing to the people of Tanzania (by then Tanganyika) to aspire to the ideas of socialism, but to the entire African populace. The basis of his analysis is the African traditional political system. In precolonial Africa everybody was a worker in the sense of trying to contribute as much as he

possibly could for the society as a whole. A traditional African was neither an idler nor was he exploiter. He never aspired to the possession of personal wealth for the purpose of domination any of his fellows. The idea of exploitation, therefore, is not only anti-socialism, but it is also foreign to Africa. It came to Africa, hand in hand, with colonialism, and the only way Africans can recapture their traditional ideals, is to re-educate themselves to regain their former attitude of mind. Once this is achieved individuals will take care of the whole society and vice versa. In essence; this is a springboard upon which socialism as a political philosophy can operate. This is Nyerere's message.

There are some assumptions made in this article which may not be taken for granted. First, if socialism is an attitude of mind as Nyerere asserts, it follows then that an individual is born with it. As such, the environment in which an individual finds himself may only sharpen his attitude but may not change it. It is on this basis that a millionaire can as well be a socialist if he is born with a socialist mind. Likewise, a destitute can be a capitalist if he is born with a desire to exploit and dominate others if given a chance. If these premises are true, then the appeal for African orientation becomes futile, because what is inborn cannot be changed merely by the word of mouth. In any case, if socialism is an attitude of mind, then it is wrong to assert that the traditional African society was homogeneously socialist, because it would be too much of a coincidence for the entire society to be born with a uniform attitude. This leads us to the second shortfall of the concept of socialism as advanced by Mwalimu Nyerere.

Nyerere argues that in the "traditional" African society wealth was equally distributed and that nobody exploited others for purposes of building up his own personal power and prestige. This is amazingly inconsistent with the already established data. First, it is too presumptuous to assume that all traditional African societies behaved uniformly. The mode of behaviour depended, especially, upon the mode of the political system prevailing in each particular society, kingdoms such as Ankole, and Rwanda, had different strata of people within their society. Worse still, each strata was rewarded with wealth according to the status it had in the whole community. In Ruanda and Ankole, the aristocratic Tutsi and Hima respectively had clients. In the context of Ruanda traditional political system, Lucy Mair⁴ indicated that:

Every Hutu sought to be the client of some Tutsi, for the protection entailed in this relationship was highly significant; moreover, the status which the Ruanda scheme of value accorded to the Hutu was such that a Hutu who had a protector was at the mercy of any Tutsi; the Tutsi also sought the protection of other Tutsi richer and more powerful than themselves.⁵

This observation indicates that the Ruanda society had different strata, not only on the basis of aristocratic and non-aristocratic relationship, but also on the basis of wealth, since even some aristocratic Batutsi sought client-

ship from their aristocratic Tutsi, but who were richer than themselves. The lord-client relationship, in fact, can be equated with master-servant relationship in the contemporary capitalistic society thus:

The client had the duty of personal service to his Lord. He followed him on journeys, to court, or to war. He acted as his messenger, and was required to build and keep in repair a length of the reed fence around the Lord's homestead. A Hutu client also had to cultivate fields for his Lord and keep guard outside his house at night. A great man with many clients allotted different jobs among them, such as cooking or brewing.⁶

If, in the light of Julius Nyerere's judgement, this was not exploitation and domination of a man by another, then the two words have lost their meaning. And yet this was purely a traditional African political system, supposedly to be egalitarian in Nyerere's judgement! Even if Nyerere referred to the African traditional societies in the light of Tanganyika, of which he is part and parcel, the idea of an individual failing to amass wealth for his personal gain and domination of others does not arise.

Mirambo of Nyamwezi, who was one of the chiefs of traditional Tanganyika chiefdoms, used any means possible to gain wealth for his personal aggrandizement, for as Ronald Harvey observes:

It was his determination that all caravans must pass through his country and be subjected to dues. His dues were not light, and it is related that the price of ivory was doubled as a result of his policy. He wanted wealth. He offered merchants much security and in turn he wanted them to pay.⁷

Further, the London Missionary Society chronicle in 1884, asserts that: "Every thought of his (Mirambo) is directed towards conquest, plunder and acquisition of territory, the foundation of which is prowess".⁸ Given this evidence, from the traditional African societies, the base upon which Nyerere launches his appeal for the social revolution of Tanzanian peoples and Africa at large, becomes shaky. But even then, his message still holds water, for, any social revolution to be effective, there must be an underlying philosophy by which it can be guided. His philosophy in this regard, is Ujamaa Socialism.

When we examine the Arusha declaration, we discover that the document is a reflection of a well thought, clearly analysed and deep rooted work of a statement. When it was launched in 1967, the Kenya Weekly News commented that: "The document was followed by alarm, despair, despondency, resentment and joy."⁹ Later on, Professor Ali A. Mazrui had this to say about the same document: "Through the Arusha declaration and its aftermath, Julius Nyerere has indeed given Africa an alternative of political boldness."¹⁰ There is no doubt, therefore, that the importance of the Arusha declaration cannot be underestimated. In any case, it forms the core of the social

revolution for Tanzania and Africa in general, as Julius Nyerere spells out thus:

TANU is involved in a war against poverty and oppression in our country; this struggle is aimed at moving the people of Tanzania (*and the people of Africa as a whole*) from a state of poverty to a state of prosperity. We have been oppressed a great deal, we have been exploited a great deal and we have been disregarded a great deal. It is our weakness that has led to our being oppressed, exploited and disregarded. Now we want a *revolution — a revolution** which brings to an end our weakness, so that we are never again exploited, oppressed, or humiliated.¹¹

With the advent of the Arusha declaration, therefore, Ujamaa socialism, which forms the basis for African social revolution, and in particular Tanzanian revolution, seems to have crystallized into a coherent pattern for a more systematic social reorganisation than has ever been before. By looking at the ideals advocated by the declaration, as a step to a more systematic transformation, we can be in position to diversify indices so as to gauge its potential capacity to effect its objectives. A summary of the important aspects of the declaration is crucial here, if we are to understand it in its full perspective.

The first part of the document is the "TANU creed", made up of nine TANU "beliefs" and twelve "TANU principles aim and objectives". These beliefs, aims and objectives describe the underlying philosophy of Ujamaa socialism which is mainly concerned with equal distribution of the limited resources through the central control of major means of production, leading to the establishment of a democratic socialist society.

The second part of the declaration deals with "The policy of socialism". The introduction of this part defines the goals of the declaration. It is better quoted in full than in summary.

A truly socialist state is one in which all people are workers and in which neither capitalism nor feudalism exists. It does not have two classes of people, a lower class composed of people who work for their living and an upper class of people who live on work of others. In a really socialist country no person exploits another; everyone who is physically able to work does so; everyone obtains a just return for the labour he performs; and the incomes derived from different types of work are not grossly divergent!

This definition, like the definition of Ujamaa socialism, examined earlier in this paper, lays emphasis on classlessness and equal distribution of resources among the members of the society. This similarity is no surprise, since the documents in question are not only written by the same author, but have also a common theme. Despite this similarity, there is a remarkable shift in the thinking of the author. His emphasis is no longer on "the attitude of mind" of individuals as prerequisite for the establishment of a socialistic

state. Rather, the emphasis is on the mode of behaviour and patterns of relationship inherent amongst the people in a socialist state. Thus, the author comes down to human realities from a highly intuitive and hypothetical paradise. The confirmation of this shift in the thinking of the author becomes clearer later in the last section of this second part of the declaration: "Socialism is a way of life, and a socialist society cannot simply come into existence. A socialist society can only be built by those who believe in, and who themselves practice, the principles of socialism." Practically, the declaration asserts that in order to build and maintain socialism, there must be centralization of all major means of production, coupled, at the same time, with the establishment of democracy, whereby the government is chosen and led by the peasants and workers themselves.

Part three of the Arusha declaration is not only new in Tanzanian social evolution, but also demands urgency in peoples' orientation towards self-reliance. The part begins with a warning to the Tanzanians, and Africans as a whole, that they are at war against poverty and oppression, and that to win this war a revolution is inevitable. Further, the Tanzanian leader, warns against dependence upon money as a weapon for development. First, there is no enough money. Second, depending upon external aid money would mean selling the political independence which was won with bitterness. He also warns against putting too much emphasis on industries instead of paying heed to the peasants who, in the first place, contribute immensely towards the establishment of urban industries. He emphasises hard work, especially in agriculture as a basis for development, because people and their hard work are the foundation of development, and money is one of the fruits of that hard work. In concluding remarks of this third part, the author pinpoints the priorities for development:

From now on we shall stand upright and walk forward on our feet rather than look at this problem upside down. Industries will come and money will come but their foundation is THE PEOPLE and their HARD WORK, especially in AGRICULTURE. This is the meaning of self-reliance. Our emphasis should therefore be on the land and agriculture, the people, the policy of socialism and self-reliance and good leadership.¹²

The fourth part of the declaration briefly discusses the membership of the ruling organ of TANU. It is here that a radical departure in Nyerere's original conception of TANU's composition manifests itself. Originally, Nyerere had maintained that TANU was to remain as a mass movement with an open membership. In his article "Democracy and the party", and in connection with the party membership, Nyerere had noted that:

Supposing we accept the fact that there is only one party, and stop trying to follow the rules of multi-party system; then as long as TANU membership is open to every citizen, we can conduct our elections in a way which is genuinely free and democratic.¹³

Therefore, Nyerere had concluded that no party which limited its membership to clique could ever free itself from fear of being overthrown by those it had excluded.¹⁴

But the declaration fundamentally departs from this stand. TANU is no longer to be a party of all Tanzanians but a party of the peasant and workers. Even with workers and peasants, if it is discovered that a man does not appear to accept the faith, the objects, the rules and regulation of the party, then he should be deprived of his membership.

This departure, from the original stand, is very fundamental in Tanzanian political philosophy of Ujamaa socialism, which supports, first and foremost, to be incompatible with democracy.

In his discussion on: "Non-liberal democracy: The underdeveloped variant", Professor Macpherson¹⁵ advances three prerequisites for one party democracy. First, the party leaders should be controlled by the rank-and-file within the party, which he "calls intra-party democracy". Second, even with the fullest intra-party democracy, one party state needs, further, to have party membership open to all members of the society. Third, even with these two, one party state may fail to be democratic if the price of participation in the party requires a greater degree of activity than the average person can reasonably be expected to contribute.

The declaration, automatically, rules out the last two conditions above, because the party is only open to peasants and workers which, in essence, discriminates against those who are neither of these two groups of people. If it was open to all, there would not have been any reason to mention the two groups of people who qualify to be members. Even with the peasants and workers as the only qualified members of the party, their membership is not guaranteed till they accept and follow the faith, the objects, the rules and regulations of the party. I would consider these demands too strenuous for the average person to accomplish. In the light of the above interpretation of one party democracy, the Arusha declaration makes the Tanzanian ruling party devoid of democratic tendencies.

The last section of the document concerns itself with the central conduct of TANU members and National leaders. In sum, no TANU or government leader should be associated with either capitalist or feudal practices such as holding shares in any company, receiving more than one salary, becoming a director of any co-operation or owning houses for rent. This implies that a capitalist leader aspirant is not to be hindered, as long as he disengages from his former associations and practices, and rehabilitates his interior values. This gives an echo on what we have already observed that Socialism as an attitude of mind is now out of the game.

An overview of the Arusha declaration would indicate that it is a generalisation of the conceptions expressed by Nyerere in his essays and speeches since early 1958. Only two conceptions appear deviants in this generalization; TANU's restricted membership and the nationalization of major concerns.

With this in mind, how has this document, together with its predecessors, affected the social, political and economic change within the Tanzanian community? In essence, is social revolution in Tanzania attainable given all the proposals its leaders has thrown aboard?

From the analysis of the prevailing conditions in Tanzania, Nyerere believes that the ideology can lay down, in specific terms, a concrete political and economic line for the Tanzanian people to follow. He sees ideas as a cloak behind which reality hides. He believes that ideas help man to control and change his environment.

The remaining part of this paper examines whether or not this conception is wishful thinking. In this regard, I will start with Nyerere's classical idea about Ujamaa as a fundamental basis for the establishment of a classless society that is democratic in form.

To achieve such a society, Nyerere argues, the Tanzanians have to re-educate themselves to regain the traditional African attitude of mind, which in essence, is that of familyhood. The paradox here, is that the developing Tanzania, would like to make the quickest progress in the shortest time possible. As to whether it can ancientize and modernise at the same time remains the problem. Professor Ali A. Mazrui, commenting about Nkrumah on the same issue had this to say:

Involved in this very concept of rebirth is a paradoxical desire—the desire to be grey-haired and wrinkled as a Nation; of wanting to have antiquity. This is directly linked to the crisis of identity. In so far as nations are concerned, there is often a direct correlation between identity and age. The paradox of Nkrumah's ambition for his country was to modernize and ancientize at the time.¹⁶

This quotation about Nkrumah directly applies to Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, who wants his people to re-educate themselves so as to regain the African traditional attitude in the face of the current modern expositions.

In contradiction to what Nyerere advocates in his "Ujamaa—the basis of socialism", he had earlier observed that traditional beliefs, and attitudes had no place in the current (by then Tanganyika). In 1960, referring to the role of chiefs, Nyerere had said:

Tanganyika is not a traditional unit at all, if the chiefs want to have a place in this thing we call Tanganyika, they have got to adapt themselves to the new situation. There is nothing traditional in the central government of Tanganyika today.¹⁷

In 1960 Tanganyika was different from traditional Tanganyika, in 1967, when Nyerere wrote the Arusha declaration, the same nation is bound to have become even more different from the traditional Tanganyika. And yet, this is the period when the head of state is appealing to the people of Tanzania to "re-educate" themselves so as to appreciate and aspire to traditional ideals.

Despite all this, Ujamaa villages have been established, as a measure

to re-educate the Tanzanians to aspire to the African traditional ideas so as, later, to establish a classless society. This was the political aim. The economic aims, however, behind Ujamaa Ujijini were twofold: First, that families should be clustered together so as to ease the difficulties of providing expert agricultural advice and other services like, schools, hospitals, infrastructure, etc. Second, to improve the level of agricultural technology and methods of cultivation so as, ultimately, to increase crop production, as Nyerere well points out thus:

"...and if you ask me why government wants us to live in villages, the answer is simple: unless we do we shall not be able to provide ourselves with the things we need to develop our land and to raise our standard of living.¹⁸

The problem, however, comes in when we start analysing the setbacks involved in the implementation of this Ujamaa Ujijini policy. Issa G. Shivji¹⁹ mentions two important limitations.

1. Complete lack of any analysis of the differentiation among the peasantry in the area concerned and which sections can be potentially mobilized to effect the programme and which sections are likely to oppose it.
2. Bureaucratic (as opposed to democratic) and technocratic (as opposed to political) methods in implementing the programme.

The first limitation above, implies that not everybody in Tanzania can be mobilized to appreciate living in Ujamaa villages. Despite this, no analysis has been made to find out those who would appreciate and those who are completely opposed to the idea. This lack of analysis has led to some people forced into Ujamaa villages. Some of those forced ones do not have Ujamaa socialism, as a political philosophy, at heart, and they used the villages as their base to dominate others while at the same time exploiting the advantages of the programme. As Shivji once again says:²⁰

It should hardly be surprising that the lack of a discriminatory attitude toward the different strata of the peasantry has only resulted in the control of Ujamaa villages by the rich peasants or the so called government "staff". In either case the poor and the middle peasants remain politically dominated and economically exploited.

And yet the aims of the whole exercise was to exterminate domination and exploitation!

The second limitation given by Shivji implies that force has been used to get people into Ujamaa villages. This notion is supported by Frehold who writes that: "...ranging from threats to forced transport from old homes to short prison sentences under the pretext of tax arrears or minimum acreage violation."²¹

As mentioned earlier in this paper, social revolution, unlike political revolution, would better imply persuasion, other than coercion, as a method

to achieve its objectives. The use of force to cluster people in Ujamaa villages does not only fail to reflect the democratic tendencies it purports to promote, but is also inhuman and lacks direction. It is not surprising, that Dr. Kierru, regional commissioner of Iringa, was shot dead by one of the rich peasants attempting to mobilize peasants into Ujamaa villages.²²

This does not only show the use of inadequate method of mobilization, it also goes further to indicate that the policy behind Ujamaazation, does not have the blessing of the people it claims to serve. This is very crucial, in as far as revolution, in any form, is concerned. In order for any movement to be called a revolution, the whole framework of a society must be involved in it, and it must know its objectives and direction. A revolution, therefore, calls for commitment of those involved in it, ideologically sound and trained personnel, to explain its objectives and to give it a direction. It is not a question of few conscientious leaders, it is a question of political consciousness of all members of the society.

In the case of Tanzania, the TANU leaders, all of whom of course may not be committed to the party ideology, find themselves engulfed in an ocean of people who are not only ignorant of the party policy, but some of whom are even opposed to the policy. To claim, therefore, that the Tanzanian revolution will be effective in the near future, would not only be utopian but would rather be trying to nurse unhealing wound.

The role of the TANU party in the social revolution

The importance and role of a party in any social revolution cannot at any rate, be underestimated. David Apter²³ observes that in the area of political modernization, no single role is of greater importance than that of the party politician—since the primary function of parties is to organize public opinion and test attitudes and transmit these to government officials and leaders so that the rulers and the ruled are in a reasonably close accord. (Note that I am not confusing political modernization for social revolution, for it must be realised that the former is an ingredient of the latter.)

The role and aims of TANU in the political life of Tanzania are well stipulated in the party constitution. In sum, TANU serves as an inducement of solidarity and gives direction to the Tanzanian people. It is expected to achieve and maintain the goals of the state and public support. In so doing, eliminating all forms of inequality through the establishment of a democratic socialist state.

As to whether or not the party achieves these objectives is yet another matter. Henry Bienen²⁴ describes TANU as a National Institution that is not controlled from a central party headquarters. But rather that it is like a tree with many roots and branches that strike deep in some places but find no soil in which to grow in others. While the trunk of the tree is always clearly visible, some of the roots and branches have strayed so far and become so entangled in bush that their relationship to the main trunk may appear tenuous if visible at all.

This analogy implies that the party does not have evenly distributed support from the people of Tanzania. Neither is its influence evenly distributed over the whole of Tanzania. It further implies that it is neither controlled from the party headquarters, meaning the central executive nor from the grassroot masses. The "trunk" given in the analogy, ultimately remains the party. This trunk is obviously Nyerere who, with his charismatic leadership, has dominated the political scene of Tanzania so much that to think of the party is to think of Nyerere. This domination of the party by one man has made the party lack intellectual elites needed for the creation of grassroot mass involvement in the party politics and programmes. As G. Arrighi and J. Saul²⁵ observe; the lack of Tanzanian revolutionary intellectuals is a striking feature, suggesting a possible future drag upon the policy of genuinely transforming the nature of the elite. Thus, Nyerere continues to be the father, and the role of his subordinates, from whom they emanate, remain undefined.

However, his policy of self-reliance, if it had sufficient prophets to spread its gospel, would inevitably have positive results towards the achievement of social revolution. Also the nationalisation of all important economic concerns, if well administered would be a very contributive measure towards the equal distribution of the scarce available resources to the entire Tanzanian populace. The faults of poor administration are already evident in the Kilimanjaro region.

Thus, nationalisation if badly administered can intensify the exploitation, oppression and domination of the poor peasants and in so doing, draws even sharper lines of class differentiation of society than ever before. This is suicidal. It would be better not to engage in the exercise so as to kill the cock in order to save the hen. This would not be socialism. This would be capitalism restored.

CONCLUSION

Social revolutions, like any other revolutions, demand mass participation; the involvement of which makes the people conscious and aware of the goals, aims and objectives for which the revolution set off to achieve. A revolution led by a handful of elites without a following of grassroot masses is no revolution. If it is at all, it is a revolution without revolutionaries; which is a contradiction in terms. What is apparent is that there can be a set of revolutionary ideas. But such revolutionary ideas use revolutionaries to implement them. If the latter are not there, and cannot possibly be made, then the revolution cannot take off the ground on its own accord. Neither can the author of such revolutionary ideas be sufficient enough to implement his ideas alone to effect a revolution. There can never be a revolution of, and by, one man. This would be fantasy.

Nyerere writes of a revolution for which he appeals to Africans to re-educate themselves so as to regain the traditional African attitude. He neither provides the school nor the sufficient teachers to effect the re-education

process. He provides ideas but they cannot transmit themselves. The transmission process needs the teacher well versed in the pros and cons of the ideas. It also needs a very patient, longing mind to absorb them. The ideas, must therefore, be agreeable to both parties; the teacher and the student, otherwise a disagreement that may result into a feud is evident. It is undeniable a fact that some of the ideas Nyerere expounds, would transform the Tanzanian society into a more progressive one than it has been hitherto. But these ideas need to be diffused into the entire Tanzanian society, if their objectives are to be achieved. This diffusion process needs prophets who are very dedicated to the cause of these objectives. They have to be many, and in addition, to know the direction and destiny of these objectives.

As we have observed, Tanzania lacks these dedicated intellectuals to give the revolution shape and direction. The party members are overshadowed by the charismatic glamour of the protagonist of the revolution. And it appears, this has not enabled them to exploit, in full, their political potentialities. The intellectual elites that would be the vanguards of the revolution want also to have a share on the bigger cake of the nation. They claim that they have toiled for more than half of their lifetime for it. But to get such a bigger share on a national cake is anti-socialism. There has to be equal distribution of the scarce economic resources. So the intellectuals are denied what they consider to be their due share. They refuse, therefore, to be active members of a revolution that undermines their interests. Therefore, the party is devoid of such resourceful brains that would form a concrete foundation for the continuity and success of the revolution.

Further, social revolution, unlike political revolution, is very gradual. It needs time and a vigorous socialization process, both to make the unwanted values forgotten and to inculcate the new wanted values into the minds of the people. With the realization that Tanzanian Education for self-reliance aims at the creation of the type of people Tanzania wants for her development, on the basis of Ujamaa socialism philosophy as a guideline for this development, it is hoped that the future political trends in Tanzania will be different from the current ones. A school is one of the socialising agents. The school recipients after their socialisation would, in turn, socialise the rest of the populace. Such a reciprocal process would have positive results towards the appreciation and accomplishment of Tanzanian social revolutionary ideals. Only time will tell!

FOOTNOTES

1. The First of September Revolution Achievements 1969-1974, General Administration for information, Tripoli, L.A.R., 1974, pp. 12-13.
2. Ujamaa can be translated as familyhood.
3. *Freedom and Unity*, Oxford University Press, Dar es Salaam, 1966, pp. 162-171.

4. The Hutu were and still are the peasantry class of Rwanda who were dominated and subjected by the aristocratic Tutsi.
5. Lucy Mair, *Primitive Government* (Hazell Watson and Viney Ltd., Aylesbury, 1962), p. 168.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 169.
7. Ronald J. Harvey, "Mirambo", *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, Vol. 28, 1948-50, p. 25.
8. *London Missionary Society Chronicles*, 1884, p. 17.
9. "What the World Thought," *Weekly News*, March 3rd, 1967, p. 14.
10. Ali A. Mazrui, "Tanzaphilia" in *Transition*, No. 31, June, 1967, p. 21.
11. J. Nyerere, The Arusha Declaration, Social and Selfreliance in *Freedom and Socialism*, Oxford University Press, E. Africa, 1968, p. 233.
12. Nyerere, The Arusha Declaration and TANU's policy on Socialism and Selfreliance in *Ujamaa Essays on Socialism*, p. 33.
13. Nyerere, *Freedom and Unity*, p. 200.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 201.
15. Macpherson, C. B., *The Real World of Democracy* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1966), pp. 27-28.
16. Ali A. Mazrui, Nkrumah the Leninist Tzar. On Heroes and Uhuru—worship, *Essays on Independent Africa*, London, Longmans, 1967, p. 131.
17. Burke, F. Tanganyika, The Search for Ujamaa in C. Roseberg, W. Friesland, *African Socialism*, p. 201.
18. Nyerere, *Freedom and Unity*, pp. 183-4.
19. Shivji, *Class Struggle in Tanzanian* (Tanzania Publishing House, Dar es Salaam), 1975, p. 108.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 108.
21. Quoted by M. Mbilinyi, The Translation to Capitalism in Rural Tanzania. University of Dar es Salaam Department of Education, 1974, p. 35.
22. Witi, A., Class Struggle in Rural Society in Tanzania, p. 34.
23. David Apter, *Politics of Modernization* (University of Chicago Press, 1965), p. 267.
24. Henry Bienen, *Tanzanian: Party Transformation and Economic Development*, p. 80.
25. Arrighi and J. Saul, "Social and Economic Development" in *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 2, p. 165.

THE POLICY OF CENTRALIZATION OF EDUCATION IN UGANDA FROM 1964 to 1971

E. L. GUMISIRIZA, *Faculty of Education, Makerere University.*

INTRODUCTION

The primary task of this article is to analyse and examine the factors that prompted the then Uganda central government to introduce and intensify the policy of strong control of the system of education, a policy they knew was sensitive and controversial. Was it political factors? Was it economic factors or was it purely 'educational' considerations or a combination of all these elements? Was it an inevitable step to take? In short, is there a case really to sustain the government action?

Furthermore, an attempt will be made to sketch out what actually the policy of state control of education that was adopted in 1964 meant in practical terms. It is not my intention to assess the impact the policy of centralisation has had on the quality of education in terms of, say, performance in Primary Leaving and E.A.C.E. examinations or efficiency in the administration of education. Such an exercise is beyond the scope of this article.

One point deserves explanation at this stage for clarity's sake before plunging into full examination of the issue. That is the significance of the years 1964 and 1971 as starting and closing points of the discussion respectively. On the one hand, 1964 is regarded as a turning point in the development of education in Uganda because it is presumed that that is when the central government began to take a strong grip on the education system as a whole. That is when the policy of strong central government control was inaugurated. The year 1971, on the other hand, is regarded as crucial in the history of our education system in respect to the issue of central government control because it can be said that it closed the chapter that was begun in 1964. That is when the consolidation of the policy embarked upon in 1964 reached a climax with the abolition of District Councils and District Education Committees.

GENERAL REMARKS ABOUT STATE CONTROL OF EDUCATION

Since 1962, the year Uganda attained independence, a number of far-reaching political, economic and social changes have taken place in the country. Whereas some of these changes have had a relatively easy passage, others have met with apathy and sometimes resistance largely because of their radical nature. One of these changes, which is the main concern of this

article, is to do with the policy changes in the administration and control of education. The most striking feature about this subject is that it was controversial and indeed it generated most heated debate in parliament, the press and the public as a whole.

The fact that it became controversial is not surprising at all. It is partly because of varying views people generally hold regarding the best way to manage or administer institutions or business in order to ensure equality of opportunity and efficiency.

It is arguable, for instance, that the most appropriate method to attain democracy and efficiency at the same time is by devolution of powers and responsibilities at the centre and their distribution to the regions or local authorities/government.¹ Equally significant, as a source of friction sometimes between the progressives and the state on the one hand, and the church on the other, is the latter's strong claims to be responsible for the provision and control of education rather than the state.² Such arguments and counter arguments of course raise the fundamental question of the role of the parent in determining the type of education for his children and the extent to which he should influence the process of imparting that education.³ It can also be argued, with justification, that education is a national social service. The public pay for it and therefore every citizen is entitled to equal educational opportunities, and that the state is the sole reliable 'watchdog' of the interests and general well being of all the citizens regardless of their social background and religious beliefs. Indeed, it is ultimately responsible for the national policy of education. It is incumbent upon it therefore to 'lead boldly'.⁴ It is in this broad context that the issue of the government takeover of schools and colleges from the voluntary agencies in Uganda in the years following independence will be considered.

THE FACTORS THAT MADE THE GOVERNMENT CENTRALISE EDUCATION

In January 1964, just over one year after the attainment of independence, the central government decided to take over the government-aided primary and secondary schools and the Teacher Training Colleges, thus ending the system of partnership between the voluntary agencies and the state in education, a partnership which had been in existence since 1925 when the government began to be actively involved in the operation of education. Further, it will be recalled that when the government was introducing the policy of takeover of schools, the Minister argued that they wanted to encourage the local governments to take a more active part in education. But by the end of 1960s it was apparent that the District Education Committees had been weakened rather than strengthened in control and management of education. So the question that must be asked is, first, what prompted

the government to want to phase the voluntary agencies out of control and administration of education? and, second, what made the government move so swiftly against the LEAS?

One of the chief concerns of the central government immediately after independence was how to use the system of education to bring about rapid economic progress on the one hand, as had been recommended by the International Bank Economic Commission in 1961, and to promote political integration in the country on the other. As a first step, the government set up an Education Commission to 'examine the content and structure of education and to consider how it might best be improved and adapted to the needs of the country'.⁵ One thing became apparent straightaway. The government was aware of its weak position in education. It was therefore determined to exert its influence on the educational policy more than was known hitherto. This was demonstrated by its attitude in trying to clarify the ambiguities about the position of the central government in relationship with the local governments and the voluntary agencies in matters to do with distribution of responsibility and administration in the system of education. It is in this context that the factors that motivated the government to embark on this controversial educational measure of complete takeover of schools should be considered.

In discussing the factors it is important to look at both "stated and unstated", reasons for the takeover. These can be divided into two broad categories—the remote or indirect reasons, and the direct ones.

THE INDIRECT FACTOR(S) — THE IMPACT OF THE REPORTS OF 1961-1962

Three influential reports were produced in 1961-62. These were: (i) The International Bank Economic Mission: Its prime purpose was to make comprehensive recommendations for economic development after independence. (ii) The Uganda Teachers' Salaries Commission. It set out the teachers' conditions and terms of service in an independent Uganda. (iii) The Munster Report. This was concerned with constitutional issues—the structure of government at independence.

The point at issue is the extent to which these important powerful reports influenced the government in formulating its policy of 'Responsibility and Control' in education in 1963. It seems that these reports had considerable impact in shaping the government line of thinking on the matter. What is most interesting is that all three reports presented the same view that the denominational system of education was wrong and ought to be abolished. It is important to note that this view was contrary to the recommendations of the Castle Report on which the overall new government education policy was based. It recommended the retention of voluntary management and supervision in schools and a certain amount of denominational system.⁶ The line

the government followed was that recommended by the other three reports. Was this a coincidence or can it be assumed that the politicians in 1963, when they were considering the Castle Report and the government's position on the issue of control and administration of education, took a serious view of what these reports had expressed a few years earlier?

The International Bank Commission's comments and criticisms on the denominational system, as it operated, were stinging and inspiring. The report strongly criticised the unco-ordinated system and its uneconomic extravagance. It said:

... in some areas there are sometimes two or three schools serving a limited school population where one would suffice. Each of these schools is relatively small and has been established to meet the competitive requirements of different religious denominations. This duplication is unwise economically and socially. It involves multiple sets of buildings and grounds to maintain duplication of administration and supervision, the need for several headmasters, more unfilled places on the present staffing methods and a dissipation of staff strength. Furthermore, a social cleavage tends to be created.⁷

The Mission, therefore, proposed that large multi-denominational schools in which provision for separate instruction in the various religious faiths should be made, should be organised.⁸

The Uganda Teachers' Salaries Commission also bitterly attacked the system of education on the same grounds—that it was denominational, discriminative and wasteful. The report had this to say:

The denominational nature of the schools, together with considerable insistence on separate education for sexes, has tended still further to prevent educational units of adequate size from developing. The result is that very many schools are too small to be fully effective as educational or economic units. Further, it is common for places in a school to be vacant, which may well be true also of a neighbouring school of a different denomination. Thus the system of small units for each denomination is wasteful both of money and of teachers...⁹

The Munster Commission whose task it was to recommend the type of relationship between central and local governments in the event of independence, echoed the same message and expressed great concern about dangers inherent in a fragmented system of education encouraged by the voluntary agencies.¹⁰

Surely the impact of such comments on a government desirous to make economies in education and to unite the country, cannot be minimised. In short, the criticisms expressed by these reports in the period prior to independence were clear. It seems therefore that the political leaders were impressed by these criticisms and suggestions when they were deciding whether or not to abolish 'denominationalism' in the system of education in 1963/64.

THE DIRECT FACTORS

At this level there seems to be three major reasons why the government adopted the policy of total control of education: (a) national and political aspirations; (b) financial considerations; (c) administrative and educational considerations.

(a) *National and political aspirations*

The national and political aspirations of the government might have ranked as the key single reason that dictated the course of action the government took in adopting the policy of centralised state control of education. First and foremost, the attainment of independence, coupled with a fluid political situation that prevailed, made the government so anxious as to pursue policies that would promote rapid economic development and foster national harmony and 'heal divisions' in the country. The political role of education in this matter of national unity was to be crucial. Indeed, as Donald Rothchild and Michael Rogin have rightly observed:

As in so many countries where education is the key to economic development, efficient administration, and personal advancement, educational policy has not remained insulated from politics in Uganda. Three problems have received attention particularly: the proper rate and nature of educational expansion, influence on the school system and academic content and standards.¹¹

The important question to ask is: In what way did the government perceive education to make it foster the desired national consciousness, a thing that seemed politically sensitive? A. Nsibambi has, by implication, suggested that they wanted to do it by means of indoctrination. He writes:

This struggle was, however, more important than controlling buildings *per se*; it entailed either acquiring or retaining a decisive role of controlling and conditioning the minds of students, their belief and styles of life during their formative period...¹²

However, this proposition is questionable. It is doubtful that the government actually intended to use direct political doctrine in schools in order to cultivate the spirit of nationhood among the youth. David Evans' recent study into 'Teachers as agents of national development in Uganda' does not substantiate Nsibambi's assertion. He says:

Attempts to study these forms of "manifest socialization" in East African school context are somewhat frustrating because of the almost total absence of civic classes or other obvious forms of content explicitly designed to teach citizenship roles. A study of thirty secondary schools in Uganda showed that such practices (i.e. symbols and ritual) were notable for their absence. For example, only 22 per cent of the schools displayed the national flag more than twice a term, and less than 10 per cent of the schools sang the national anthem more than several times a term.¹³

The government would have made deliberate effort to persuade or force the schools to teach 'citizenship' and make use of the symbols and rituals referred to by Evans, more widely if what they had in mind was pure political indoctrination. What the government had in mind, it seems, was more indirect but equally effective way of forgoing national unity among the youth and the people as a whole. One of these methods hinged on the firmly held belief that by teaching children of different religious faiths and ethnic backgrounds together, and if their teachers were themselves trained in inter-denominational colleges, it would be much easier to pave the way for nation building. A detailed discussion of whether or not a policy based on this kind of belief would succeed to bring about the desired goal of political socialization in the Uganda situation is beyond the scope of this article. Suffice it to say that Gould's study¹⁴ in 1972 about 'planning the location of schools' in Uganda in general and Ankole in particular concludes that the policy of 'national intake' in secondary schools intended to create a feeling of patriotism among the students, has generally failed.¹⁵

A reference to the denominational schools in Uganda has already been made in connection with the three reports. It has been argued, with justification, that 'religion' in Uganda and indeed in many other countries is or has been in the past a divisive agent. I have already pointed out that voluntary agencies operated schools on denominational lines. The disadvantages of this system have already been highlighted. It is pertinent to recall two relevant historical events through which bitter rivalry between the Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries and the Muslims was manifested in the country in general and the system of education in particular.

Firstly, there was the religious wars in Buganda in the last quarter of the 19th century, based on, first, the traditional differences between the Protestant and Roman Catholic churches in Europe,¹⁶ and second, on the colonial power politics of the time. Those religious division elements were unfortunately carried into the education system. In Ankole, for instance, as in other parts of the country, it was a common practice for the missionaries to build primary schools close to each other with little regard for educational priorities such as the location of schools in relation to population for no reason other than competition and rivalry sentiments. J. Ssekamwa has summed up the point in his paper, *The Development of Education in Uganda 1939-1960*, thus:

... the history of setting up schools in Uganda had shown a keen competition between the Native Anglican Church and the Roman Catholic Church for denominational purposes. But it bred a lot of undesirable characteristics in the running of schools. . . . Catholic and Protestant pupils studying in these rival schools used to treat each other as enemies rather than friends and usually battles were fought on their way home. This spirit of rivalry was hard to live down even in adult life so that society was divided up on the basis of religion.¹⁷

The second event was the churches' tendency to get directly involved in the political campaigns of the late 1950s and early 1960s. What happened in Ankole, according to the writer's eye witness experience, is a case in point. (i) The selection of the members of the Legislative Council from Ankole District Council (it has now been divided in two districts—East Ankole and West Ankole) in 1959 was influenced by religious leanings—Protestants versus Roman Catholics. The Protestant Bairu* members in the District Council were prepared to ally with Protestant Bahima members to select a Muhima Protestant representative although the socio-political relationship between these two ethnic groups was always not cordial, rather than support their fellow Mwiru Roman Catholic candidate. (ii) Similarly, the Ankole District Council elections of 1961 and 1962 were fought on religious grounds—the Protestant Establishment on the one hand and the Roman Catholic population on the other. The Muslims took the middle course in these struggles for power with a view to allying with the winning faction. (iii) The national general elections in the district in 1961 and 1962 were also fought on religious lines. The religious leanings were manifested in the political parties. The Roman Catholics rallied behind the Democratic Party, and the Protestants projected their political activities through the Uganda People's Congress. The majority of Muslims leaned towards Kabaka Yekka or 'Kabaka alone'

Looking at the politics on the national scene, it is again noticeable that a similar pattern prevailed. F. B. Welbourn gives a view of what happened. Firstly, he says that in 1962 general elections, the Democratic Party was known as 'Dini' ya Papa (the religion of the Pope) and the Uganda People's Congress was referred to as the United Protestant Church of Canterbury.¹⁸ This view is reinforced by Leys Colins, when he argues that the Catholic missionaries were called the 'bafranza' (frenchmen) and the British ones were known as 'baingereza' (englishmen).¹⁹

Secondly, in reference to the attitude towards religion and politics, by the ordinary people, he makes this interesting observation:

In 1962 the equation of the DP with Catholics, and the UPC with Protestants was still generally made throughout the country. More than one report—from both missionaries and anthropologists—was received of men in Ankole and Kigezi who, when asked 'what is your religion?' replied, UPC. In one instance the question was pressed: 'I meant', "Have you been baptised?"—and was answered, 'YES' 'WE'RE UPC'.²⁰

One member of parliament advanced the same point when he remarked in parliament that:

You will find that some missionaries are going out baptising . . . people and saying, Mr. Sejaryo you are a Christian and member of the Democratic Party.²¹

*There were (are) two ethnic groups of people in Ankole: the Bairu—cultivators, and the Bahima—pastoralists

It was in the light of these experiences that some people, especially politicians, regarded religion as an obstacle to unifying a fragmented society which had just attained independence.²² Therefore the government philosophy right from the beginning was that, to use Donald Flatt's expression, 'Spiritual and ethical values would not be the major goal; they would be acceptable in so far, and only in so far, as they subserved and contributed to the secular aims'.²³

The political nature of the denominational system became more apparent in the debate in parliament on the Sessional Paper No. 4 on education; and the subsequent measures that were adopted to consolidate and implement the policy. In his argument in defence of the government's proposed policy, the Minister of Education asserted that the introduction of an inter-denominational system and complete state control of schools was an inevitable phenomenon. He declared that:

We are building a nation. A new nation of Uganda has to be forged from various tribal fragments which the system of indirect rule threw together at the eve of independence. The surest way of uniting our country is through a common education system.²⁴

The fundamental point to grasp here is that if education was to be a spearhead of unity, its aims, structure and machinery of administration must, of necessity, be reshaped. This message obviously cut across the existing denominationally based institutions. It was in this spirit that the minister declared that:

In the interests of our national building, the government would like to encourage the children of this nation to grow closer together, not as Protestants, or Muslims or Catholics or Bahais or Greek Orthodox, etc., but as one people belonging to one nation.²⁵

The minister also advocated that people, after gaining independence, had the right to exercise control over areas of economic and social development. The birth of independence had brought with it a great demand for expansion of educational facilities. Naturally it was the central government that was duty bound to meet that demand. While the protectorate government was prepared to compromise with the voluntary agencies in the matters of control and administration, the new government felt it had no obligation to do so. It had been directly elected; its success or failure would be judged by the people on its record of performance in providing the services the people needed.²⁶ So the minister declared in parliament:

We must have our full share of Uhuru (independence) and be fully and really free at last. Otherwise I am afraid we will encourage neo-colonialism through the agency of the church.

The implication here was that although the church was basically locally controlled especially the Anglican Church as already said, Christian religion as well as Islam were looked at as foreign doctrines. The 'Mission groups'

were equated with the former colonial powers. It was therefore emphasised that the voluntary agencies could no longer be left to have the 'entire stake' in the system of education as the case used to be in the past.

Therefore in 1964 the entire operation of administering primary education was centred in the office of District Education Officers, thus removing the voluntary agencies from legal control, management and inspection of schools except the private ones. In 1965 a new common primary school syllabus was introduced in order to gear the school curriculum to the country's needs. In 1967 the ministry began to appoint assistant inspectors of schools specially for primary schools and posted them to the districts. Although this was a positive step aimed at improving the quality of education, it must be stressed that one inspector for a whole district was obviously inadequate. Moreover, it is doubtful whether the new inspectors were well qualified for the job. True, the appointments were competitive and based on merit—performance as teachers and length of service. However, none of them had been trained specially for the new posts. Furthermore, the DEOs and their assistants were employees of the ministry. They were merely seconded to the LEAS for duty. In all probability, therefore, they were bound to act as representatives of the ministry on the 'spot' rather than as civil servants of the LEAS. This was not a healthy thing since it tended to encourage problems of compliance and squabbles for authority and responsibilities between the DEOs on the one hand and the DECAs on the other.²⁷

The introduction of a republic constitution in 1967 by which the country was put under ONE government machinery which enabled the national Ministry of Education* to 'acquire greater formal capacity to speed up the process of controlling and centralising the administration of education',²⁸ the introduction of the District Administrations Act by which the District Commissioner—the central government official—was given more overriding powers in the district over the local government officials; the decision of the government to become the sole employer of teachers and not the voluntary agencies or the LEAS; the decision to introduce new Education Management Committee Rules in 1964 and to revise them in 1969, by which the voluntary agencies were phased out of education and central authority increased; the centralisation of purchase of school furniture and teaching materials and equipment in 1967, were all, to mention but a few, natural consequences of the government's desire to implement and consolidate the policy.

(b) *Financial considerations*

So far I have been talking about the political aspect of the matter and how it impinged on the government thinking when they were formulating the new policy of education. We now turn our attention to the financial arguments which the government advanced to justify its new measures. It

*The kingdom districts—Buganda, Ankole, Bunyoro, Toro had a Minister of Education each.

must be pointed out here that the financial considerations were closely linked with the political ones.

First of all it must be stressed that financing of education by the state and the state control or its attempts to control education is sometimes a source of serious confrontation between the government and the church and/or local authorities. The underlying cause of such friction is understandable. The logical tendency is that the more the state pays to finance education, the more is its corresponding desire to intervene and exercise more control to see that the money is well used. What President Nyerere, a strong exponent of the principle that education in poor countries should benefit all the masses who pay for it rather than the 'elite' exclusively, has said is directly relevant to the arguments of the Minister of Education in parliament in 1964. He says:

It is now time that we looked again at the justification for a poor society like ours spending almost 20 per cent of its government revenues on providing education for its children and young people, and begin to consider what that education should be doing. For in our circumstances it is impossible to devote shillings 147,300,000 every year on education for some of our children (while others go without) unless its result has a proportionate relevance to the society we are trying to create.²⁹

The implication of these remarks is twofold: firstly, that any national government is duty-bound to control the money voted from the public purse for education or other services. The government must ensure that the education offered is of satisfactory quality and quantity to justify heavy public expenditure on it. Secondly, it is implied that the government must control the entire educational operation to ensure that the system responds to the needs of the country. That is why the Uganda government became determined, whatever the voluntary agencies or other sections of the community felt, to streamline the whole system of financial machinery and educational management. This, of course, necessitated removing the voluntary agencies from any dealings in school financial transactions.

As already hinted the educational expenditure since 1962 had been increasing steadily while the voluntary contributions had become less significant. The Ministry of Education estimated recurrent expenditure alone on education for the financial year 1962/63 was £2.5 million, i.e. 14 per cent of the total national budget. At the end of the financial year 1967/68, education alone received about 16 per cent of the total government recurrent expenditure, the largest share of government's recurrent expenditure. This percentage had risen to about 25 per cent at the end of 1968/69 financial year.³⁰

It was in tune with this heavy public expenditure on education that the government felt it must control not only the actual process of spending in order to economise, but also to exercise control over the curriculum, teacher

training and the employment of teachers. It was further argued that the existing mission machinery for checking the school accounts was inefficient. This is what the minister termed 'financial mismanagement'. He pointed out that the mission supervisors were 'wasting the taxpayers' hard earned money'. "Indeed", he said, "there was such inefficiency in financial supervision that the situation was truly frightening. At one supervisor's office, money was getting lost; a man committed suicide (for fear of arrest perhaps*). At others, people were out on trial. At yet others there had been at times of grumbling discontent about school financial control. Headmasters have been lending money to businessmen, with interest to themselves".³¹

According to the minister the situation in financial mismanagement in schools warranted drastic government intervention with the hope that things would improve. With effect from the beginning of 1964 the school financial affairs would be handled by the District Education Officers. The voluntary agencies, especially the Roman Catholic Church, resisted the move but the government persisted. The voluntary agencies eventually gave in.³²

Another facet of the argument was that the school supervisors (about 54) and their assistants, plus Secretary-Generals (3 of them) and the Educational Secretaries (about 12) were all paid by the central government—salaries, travelling expenses and allowance incurred on duty. For example, the Protestant Educational Secretary-General's salary was in the range of lower super scale; i.e. 36,780 shillings per year; that of the School Supervisor was about 12,720 shillings per year; and the Educational Secretary was paid over 15,600 shillings p.a. The government felt, first, that the abolition of the supervisory posts would make "some sizeable savings".³³ However, whether or not the government would save money in this way is doubtful since there would be as many civil servants to pay, i.e. the Education Officers and their assistants and their supporting staff, e.g. Executive Officers, accountants, clerks, as the mission supervisors. Secondly, the government's view was that even if the abolition of the school supervisors did not result in financial savings, it should appoint its own staff on its own terms to replace the church officials. For one thing the government civil servants would be directly responsible to the central authority; for another, it was hoped they would manage the school finances more efficiently. But this is open to question, because the evidence seems to suggest that the embezzlement of school funds is still apparent. The situation in Ankole Education Office is a case to note. It is true that up to 1972 Ankole District was in constant debt with the Uganda Schools Supply Limited when in fact the school fees were paid regularly and the central and local government grants were paid in time. Why should this kind of state of affairs exist? Perhaps part of the answer lies in the number of officials who have been convicted for offences connected with embezzlement of school funds at the DEO's office since 1966. These

*Words in brackets are mine.

include two accountants, one clerk, one school furniture contractor and one Education Officer. G. Bennar's study on education in Sebei District indicates similar financial problems.⁸⁴

What happened in practical terms is that with effect from the beginning of 1964 the headmasters, after collecting school money—school fees, building fund and money for meals—were required to pay it to the DEO's office. The money was then kept in a 'pool' on the same account of the school. Henceforth no money would be kept by the voluntary agencies. The DEO was solely responsible for regulating and controlling expenditure of each school. Theoretically, the Management Committee of each school was supposed to help him as it was responsible for the estimates of the school. Ideally also, the monies such as building fund contributed voluntarily by the parents belonged to a particular school; it would be used 'purely' for the purpose for which it was collected. Spending of such money would be carried out in accordance with the wishes of the parents concerned and the DEO.

Another financial matter over which the government intervened directly was the primary teachers' salaries. Prior to the new policy the teachers were paid by the government through the voluntary agencies who were their employers. After 1964 the government decided to become the sole employer of the teachers. This meant that the government would not only foot the salary bill but would also carry out the actual payment of the salaries itself. In consequence, the Ministries of Education and Regional Administration made available 'Block Grants' to the Local Governments for teachers' salaries. Then the treasurers of respective local governments allocated the money to the DEOs who in turn made the payments. In 1968 the Ministry of Education assumed total direct responsibility for paying the teachers' salaries. An accounting unit was set up at the ministry's headquarters in Kampala to handle the primary teachers' salaries. At the district level an accounting unit for the teachers' salaries was also set up separate from the school fees account. Consequently, the ministry sent the money for the salaries directly to that account and not to the District Administration Treasurer. This then finally cleared away the mist which had surrounded the question of employer of the primary teachers after the voluntary agencies had been phased out—the Local Government or the Central Government. The secondary school teachers were paid directly from the headquarters. Cheques for the teachers' salaries were sent to the headmasters who transacted payments.

(c) *Educational and administrative considerations*

There were two other matters on which the government focused its attention in formulating its policy of state control. One was the need to improve the educational standards which it believed were hampered by the poor administration and supervision provided by the voluntary agencies.

The Minister of Education complained in parliament that 'Voluntary Agencies had stopped being agents supervising' and had instead become 'masters'. He stated that missionary supervisors had to end in order to streamline the system and make it more efficient.

This line of thinking seemed to be in tune with Castle's recommendation for a strong coherent administrative machinery that would make the kind of educational development the report envisaged possible. Although the report supported the idea of retention of voluntary agencies in the ownership, management and supervision of primary education, they were equally clear in their proposal that the government's role in control, planning and directing the general development of education should be increased. To achieve that sort of administrative machinery would necessitate overhauling the old one.

Two things, however, should be noted. First, some of the former school supervisors were appointed either Education Officers or Assistant Education Officers. Obviously some (if not all) of those appointed were loyal to their former masters—the voluntary agencies. The letter below in which the writer, a former school supervisor, and later on Assistant Education Officer, pledged his support for the church in the struggle against the new educational policy, illustrates the point. He said:

I and my staff... wish the church every educational success in the difficult years that lie ahead. We, on our part, will do all we can to fight for the Catholic Church even if it be from a different angle of the battlefield.³⁵

Whether such people would willingly and enthusiastically implement the new government policy which was essentially anti-voluntary agencies is definitely questionable.

Secondly, there was no refresher course(s) for the newly appointed officers in the new posts. So whether it would be possible to improve the standard of efficiency the minister talked about in the debate remained to be seen. The saying that you cannot teach an old dog new tricks is definitely relevant to the situation here. The administrative problems that were experienced in Sebei after the introduction of the new policy, as explained by G. Benjamins in a study already referred to is a case to note. Such problems arose because of, among other things, inexperienced newly appointed officers. It should be noted that whenever an experienced education officer was posted to Sebei things improved.³⁶

The most serious disadvantage of missionary supervision was the duplication of the inspection of schools to which a reference has already been made in regard to the criticisms contained in the 'reports' of 1961-62. It was a common practice for three primary schools, each belonging to a different denomination in the same geographical proximity, to be inspected by the three different denominational supervisors at the same time. Two disturbing

things are apparent. In the first place if one of the missions was poorly staffed it necessarily meant inadequate inspection of schools resulting in poor educational standards, and discontent among the parents. In the second place, if there was such disparity in inspection of schools and yet the government was paying heavily, as we have seen, to maintain these mission supervisors, obviously the principle on which to keep them in the administrative machinery was bound to be seriously questioned. Keeping them was likely to be increasingly viewed as wasteful of financial resources and encouragement of inefficiency and would jeopardize the educational standards.

The government then advanced another argument focused on the deployment of teachers. Apart from removing the mission supervisors from the administrative and supervisory machinery, the government became determined to rationalise the system of posting teachers which had been in the hands of the voluntary agencies hitherto. Its policy was stated thus:

The government intends that teachers shall be employed by the Central Government, Ministry of Education—though not as Civil Servants—and seconded for duty with the Local Authorities. . . . In particular, the system whereby the voluntary agencies have previously controlled appointments . . . will cease and these duties will be carried out by the Area Education Officer of the Central Government.³⁷

The establishment of the Teaching Service Commission in 1970, solely responsible for appointments of teachers, headmasters and principals of schools and teacher training colleges respectively, was a natural result of that policy.³⁸

Similarly, the placement of primary teachers became the responsibility of the District Education Officer. The ministry at the headquarters became responsible for placing the secondary school teachers. By the 1970 Education Act, the Chief Education Officer was empowered to make a teacher retire, or post any teacher to any part of the country if he thought fit. This was in response to the need to distribute the teachers more equitably. Hence the Ministry of Education commented:

Prior to the method, teachers could go to schools and districts of their own choices. This of course resulted in popular districts having all teachers with new techniques of teaching while the unpopular districts had practically none.³⁹

Again whether the new method whereby the teachers were placed in schools by the District Education Officer improved the situation in as far as equitable distribution of teachers was (is) concerned, is questionable. Teachers, especially at secondary school level, are not only able to make 'choices' but to make personal contacts either with the training colleges, or the posting officer(s) in the ministry or both about where they would like to teach. It is not uncommon to have their 'requests' granted. In any case the headmasters more often than not make personal approaches at the Faculty

of Education in Makerere and the Ministry to request that such and such teachers be posted to their schools. Reasons vary; some are more genuine than others. But the point is that their requests are usually granted, a thing that defeats the purpose of the policy of central control of placement of teachers in schools.

Another important point the minister raised in the debate about his policy was an educational one. It was also closely linked with the political, financial and administrative arguments I have already discussed. One sharp criticism against the denominational system of education was that it tended to ignore the welfare of the pupils and instead subjected them to physical hardship. It was not uncommon (and it is still happening to a certain extent) for many pupils to walk as many as ten miles to and from school of their denomination because they could not attend nearby schools of different religious denominations. The minister put the case thus:

The principle guiding factor in these new changes is the welfare of the children. We must minimise the agonies and inconveniences of travelling long distances in thunder, lightening or rain which make going to school like so much social fatigue...⁴¹

This point was in line with the general change that the main objective of the voluntary agencies in running schools was to spread their religious doctrines rather than impart secular education for its own sake. If the government was to achieve its objective of relieving the children of the agonies of having to walk 'long distances' in 'thunder and rain' to and from school, they had, *per se*, to integrate schools on non-denominational basis. But the question whether or not there has been any significant success in religious integration of the system of education thus eliminating denominationalism remains to be seen. Generally speaking it can be argued that theoretically religious rivalry in education has been checked. Primary and secondary schools which originally belonged to the voluntary agencies were taken over and are government institutions open to children of all denominations. Selection in second-level schools and colleges (except private ones) has been centralised so that intake is no longer based on religious affiliations but rather on merit. Teachers are trained and employed by the government. As already explained, church participation in administration and management of 'government institutions' has been stopped. But it must be stressed that, in practice, religious affiliations in schools are quite evident.⁴² Three areas in which this is manifested can be identified, namely: the private system in primary and secondary sector which operates on a denominational basis to a good extent and forms a sizeable portion of the total educational facilities in the country.⁴³ Second, the pattern of home/school movement which shows that some children prefer to bypass nearest schools if they do not belong to their religious denominations, in order to attend schools of their faith.⁴⁴ The third area concerns secondary school choice, i.e. choice of senior one—first

year of the secondary school. There is evidence to suggest that pupils' choices are influenced by religious adherence. That is to say that children tend to put their choices in schools of their religious faith.⁴⁵

The reasons for phasing out the DEC's from the operation of education

It would be incorrect to imagine that the plan to sweep away the District Education Committees was conceived as early as 1963 when the policy of centralisation was planned. It will be recalled that in his arguments during the debate in parliament, the minister repeatedly emphasised that the government's intention was not to diminish the role of the Local Education Authorities, but rather to enhance it. The policy was basically directed against the voluntary agencies' dominance in education. In any case the constitutional arrangements of 1962 which guaranteed the kingdom districts to be responsible for primary education* would have made the task of taking away such responsibilities a hard one. Constitutionally it would have been unwise to force constitutional changes at such an early stage of independence. Such attempts would have been met with bitter resentment and resistance, especially from Buganda region. So in all probability the government would try to avoid a course of action that most likely would precipitate a serious political row in the country at a time when unity and harmony were badly needed. But then what made the government move so swiftly against the LEAs?

The political and constitutional upheavals of 1966/67 were largely responsible for most of what happened. As a result of constitutional changes which followed the 1966 clashes between the central government and Buganda kingdom, the 'kingdoms' were abolished. A year later a republic constitution was introduced as already mentioned. Consequently those kingdoms lost their federal status and 'Ministries of Education'. Therefore the autonomy of the DEC's which had been guaranteed in the 1962 constitution was considerably eroded. A reference has already been made to the 1967 District Administrations Act which weakened the authority of the local government and increased that of the District Commissioner, an official of the central government. The DEC's were completely swept away in 1971 with the abolition of the District Councils. This left the DEOs virtually alone to run education in their respective districts.

There is a twin point which must be mentioned. That is that 'centralisation' by its nature is like 'dictatorship'. Once begun it is bound to become more stringent than flexible. This is especially so in a developing country where uncertainties due to fluid political and socio-economic situations impinge on the central government attitude towards the local or regional authorities. It seems therefore that once the central government began to pull things together and to take an upper hand in education, the local

*Buganda was to be responsible for both primary and secondary institutions outside urban areas.

authorities' role in educational planning, control and development was bound to be undermined soon or later.

The main point to emphasise is that the absence of the District Education Committees has consolidated the position and authority of the Ministry of Education. Whether or not the government had originally planned this level of centralisation is beside the point. Although the DEO plans with some officials nominated from the local area, he is the one who convenes the meetings and he determines the agenda. This obviously emphasises the key position he holds now. This is not to say that he himself has a high degree of autonomy in what he does; certainly not, because he has to work according to the directives of the officials at the headquarters in Kampala.

CONCLUSION

It is apparent therefore from this discussion that naturally the central government's strong intervention in the system of education after independence was inevitable. As we have seen the government had the obligation to shape the destiny of the nation. Unquestionably education is an important vehicle in influencing people's social, political and economic attitudes and tastes. The presence of voluntary agencies in controlling, administering and supervising the system of education was seen as some form of neo-colonialism. Hence efforts were bound to be made to dilute or abolish completely their key-role in education. That is what happened by the end of 1971.

Next was the local authorities. Although these were meant to serve the central government in as far as administering local services was concerned, they brought certain amount of sectionalism to bear on the national issues. Similarly, efforts were likely to be made soon or later to make the central government the only determinant of the educational policies and plans both at local and national levels. This is indeed what happened as we have seen in this article.

FOOTNOTES

1. Lewis, J. L. and Loveridge, *Management of Education*, London: Pall Mall Press, 1965, ch. 3.
2. Bereday, G. Z. F. and Lauwerys, J. A. (ed.), *Church and State in Education: The World Year Book of Education*, 1966. London: Evans Brothers Limited, 1966, pp. 1-18.
3. Cown, L. G. and (others) (ed.), *Education and Nation-Building in Africa*, London: Pall Mall Press, 1965, pp. 178-179.
4. Smith Lester, W. O., *Government of Education*, London: Penguin Books, 1965, Chapters 1 and 4. Also see, Oldele Taiwo, *Agencies of Education*, Lagos: Macmillan and Co. (Nigeria) Ltd., 1966, ch. 8.
5. Castle, E. B., *Education in Uganda: The report of the Uganda Education Commission*. Entebbe: Government Printer, 1963, p. 1.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

7. The Mission of International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, *The Economic Development of Uganda*, Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1962, p. 347.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 347.
9. Uganda Government, *The Report of the Uganda Teachers' Salaries Commission*, p. 1.
10. Uganda Government, *The Report of the Uganda Relationship Commission: The Munster Report*, Entebbe: Government Printer, 1961, p. 101.
11. Rothchild, D. and Rogin, M., *Uganda* in Carter, G. M. (ed.), *National Unity and Regionalism in Eight African States*, New York: Cornell University Press, 1966, pp. 423-424.
12. Nsibambi, A., *The Uganda Central Government attempts to acquire effective control in administering education, 1962-1970*, Kampala: Makerere University, Institute of Social Research, 1972, p. 11.
13. Evans, D., *Teachers as Agents of National Development: a case study of Uganda*, New York, Praeger Publishers, 1971, pp. 7-8.
14. The study was conducted by W. T. S. Gould under the auspices of UNESCO. The subject was: Planning the location of schools: Ankole District, Uganda. Uganda was one of a number of countries in the world where such case studies were carried out in 1972/73.
15. Gould, W. T. S., *Planning the Location of Schools: Ankole District, Uganda*, Paris: UNESCO, 1973, p. 74.
16. Kiwanuka, S. M., *Mutesa of Uganda: Uganda Famous Men*, Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, 1967, pp. 42-43.
17. Ssekamwa, J. C., *The Development of Education in Uganda 1939-1960* (a history seminar paper), Kampala: History Department, Makerere University, 1969, pp. 16-17.
18. Welbourn, F. B., *Religion and Politics in Uganda 1952-1962*, Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1965, p. 1.
19. Leys, C., *Politicians and Policies: An essay on politics in Acholi (Uganda), 1962-65*, Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1967, p. 5.
20. Welbourn, F. B., *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41.
21. Uganda Government, *Proceedings of the National Assembly*, Vol. 22, 1963, Entebbe Government Printer, p. 471.
22. The Political disunity in Uganda both before and after independence cannot be overstressed. The main problem hinged on 'Buganda Nationalism' and/or 'Sectionalism'.
23. Flatt, D., *Principles and guidelines for Churches and Missions in Africa in the light of Government attitudes and plans*, ch. ix, in Pierge, R. (ed.), *Christianity and African Education*, Michigan: William Berdams Publishing Co., 1966. Also see: Nsibambi, A., *op. cit.*, pp. 5-9ff.
24. *Proceedings of Parliamentary debates, op. cit.*, p. 544.
25. *Uganda Argus* (now the *Voice of Uganda*), Kampala, dated 28.11.63.
26. Wood, A. W., *Educational Policy and social change in Uganda 1935-1964* (M. Phil. thesis), London: London University Institute of Education, 1967, p. 233.
27. Benhaars, G., *Primary Education in Sebei District: A Sociological Study*, an M.A. thesis, Kampala, Makerere University, 1973, pp. 198-208.
28. Nsibambi, A., *op. cit.*, p. 43.
29. Nyerere, J., *Education for self-reliance in Tanzania*, ed., I. Nairobi: Longmans, 1968, p. 48.
30. Uganda Government, *Financing of Education in Uganda*, Kampala: Ministry of Education, 1971, p. 4. Also see: Nsibambi, A., *op. cit.*, pp. 18-20.

31. *Proceedings of the Parliamentary debates, op. cit.*, p. 543.
32. Nsibambi, A., *op. cit.*, pp. 21-23.
33. *Parliamentary debates, op. cit.*
34. Bennaars, G., *op. cit.*, p. 102.
35. A letter written by one of the former supervisors of schools, Catholic Secretariat Archives; Nsambya, Kampala.
36. Bennaars, G., *op. cit.*, pp. 205-206.
37. Uganda Government, *The Memorandum on the Report of the Uganda Education Commission*, Sessional Paper No. 4 of 1963, Kampala: Ministry of Education.
38. The Uganda Teaching Service Commission has a sub-committee at each district according to the 1970 Education Act. This teaching service sub-committee supposedly handles the appointments of the primary teachers.
39. Uganda Government, *The Ministry of Education Annual Report for 1969*, p. 2.
40. Gould, W. T. S., *op. cit.*, p. 68.
41. *Proceedings of the Parliamentary debates*, p. 541.
42. Gould, W. T. S., *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
44. *Ibid.*, pp. 34-36.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

THE POLITICS OF LITIGATION AND POLITICAL INTEGRATION IN UGANDA: THE LWEBUGA LEGAL-POLITICAL TANGLE¹

A. R. NSIBAMBI, *Associate Professor, Makerere University.*

The 'period' between 1962 and 1966, was an area of vigorous litigation in Uganda. There was faith in legal solutions to 'the struggle for political power between the Central Government and the subordinate governments which were led by the Kabaka's Government. While this tradition of litigation and constitutionalism lasted, it provided a genuine chance of resolving political conflict in a candid manner. The Lwebuga legal-political tangle seeks to illustrate that courts enhanced integration by serving as an important and acceptable forum through which political conflict was resolved.² The study also attempts to show that competitive politics existed between the Kabaka's Government and the Central Government, a phenomenon which enhanced open dissent in the political system of Uganda.

A number of factors contributed towards realising open politics. The major one was captured by Mazrui who said:

Buganda's dominant position facilitated pluralistic competitive politics and helped to encourage certain habits of conflict resolution in the political style of the country as a whole.³

The major point to grasp here is that the Uganda Peoples Congress (UPC), depended on Buganda's support in order to gain political power in 1962. Buganda had organised a movement called Kabaka Yekka (KY)⁴ which mastered 21 seats in Parliament. UPC⁵ had 37 seats in Parliament while the Democratic Party (DP)⁶ had 24 seats. KY formed a coalition Government with UPC headed by Obote.

The survival of the UPC-KY alliance which lasted from 1962 to 1964, precluded the use of force and encouraged the use of litigation in resolving political conflict in Uganda. This procedure enhanced genuine political integration⁷ because political differences were thrashed out in the open and were not suppressed as the Lwebuga legal-political tangle will illustrate.

It must be noted that faith in litigation was facilitated by the complex Constitution of 1962⁸ which each Government attempted to interpret in such a way that it acquired extra financial and political advantages at the expense of the other. J. M. Lee said:

... the Constitution cannot be ignored in studying Uganda because the law is one of Buganda's chief weapons. Uganda politics are played

in an atmosphere where each side is looking for legal 'loopholes' to be turned to its own advantage.⁹

Resolving political disputes through litigation was rooted in Buganda's colonial relations with Britain. It is in turn traceable to the 1900 Agreement which was made between Buganda and the British. The Buganda leaders regarded it as a charter for Buganda's special rights and autonomy. The Agreement recognised the *Lukiiko*, Buganda's Parliament, the Kabaka, and it established private ownership of land commonly known as *Mailo* land in Buganda. Whenever Buganda's political rights or autonomy were in dispute, the Agreement was closely studied and if there were suspicions that the terms of the Agreement were violated, the Baganda would not hesitate to rush the dispute to the Courts. For example, in 1953, the Kabaka refused to nominate Baganda representatives to the Central Legislative Council which the Baganda leaders distrusted.¹⁰ The Colonial Governor withdrew recognition from the Kabaka and deported him to Britain. Many Baganda were petrified and 'thunderstruck'¹¹ and one of the Kabaka's sisters died when she heard of the Kabaka's deportation. Instead of resorting to violence, the Baganda took the matter to the High Court of Uganda. The Chief Justice, a Briton, ruled that the withdrawal of recognition was not a justiciable issue and that in this case, the Crown could be and was the judge in its own cause.¹² However, he added that the deportation was not justified under Article 6 of the 1900 Agreement and that the withdrawal of recognition from the Kabaka could only be fully justified either as an Act of State or under Article 20 of the Agreement.

The judgement contributed to the return of the Kabaka in 1955. This was so because the deportation of the Kabaka under the wrong Article by the British law which they had introduced in Uganda, had the effect of eroding the legitimacy of their action. Indeed, after hearing the judgement, many excited Baganda who had adorned their cars with leaves as a sign of jubilation, drove around the streets of Kampala shouting that the Governor did not possess *Obuyinza* (authority) to deport the Kabaka. Henceforth, there was intensified pressure by Baganda, other Ugandans and British sympathisers, to make Britain change its mind. The major point to note here is that litigation contributed towards reversing a major Colonial decision which the British Colonial Secretary had once described as being irrevocable. It is this historical politics of litigation which manifests itself in the post-independence period.

THE REAL POLITICAL ISSUES BEHIND THE LWEBUGA LEGAL-POLITICAL TANGLE OF 1963

The Lwebuga legal-political tangle entailed the struggle for autonomy and power between the Central Government under Obote and the Kabaka's Government under M. Kintu who was the *Katikkiro* (Prime Minister of

Buganda). Lwebuga was interpreted by the Buganda leaders as Obote's subtle political tool by which he was attempting to penetrate Buganda's politics which had hitherto been closed to the governing party. It should be added that according to the terms of the UPC-KY alliance, UPC was not allowed to establish its branches in Buganda. The same terms precluded UPC from contesting the elections which took place in Buganda in February 1962.¹³ The DP which contested them lost heavily for KY won 65 out of 68 seats. Thirty-eight members of DP and seven independent candidates lost their deposits. And thus from 1962, DP was still pre-occupied with problems of political recovery especially in Buganda.

The governing party was, however, increasingly becoming irritated by the alliance which was responsible for three major political consequences. Firstly, the alliance gave Buganda an opportunity to monopolise Buganda's political arena by excluding the governing party from establishing branches in Buganda and from challenging openly what was going on in Buganda. Secondly, while the Kabaka's Government was excluding the governing party from penetrating Buganda's politics, Buganda was at the same time enjoying the advantages of influencing significantly national politics by virtue of the alliance and by its geographical centrality. For example, the governing party was unable to tackle the dispute between Bunyoro and Buganda over Bunyoro's land which the British gave to Buganda in 1896 in recognition of Buganda's assistance to subdue Kabarega's (the King of Bunyoro) resistance to British penetration.¹⁴ Furthermore, the Central Government was unable to integrate Buganda's Courts into the national system in 1964.¹⁵

The third political consequence of the alliance was that the UPC was forced to postpone implementing some important ideas for which it stood but which clashed with Buganda's interests. This point is, of course, very similar to the second one. For example, the UPC stated that one of its aims was to uphold the prestige and dignity of hereditary rulers in order to accommodate the wishes of the four kingdoms. But in fact, most of the UPC's key leaders who included Obote himself¹⁶ and Akena Adoko,¹⁷ preferred a republican ideology to the monarchical one. It is therefore not surprising to note that once Obote had got rid of Buganda's hegemony, he did not hesitate to abolish monarchy and to ban KY. It must also be added that many key leaders and supporters of UPC were inclined to support reducing Buganda's hegemony in order to *inter alia* establish parity of treatment between Buganda and the rest of Uganda. The leaders of the Uganda Peoples Union (UPU) who merged with Obote's wing of Uganda National Congress in 1960 to form UPC, shared with Obote's wing of UNC the sentiment of cutting down Buganda to size.¹⁸ Obote himself is reported to have spoken of crushing Buganda before independence, a statement which initially made the Kabaka of Buganda and M. Kintu reluctant to accept allying with him.¹⁹ And thus Grace Ibingira, a Prince from Ankole had initially found it very difficult to convince the Bugandan leaders to ally with UPC.²⁰

The thrust of the argument is that as long as Obote needed the alliance in order to stay in power, he had to tolerate the three disadvantages. Furthermore, Obote's likely and remaining course of penetrating Buganda's politics, was to support quietly those Baganda who were alienated with what was going on in Buganda. The Government of Buganda was convinced that Lwebuga who was disenchanted with Buganda's politics, had Obote's blessing as he confronted the Mengo²¹ establishment.

THE DEMANDS OF THE ABAWAJJERE (COMMON MEN) UNDER LWEBUGA

There were two major issues over which the Mengo establishment was vulnerable.²² The first one was that the Lukiiko was not fully democratised. The twenty Saza chiefs were ex-officio members of it. And since their term of office was entirely dependent on the wishes of the Kabaka and his Government, the chiefs had to obey the political 'orders' of the Kabaka and his Government. In this sense, the chiefs did not always represent the wishes of the common men.

The second issue concerned official land attached to the offices of the Katikkiro, *Omuwanika* (Minister of Finance), *Omulamuza* (Minister of Justice) and the twenty Saza chiefs. According to the 1900 Agreement, each of the three Ministers had sixteen square miles attached to his post. Each of the twenty Saza chiefs had eight miles attached to his post. The Ministers and the Saza chiefs used to get rent, levies on brewed beer, and tribute (*Envujjo*) of four shillings for each acre of cotton or coffee grown on the land attached to their posts. These payments were exclusive of their salaries.

A movement known as *Abawejjere* (common men) emerged in Buganda and demanded abolition of the privileges extended to the Ministers and the chiefs and for the total democratisation of the Lukiiko. Eriabu Lwebuga was one of the leaders of the *Abawejjere* movement which was a pressure group within KY. Lwebuga and *Abawejjere* movement were closely watched by the Kabaka's Government because they were, as already noted, believed to be subtle mouthpieces of Obote and his party. It is interesting to note that Obote chose the title 'The Common Man's Charter' in 1969 when he introduced 'socialistic' measures which were used to justify the abolition of Monarchy and the privileges surrounding it.

Meanwhile, the activities of the *Abawejjere* movement became more serious and intensified in Buganda. The leaders of the movement gave the Kabaka's Government an ultimatum to fulfil five conditions or else resign. These included abolition of official mailo land benefits of the three Ministers and the Saza chiefs and raising prices of crops. The ultimatum was read at a meeting of about 500 people at Kampala's Clock Tower (the Ugandan equivalent of the Speaker's corner in Hyde Park, London) by the Chairman of the Youth Committee which had been on tour of Buganda 'questioning

the 'views' of people about the official mailo land problem'.²³ They also demanded that the existing Lukiiko be dissolved and that another election be organised. In January 1963, the Abawejjere met Lukiiko members bearing placards which displayed the following sensitive political issues: 'our representatives should not be chiefs' stooges', 'Abolish taxation of women', 'we are fed up with a rotten machinery'.²⁴

On January 21, 1963, Lwebuga appeared before Mengo Principal Court and was charged under Buganda Native Customary Law on three counts as follows:

Issuing seditious publications aimed at inciting violence among the Kabaka's subjects, alienating the loyalty of the Kabaka's subjects and attempting to overthrow the Buganda Government headed by Mr. M. Kintu.²⁵

THE KABAKA'S GOVERNMENT REFUSES TO RELEASE LWEBUGA AND CREATES A POST OF THE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC PROSECUTIONS IN BUGANDA

On February 9, 1963, George Farmer, Uganda's Acting Director of Public Prosecutions,²⁶ ordered the Kabaka's Principal Court to discontinue all criminal proceedings against Eriabu Lwebuga. He made this order under Section 82(c) of the 1962 Constitution which 'authorised him to discontinue at any stage before judgement is delivered any such criminal proceedings instituted or undertaken by himself or any other person or authority'. The Buganda Government was outraged by the action of the D.P.P. and they rejected it forthwith. Mpanga, a leading lawyer in the Kabaka's Government, and who later on became the Attorney-General of the Government, said that he had reason to believe that similar measures might be taken by the Central Government in relation to the case of Joseph Kazairwe, a leader of the Mubende-Bunyoro Committee, who was alleged to have incited people to refuse to pay taxes and market dues to the Buganda Government: He added:

'This order constitutes not only unprecedented interference with the course of justice in a free country, but it is also deplorable and a deliberate contempt of the Court on the part of the Director of Public prosecutions. . . . It was imperative in the interests of law and order and good Government both in Buganda and Uganda that as little interference as possible should be made by the Central Government in the affairs of Buganda.'²⁷

On February 13, 1963, the Acting D.P.P. was served with a summons by the Kabaka's Principal Court at Mengo demanding his appearance before the Court on February 15, 1963, to justify the "order". The Acting Registrar of the Buganda Principal Court, H. B. Ddumba, issued a statement that the Court had refused to accept the D.P.P.'s order because the D.P.P. had failed to certify that the order was issued by him in person. Ddumba accused the Uganda Minister of Justice of 'mixing' the judiciary with politics.²⁸

It was reported that the Acting D.P.P. went to Mengo District Court buildings in Kampala accompanied by two police officers and a lorry load of armed policemen. Meanwhile, the Lukiiko met and 85 members voted in favour of the amendment Bill which provided for the creation of the offices of Director of Public Prosecutions and a Solicitor-General in Buganda. One person abstained from voting. This Bill created the post of the Director of Public Prosecutions in Buganda.²⁹

A. L. Basudde, the Acting Katikkiro of Buganda, expressed the suspicions and feelings of the Lukiiko when he said, "there was someone behind that order whose intentions were to place us on nails".³⁰ The Uganda Argus had expressed similar sentiments when it said:

Uganda's Acting Director of Public Prosecutions, acting under the instructions of the Uganda Attorney-General, has ordered the Kabaka's Principal Court to discontinue all criminal proceedings against Eriabu Lwebuga, leader of the 'Common Man' pressure group within Kabaka Yekka.³¹

As we will show later on, the newspaper paid heavily for publishing this piece of news in this manner. There were a number of reasons for suspecting that the Acting D.P.P. had been directed by 'someone' to stop the proceedings against Lwebuga. First, the UPC governing party was known to be very sympathetic to Lwebuga's cause which was said to be aimed at improving the lot of the common man in Buganda.³² These suspicions were enhanced when the Prime Minister of Uganda addressed a public rally at the Clock Tower in Kampala and said:

What have they as common men got from all this (the creation of Buganda's D.P.P.?) Supposing Buganda has a D.P.P. of her own does that mean the people of Kisenyi³³ will tomorrow be richer than they are?³⁴

Obote had taken pains to write an open letter to the Acting Katikkiro of Buganda and had reminded him that it was the Buganda delegation at the London Conference which had led all other delegations against the proposal that these powers should not be given to the D.P.P. And thus the Prime Minister's overt concern about this matter and his reference to it in public speeches in order to score points against the Mengo establishment tended to endorse the view that the Uganda Acting D.P.P. had been influenced to stop the proceedings against Lwebuga.

Second, Abu Mayanja, a lawyer, pointed out that in ordering the dropping of charges against Lwebuga, the Acting D.P.P. had not called for the papers in the case and that he had not examined the record. Mayanja remarked that the D.P.P. made a 'blanket order' to drop all proceedings which was a shocking manner of carrying out such vital orders.³⁵ Third, there was also a 'Common Man's' argument which the author heard in the corridors of Mengo, which went like this: 'How could Omuzungu³⁶ understand the

intricacies of our domestic politics to the extent of interfering in it unless he was directed to do so by highly placed Ugandans?

G. Ibingira, the Uganda Minister of Justice, made a statement in Parliament in which he observed:

It is most astonishing therefore that the same people (Kabaka's Government) who argued that this Government must not control the D.P.P. have now wrongly alleged that it is our Government which is directing him and are attempting to diminish his authority by appointing their own D.P.P. The D.P.P. is by law not required to give reasons why he institutes or discontinues proceedings against anybody in any court. For him to be required to give evidence in a court as to why he exercises his constitutional power is analogous to summoning a Judge of the court to give reasons for his judgment.³⁷

Despite a stern warning which the Minister of Justice gave the Kabaka's Government not to question the actions and the independence of the Uganda D.P.P., the Acting Registrar of the Buganda Principal Court issued a defiant statement in which he asserted: "Even the Governor-General could be summoned to give evidence before a court of law under Cap. 77, Section 19 of the Buganda Courts Ordinance."³⁸

The Buganda Government refused to release Lwebuga and Buganda's assertion of its autonomy assumed dramatic dimensions when it was rumoured, and widely believed, that the Uganda Acting D.P.P. might be arrested for refusing to appear before the Mengo Principal Court as he had been ordered to do. This rumour acquired credibility when Ibingira warned the Buganda Government that if they attempted to arrest the Uganda Acting D.P.P., they would face grave consequences. The Uganda Acting D.P.P. was accordingly protected by armed Ugandan policemen. Mengo's³⁹ political morale was boosted when local newspapers wrote so approvingly of Mengo's toughness. For example, one of the leading Luganda newspapers *Munno* described Mengo as *Olwazi* (i.e. 'rock') in an editorial which praised Buganda's 'brave' actions during this political tussle.⁴⁰ *Taifa Uganda Empya*, another Luganda newspaper which was widely read, used the following headline: *Mmengo Ebiragiyo Yabigobye Iwa D.P.P. Farmer kugaana kugenda mu Kooti e Mengo*.⁴¹ These words, which captured the attention of many readers, may be translated as 'Mengo dismissed the orders of D.P.P. Farmer because he refused to appear before the Court of Mengo'.

Did Mengo have the legal authority to create the position of a D.P.P.? When the Bill which created the position of D.P.P. in Buganda was passed, Fred Mpanga, a Legal Officer in the Kabaka's Government, was appointed a Solicitor-General and Acting D.P.P.,⁴² a move which was not challenged by the Central Government because as a federal state, Buganda had the legal authority to create posts including that of a D.P.P.

Many Baganda saw the creation of Buganda's D.P.P. as being a logical consequence of Buganda's right to have a High Court which was provided

for under Section 94 of the 1962 Constitution. This view was, for example, shared by Amos Sempa,⁴³ a former Minister both in the Central Government and in the Kabaka's Government. He had been a prominent political figure at Mengo. Uganda's Minister of Justice admitted in Parliament that Buganda had the legal authority to create the post.

Having noted that Buganda had the authority to create Buganda's D.P.P., we must point out that the major aim behind creating the post was to reduce the practical capacity of the Central Government's D.P.P., to intervene in Buganda's 'domestic affairs'. Eventually, however, Buganda seems to have realised the limits of its constitutional authority and thus the Lukiiko gave 'a mandate to the Kabaka's Government to open negotiations with the Central Government and Buganda Members of Parliament about the transfer of powers of the Uganda D.P.P. to the Buganda D.P.P.'⁴⁴ But before these negotiations took place, another incident occurred which enabled the High Court of Uganda to assert the unfettered authority of the Uganda D.P.P. to discontinue criminal proceedings throughout Uganda.

Mrs. Joyce Lwebuga applied for *habeas corpus* on behalf of her husband in the High Court of Uganda.⁴⁵ Fred Mpanga on behalf of the Kabaka's Government argued:

I am not disputing such power of the D.P.P. to discontinue criminal proceedings in any court in this country, that includes the Buganda courts. What I am contending, I am disputing, is whether the power given to the D.P.P. under Section 82, whether that power has been properly exercised.⁴⁶

He further argued that the D.P.P.'s order was not effective enough to secure the discharge of the prisoner and that the Buganda Principal Court itself had to be moved to make an order both to discontinue and to discharge the prisoner.⁴⁷ Criticising the D.P.P.'s order, Mpanga pointed out that it just happened all of a sudden without the D.P.P. asking for the papers and that the order did not specify the charges, the case and the number. He added that the D.P.P. never sent his representative to the Mengo Principal Court as happened in previous cases.⁴⁸

Mboijana, who defended Lwebuga, submitted that it was not for the High Court to amend the Constitution by laying down the procedure and that it was for Parliament to lay down the procedure. He also contended that the D.P.P. was not required to give any reasons for his action.⁴⁹ Justice Sheridan made the following points in his judgment:⁵⁰ First, that Section 82 of the 1962 Constitution vested in the Director of Public Prosecutions the unfettered right of control of criminal courts other than Courts Martial in Uganda. Second, that Section 82(6) made it clear that in the exercise of the powers conferred by the Section, the D.P.P. was not to be subject to the direction or control of any other person or authority. Third, that as soon as the Buganda Principal Court had received the order of the D.P.P., it was a

necessary consequence of that order that the court should immediately have discharged the prisoner. Fourth, that the Buganda Principal Court had no authority to inquire into the mode of the D.P.P.'s exercise of his powers and that D.P.P. did not have to give any reasons for the exercise of his power. He concluded:

I am satisfied that the Prisoner is at present illegally detained by an order of the Principal Court and I order him to be set at liberty forthwith. The applicant is to have costs of these proceedings.⁵¹

POLITICAL AND LEGAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE TANGLE

The political and legal consequences of this case were far-reaching. Lwebuga was released and he was embraced and surrounded by his sympathisers who were freely shouting UPC slogans. Although Lwebuga had not yet openly resigned from being a member of KY, those who shouted KY slogans during the excitement of welcoming him from prison were silenced,⁵² because KY was closely associated with the Kabaka's Government which had lost this politico-legal fight. The UPC Government gained some credibility in Buganda for championing the cause of the common man. This was so because it was believed in Buganda that the UPC Government had directed the Acting D.P.P. to discontinue the proceedings against Lwebuga who was seen as the 'champion of the common man in Buganda'.

This interpretation of the Lwebuga incident put the UPC Government in a dilemma. On the one hand, it wanted to make it clear that in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, it could not direct the Uganda D.P.P. to discontinue the proceedings against Lwebuga and that the D.P.P. had acted independently. On the other hand, the Central Government was eager not to destroy the political credit which was being circulated in Buganda that it had come to the rescue of the leader of the common man. The ordinary man in Uganda found it extremely difficult to distinguish these legal niceties. And yet there were serious political consequences from not making the distinction. Meanwhile, central control was boosted by this case. Local newspapers published the story that Mengo had no authority to continue detaining Lwebuga after the D.P.P.'s orders. Following this episode, Lwebuga and other members of KY joined UPC. The phenomenon of crossing the floor⁵³ which is outside the scope of this paper, gained momentum until 1964 when Obote was politically strong enough to dispense with the alliance.

It must be noted that the Lwebuga tussle entailed a conflict between Buganda's customary law and the Ugandan law over the liberty of an individual. As Nkambo-Mugerwa put it:

The liberty of an individual is such a fundamental matter that even unlawful imprisonment for five minutes is actionable. Since the Ugandan Director of Public Prosecutions had been fully satisfied that there was not enough evidence either to justify prosecuting Lwebuga

or detaining him, the Ugandan law had to prevail over the customary law, more so because this issue concerned the liberty of an individual.⁵⁴

The remaining legal facets of this case were once again publicly raised when the Uganda D.P.P. and the Uganda Attorney-General sued Uganda Argus Limited for damages arising out of libel.⁵⁵ Earlier on we noted that the Uganda Argus of February 11, 1963, published an article stating that the Acting D.P.P. acted under the instructions of the Uganda Attorney-General to discontinue criminal proceedings against Lwebuga. Sir Udo Udoma, the Chief Justice of the High Court of Uganda, described this piece as 'being 'mischievous', 'irresponsible' and 'reckless journalism'.⁵⁶ He found the paper guilty of falsely charging both the Uganda D.P.P. and the Attorney-General of having acted contrary to and in open violation of Section 82 of the Uganda Constitution. In short, the D.P.P. asserted that in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, he acted independently. The Attorney-General also contended that he did not direct the D.P.P. to stop the proceedings against Lwebuga because this would have been violating Section 82 of the Uganda Constitution. Sir Udo Udoma said, "surely these charges if true would be sufficient to render the plaintiffs unfit to hold their respective high public offices". Accordingly, the Uganda Director of Public Prosecutions was awarded damages of Shillings 40,000/- with costs while the Attorney-General was awarded damages of Shillings 50,000/- with costs against the defendants.

CONCLUSION

The Lwebuga legal political tangle displays the following intertwined threads: It shows competitive politics between the Central Government and the Kabaka's Government which was typical of the period between 1962 and 1966. The ultimate wish of the Central Government under Obote was to acquire unfettered authority to intervene in important affairs of Buganda just as it was entitled to do so in other sub-centres of power in Uganda. The Kabaka's Government attempted to use its political alliance with the Central Government and litigation to repel and reject Central intervention. The Abawejjere movement under the leadership of Lwebuga provided open political cracks in Buganda, cracks which enabled Obote and his ruling party to penetrate Buganda's political arena. The arena had hitherto been monopolised by Kintu's Government with the assistance of the Kabaka.

The courts provided a significant forum for conflict resolution. They enjoyed a number of advantages which included legal and technical competence. They were also manned by people who were not suspected of being a party to ethnic rivalries and their proceedings were carried out in the open and under strict procedures. These advantages were fortified by a historical tradition of litigation. And thus, the political 'belligerents' were willing to go

to courts in order to thrash out their differences. The period between 1962 and 1966 when vigorous dissent was tolerated and not suppressed; provided genuine opportunities for realising political integration.

FOOTNOTES

1. Some of the points raised in this paper appeared in Apolo Nsibambi's "The Politics of Litigation in Uganda, 1962-1967". It was given at Cambridge University, U.K. on November 15, 1972.
2. Cf. M. Weiner, "Political Integration and Political Development", *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 358, March 1965, esp. pp. 52-55.
3. A. Mazrui, "Privilege and Protest as integrative Factors: The case of Buganda's Status in Uganda", in R. Rotberg and A. Mazrui (eds.), *Protest And Power In Black Africa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 1075.
4. For more information on KY, see I. R. Hancock, "Patriotism and Neo-traditionalism in Buganda: The Kabaka Yekka ('The King Alone') Movement, 1961-1962", *Journal of African History*, XI 3(1970), Abu Mayanja, *You and Your Vote, A Guide to the Lukiiko Election* (Mengo: Friends Press Ltd., February, 1962), Sir Edward Mutesa, *The Desecration of my Kingdom* (London, 1967), and H. Kyeyune and Apolo Nsibambi, *Buganda, a Federal State of Uganda* (Mengo: Kabaka's Government, 1962).
5. For more information on UPC, consult Joseph S. Nye, Jr., "TANU and UPC: The Impact of Independence on Two African Nationalist Parties" in J. Butler and A. A. Castagno (eds.), *Boston University. Papers on Africa: Transition In African Politics* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967).
6. See D. A. Low, *Political Parties in Uganda, 1949-1962* (London, 1962).
7. Various meanings of political integration can be found in Apolo Nsibambi's "Some Problems of Political Integration in Uganda", *East African Journal*, February, 1969.
8. For details refer to Apolo Nsibambi, "The Rise and Fall of Federalism in Uganda", *East Africa Journal*, December, 1966, Emory Bundy, "Uganda's New Constitution", *East Africa Journal*, October, 1968, and G. F. Engholm and A. A. Mazrui, "Violent Constitutionalism in Uganda", *Government and Opposition*, July-October, Vol. 2, No. 4, 1967.
9. M. Lee, "Buganda's Position in Federal Uganda", *Journal of Commonwealth Political Studies*, Vol. III, No. 3, November, 1965, p. 165.
10. The Central Legislature was distrusted *inter alia*, because the Bugandan leaders feared that other tribes of Uganda which were less privileged than Buganda, would gang together in order to abolish Buganda's special position. The Bugandan leaders also felt that some of the party leaders who were likely to dominate the Council, were hostile to the existence of Monarchy.
11. D. A. Low, *Buganda in Modern History* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971), p. 112.
12. D. A. Low and R. C. Pratt, *Buganda and British Overrule* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 342.
13. These elections enabled the Buganda Lukiiko to act as an electoral college and send its 21 representatives to the Ugandan Legislative Assembly.
14. For more details consult *Report of a Commission of Privy Counsellors on a dispute between Buganda and Bunyoro* (The Molson Report), Cmd. 1717, Entebbe, 1962.

15. Indigenous customary cases were tried in Buganda's Courts, a procedure which was dear to Buganda. For details, see H. F. Morris and J. S. Read, *Uganda: The Development of its Laws and Constitution* (London: Stevens and Sons, 1966), especially pp. 254-258.
16. Obote's anti-monarchical sentiments and his preference for republicanism emerge clearly in his *Common Man's Charter*, Entebbe, 1969.
17. Akena Adoko's anti-monarchical sentiments are stated clearly in his *Uganda Crisis* (Kampala: Consolidated Printers Ltd.), pp. 9 and 107.
18. D. A. Low, *Buganda in Modern Uganda*, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-194 and Mazrui, *op. cit.*, p. 1082.
19. Sir Edward Mutesa, *op. cit.*, p. 160.
20. G. S. K. Ibiringira, *The Forging of an African Nation* (New York: The Viking Press, 1973), pp. 201-205.
21. Source: Interview with two former Katikkiros of Buganda who requested to remain anonymous. Mengo was the Capital of the Kabaka's Government.
22. The religious differences in Buganda were also a possible source of cracking Buganda's apparent political unity. However, the apportionment of key posts on a religious basis, tended to postpone religious confrontations. For example, the Katikkiro and the Minister of Finance tended to be Protestants, The Minister of Justice, a Roman Catholic and the Minister of Education, a Muslim. See F. Welbourn, *Religion and Politics in Uganda* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1965).
23. *Uganda Argus*, December 10, 1962, p. 3.
24. *Uganda Argus*, January 9, 1963.
25. See the return of the Superintendent of Prisons, Kabaka's Government, in Obedience to the writ leave of whose issue was granted by Justice J. Sheridan on February 14, 1963. Miscellaneous cause No. 11, 1963, in High Court of Uganda, Kampala, February 19, 1963, p. 1.
26. Hereafter referred to as D.P.P.
27. *Uganda Argus*, February 11, 1963. See also the *Eastern Africa Law Reports*, 1964 (London: Butterworth and Co. Publishers Ltd. 1965), pp. 570-571.
28. *Uganda Argus*, February 16, 1963, p. 5.
29. *Uganda Argus*, February 13, 1963.
30. *Uganda Argus*, February 13, 1963. He was referring to Obote.
31. *Uganda Argus*, February 11, 1963.
32. When the author interviewed Lwebuga he admitted that he was aware that the UPC was sympathetic to his cause. However, he added that he did not get any direct assistance from the UPC.
33. This is a slum area in Kampala.
34. *Uganda Argus*, February 15, 1963.
35. *Uganda Argus*, February 16, 1963.
36. Farmer, the Acting D.P.P., was a European (Omuzungu).
37. *Uganda Parliamentary Debates*, February 14, 1963, p. 300.
38. *Uganda Argus*, February 16, 1963, p. 1.
39. Although Mengo normally refers to the seat of the Kabaka's Government, in this context it refers to the political establishment of Mengo plus their sympathisers.
40. See Munno (Kampala), February 13, 1963.
41. *Taifa Uganda Emnya*, February 16, 1963.
42. See *Uganda Argus*, March 2, 1963.
43. He endorsed this view when I interviewed him in 1972.
44. *Uganda Parliamentary Debates*, *op. cit.*, p. 300.
45. *Uganda Argus*, February 23, 1963.

46. See Miscellaneous Cause No. 11 of 1963 in Her Majesty's High Court of Uganda at Kampala February 22, 1963.
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
49. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.
50. See Uganda High Court Judgment in the matter of Writ of Habeas Corpus and in the matter of an Application by Joyce Lwebuga wife of Eriabu Lwebuga an unconvicted Prisoner at Njabule Prison. Miscellaneous Cause No. 11 of February 22, 1963.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
52. See *Munno*, February 23, 1963, p. 8.
53. For details on this theme, See G. F. Engholm and A. Mazrui, "Crossing the Floor and the Tensions of Representation in East Africa", *Parliamentary Affairs*, Vol. XXI, No. 2, Spring 1968.
54. Interview with Nkambo-Mugerwa, a former Attorney-General and Solicitor-General of Uganda.
55. See *Farmer and Another versus Uganda Argus Ltd.* (Civil Case Nos. 317 and 349 of 1963), in the High Court of Uganda, July 11, 1964. It is also reported in the *Eastern Africa Law Reports*, 1964, pp. 568-581.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 580.

ANCIENT FOUNDATIONS OF BLACK CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

DR. GERSHOM N. AMAYO, *Lecturer, The Department of Educational Foundations, Faculty of Education, University of Nairobi.*

INTRODUCTION

To what extent can a historian go back in the reconstruction of a cultural history of the African people? When and where should the Africans begin in tracing their cultural history? The historians of the Western civilization do not seem to have problem in answering the above questions with particular reference to their cultural history. They claim, with certainty, ancient Greece and Rome for the foundations of their Western civilization. Under the title, *Ancient Foundations of Black Culutral Development*, the writer wishes to address himself to the statement and challenge offered recently to the African historians by Dr. Chancellor Williams, a distinguished emeritus professor of African history, Howard University. In his own words, Prof. Williams reiterated:

That the blacks were among the very earliest builders of a great civilization on this planet, including the development of writing, sciences, engineering, medicine, architecture, religion and fine arts.¹

Dr. Williams further remarked that the story of how such an advance civilization was lost is one of the greatest and most tragic in the history of mankind and should be the main focus of research in African history.²

With the above challenge in mind, the writer is obliged to go back and examine the history of antiquity; the period long before the Western scholars had named and classified the African people in minute details as known today.³ There we can address ourselves to certain searching questions. First, who were the ancient blacks responsible for planting the earliest civilization mentioned by Prof. Williams? Second, where did their glorious civilization centre? In other words, where was the birthplace of the ancient black cultural development? Third, what were the main features of their cultural attainments? Fourth, is our cultural history built on their foundations?

WHAT WERE THE NAMES OF THE ANCIENT BLACKS?

Who were the ancient blacks of the history of antiquity? By what names were we known in ancient history? Before taking account of cultural achievements of the ancient Africans, it is imperative for us to know who they were. In order to tackle this broad topic within the scope of this paper, the findings would be described in the outline form.

First, during the ancient history, all Africans, as members of the black race were named *Ethiopians*. This position is read on the passage of Homer, Pausanians of Sparta, Herodotus, Theophrastus, Septuagint, Flavious Josephus, Eusebius, Pliny the Elder (A.D. 23-79), and P. Terentius (Terence).

Among the outstanding classical historians and geographers, the entire region ranging from India to Africa was *Ethiopia*. In the same way they regarded all the dark skinned people occupying the region to be *Ethiopians*. It seems that the eastern Ethiopians were blacks of Asia and the western Ethiopians were those of the African continent. The Ethiopians' empire of the ancient world before the unification of Egypt, once stretched from the Mediterranean Sea in the north and to undefined limit in the south; most probably to the region of the great lakes of east and central Africa. Later in history, Ethiopia referred to the territory south of the first cataract. The Arabs named it *Bilad-es-Sudan*, meaning the land of the blacks. Today, Ethiopia refers to a country the Arabs named *Abyssinia* to which Addis Ababa is the capital.⁴

The ancient Greeks above all other people of antiquity were responsible for the names by which the Africans have been known in history. The word *Ethiopia* is a composite word made up of two Greek words, *Aidios*, meaning burnt dark, especially by the heat of the sun, and *δπος* (*opos*), meaning face. When the classical Greeks approached the Africans who inhabited the Nile Valley south of the first cataract, they named them Ethiopians. They assumed that because the Africans were closer to the sun than most of the lighter skinned inhabitants of Europe, they had developed their dark complexions; hence named them *Ethiopians*. Ethiopia, therefore, meant the black land and Ethiopians were dark-skinned people.⁵

Second, the Portuguese and Spaniards, the forerunners of the European age of discovery, originally followed the practice of Greeks by referring to the whole race of the black people as Ethiopians. The predominantly Muslim blacks of North Africa who conquered and ruled the Iberian peninsula from the 8th to the 15th centuries were known as *Moors*. They defeated the Gothic kingdom of Spain, under the leadership of O. Tarik. The word Moor is *Madfos* (*Mauros*) in Greek, *Maurus* in Latin, and *Maure* in French, meaning black or dark coloured. It literally meant black people, most of whom had accepted the Islamic faith during the infiltration of the Arabs into north Africa. The term Moor was not restricted to the occupants of Morocco during the Medieval history, for it was usually used to refer to the Africans as a whole.

Some European anthropologists of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries attempted to classify the Moors among the so-called "dark whites". They were far more advanced in culture than the Europeans of the Iberian peninsula. Their power in Spain began to decline in the early part of the 13th century. The United Christian kingdoms of Castile and Aragon defeated

them in 1492. Since then they held mainly Grenada and were finally driven out of the peninsula through migration and expulsion by 1610.

Third, with the introduction of slave trade and slavery into the Iberian peninsula during the fifteenth century, the Spaniards adopted the name, *Negro*, from Latin "Nigger", meaning black. The term *Negro* was coined, therefore, to designate the blacks who were being transported to Europe and the New World as slaves in contrast to the Moors, the blacks who were responsible for the introduction of cultural development in southern Europe.

Fourth, during the supremacy of Rome as a world power, the Italians chose to identify the black people by the name, *Africans*. After the third Punic War (146 B.C.), the Romans founded a province on the northern section of the continent which they named Africa. Later the title was used in reference to the continent as a whole. The indigenous black inhabitants of the continent became known as the *Africans*; the very name in use still today.

THE BIRTHPLACE OF BLACK CIVILIZATION (CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT)

Most students of archaeology and history know about the great civilization that prevailed within the Nile Valley, during the history of antiquity. This was the civilization of the Ethiopians and Egyptians. We have identified already the people who were named Ethiopians by the Greeks. Who were then the *Egyptians*? To which ethnic group did the ancient Egyptians belong? The simple answer is that the early Egyptians were African people, members of the black race. It is also vital to point out here that a good number of the western scholars have concluded that Egyptians as the Hamitic people were Caucasians; a group of "white race". The basis of their assertions must be critically examined here before we set forth the Africans' right claim to ancient Egypt and its grand civilization.

First, as a result of the European African slave trade and slavery that developed enormously between 1400 and 1800, a new doctrine emerged about "superior", and "inferior" races of the world. The "superior" race was made up of the "white" people; whereas the "inferior" races were "brown", and "black" people of the globe. By the dawn of the twentieth century, the whole "white" race proved to be the master of the world and rulers for whose glory the rest of the human race existed. Under such powerful position, the Europeans began to arrange and rearrange this planet as they pleased. They assumed the responsibility of naming places, groups of people as they saw fit; especially of the so-called primitive inhabitants of the third world, namely the Africans, Asians, and Latin Americans.

Second, within the same spirit, everything that seemed great, fine, successful, beautiful, and super in human culture or civilization was automatically attributed to the Caucasians; "white race". Within the same influence, Egypt and Ethiopia were stripped from Africa geographically and culturally and

made extension of Euro-Asian territories and civilization. The major reason was that such territories portrayed so great human achievements that could hardly be credited to the "inferior", and "primitive" classes of people, the "Negroes". For the first time, therefore, an imaginary boundary was created to break the continent into two parts, the "Black", and "White" Africa. The western scholarship introduced its thesis of *Subsaharan Africa*, or Africa South of Sahara. The Subsaharan Africa was the "dark continent", inhabited by the "Negroid race", the people of no history; hence of no cultural development until the "white" men arrived as conquerors and agents of civilization. In order to separate the Ethiopians from the other black people in Africa and the New World, these scholars began to say that the Ethiopians were a Semitic people "without a single drop of Negro blood".

Third, every attempt was further made within the umbrella of scientific objectivity to establish a close link between the colour of the skin and cultural development. Within the influence of organic evolution through natural selection and the survival of the fittest as propounded by Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer, humanity was reduced to the level of brutes; hence man was no longer the object of a special creation. In this process and belief, the black man was declared to be closer to the ape than any other races of the world. The scholars of repute remarked that there were certain physical traits in common that gave the "white" race superiority; the very ones which could not be transmitted to men of another race, meaning the "inferior" races of the world. A black skin was concluded to be a symbol of ugliness, evil and innate inferiority. The black people or the "Negroid" race was predicted by them to go the way of the dinosaurs, into eternal extinction.⁸

Fourth, with reference to Mosaic Old Testament historical records, the western scholarship claimed that the black people were the direct descendants of Ham who were destined to serve the descendants of Japheth and Shem as slaves, the hewers of wood and drawers of water. In this position, it was alleged that the black skin was a sign of a curse said to have been pronounced upon Ham by Noah, the post diluvian father of the nations.⁹

Fifth, it is interesting to observe that the science of Egyptology emerged at the height of the European African slave trade and imperialism. Consequently, a good number of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Egyptologists after having been astounded by the wonders of the Nile Valley, did their best to remove Egypt and Ethiopia geographically and culturally out of Africa and to make them extensions of Europe and Asia. The Darwinian anthropologists went forward in the course of time to classify the African people in such minute details based mainly on the linguistic criterion and to be sure that there was not any link between Egypt and the "Negroid" race. Whoever attempted to classify the ancient Egyptians among the black people was bound to be considered too romantic, extreme, bias, and unscientific in scholarship. Dr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, the latest

and most distinguished black scholar of the country, with reference to the above racist train of thought, concluded that without further hesitation, we should ignore such verdict of history, popular as it might be, and treat Egyptian history as an integral part of African history and civilization.¹⁰

Contrary to the position of the racist Egyptologists and anthropologists, of the last century, nearly every fact of history and archaeology confirm the idea that ancient Egyptians were Africans, members of the black ethnic group, varying no more from the other African people than the Chinese from the other Asians; and the Scandinavians from the other Europeans. The eye-witness accounts of the people of near east and near west state affirmatively that Egypt belonged to Africa geographically and culturally. These people included the Babylonians, Assyrians, Hebrews, Persians, Phoenicians and during the western classical period, the Greeks and Romans.

First, just as they are marly physical varieties of the African people today, so they were in ancient history. Today, there are dark and brown Africans in complexion; so were they in the antiquity. No informed scholar doubts as to where came most of the light skinned people occupying north and South Africa. These foreigners were late comers, invaders and usurpers of the African soil and cultural achievements. Among the ancient Egyptians were black and brown in complexions so they painted themselves in contrast to yellow and white foreigners from Asia and Europe.¹¹

Second, the readers may be interested to know that the ancient Egyptians did not name themselves "Egyptians"; for the name was created by the ancient Greeks. The Greeks of the classical age visited the Nile Valley and were highly impressed by the temple of *Ptah*, erected at Memphis, the northern capital of Egypt. They considered this building to be the most glorious structure within the valley. Consequently, the Greeks afterwards referred to the territory as *Hekuptah*, another name of Memphis, the city of Menes, meaning the land of the temple of Ptah; Ptah being the god who protected the city. The Greek language *Hekuptah* developed to be *Aiyulltos* (Aiguptos). During the Roman empire, the name acquired its Latin form *Aegyptus*, from where Egypt sprang, meaning the black land or the land of the black people. Some western scholars in order to deny the Africans of the culture of Egypt, close to state that the blackness referred to the soil rather than the people.

Third, the ancient black inhabitants of this region on the other hand, called their land *Chem*, *Khem* or *Kam* or *Ham*, which meant the black land. In this case, they named themselves *Chemites* or *Khemites*, *Kamites* or in the familiar name, *Hamites*; the very name which was cited by the near eastern neighbours, especially the Hebrews in their historical accounts.¹²

Fourth, of all the near eastern and near western people who had dealing with the blacks of the Nile Valley, probably the Hebrews have had their records distorted by modern scholars. The tables of the nations and messages accompanying those tables have been taken out of context and made to say

what Moses, the author did not utter, as recorded in Genesis chapters nine and ten. The Hebrews as known in ancient history sojourned and lived in Egypt for a period of about four hundred years, dating from the middle of the 19th century to about 1445 B.C., the date in which the Israelites marched out of Egypt and headed towards Canaan, according to the 15th century or 18th dynasty's view of Exodus.¹³ During the period, the Hebrews learned a great deal about the blackland and people, for whom they wrote afterwards.

Since the Hebrews historical records attempts to clarify the relationship that existed between the ancient Egyptians and Ethiopians, it is vital if such accounts were examined at this stage. The Mosaic Old Testament historical accounts simply stated that Noah as the father of the post-diluvian world had three sons. The first one was Japheth who became the progenitor of the Japhethite race, known among the anthropologists as the Indo-European people. The second one was *Shem* in Hebrew and *Sem* in Greek, who became the father of the Semitic race of people to which the Babylonians, Assyrians, Arameans, Hebrews and Arabs belonged. The third son was Ham or Châm in Hebrew who was the progenitor of the Africans, and the Ganaanites.¹⁴

Let us examine further the descendants of the last person mentioned, Ham was recorded to have four sons. The youngest one was Canaan who became the father of the Sidonians, Hittites, Jebusites, Amorites, Hivites, Arkites (Phoenicians), and Hamathites. The first son was named *Cush* (Kush) in Hebrew, and *Ethiopia* in Greek. The Egyptian inscriptions named Ethiopia the land of *Kasha*, and in the Assyrian cuneiform texts, it was rendered *Kushu*. Most of the nations of the near east named the Ethiopians, Cushites (Kushites). The second son was *Mizraim* in Hebrew and *Egypt* in Greek. The other near eastern nations had similar title as of the Hebrews. The Arabs who are the present occupants of the land named it United Arab Republic of *Misr*. The third son was *Phut* (Put) and was traditionally identified to be the progenitor of the Phuttites (Libyans in Greek). The other scholars identified the land of Phut to be in the region of East Africa and Southern Arabia.¹⁵

With reference to the above near eastern accounts, the Kushites (Ethiopians), Mizramites (Egyptians), Phuttites (Libyans), and Ganaanites were all brothers, members of the same race, the *Hamites*. In no case, therefore, could the Japhethites, the Indo-European people, be classified within the Hamitic race. Similarly, the Kushites (Ethiopians) could not be grouped within the Semitic race, the descendants of *Sem*. This does not rule out the possibility of one group of race adopting another's language. Based mainly on the linguistic criterion the western anthropologists and linguists have distorted the black race and made it so divided to the extent that we do not know where we came from originally. We are currently running away from the name *Hamites*, the collective title of the original black people who first settled on the continent, which later was named by the Romans, *Africa*, simply because of the abuse of the so-called "Hamitic myths". Both the

Kushites (Ethiopians) and *Mizraimites* (Egyptians), were therefore Africans, members of the black race who were known collectively as the *Hamites*.

This does not mean that Egypt has always been a black land. The story of how Egypt was transformed from being black land to brown and at last white land is a long one which defies the boundary of this paper. In brief, the transformation took place due to migrations necessitated by two main factors. First, the growth of the Sahara desert brought an overpopulation along the Nile Valley and the Mediterranean coastal regions of Africa, hence some had to find other places for settlement. Second, there were centuries of the struggle between the blacks and the Asiatics and later Europeans who reached the valley for trade purposes but finally abused the hospitality of the African people by seeking to make permanent settlement. During the chaotic periods of black rule, these foreigners took the advantage of grabbing the black land. The defeated Africans were forced to push southwards and to the other directions of the continent. Such similar struggle is currently being enacted within the present Sudan where the Arab whites are the majority in the northern section of the country and the blacks are fighting constantly for independence and maintenance of the land, in the southern portion. The Africans and the people of their descent long time ago migrated not only to the other parts of Africa but also to Anatolia (Asia Minor), Arabia, India, China, Japan, and East Indies. All these areas to this day, show an African or dark stock of people. The blacks or the people of the African descent also moved to Palestine, Greece, Spain, Portugal, France, England, Wales, Ireland and to the countries of North and South America.¹⁶

The civilization of the Nile Valley as a whole was the creation of the black people who were named *Kushites* and *Mizraimites* by the near easterners, and Ethiopians and Egyptians by the classical Greeks. This grand cultural development sprang from the cradle of world civilization *Kush* (Ethiopia).

The Mosaic Old Testament historical records pointed out that from *Kush* (Ethiopia) emerged descendants who were responsible for the foundations of the civilization of both the Mesopotamian and Nile Valleys. This position was further upheld by the classical Greek historians and some outstanding modern archaeologists of the near eastern world. Homer testified that the Ethiopians were the most just of men and the most favourites of the gods. Herodotus spoke of the Ethiopians as the tallest, most beautiful and long lived of the human race. Both Homer and Herodotus held that the original inhabitants of Sudan, Egypt, Arabia, Palestine, western Asia and India were Ethiopians.¹⁷

According to Professor Charles Seignobos, a prominent French historian, the first civilized inhabitants of the Nile and Mesopotamian Valleys were a dark skinned people with short hair and prominent lips and were named *Kushides* (Ethiopians) by some scholars and *Hamites* by others.¹⁸

Diodorus Siculus, one of the prominent classical Greek historians,

observed that the Kushites were of the opinion that their territory was not only the birthplace of the human race and the cradle land of the world's earliest civilization, but that it was indeed the prime Eden where living things for the first time emerged on the earth.¹⁹ In the above statements, the Greek historian rubber stamped the Mosaic Genesis position. The Old Testament record simply asserted that *Gihon*, as the second river which flowed from the Garden of Eden encircled the whole land of *Cush* (Ethiopia).²⁰ Up to the present time Nile springs are named *Giyon*, the Ethiopic title for *Gihon*. In Septuagint, the river of Egypt was *Lewv* (Geon) whereas in Ben Sira, *Gihon* appeared in parallelism to the Nile. Josephus in *Antiquities* had the same rendering. The great river of Africa was the *Gihon* that flowed from Eden, the very river which the Greeks named Nile.²¹

Diodorus Siculus was therefore, the first western scholar to draw attention on the Ethiopians claim about the tropical Africa being the cradle land of the world's earliest civilization, the original Eden of the human race. Diodorus Siculus and Stephanus of Byzantium further held that the blacks of antiquity were the earliest of all the civilized people on earth and that the first civilized inhabitants of ancient Egypt (Mizraim) were members of the black race which entered the country as emigrants from Ethiopia.²²

The opinions of the ancient writers on the relationship that existed between Egypt and Ethiopia was summarized by Gaston Camille Maspero (1846-1916), an outstanding Italian born French Egyptologist and the second director of the Institute of Egyptian Antiquities. Maspero observed that by almost unanimous testimony of the ancient historians, the Egyptians belonged to the Negroid or black race which first settled in Ethiopia, on the Middle Nile. By following the course of the river, they gradually reached the sea.²³

ANCIENT BLACKS AS PIONEERS IN WORLD CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

In what realms of knowledge and cultural development were ancient blacks pioneers? With the ancient Ethiopia and Egypt having been restored to Africa and its original inhabitants, it is not difficult to outline the main features of their civilization. In this section we shall examine again Prof. Williams statement which portrayed the Black's pioneering role in building the very earliest great civilization on this planet, including the development of writing, sciences, engineering, medicine, architecture, religion, and fine arts.

First, the blacks of the ancient world were pioneers in the development of *writing and literature*. The blacks of Ethiopia originally invented hieroglyphic scripts and during the Meroitic civilization developed their own alphabetic scripts. While archaeologists have managed to read the Meroitic hieroglyphic scripts, the understanding of them still remains as a challenge to the contemporary and future scholars.²⁴ Within the Upper Egypt where the black cultural development reached the summit of glory during the

dynastic period, writing passed through four chief stages. In the first stage the blacks formulated *hieroglyphs*. In this attempt they carefully developed pictures from the early pictograms. Second, *Hieratic* scripts were developed. They resembled the hieroglyphs with the exception of the fact that they were drawn in a more cursive form. The *demotic* stage on the other hand proved to be more cursive and much more simplified kind of writing than hieratic. This kind of scripts were commonly used during the first millennium B.C., shortly after the end of the New Kingdom. The last stage, *Coptic* scripts were in use. As soon as Egypt became a Christian nation during the fourth century A.D., the old scripts ceased to be used and the Greek alphabetic letters were adopted in the reproduction of a Coptic language. In this case, about eight additional characters were borrowed from the demotic scripts so as to express sounds for which the Greek scripts had no letters.²⁵

There were varieties of the ancient blacks' literature. There are magical and religious texts such as the Pyramid Texts, Coffin Texts, the Book of the Dead. Manetho, a black priest, and most probably the father of African history, wrote a *History of Egypt* in Greek, dating from the earliest times up to his period, 3rd century B.C. Unfortunately, a great portion of his texts were lost in the destruction of the Alexandrian Library. The surviving fragments listed the kings of Egypt in thirty dynasties. In this case, the blacks of Ethiopia and Egypt had historical narratives; publications of love, banquet songs; there were also military campaigns and building records. There were publications on prophecies, and proverbs. There were also treatises on medicine, mathematics, and related subjects.²⁶

Second, the ancient blacks of the Nile Valley were pioneers in *architecture* and *engineering science*. From the earliest time of African history, the blacks had reached a high degree in mechanical arts. Great perfection was reached in spinning and weaving. The glass was manufactured. The colouring of such products have baffled modern ingenuity. The iron and steel along with the common agricultural and mechanical implements made from them were in use. The magnificent ruins along the Nile Valley still make a profound impression upon the observers. The temple of Karnak from its outstanding forms and brilliant decorations has been pronounced the most magnificent of man's architectural works. Their great proficiency in the engineering science was demonstrated in the construction of the great pyramids, obelisks, and temples, which have withstood the test of time for millenniums of years.²⁷

Third, the blacks were pioneers in the development of *fine arts*. We have mentioned about building monuments that have withstood the destructive forces of nature and man of thousands of years. They reached a high level in handling such enormous amounts of stone without the knowledge of the wheel which was discovered several centuries later. They excelled also in sculpture, painting, and the use of both hard and soft stones, bronze and gold. Every piece of art was done for a specific practical purpose of life,

typical of a black philosophy of life and thought. In this case, nothing was done for a mere sake as featured in the western thought. Some of the paintings on many tombs during the New Kingdom rank with the contemporary modern pieces of art.²⁸

Fourth, the blacks were among the pioneers in *mathematical science*. They developed a knowledge of mathematics. Texts show that they could compute correctly the volume of a truncated pyramid or of a cylinder. The Greek system of mathematical notation and arithmetic calculations were derived from the blacks of the Nile Valley, just as their trigonometry and algebra were borrowed from the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates.²⁹

Fifth, the blacks were pioneers in the realms of *astronomy, physical and geographical sciences*. They did not need to think abstractively as the Greeks and Romans. Astronomy grew out of a need for control of the Nile River. According to Richard A. Proctor, an English astronomer, the Great Egyptian Pyramid was used also as an observatory position in the study of the heavenly bodies. The blacks were among the first to invent a calendar. The solar calendar of twelve months which govern the lives and movements of the human race was a discovery of the ancient blacks of Egypt. By the beginning of the dynastic kingdoms, they were using already a yearly cycle of twelve months, which started in the middle of the summer season when the Nile annually overflowed its banks. By observing the stars the Africans knew that the approximate length of the year was 365 days. Each of the twelve months consisted of thirty days. They knew well that a year was made up of 365 days and the extra five days which were corrected at the end of each year as the birthdays of the great gods and were observed as festivals during which none was allowed to work. The Romans borrowed the knowledge of a calendar from the blacks of Egypt. The so-called Julian and Gregorian calendar were simply slight improvements on the inventions of the ancient blacks of the Nile Valley.³⁰

Sixth, the blacks were pioneers in *medicine*. In the science of medicine, the blacks of the Old Kingdom (2700-2185 B.C.) displayed a remarkable achievement. They knew a great deal about the knowledge of physiology, surgery, the circulatory system of the blood, and asepsis. Imhotep, the Wise, Grand Vizier and Court Physician of King Sozer of the third dynasty, the architect of the world's earliest stone building, demonstrated himself as a unique character in the field of medicine. He became a deity and later a universal god of medicine. The first Temple of Imhotep was mankind's first hospital. To it came sufferers from all the world for prayer, peace and healing. After his death, Imhotep was worshipped as a medical demi-god up to 525 B.C., and from that time to A.D. 550, he was worshiped as a full deity. Kings and queens bowed at his shrine. When black Egyptians' civilization went across the Mediterranean to become the foundation of what is called Greek classical culture, the teachings of Imhotep were swallowed along with the principles of the other great black educators. When the Greek

civilization became predominant within the Mediterranean world, the Greeks wanted the inhabitants of the globe to know that they were the originators of everything. Consequently they stopped acknowledging the indebtedness to Imhotep and the other great black educators were forgotten: hence *Hipocrates*, a legendary figure of two thousand years later, was made the father of medicine. The truth is, the blacks were the ones who produced the father of medicine, Imhotep the Great.³¹

Seventh, the blacks were among the pioneers in the development of *agricultural science*. The blacks of Egypt developed agricultural skills that made the Nile Valley to be the granary of the ancient world. Nations, during the time of famine rushed to Africa for food; example was of the Israelites who migrated to Egypt during the Hyksos period of domination. They devised ways of irrigation and preservation of the waters of the Nile. Herodotus, the European father of history remarked right when he said that Egypt was the gift of the Nile. It was from the Nile Valley that the Greeks obtained their knowledge of agriculture, while Babylonia became outstanding for its merchants, the Nile Valley was prominent for its farmers.

Eighth, the blacks were among the earliest in the formation of an orderly system of government; hence in the formulation of *political science*. By the fourth millennium, about 3100 B.C., the blacks of the Nile Valley had a unified federal government, under one monarch Pharaoh Menes. The unification took place between 3500 and 3100 B.C., when various communities of Northern Ethiopia (Upper and Lower Egypt) formed a federation. From this beginning the Egyptian Government passed through the centuries, thirty dynasties as outlined by Manetho, the father of African history.

Ninth, the blacks were among the pioneers in *religious and philosophical studies*. Herodotus testified that the Africans (Ethiopians) were the most strictly religious of all men. This statement has outlived centuries of history, for it is, still true within the contemporary history. Africa south of the first cataract was known as the land of the gods by the blacks of Egypt and Greeks who visited it. Religion played a vital part in everyone's life. There rose more than 2000 gods who governed all aspects of people's lives. While polytheism reigned for years, the ancient blacks arrived at the knowledge of a Supreme Being (God), especially during the reign of Ikhnaton (Amenhotep IV) who ruled between 1375 and 1366 B.C. Imhotep apart from being the father of medicine was also the father of theology and philosophy in the history of black civilization. It was from the blacks of Egypt that the Greek philosophers gained their knowledge and inspiration that enabled them to set up a firm foundation for the western civilization. Some of the most outstanding Greek scholars and educators who were taught by the blacks of the Nile Valley included Homer, Thales of Miletus, Anaximander, Pythagorus, Lycurgus, Solon, Herodotus, Plato, Aristotle, and Archimedes.³²

ON THE FOUNDATIONS OF BLACK CULTURAL HISTORY

As we draw towards conclusion in this paper, it is probably essential that certain matters be clarified or re-emphasized. The Scholars and readers whose philosophical position on African cultural history are not honoured in this paper need not stumble. The defensive approach featured in it was found necessary, for the African cultural history is still ignored and misunderstood by many in Africa and abroad. The paper at the same time did not seek to foster any spirit of antagonism against the western scholars and people, simply because their verdicts on African cultural history have been either ignored or critically disapproved. The writer personally believes in a universal brotherhood of mankind and is inclined to give due adoration to the remarkable contributions the western world has made during the rebirth of African civilization. On the foundations of black cultural history, there are certain concluding remarks which could be taken into serious consideration.

First, while commendations must be extended to scholars who have contributed to the reconstruction of the African history dating from the pre-colonial times to the present, such efforts appear to be inadequate and based on weak foundations. Such scholars have not addressed themselves to the question of the Nile Valley's civilization for they seem to be bound by the western thesis of the *Subsaharan Africa*. This artificial boundary must be uprooted immediately especially with reference to ancient Africa. As long as it is still there, the Africans are bound to have a hard time in discrediting the early western notion which denied the black people of a cultural development before the Europeans reached the continent as conquerors and agents of civilization. What significant cultural attainment of the black people south of Sahara during the pre-colonial societies worthy of discrediting the above notion? After observing the simple lives which our ancestors were leading, we were classified among the most "primitive" races of the world by virtue of the fact that we were said to be divided into numerous hostile tribes with most of the members either walking naked or clothed in skins. Above all, we were said to be living in gross darkness because the people were practically illiterate, and at the same time all our languages had not been reduced to writing. Can our cultural history be said to be of great significance when it is established on the foundations of the pre-colonial societies which were subdued by the mighty sophisticated technology of the west?

Second, in the reconstruction of our cultural history worthy of granting as a more realistic sense of pride, the pre-colonial societies must be looked upon as a period of a great decline in the African civilization, and that the western Europeans took the advantage of this period by leading the race further to degradation through slave trade and colonial domination.

Third, our cultural history worthy of its name and study must spring from the birthplace of the world civilization, the region which the near eastern people

named *Kush* and *Mizraim*, and *Ethiopia* and *Egypt* by the classical Greeks. This position is not unique with this paper, for it was the understanding of the original black people who inhabited the region. It was the stand of some of the prominent archaeologists and historians of modern history. It has been the position of some of the most outstanding contemporary twentieth century black scholars most certainly including Edward Wilmot Blyden, William Leo Hansberry, Carter G. Woodson, W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, Chancellor Williams, John G. Jackson, DeGraft-Johnson, G. K. Osei of Ghana, Cheikh Anta Diop of Senegal, and many others. John Henrik Clarke in his introductory note to the *Introduction of African Civilizations* by John G. Jackson, asserted that Egypt was the key to ancient African history, and that African history was out of kilter until ancient Egypt was looked upon as a distinct African nation.³³

Dr. Cheikh Anta Diop, probably the only qualified contemporary black Egyptologist in his commentary over the relationship between Egypt and the rest of Africa, remarked that the history of Black Africa would remain suspended in the air and could not be written until the African historians were courageous enough to link it with the history of Egypt. He further pointed out that the African historians who attempted to evade the problem of Egypt could neither be modest nor objective. He considered such to be ignorant, cowardly and even neurotic.³⁴ Just as it is inconceivable for a European historian to account for the western civilization objectively without building on the foundations of the classical Greeks and Romans, similarly, it is almost impossible to reconstruct a sound African cultural history outside the foundations of the Nile Valley, the birthplace of black civilization.

Fourth, the reconstruction of a cultural history of the African people is conceived in this paper to mean a struggle for cultural liberation of the race which has been subject to degradation for centuries. It is the kind of liberation that the founder of Christianity remarked was affected by the understanding of the truth. It is the liberation that comes to the African mind by knowing and understanding the significant role the blacks have played in the world since the dawn of human history. The black people emerge at the dawn of human history in the forefront nearly in every phase of learning and cultural development. It is the liberation that gives members of the race courage to question the entire history of the African people as portrayed by the former colonial masters and scholars, and to do everything possible to see its full reconstruction. It is the liberation that comes with the understanding of black people as members of one family regardless of varying physical structures and multiple languages brought about through centuries of migrations and cross breeding from the original cradle land, where we were collectively known as the *Hamitic* people. This liberation will give the contemporary African historians courage to re-examine the classification and names attributed to the black people by the western anthropologists and linguists of the last century. The liberation would probably

lead the scholars to find out whether there are valid reasons for some of us being labelled "Bantu", "Nilotes", "Negrillos", "Khoisans", or "Negroes". The same cultural study will consider the possibility of abolishing such labels as "Bushmen", "Pygmies", and "Berbers".

It is the liberation that results in a better understanding of the race. With the rich examples of what our ancestors accomplished in ages past, the future could be directed towards greater prosperity and happiness. Nothing would be made an object of study for study's sake as featured in the Graeco—Roman mentality. Just as Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere has several times reiterated that liberation would be the supreme object of education; hence it should be of the reconstruction of a cultural history of the African people. The cultural liberation will enable the scholars to be themselves. In this case, they would not feel obligated to be merely duplicates of the western scholars in their stereotyped styles of writing.

Fifth, the reconstruction of black cultural history dating from the dawn of human civilization would necessitate visiting the ancient historical sites, the Nile Valley, so that the students may observe for themselves the historic monuments and documents which portray the glory of their ancestral achievements. Such organizations like the Institute of African Studies could extend their objectives by assuming the responsibility in guiding the African students and scholars in the reconstruction of the ancient black civilization. Unfortunately, the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.), like some other international political bodies does not seem to lead the continent towards actual unity needed by the race. Through an active O.A.U., however, the largest international university could be set up having within its campus the largest library, museum, and laboratory in the world. For its library and museum the leaders could appeal to the western and eastern nations concerned to restore the documents and monuments removed from the sights of the ancient black civilization, the Nile Valley. The Arabs who are currently the custodians of the ancient historical sights could be urged to take every caution in seeing that the monuments are preserved and made available to the African students and scholars, during their study tours.

At last in the reconstruction of a cultural history of the black people, the Africans should be able to see beauty in themselves and to sense the honour of being descendants of people who have made such a brilliant record in human history. The African cultural history would be viewed and portrayed within the understanding that was experienced by Dr. G. K. Osei, a distinguished Ghanaian historian and a prolific author of African cultural history, who once remarked:

In the early history of mankind, the African stood high in the ladder of civilization; but through dark ages, fell into ignorance and superstition; but now, in the dawning of a new day arising, never again to be submerged beneath the darkness that covers the earth, the gross darkness that covers the people.³⁵

On that note of understanding, the African historians should be courageous enough to reconstruct the entire cultural history of the black people as a source of inspiration and liberation.

FOOTNOTES

1. Chancellor Williams, *The Destruction of Black Civilization* (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendal/Hunt Publishing Company, 1971), p. xv. (Hereafter this reference will be cited as the *Destruction of Black Civilization*.)
2. *Ibid.*
3. See the detailed classification as outlined by J. E. G. Sutton, "The Settlement of East Africa", from B. A. Ogot (ed.), *Zamani: A Survey of East African History* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1974), pp. 77-79.
4. A. J. Arkell, *History of the Sudan* (London, 1961), p. 11; L. Thompson and J. Ferguson (eds.), *Africa in Classical Antiquity* (Nigeria: Ibadan University Press, 1969), pp. 26-27.
5. Sir Ernest A. Wallis Budge, *A History of Ethiopia*, Vol. 1, pp. vii-viii.
6. Stanley Lane Poole, *The Story of the Moors in Spain* (London, 1886), pp. 18-19; DeGraft-Johnson and John Coleman, *African Glory* (New York: Walerk Co., 1966), pp. 69-70.
7. G. K. Osei, *The African Philosophy of Life* (London: The African Publication Society, 1970), p. 5.
8. Crane Brinton and others, *Modern Civilization: a History of the Last Five Centuries* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1957), pp. 520-21; Robert C. Binkley, *The Rise of Modern Europe: Realism* (New York: Harper and Row, 1935), pp. 26-31.
9. J. H. Speke, *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile*, p. xiii.
10. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, *The World and Africa* (New York: International Publishers, 1965), p. 9.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 105-106.
12. Williams, *The Destruction of Black Civilization*, p. 17; John G. Jackson, *Introduction to African Civilizations* (New York: University Books, 1970), p. 153. (Hereafter this reference will be cited as, *Introduction to African Civilization*.)
13. J. W. Jack, *The Date of Exodus* (Edinburgh: T. & Clark, 1925).
14. Ira Maurice Price and others, *The Monuments and the Old Testament* (Chicago: The Judson Press, 1958), pp. 128-138.
15. Flvvarious Josephus, *Antiquities*, Book I, Chapter VI; James B. Pritchard, *Natural History of Man*, Vol. I, Book II, Chapter XI, sec. ii.
16. For full account see John M. Weatherwax, *African Contribution* (Los Angeles, California, 1964); Jackson, *Introduction to African Civilization*, p. 25; Williams, *The Destruction of Black Civilization*, pp. 119-136.
17. Wallis Budge, *A History of Ethiopia*, Vol. I, pp. 1-2.
18. Charles Seignobon, *History of Ancient Civilization*; Jackson, *Introduction to African Civilizations*, pp. 68-69.
19. Diodorus Siculus, *Histoire Universell*, trans. by Abbe Terrasson (Paris, 1958), Book 3, p. 341.
20. Genesis 2:13.
21. Cheesman, *Lake Tana and the Blue Nile* (London, 1936), pp. 71, 75; Josephus, *Antiquities* (in W. Whiston's trans., London, 1841), p. 33; Edward Ullendorff, *Ethiopia and the Bible* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 2.
22. Diodorus Siculus, *op. cit.*; Jackson, *Introduction to African Civilization*, p. 10.

23. Caston Camille Maspero, *The Dawn of Civilization* (2nd ed. London, Society for the Promotion of Christianity, 1896).
24. Joseph Kaster (ed. and trans.) *The Literature and Mythology and Ancient Egypt* (London: Allen Lane the Penguin Press, 1968), pp. 13-40. Alan H. Gardiner, *Writing and Literature from S. K. Glanville* (ed.), *The Legacy of Egypt* (London: Oxford University Press, 1942), pp. 53-79. (Hereafter this reference will be cited as the *Legacy of Egypt*.)
25. Glanville, *Legacy of Egypt*, p. 327.
26. Tom B. Jones, *Ancient Civilization* (Chicago: Rand Mc. Nally & Company, 1960), p. 73.
27. R. Englebach, "Mechanical and Technical Processes", from Glanville, *The Legacy of Egypt*, pp. 120-159; Herodotus, *The History of Herodotus*, p. 125.
28. James Henry Breasted, *A History of Egypt* (New York: Bantam Books, 1905), pp. 33, 86-91, 285-93, 349-50.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.
30. J. W. S. Sewell, "The Calendars and Chronology", Glanville, *The Legacy of Egypt*, pp. 1-15.
31. Warren R. Dawson, "Medicine", Glanville, *The Legacy of Egypt*, pp. 179-197.
32. G. K. Osei, *History of the African People*, Vol. II, *Africans in Europe* (London: The African Publishing Society, 1971), pp. 9-17.
33. Jackson, *Introduction to African Civilization*, pp. 12-13.
34. C. A. Diop, *The African Origin of Civilization: Myth or Reality* (Trans. Mercer Cook, New York: Lawrence & Company, 1974), pp. xiv.
35. G. K. Osei, *Europe's Gift to Africa* (London: African Publishing Society, 1968), p. 22.

Information: Journals Published by the Bureau Include:

BUSARA

Busara is published under the auspices of the Department of Literature, University of Nairobi. It presents original creative writing, including material discussed at the University's flourishing Writers' Workshop and also carries criticism, mainly of African literature.

The magazine is edited by a different student-editor each year. Two issues per year.

Subscription, including postage:

E.A.Shs. 10/- US \$2.50

DHANA

The Makerere University Department of Literature journal of creative writing. The journal features original short stories, poetry, plays and book reviews.

Two issues per year.

Subscription, including postage:

E.A.Shs. 10/- US \$2.50

UMMA

A creative writing under the auspices of the Department of Literature, University of Dar es Salaam. The journal carries original short stories, poetry, plays and book reviews.

Two issues per year.

Subscription, including postage:

E.A.Shs. 10/- US \$2.50

EASTERN AFRICA LAW REVIEW

A Journal of Law and Development

Editor: I. G. Shivji.

Three issues per year.

Subscription, including postage:

E.A.Shs. 50/- US \$17.00

PAN-AFRICAN JOURNAL

Editor-In-Chief: M. D. Kagombe, Ph.D.

Published jointly by the Kenya Literature Bureau and the Pan-African Institute, Inc., U.S.A.

The Pan-African Journal is published quarterly—March, June, October, and December (four issues per volume).

Subscription, including postage:

E.A.Shs. 40/- US \$15.00

JOURNAL OF EASTERN AFRICAN RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

Editor: G. S. Were

Two issues per year.

Subscription, including postage:

E.A.Shs. 35/- US \$10.00

BULLETIN OF ANIMAL HEALTH AND PRODUCTION IN AFRICA

(English/French)

Four issues per year about 80 pages each.

Subscription, including postage:

E.A.Shs. 50/- US \$8.00

MAKTABA

Official Journal of the Kenya Library Association.

Editor: John L. Abukutsa

Issues: One volume consisting of two issues a year.

Subscription including postage will be:

E.A.Shs. 16/- US \$3.75

THOUGHT AND PRACTICE

The Journal of the Philosophical Association of Kenya

Editor: Dr. H. Odero Oruka

Issues: One annual volume consisting of two issues

Subscription including postage:

E.A.Shs. 17/- US \$4.00

THE AFRICAN REVIEW

A Journal of African Politics, Development and International Affairs.

Editorial Board: N. Shamuyarira, I. Brown, O. Nnoli, A. Rweyemamu and A. Mushi.

Issues: Four per year.

Subscription including postage:

E.A.Shs. 40/- US \$17.00

EDUCATION IN EASTERN AFRICA JOURNAL (published for the Regional Council for Education)

Editor: Bigala J.

Issues: Two per year.

Subscription:

E.A.Shs. 28/- US \$8.00

EAST AFRICAN JOURNAL OF MEDICAL RESEARCH

The Journal of the East African Medical Research Council.

Sponsors: East African Community.

Editor: Professor A. M. Nlonoli.

Issues: The journal will consist of one volume a year, published quarterly.

Subscription:

E.A.Shs. 60/- US \$17.00

KENYA HISTORICAL REVIEW

The journal of the Historical Association of Kenya concerned with the History of Kenya and East Africa.

Editor: Ochieng' W. R.

Two issues per year.

Subscription:

E.A.Shs. 24/- US \$5.20

EAST AFRICAN LAW JOURNAL

Editors:

Robert Martin and Julio Menezes

Digest Editors:

R. W. Hodgkin and George Masika.

Associate Editors:

Justus K. Kitonga and Joseph Byamugisha.

Editorial Board:

Sir W. A. H. Duffus, President, Court of Appeal for E. Africa (Chairman) The Hon. Charles Njonjo, Attorney-General of Kenya. The Hon. P. J. Nkambo Mugerwa, Solicitor-General of Uganda B. H. Rahim, Esq., Chief Parliamentary Draftsman, Ministry of Tanzania, Prof. G. G. S. Munoru, Dean, Faculty of Law, University of Law. Tudor Jackson, Esq., Principal, Kenya School of Law. Peter Le Pelley, Esq., Advocate, Law Society of Kenya. Prof. U. U. Uche, Faculty of Law, University of Nairobi. O. K. Mutungi, Esq., Senior Lecturer, Faculty of Law, University of Nairobi.

Two issues per year:

Annual subscription in E. Africa Shs. 35/-. Annual subscription outside E. Africa U.S. \$ 8.75.

UTAFITI

A Journal of The Faculty of Arts and Social Science—University of Dar es Salaam.

Chief Editor: Prof. Yash Tandon

Associate Editors: G. Mmari.

G. Kamenju

Issues: Two issues a year

Subscription per year: E.A. shs. 24/-
\$5.20
£2.10

All subscriptions to:

KENYA LITERATURE BUREAU

P.O. Box 30022, NAIROBI

MAKERERE HISTORICAL JOURNAL

Editor:

Professor Semakula M. M. Kiwanuka

Associate Editor:

B. Rugyema, Ph.D.

Issues: One volume a year; consisting of two issues.

Subscription:

Annual subscription within E. Africa Shs. 24.00
Outside E. Africa US \$5.20
UK £2.10

THE KENYA GEOGRAPHER

Editor:

Francis F. Ojany

Assistant Editor:

Dr. Jean P. Palutikof

Members of the Board:

Peter MacManus

P. H. Perrett

One volume a year, consisting of two issues.
Annual subscription including postage will be:

Within E. Africa	Shs. 40/-
Outside E. Africa	US \$10.00
	UK £4.00

THE EAST AFRICAN ECONOMIC REVIEW

Editor:

Dr. J. K. Maitha

Issues:

One volume a year, consisting of two issues

Subscription, including postage:

Within E. Africa	Shs. 70/-
Outside E. Africa	US \$12.00
	UK £4.50

CONTENTS

Prof. GIDEON S. WERE:	—The Economy of Pre-colonial Bugisu	1
B. TURYAHIKAYO-RUGYEMA:	—The Emandwa cult in Western Uganda and Rwanda	11
S. LWANGA-LUNYINGO:	—Uganda and World one	27
JIMMY K. TINDIGARUKAYO:	—Towards the African Social Revolution: The case of Tanzania	43
E. L. GUMISIRIZA:	—The Policy of centralization of Education in Uganda from 1964 to 1971	57
A. R. NSIBAMBI:	—The Politics of Litigation and Political Integration in Uganda: The Lwebuga Legal-Political-Taugle¹	77
DR. GERSHOM N. AMAYO:	—Ancient Foundations of Black Cultural Development	91