

**A HISTORICAL STUDY OF CONFLICTS
IN BUSOGA DIOCESE, CHURCH OF UGANDA
(1972 – 1999)**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED BY
THOMAS MOORE KISITU**

**TO THE FACULTY OF DIVINITY
THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

MAY 2002



DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been (and will not be) presented to any other academic institution other than the University of Edinburgh, to which it is submitted for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. It has been composed by myself, and is a result of my own research. All quotations have been distinguished by quotation marks, or indentations in the main text of the thesis, and the sources of information acknowledged by means of footnotes.

.....

.....

MAY 2002

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Several people have contributed greatly to the successful completion of this study. My sincere appreciation goes out to them. My particular thanks are due to the Miller Trustees and the Langham Trust who took a larger share of the responsibility for my tuition and living expenses. I am grateful for the financial support and other forms of assistance given to me and my family by the General Board of Global Ministries (United Methodist Church USA), the trustees of the William Honyman Gillespie Scholarship, the trustees of the Wives Students Fund, The Free Church of Scotland, Christian Aid (Scotland), Churches' Commission For International Students (Churches Together in Britain and Ireland), The Methodist Churches in Uganda, Kenya and Britain, Uncle Reg Whiley and my brother-in-law and sister, Edward and Maria Nsubuga.

This study is based predominantly on the research I carried out in Uganda and Britain. In Uganda I wish to thank all my informants who readily gave me access to oral and handwritten/printed source material. I am indebted to Rev Dr Tom Tuma, Dr David Kantale Kazungu, Rev Dr Chris Palacas, Rev Vasco da Gama Wangola, Rev John Magumba and others whose advice, encouragement and insights helped me a great deal. I am grateful for the tremendous assistance given to me by the staff of the Church of Uganda Provincial Secretariat, Busoga Diocese, Uganda Christian University (Mukono), Makerere University Library, The Department of Religious Studies - Makerere University, Uganda Government Archives, Entebbe and the Methodist Church in Uganda.

In Britain my thanks go out to those who helped me in various ways. They include Professor David Kerr (Director of the Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World, University of Edinburgh), Professor Andrew F Walls (University of Edinburgh), Professor Kwame Bediako (Akrofi-Kristaller Memorial Centre for Mission Research and Applied Theology, Ghana), Professor Holger Bernt Hansen (Centre for African Studies, University of Copenhagen), Dr James L Cox (University of Edinburgh), Dr Andrew Ross (University of Edinburgh), Rev Dr Elena Stepanova (a Methodist minister working in Russia), Dr Helen Reid (Faith to Faith, Touchstone, Bradford), Mr Thos L Peck (Napier University), the teaching staff and my fellow students at the Centre

for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World (CSCNWW). I am also grateful for the assistance given to me by the CSCNWW support staff (Mrs Anne Fernon, Miss Margaret Acton, Mrs Elizabeth Leitch, Miss Elizabeth Young and Mrs Doreen Walls), and the staff of New College (University of Edinburgh), libraries of the University of Edinburgh the National Library of Scotland, Lambeth Palace Library, the School of Oriental and African Studies Library (University of London), Henry Martyn Centre for the Study of Mission and World Christianity (Cambridge University), Busoga Trust, and the Special Collections Department of Birmingham University Library.

Special thanks go out to Mrs Danielle Plant and Mrs Patricia Knox who proof-read my work, and my two supervisors, Dr Marcella Althus-Reid and Dr T Jack Thompson whose constructive criticisms, guidance and encouragement contributed greatly towards the successful conclusion of this study. Last but not least I am indebted to my dear wife Winifred Kisitu and our daughter Moira Zawedde Kisitu (whose birth brought delight and delay to the completion of this thesis) with whom I shared the joys and pressures of this study. In the midst of her own obligations, which included her postgraduate studies, Winifred managed to encourage and comfort me, to read my work and to make vital and stimulating comments. To her and others who helped me in various ways I can only say, *mwebale nnyo banange. Katonda abatunulize obwenyibwe.*

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Declaration	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
Maps and Illustrations	ix
Abbreviations	x
Abstract	xii

PART ONE: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND STUDY

1. INTRODUCTION	1
A CASE FOR A STUDY OF CONFLICTS IN BUSOGA DIOCESE, CHURCH OF UGANDA THE PROBLEM, PURPOSE, AREA AND PERIOD OF THE STUDY	1
LEVEL OF INQUIRY	7
RELATION TO OTHER STUDIES	
NECESSARY LIMITATIONS	
METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES OF INFORMATION	11
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	
SOURCES OF INFORMATION	
THE OVERALL SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS STUDY	18
2. BUSOGA, THE BASOGA AND THE CHURCH IN BUSOGA – NOT STRANGERS TO CONFLICTS AND DISASTERS	20
A TURBULENT BUSOGA	20
THE TRADITIONAL SOCIO-POLITICAL SETTING OF BUSOGA	
BUSOGA – A CONFLICT AND WAR-STRICKEN REGION FAMINES, DISEASES AND OTHER NATURAL DISASTERS	
AN EMERGING CHURCH IN BUSOGA	33
THE ROOTS OF CONFLICTS IN THE CHURCH IN BUSOGA A CONFLICT-CAUSING AND VULNERABLE LEADERSHIP STRUCTURE	

THE MAKING OF BUSOGA DIOCESE	51
THE MAKING OF BUSOGA KINGDOM	
THE CREATION OF BUSOGA DIOCESE AND THE APPOINTING OF ITS FIRST BISHOP	
THE DIVISIVE TENDENCIES IN THE CHURCH OF UGANDA - TOWARDS AN UNDERSTANDING	70
THE 'CHURCH IN BUGANDA' VERSUS THE CHURCH OF UGANDA	
THE CREATION OF 'TRIBAL' DIOCESES	
 PART TWO: CONFLICTS IN BUSOGA DIOCESE, CHURCH OF UGANDA (1972 - 1999)	
3. TENSIONS IN THE NASCENT PERIOD OF BUSOGA DIOCESE AND THE IGANGA 'DIOCESAN' CRISIS (1972 -1988)	86
EARLY CRACKS WITHIN THE DIOCESE	87
THE RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME	99
TENSIONS IN THE DIOCESE DURING THE EARLY EIGHTIES	109
THE ATTEMPTED SECESSION OF IGANGA AND NAMUTUMBA ARCHDEACONRIES (1984 – 1988)	114
REFLECTION	140
4. 'LEAD US NOT INTO TEMPTATION': THE BUSOGA CRISIS IN THE MAKING (1988 – 1992)	150
THE ESCALATION OF CONFLICTING DIFFERENCES IN THE DIOCESE	150
TENSIONS WITHIN THE PASTORAL SECTOR	
UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPTS TO AVERT THE BUSOGA CRISIS	
THE 'RISE AND FALL' OF THE MULTI-SECTORAL RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME (MSRDP)	173
THE OPERATIONS, IMPACT AND PROBLEMS OF MSRDP	
MSRDP- 'THE DARLING OF THE DIOCESE'	
THE CRISIS IN ST JAMES' PARISH CHURCH, JINJA	188

	ANOTHER VOTE OF NO CONFIDENCE IN JOHN KALIMUNGABO BAGENDA	
	BAMWOZE’S REFUSAL TO REMOVE BAGENDA FROM ST JAMES’ CHURCH	
	THE IMMEDIATE CAUSES OF THE CRISIS	197
	THE INCREASING RIFTS WITHIN THE LEADERSHIP OF THE DIOCESE	
	THE EVENTS WHICH SPARKED THE BUSOGA CRISIS	
	REFLECTION	208
5.	‘DELIVER US FROM EVIL’: THE OUTBREAK AND ESCALATION OF THE BUSOGA CRISIS (1992-1999)	213
	THE OUTBREAK AND DEEPENING OF THE BUSOGA CRISIS	214
	FROM CHRIST’S CATHEDRAL BUGEMBE TO ST JAMES’ CHURCH, JINJA	
	SAZARISM AS A FACTOR IN THE BUSOGA CRISIS	
	THE DEEPENING OF THE CRISIS BETWEEN OCTOBER AND DECEMBER 1992	
	THE BUSOGA CRISIS DURING THE PERIOD BETWEEN 1993 AND 1994	232
	THE HOUSE OF BISHOPS’ SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE BUSOGA CONFLICT (HBSCBC)	
	THE ESCALATION OF PHYSICAL VIOLENCE	
	UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPTS TO HAVE THE CRISIS RESOLVED IN BUSOGA	
	ARCHBISHOP LIVINGSTONE MPALANYI NKOYOOYO AND THE BUSOGA CRISIS	256
	‘NKOYOOYO – AN NRM AND BDSC’S MAN’	
	NKOYOOYO VERSUS BAMWOZE AND HIS SUPPORTERS	
	REFLECTION	283
6.	GENERAL REFLECTIONS	293
	A REGION AND CHURCH AFFECTED BY CONFLICTS	293
	APPENDICES	319
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	349

MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

1.	Map 1 - Uganda (Political 1995)	xvi
2.	Map 2 - Provinces of Uganda Protectorate (1932)	xvii
3.	Map 3 - Uganda Districts (1969)	xvii
4.	Map 4 - Missionary Stations and Busumba in Busoga (1969)	xviii
5.	Map 5 - Busoga: The Population in the habitat (1969)	xix
6.	Map 6 - Dioceses of the Church of Uganda (1961)	xx
7.	Map 7 - Dioceses of the Roman Catholic Church, Uganda (1995)	xx
8.	Map 8 - Dioceses of the Church of Uganda (2000)	xxi
9.	Bishop Cyprian K Bamwoze	319
10.	Bishop Bamwoze and his wife Naomi	319
11.	Bishop Bamwoze and Mr Aggrey Awori (Uganda Presidential nominations- January 1991)	320
12.	Christ's Cathedral Bugembe (side view)	320
13.	Christ's Cathedral Bugembe (front view)	320
14.	Christ's Cathedral Bugembe (rear view)	321
15.	Bishop's (abandoned) residence at Bugembe	321
16.	Busoga Crisis (<i>New Vision</i> and <i>New Century</i> file photographs)	322
17.	Cartoons	323

ABBREVIATIONS

ACNS	Anglican Communion News Service
AFU	Arable Farming Unit
APS	Africa Press Service
ASCIA	All Saints' Church, Iganga Archives
AU	Afforestation Unit
BCCRC	Bugembe Christ's Cathedral Rescue Committee
BDA	Busoga Diocesan Archives
BDC	Busoga Diocesan Council
BDCRC	Busoga Diocesan Christian Reconciliation Committee
BDRC	Busoga Diocesan Rescue Committee
BDS	Busoga Diocesan Synod
BDSC	Busoga Diocesan Steering Committee
BPD	Board of Planned Development
BTTC	Bishop Tucker Theological College
CDD	Control of Diarrhoeal Diseases
CECU	Charismatic Episcopal Church, Uganda
CHS	Community Health Services
CMS	Church Mission Society
CMSA	Church Mission Society Archives
COU	Church of Uganda
COU PA	Church of Uganda Provincial Archives
DFC	Diocesan Finance Committee
DfID	Department for International Development
DP	Democratic Party
DS	Diocesan Secretary
EZE	<i>Evangelische Zentralstelle für Entwicklungshilfe</i>
EIL	Experiment in International Living
FLEP	Family Life Education Programme
FPC	Finance and Personnel Committee
FS	Farming Sector
HPI	Heifer Project International
HBSCBC	House of Bishops Special Committee on Busoga Conflict
IBEA Co.	Imperial British East Africa Company
IBMR	International Bulletin of Mission Research
IDSC	Iganga Diocesan Steering Committee
IGS	Income Generating Sector
IS	Immunisation Services
LU	Livestock Unit
MHM/F	Mill Hill Mission/ Fathers
MS	Medical Sector
MSRDP	Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme
NAC	Native Anglican Church
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
NRM/A	National Resistance Movement/ Army
ORT	Oral Rehydration Therapy
PA	Provincial Assembly
PAE	Provincial Assembly Executive

PASC	Provincial Assembly Standing Committee
PC	Parish Council
PDR	Provincial Development and Relief
RDC	Resident District Commissioner
RUWASA	Rural Water and Sanitation
SAC	Sectoral Advisory Committee
UCUA	Uganda Christian University Archives
UGAE	Uganda Government Archives Entebbe
UPC	Uganda Peoples Congress
USAID	United States Aid
WF	White Fathers
WS	Women Sector
WSS	Water and Sanitation Sector
YMT	Youth Mission Team
YS	Youth Sector

ABSTRACT

This study is devoted to a historical investigation of the causes, development and effects of the conflicts which affected Busoga Diocese, Church of Uganda between 1972 and 1999. It uses a predominantly historical-narrative research methodology, and argues that these conflicts were not caused by doctrinal differences, but by a combination of many disagreements and divisions, some of which were multi-faceted and sparked by 'petty' issues or events. It discusses chronologically, analytically and with considerable detail how these conflicts, though they were generally not so devastating as to prevent the diocese from growing spiritually and numerically, underscored the presence, in the church, of ambiguity and contradiction. It illustrates how several Christians took issues of the conflicts so personally that they deemed it necessary to resort to emotional and/or physical violence. It also demonstrates the general failure of conflicting groups and third parties in the church to prevent or resolve disputes through proper, constructive and reconciliatory measures.

The thesis comprises six chapters. The first advances a case for the study of the conflicts in the diocese, explaining the problem, purpose, area, period, scope and methodology of the study. The second covers the historical, socio-political and religious setting of Busoga, and the origin and growth of the church. It discusses the disasters (both natural and human-made) and conflicts which have occurred inside and outside Busoga, and locates them within the wider studies of history, conflict, church, ethnicity and politics in Uganda. The third discusses the causes, course and consequences of the conflicts which raged in Busoga Diocese between 1972 and 1988. It illustrates how these conflicts, given the absence of constructive conflict management strategies, escalated and turned malevolent. It ends with a reflection on Anglican conflicts and system of church governance. The fourth discusses the historical and immediate events, irregularities and tensions which resulted in the occurrence of the Busoga Crisis. The fifth examines the outbreak, course, impact and implications of the Busoga Crisis, showing how accusations and counter-accusations made by both pro- and anti-Bamwoze factions, the coercive measures employed by the conflicting groups and third parties, and the power struggles that rocked the Church of Uganda at diocesan and provincial levels made it practically difficult to

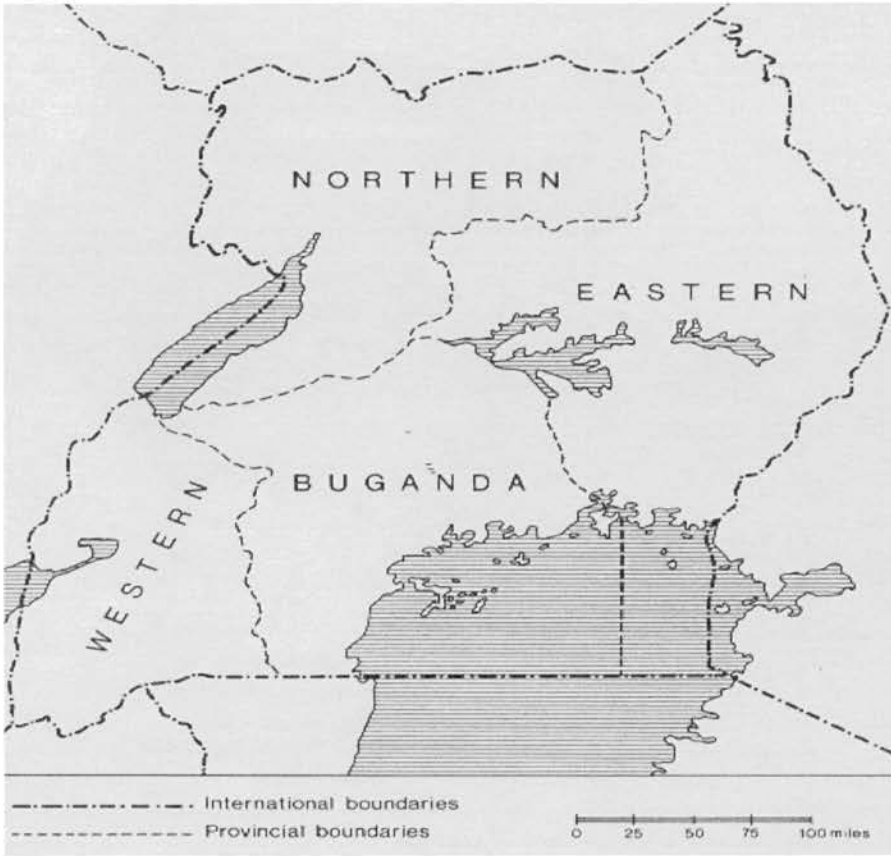
resolve this conflict. It discusses how it was finally settled and ends with a reflection on the conflict.

The last chapter is devoted to a general reflection on conflicts in Busoga Diocese. It examines the major causal and fuelling factors of these conflicts and shows how and why Busoga Diocese suffered from conflicts more than other dioceses in the Church of Uganda. It discusses lessons learnt and suggests various ways of preventing occurrence of further conflicts or, if they occur, resolving them using constructive and reconciliatory measures. The thesis concludes that the conflicts embarrassed and affected the church greatly. It argues that they were caused and fuelled largely by an inappropriate church system and the absence, in the church, of effective conflict-management skills and machinery. It also argues that the conflicts would not have occurred or been as devastating as they were if there had not been serious irregularities in church governance, and if the church had possessed sufficient skills and effective avenues to prevent such conflicts or resolve them through constructive and reconciliatory measures.

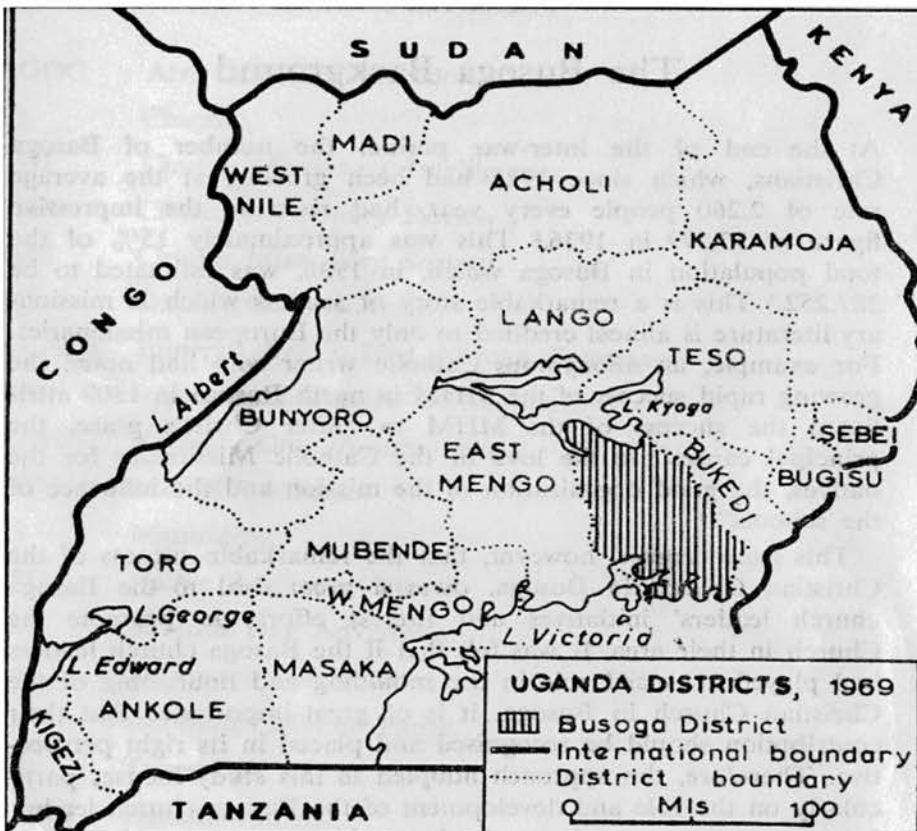
**To my parents
Paul Ssebagala and Jane Nazziwa**

'Those who forget the past are doomed to repeat it'

Map 2 - Provinces of Uganda Protectorate (1932)



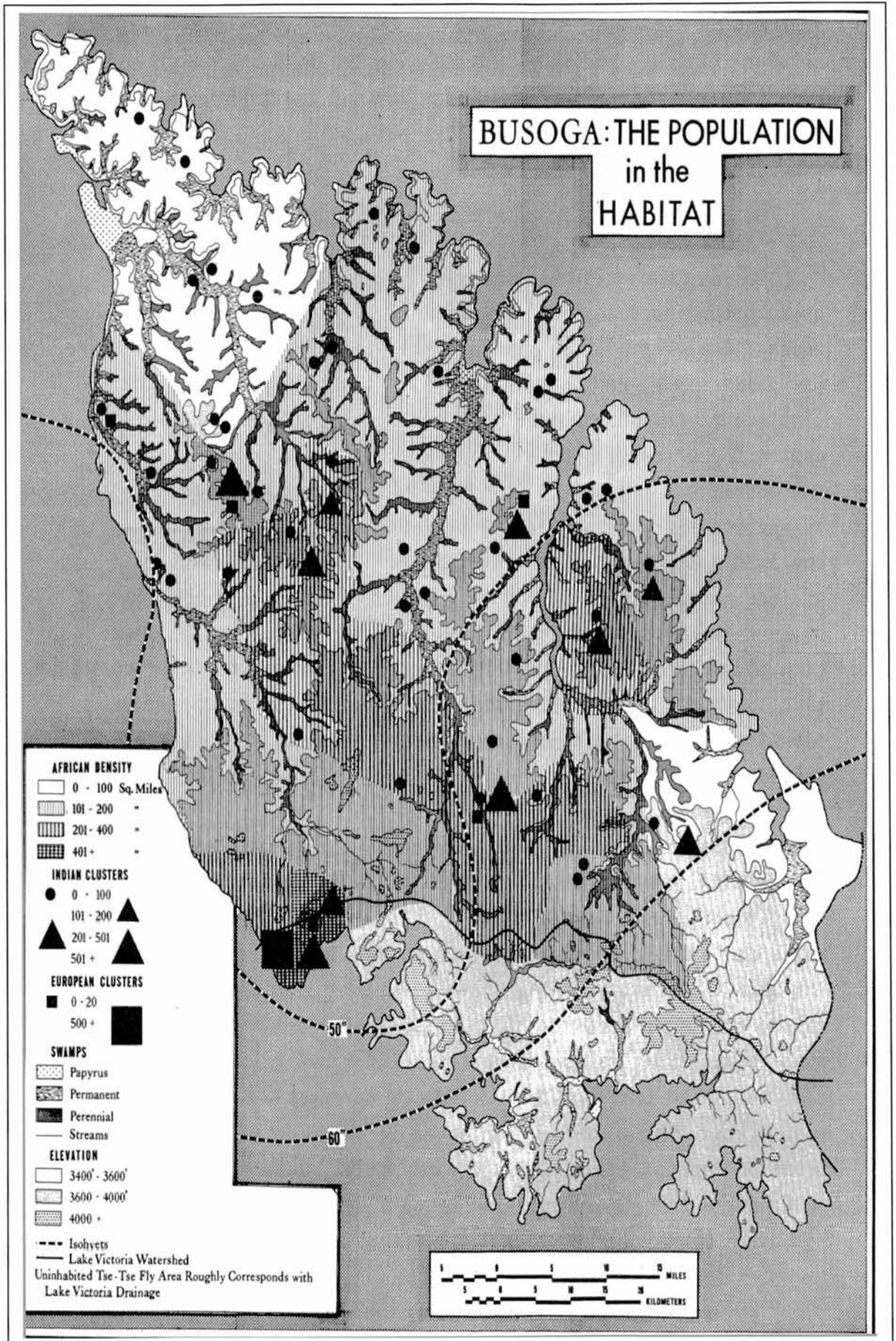
Map 3 – Uganda Districts (1969)



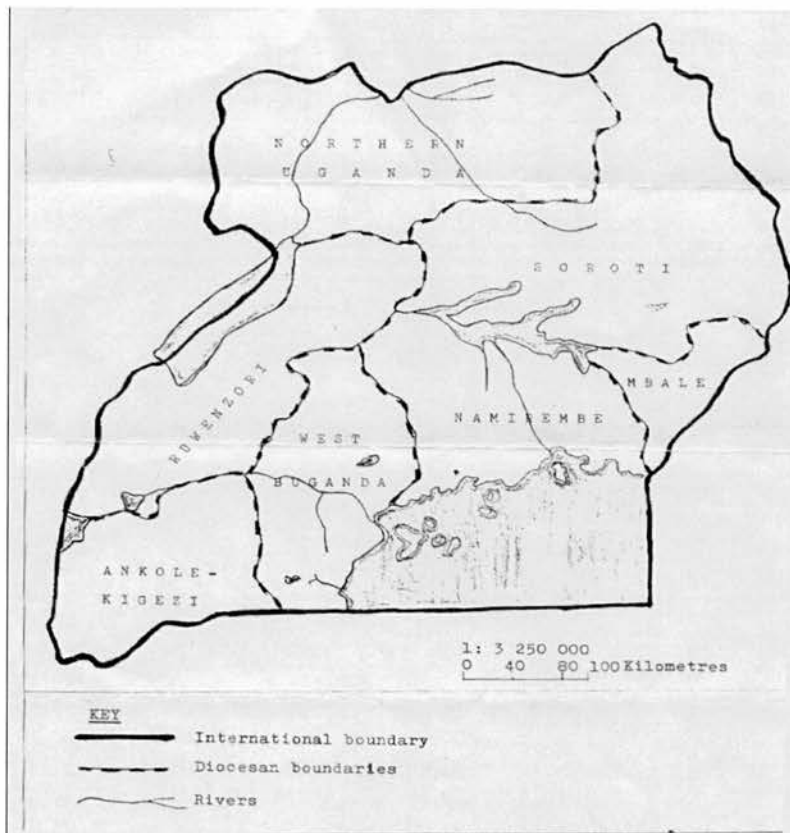
Map 4 – Missionary Stations and Busumba in Busoga (1969)



Map 5 – Busoga: The population in the habitat (1969)

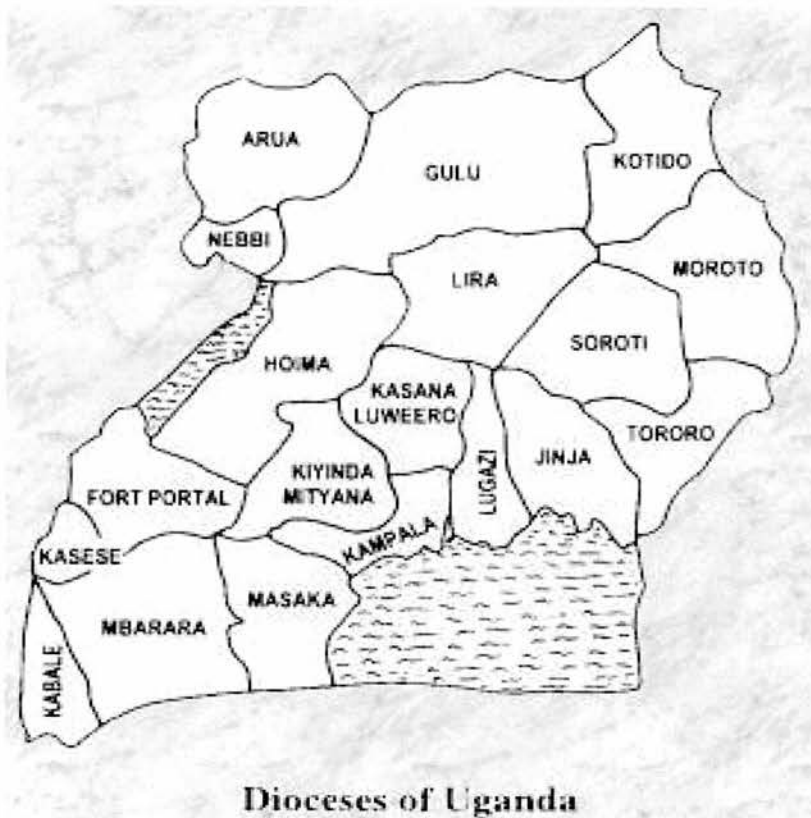


Map 6 - Dioceses of the Church of Uganda (1961)



Church of Uganda Provincial Archives

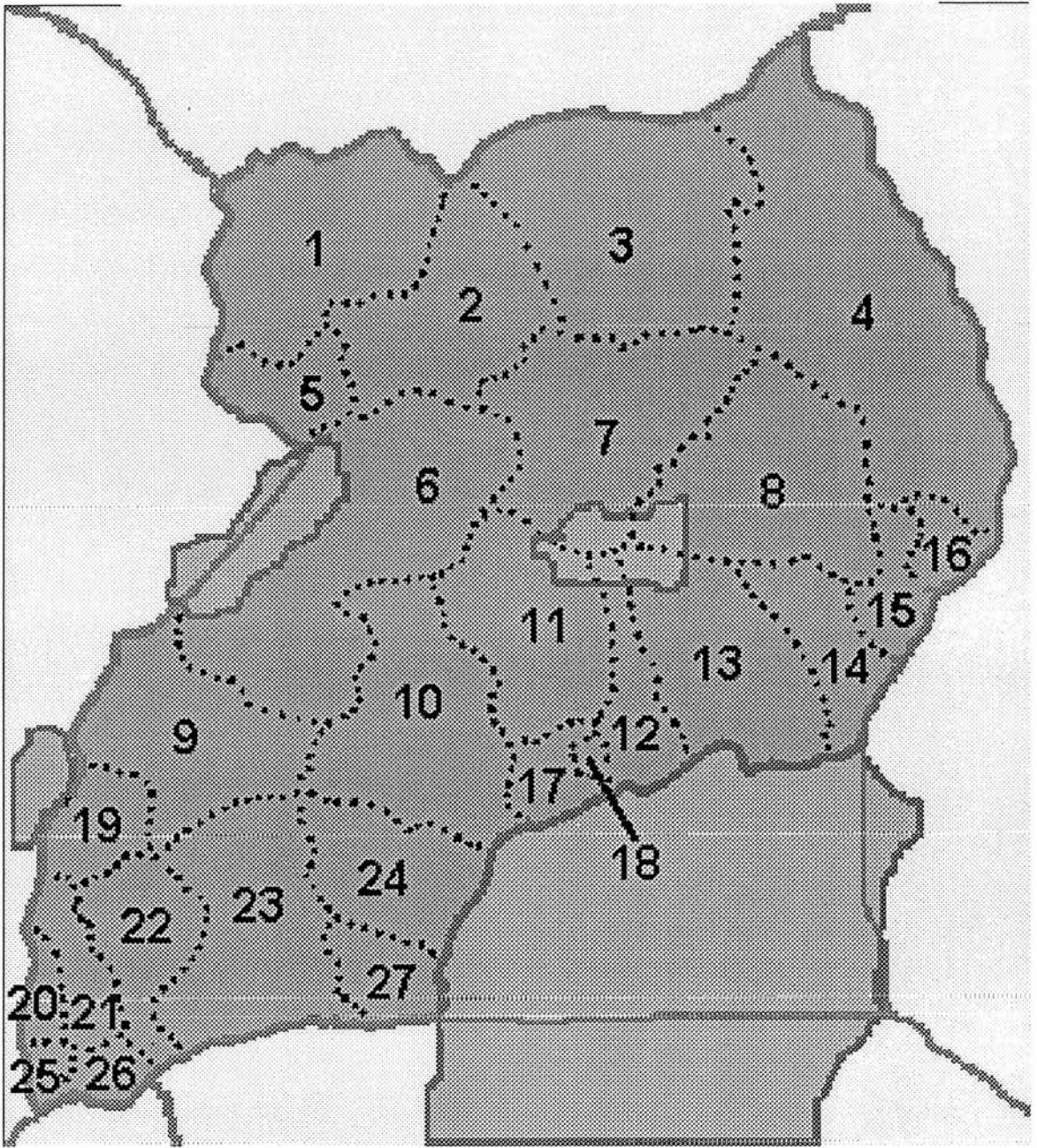
Map 7 - Dioceses of the Roman Catholic Church (1995)



Dioceses of Uganda

(<http://www.amecea.org>)

Map 8 - Dioceses of Church of Uganda (2000)



- | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| 1. Madi and West Nile | 10. Mityana | 19. South Rwenzori |
| 2. Northern Uganda | 11. Luweero | 20. Kinkizi |
| 3. Kitgum | 12. Mukono | 21. North Kikinzi |
| 4. Karamoja | 13. Busoga | 22. West Ankole |
| 5. Nebbi | 14. Bukedi | 23. East Ankole |
| 6. Bunyoro-Kitara | 15. Mbale | 24. West Buganda |
| 7. Lango | 16. North Mbale | 25. Muhabhura |
| 8. Soroti | 17. Namirembe | 26. Kigezi |
| 9. Rwenzori | 18. Kampala | 27. Central Buganda |

(<http://www.anglicancommunion.org/virtualtour/uganda.html>)

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Though some may regret to see revived memories of past mistakes and past animosities, it is precisely from an impartial study of these that valuable lessons for the present and future may be learned.¹

A CASE FOR THE STUDY OF CONFLICTS IN BUSOGA DIOCESE

THE PROBLEM, PURPOSE, AREA AND PERIOD OF THE STUDY

The Problem of a Church in Disarray

On 10th August 1993 a group of Basoga² Christians physically assaulted Archbishop Dr Yona Okoth of the Anglican Province of the Church of Uganda.³ Okoth had gone to Christ's Cathedral Bugembe, the centre for religious work in Busoga Diocese, to help resolve the conflict (commonly referred to as the Busoga Crisis) which affected the diocese. He refused to enter the cathedral, arguing that he could not enter without the invitation or consent of Bishop Cyprian Bamwoze, the Bishop of Busoga, whom some Christians had rejected. He offered to speak to the Christians outside the cathedral grounds. The group rejected this offer, leading to a scuffle in which some Christians assaulted him and tried unsuccessfully to drag him into the cathedral. With much difficulty Okoth and his driver (who was also assaulted) entered their car, and sped away both from the cathedral grounds and from the stones thrown at them.

Nineteen days later Bamwoze was also subjected to a similar assault at Waitambogwe Parish Church, where he had gone on a pastoral visit. A group of Christians attacked him, broke his staff and spectacles, damaged his car, and tried unsuccessfully to undress him. This attack would have been more devastating, if Bamwoze had not been rescued by his supporters and armed police escorts. This assault and that on Okoth, mentioned above, contributed greatly towards this crisis becoming the most disastrous conflict in Busoga Diocese, and arguably in the Church of Uganda. However, it was not the first conflict to

¹ V Billington, Bishop of Kampala. "Foreword" in H P Gale, *Uganda and the Mill Hill Fathers*. London: Macmillan, 1959.

² It is important to mention that I have maintained the general pattern of prefixes used in the Interlacustrine Bantu languages. *Bu* (as in Busoga and Buganda) prefixes a geo-political entity; *Ba* (singular *Mu* -- as in *Basoga* and *Musoga*) prefixes persons; *Lu* (as in *Lusoga* and *Luganda*) prefixes language and *Ki* (as in *Kisoga* and *Kiganda*) prefixes custom or culture.

³ From this time onwards, I will use the shorter name for this church, namely the Church of Uganda. I will also use the term 'the church in Uganda' to refer to all the Christian denominations in Uganda.

occur in the diocese. The diocese had been affected earlier by many conflicts. Five of them are:

- A dispute from 1974 to 1976 between Bamwoze and some Christians of Christ's Cathedral Parish, Bugembe, following his closure of their school without consulting properly with them;
- A row in 1982 between Bamwoze and some members of the Mothers' Union as a result of his appointing as chairperson, Mrs Alice Muloki, who, though being a person of high standing in Busoga, was not an active member of the union;
- A crisis which affected Busoga Diocese from 1984 to 1988, following the rejection of the petition of Christians in Iganga and Namutumba archdeaconries asking to be removed from Busoga Diocese and formed into a separate diocese of Iganga;
- A revolt of Christians in Walukuba Parish in December 1989 protesting against the decision of Bamwoze to replace their Vicar, Rev Nathan Lubaale, with Rev Fredrick Kibedi Nswemu, who, like some other people, Bamwoze had ordained in a manner contrary to the ordination procedure of the Church of Uganda.
- A crisis in St James' Parish, Jinja in 1991 as a result of Bamwoze's refusal to remove Canon John Kalimungabo Bagenda, whom some Christians had rejected.

Evidently, conflicts such as those mentioned above were not caused by doctrinal disagreements, but by a combination of many factors, some of which were multi-faceted and sparked by 'petty' issues or events. They affected the life and work of the church and led many Christians to become disillusioned and angry. They showed how the church had failed to illustrate the reality of Christians living in perfect harmony in the love of Christ, under his authority as the head of the Church. Although they were generally not so devastating as to prevent the diocese from growing spiritually and numerically, they greatly embarrassed it by underscoring the presence of ambiguity and contradictions. They created divisions in the church, demoralised many Christians and upset long-standing friendships. They showed how individual interests, group identity and alliances became more important than reason and spirituality in the process of resolving conflicts and/or making other crucial church-related decisions. They illustrated Christians taking issues of the conflicts so personally that they deemed it necessary to resort to emotional and/or physical violence. They also demonstrated the general failure of conflicting groups and third parties in the church to prevent or resolve disputes through proper,

constructive and reconciliatory ways, thus allowing the church to be gripped by chaos and anarchy. The investigation of these conflicts such as that undertaken in this thesis is necessary because it seeks to understand how and why the church which was supposed to embody unity, peace and reconciliation, was instead affected by various conflicts.

The Rationale and Objectives of the Study

This thesis investigates the conflicts which affected the church in Busoga, seeking amongst other things to understand them. It examines analytically and with considerable detail, their causes, developments and effects. It shows how they epitomised fragmentary politics, misrule and other irregularities in church and politics in Uganda. It illustrates the general failure of conflicting parties, provincial and diocesan leaders to handle grievances and disagreements in proper and constructive ways. It also emphasises the need to improve the ability of the leadership in the church to prevent conflicts and/or manage them in a manner that is constructive and reconciliatory.

Three points deserve to be mentioned concerning the conflicts which affected the Anglican diocese in Busoga. First, by investigating these conflicts, I do not imply that, throughout its history, the church in Busoga has been riddled with chaos and anarchy. I simply seek to emphasise that grievances, disagreements and disputes affected it so much that they became a significant and unmistakable aspect in its life and work. So, alongside recollections of its cherished spiritual and numerical growth are the painful memories of past conflicts. It is, therefore, imperative to investigate these conflicts (as I have endeavoured to do in this thesis) because they are a *sine qua non* basis for understanding the past and present of the church in Busoga, and for laying a firm foundation for its future.

Secondly, it is important to mention that conflicts did not occur only in Busoga Diocese. The Church in Uganda, like several other religious groups, was seriously affected by various conflicts caused and/or influenced by cultural, political, ethnic and regional differences. For instance, in 1992, shortly before the Busoga Crisis erupted, a major conflict had just been resolved in the Anglican diocese of Mbale, resulting amongst other things in the creation of a separate diocese of North Mbale. Also, in the same year, the Anglican dioceses of Namirembe, Rwenzori and Luwero, the Roman Catholic Diocese of

Kabale, and the Methodist Church in Uganda⁴ were affected by disputes. Some Christians in these groups made accusations of dictatorship, corruption, favouritism, and lack of accountability and transparency. They agitated for reforms of the systems of church governance and stewardship. Some of them demanded the removal of their leaders, while others warned theirs to change their behaviour or risk dismissal. One of the objectives of this study, therefore, is to examine these issues and events, taking those which occurred in Busoga Dioceses, amongst other things, as epitomes of conflicts which affected other religious groups in Uganda.

Thirdly, the Anglican Church of Uganda was affected by conflicts more than the other major Christian denomination, namely the Roman Catholic Church. Two reasons are widely and appropriately given to explain this situation. I proceed to discuss them briefly. First, in the Church of Uganda, crucial decisions relating to governance, such as the appointing of bishops, were made by the leadership in Uganda, while in the Roman Catholic Church such decisions came (or were widely believed to come) from the Pope in Rome. It was in this respect easier for Christians in the Church of Uganda to contest these decisions (if they deemed it necessary) than it was for Roman Catholics, whose contestation implied questioning the 'infallible' authority of the Pope. This, however, does not mean that Christians in the Church of Uganda contested *en bloc* the decisions of their leaders or that the Roman Catholics accepted those of their leaders unquestioningly. Evidently, Christians in both denominations accepted readily the good and helpful decisions, and disagreed with those which they viewed as unacceptable. Some of them also disapproved publicly what they viewed as inappropriate ways in which their leaders conducted church affairs. The disputes which occurred in the 1990s in the Roman Catholic dioceses of Gulu and Fort Portal are two cases in point illustrating how some Christians rejected what they viewed as unacceptable conduct.⁵

⁴ For more details on these conflicts see *New Vision*, 22nd October 1992, pp. 1-2; *Uganda Confidential*, 16th – 23rd May 1994, p. 11; P Gifford, *African Christianity: Its Public Role*. London: Hurst, 1998, pp. 122-3, 140; E Bagambi and others to Rev Professor Z Nthamburi, Presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church in Kenya, 16th November 1992; I Kadama to Z Nthamburi, 3rd February 1993. It is important to mention that the Methodist Church in Uganda was (and still is) part of the Methodist Church in Kenya.

⁵ Some Christians in the Gulu Diocese were not happy with what they viewed as the decision of the Pope to impose 'foreign' church administrators on them. They complained about it and intensified their disagreement after Monsignor Martin Luluga, a non-Acholi, was consecrated as an auxiliary bishop to assist Bishop Cyprian Kihangire, whose health was failing. They did not want to see Luluga replace Kihangire. They preferred to have an Acholi replace him as bishop. Also, in 1997 some Batoro Christians of the Diocese of Fort Portal contested what they viewed as irregularities in their diocese. These Christians accused Paul Kalanda, their bishop, of sidelining them and appointing only Bakiga

Secondly, during the colonial and post-colonial period,⁶ the Church of Uganda generally enjoyed a special status⁷ to the extent that it was widely, though inappropriately, viewed as the *de facto* official church.⁸ It is in this respect not surprising that conflicts in the political domain spilled over in this church more than they did in the Roman Catholic Church. Also, when conflicts occurred in it, they attracted the press, who could not resist the temptation to report on the irregularities which affected the church. This partly explains why the press showed a keener interest in the conflicts in Busoga Diocese than those in non-Anglican religious groups. However, it does not imply that my decision to investigate these conflicts was motivated merely by the fact that they occurred in, arguably, the most influential religious institution in Uganda. Many other reasons led me to study these conflicts, two of which are the unusual expressions and consequences of some of these conflicts, and the ways in which they epitomised the conflicts in church politics in Uganda. I proceed to discuss them in more detail.

First, the conflicts in Busoga were expressed by violent measures not experienced before in the church in Uganda. These include a group of Christians ‘raiding’ a Holy Communion service; Christians overrunning churches and physically assaulting bishops; and Christians (including some clergy) ‘fighting dirty’ inside and outside church buildings. Given that the Christians in some other Anglican dioceses and religious groups (which were also affected by conflicts) did not resort to violent measures such as those mentioned above, it is imperative to investigate, as I endeavour to do in this study, why some Christians in Busoga took the issues of the conflicts so personally that they deemed it necessary to resort to violence.

Secondly, some of the conflicts in Busoga epitomised those which affected the Church of Uganda, and other religious and political groups in Uganda. Their causes and expressions

priests in the diocese. They also accused him of sending to Rome three names of Bakiga priests (Aquirinus Kibira, Peter Kamaraki and Augustino Mugarura) from whom an auxiliary bishop was named. *New Vision*, 21st May 1997; 23rd May 1997.

⁶ Uganda attained independence on 9th October 1962.

⁷ The Church of Uganda still enjoys this special status. President Yoweri Museveni’s ‘donating’ brand new vehicles to new Anglican bishops is a case in point illustrating politicians’ relentless effort to attain and maintain the support of the Church of Uganda.

⁸ For a detailed study of the relationship between the church of Uganda and the state see D Z Niringiye, “The Church in the World: A Historical-Ecclesiological Study of the Church of Uganda with Particular Reference to Post-Independence Uganda 1962-1992”. PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1998.

were similar to those which affected most religious, ethnic and political groups in Uganda. Therefore, a study of these conflicts is significant because it provides important insights for understanding, addressing and resolving them. The discussions, findings and recommendations exemplified in the present thesis are widely applicable and make a fresh contribution to the study of conflicts in Busoga Diocese and to those in the church, ethnic and political groups in Uganda.

The Area and Period of the Study

This study is limited to the investigation of the conflicts which occurred in the Anglican Diocese of Busoga between 1972 and 1999, using them partly as an epitome of the conflicts in church, ethnic and political groups in Uganda. It examines the historical, socio-political and religious setting of Busoga, the origin and growth of the church in Busoga, the disasters (both natural and human-made) and conflicts which have occurred inside and outside Busoga, and other factors (inside and outside Busoga) which provide the basis for understanding these conflicts or which played a significant role in causing and influencing them. It also places the study of the conflicts within the wider studies of history, conflict, church, ethnicity and politics.

The main period covered in this study is the first twenty-seven years of the life and work of Busoga Diocese, when Bamwoze reigned as maiden Bishop of Busoga. In this study, I examine the conflicts which affected the diocese during this period. I illustrate that these conflicts were not caused or fuelled by doctrinal differences, but by a church system characterised by several irregularities which include the unacceptable conduct of some church leaders; personal and group differences; separatist inclinations, 'in-house' bickering and power struggles which affected the church at all levels; non-reconciliatory attitudes of some Christians; and a general inability of leaders to prevent conflicts and/or resolve them constructively. I also discuss the factors which help to explain some grievances and disagreements in Busoga Diocese. These include the pastoral, administrative and developmental strategies of the diocese; the politics and problems surrounding the giving, receiving and managing of aid; and the interplay between church, ethnicity and politics. The vastness of the nature and implications of these factors makes it impossible to accord them, in this study, any more than a brief discussion.

LEVEL OF INQUIRY

RELATION TO OTHER STUDIES

Many studies have been done on the history of the church, and the relations between church, ethnicity and politics in Uganda.⁹ These studies discuss, amongst other things, the life and work of the church in Uganda, the influence of religion on politics and the ways in which inward-looking inclinations of ethnic, regional or political groups have come to bear on religion. They narrate and analyse the interplay between the two dominant religious groups, namely the Church of Uganda and the Roman Catholic Church, and discuss the Muslims' translation of their political marginality into a patron-client relationship with the relatively more politically influential Anglicans. They also investigate the role which religious groups have played in mediating between socio-political or religio-regional conflicts, in power brokering and in building constituencies for politically motivated interest groups. This study is related to these studies in that, like them, it contains historical accounts of the life and work of the church in Uganda and investigates issues relating to church, ethnicity, politics and conflicts in Uganda. However, other studies do not examine in considerable detail the conflicts which affected the church in Busoga.

Other studies which deserve to be mentioned include those of Ann Evans Larimore,¹⁰ Yekoniya Lubogo,¹¹ Margaret Fallers,¹² Lloyd Fallers,¹³ David Cohen,¹⁴ Emmanuel

⁹ These include R Oliver, *The Missionary Factor in East Africa*. London: Longman, 1952; K Ingham, *The Making of Modern Uganda*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1958; F B Welbourn, *Religion and Politics in Uganda, 1952-1962*. Nairobi: East African Publishers, 1965; H B Hansen, *Mission, Church and State in a Colonial Setting: Uganda 1890-1925*. London, Ibadan and Nairobi: Heinemann, 1984; D M Mudoola, *Religion, Ethnicity and Politics in Uganda*. Kampala: Fountain Publishers Ltd, 1993; H B Hansen and M Twaddle (eds.), *Religion and Politics in East Africa*. London: James Currey, 1995, pp. 72-105; D Z Niringiye, "The Church in the World: A Historical-Ecclesiological Study of the Church of Uganda with Particular Reference to Post-Independence Uganda 1962-1995"; G Karamura, "The Interplay of Christianity, Ethnicity and Politics in Ankole (Uganda) since Independence, 1962-1996". PhD thesis, Leeds University, 1999.

¹⁰ *The Alien Town: Patterns of Settlement in Busoga, Uganda*. Chicago and Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1958.

¹¹ *A History of Busoga*. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, 1960.

¹² *The Eastern Lacustrine Bantu: (Ganda and Soga)*. London: International African Institute, 1960.

¹³ *Bantu Bureaucracy: A Century of Political Evolution Among the Basoga of Uganda*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1965; *Law Without Precedent: Legal Ideas in Action in the Courts of Colonial Busoga*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969.

¹⁴ "The States of Busoga in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century". Paper No. 15, *Makerere Institute of Social Research*, 1971; "Busoga and its Pattern of Succession" in *Makerere Institute of Social Research*, 1971; "Sharing Authority in Pre-colonial Northern Busoga", a paper submitted to the African Seminar, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, on 7th June 1972; *The Historical Tradition of Busoga: Mukama and Kintu*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972; *The Historical Tradition of*

Hansen,¹⁵ Michael Twaddle,¹⁶ B W Langlands,¹⁷ E D Mwamula-Lubandi,¹⁸ Dan Mudoola,¹⁹ Frank Nabwiso-Bulima,²⁰ Tom Tuma²¹ and Sue Yardley²² which, like this study, address a wide range of issues on the traditional, historical, ethnological, developmental, economic and socio-political settings of Busoga. These studies, like those on Anglicanism,²³ church government,²⁴ episcopacy,²⁵ church conflicts in other places,²⁶

Busoga, Towards a Reconstructed Past: Historical Texts from Busoga, Uganda. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.

- ¹⁵ "Political Leadership in Busoga", Makerere University, Kampala: MA thesis, 1968; "Busoga" in J D Barkan and others, *Uganda District Government and Politics 1947-1967*. University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1977.
- ¹⁶ "Tribalism in Eastern Uganda" in P H Gulliver (ed.), *Tradition and Transition in East Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969, pp. 193-208.
- ¹⁷ "The History of Sleeping Sickness, 1900-1920". *Occasional Paper No. 1. Kampala*: Department of Geography, Makerere University, 1967; "The Early History of Population in Busoga", appendix in "The Population Geography of Busoga District". *Occasional Paper No. 40. Kampala*: Department of Geography, Makerere University, 1971.
- ¹⁸ *Transitional Socio-Economic Clans Among Basoga*. Uppsala: Uppsala University Press, 1978.
- ¹⁹ "The Upicification (UPC) of Kyabazingaship", in *Makerere Institute of Social Research*, 1973; "Chiefs and Political Action: The Case of Busoga 1900-1962". Makerere University, Kampala: PhD thesis, 1974; "Religion and Politics in Uganda: The Case of Busoga, 1900-1962", in *African Affairs*, 77/306, pp. 22-35.
- ²⁰ "The Evolution of the Kyabazingaship of Busoga" in *Uganda Journal*, 31/1, 1967.
- ²¹ "Church Extension to the East" in T Tuma and P Mutiibwa (eds.), *A Century of Christianity in Uganda (1877-1977): A Historical Appraisal of the Development of the Uganda Church over the Last One Hundred Years*. Nairobi: Uzima Press Ltd, 1978; *Building a Ugandan Church*. Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau, 1980; "African Chiefs and Church Work in Busoga, Province of Uganda 1900-1940, Part I in *Kenya Historical Review: Journal of the Historical Association of Kenya*, 4/2, 1976, pp. 283-292.
- ²² "A Study of Busoga's Multi Sectoral Rural Development Programme". University of London: MSc thesis, 1998.
- ²³ S Skyes, *Unashamed Anglicanism*. London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1995; J E Griffis, *The Anglican Vision*. MA: Cowley Publications, 1997; R Alastair, *Being Anglican*. London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 2000; G R Evans and J R Wright (eds), *The Anglican Tradition*. London: SPCK, 1991.
- ²⁴ W Eberhard, *The Reforms of Church Government*, London: Prism Publications, 1965; W M Mande, "An Ethic of Leadership Power and the Anglican Church in Uganda". PhD thesis, Aberdeen University, 1997.
- ²⁵ H E Turner, *Why Bishops? Their Origin, Functions and Traditions*. Westminster: The Church Information Board, 1955; H W Beyer, "Episcopos" in G Kittel, *The Dictionary of the New Testament Vol. II*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964; P Moore (ed.), *Bishops But What Kind? Reflections on Episcopacy*. London: SPCK, 1982; S Skyes, *Authority in Anglican Communion*. Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1987; S Blanch, *Future Patterns of Episcopacy: Reflections in Retirement*. Oxford: Latimer House, 1991; J R Wright (ed.), *On Being a Bishop*. New York: The Church Hymnal Corporation, 1993; S R White, *Authority and Anglicanism*. London: SCM Press, 1996.
- ²⁶ E Sentongo, "The Conflicts Surrounding the Creation and Development of an Anglican Diocese of West Buganda (Uganda), 1960- 1976". DipTh dissertation, Makerere University, Kampala, 1981; S F M Nambobi, "The Schism Within the Anglican Diocese of Mbale, Church of Uganda: An Analysis of the Background and Development". BD dissertation, ATIEA, 1985; D Kambere, "The Bakonzo-Rwezuru War 1962-1982: Its Effect in the Growth of the Anglican Church, South Rwenzori Diocese, Kasese District, Uganda". ATIEA: BD dissertation, 1987; B Tusiime, "Background to the Creation of a New Diocese of Muhabhura in Kisoro Sub-District, Uganda". DipTh dissertation, Makerere University, Kampala, 1987; K Ward, "The Church of Uganda Amidst Conflict: The Interplay between Church and Politics in Uganda Since 1962", in H B Hansen and M Twaddle (eds.), *Religion and Politics in East Africa*. London: James Currey, 1995, pp. 72-105; T Gatwa, "The Churches and Ethnic Ideology in the Rwandan Crises (1900-1994)". PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1998.

and constructive conflict management²⁷ explore in more detail the background study of this thesis. They underscore the presence of conflicts inside and outside Busoga, suggesting (and/or confirming) both the necessity of this study and its location within the wider studies of church, ethnicity, politics, and conflicts. However, they too do not investigate the conflicts which affected the church in Busoga.

Five studies have been done on the conflicts which affected Busoga Diocese. They are: bachelor's dissertations undertaken by two Basoga Clergy;²⁸ a brief study of the first three years of the Busoga Crisis in the doctoral thesis of Rev Wilson Mande, a clergyman of the Church of Uganda, underscoring the problem of 'leadership power' in the Church of Uganda;²⁹ Paul Gifford's study of the first three years of the Busoga Crisis, illustrating the problem of internal ordering in the Church of Uganda;³⁰ and unpublished recollections of Rev Vasco da Gama Wangola, Bamwoze's brother-in-law and Diocesan Secretary (1988-1992) on the life and work of the diocese between 1988 and 1996.

These studies have contributed significantly towards the understanding of the conflicts in the diocese. I benefited greatly from their discussions during the process of carrying out this study. Nonetheless, three reasons led me not to rely heavily on them and to conclude that they are limited in their analysis of these conflicts. First, the recollections of Wangola, though insightful in many respects, contain a predominantly subjective view of these conflicts, hence the necessity for an account such as the present thesis which endeavours to examine impartially, objectively and as accurately as possible most of the events, views and issues relating to these conflicts.

²⁷ K Rupesinghe (ed.), *Conflict Resolution in Uganda*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 1989; P D Wiebe and P D Cole (eds.), *Beyond Crisis: Development Issues in Uganda*. Kampala: Makerere Institute of Social Research, 1987; D G Pruitt and J Z Rubin (eds.), *Social Conflict: Escalation, Stalemate and Settlement*. New York: Random House, 1986; H Halverstadt, *Managing Church Conflict*. Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster, 1991; J Z Rubin, "Models of Conflict Management", in *Journal of Social Issues*, 50/1, 1994; M Deutsch, "Constructive Conflict Resolution: Principles, Training, and Research", in *Journal of Social Issues*, 50/1, 1994; G Baum and H Wells (eds.), *Reconciliation of Peoples: Challenge to the Churches*. Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1997.

²⁸ S R Isabirye, "Schism Within Busoga Diocese, Church of Uganda 1983-1988: An Analysis of Causes, Developments and Effects". BD dissertation, ATIEA, 1989; F J Baalwa, "The Causes and Development of Busoga Crisis (1992-3)". BD dissertation, Makerere University, Kampala, 1996.

²⁹ W M Mande, "An Ethic of Leadership Power and the Anglican Church in Uganda", pp. 129- 142.

³⁰ P Gifford, *African Christianity: Its Public Role*. London: Hurst, 1998, pp. 124-133.

Secondly, most of these studies were carried out between 1987 and 1995, before the conflicts were resolved. Some of the issues they dealt with were illustrated more distinctly by the disagreements which occurred between 1996 and 1999, after they had been completed. For instance, the concern made widely in these studies that the Archbishop of the Church of Uganda was unable constitutionally to intervene effectively in diocesan conflicts was illustrated more clearly in September 1996 when the members of Busoga Diocesan Council sent Archbishop Livingstone Nkoyooyo out of their meeting, on the basis that diocesan and provincial constitutions were silent about his active involvement in it and the entire diocese.

Thirdly, these studies are brief and selective in their treatment of the conflicts. The people who carried them out used information acquired largely from three sources, namely some protagonists of the conflicts; documents kept in archives and other special collections of the church (in which, as I will mention in more detail later, some vital information was excluded deliberately) and the press. Moreover, they did not investigate the conflicts analytically and with considerable detail (as I endeavour to do in the present study) simply because they were not meant or required to do so. For instance, Mande and Gifford used studies of these conflicts to illustrate points in their ecclesiological studies, while the dissertations of the two Basoga clergy were done in partial fulfilment for the requirements leading to the award of bachelor's degrees. This made a study such as the present thesis necessary insofar as it investigates these conflicts comprehensively, intelligibly and with considerable detail.

NECESSARY LIMITATIONS

This study, being predominantly historical in its approach, is devoted to presenting a historical investigation of conflicts which affected the church in Busoga. I make comments of theological, pastoral, ethical, developmental and socio-political nature, but do not develop them in detail, for the sake of carrying out a manageable study. This implies the necessity of carrying out other studies on these conflicts, such as those devoted to investigating the following: the ecclesiology and leadership ethic of a conflict-riddled church; the ethical implications of church conflicts; the influence of conflicts on the pastoral theology/ministry of the church; the developmental ethic and theology of the church in Busoga; and the effects of church conflicts on the cohesiveness of Busoga.

Furthermore, this study surveys a wide range of issues. These include the advance and impact of European and Baganda missionaries in Busoga; the contributions of African church workers towards the planting and growth of the church; the pastoral, administrative and developmental problems and challenges faced by the church; the conflicts which affected various interest and pressure groups; and the interplay between church, politics and ethnicity in Uganda. It mentions issues of denominational, structural and constitutional nature, and underpins the widespread demand for the church in Uganda to re-invent itself by, amongst other things, reforming its constitutions and organisational structures in ways that ensure unmistakable presence of transparency, accountability, modernity, democracy and collegiality. However, these issues, though extremely important, are not discussed in great detail simply because they are outside the scope of this study.

Lastly, I am aware that the intentions of a non-Anglican, Methodist and former Roman Catholic Christian, like myself, to investigate conflicts in the Church of Uganda, if not properly understood, could be viewed with a lot of suspicion. Constructive criticisms, for instance, suggested in this study, on the episcopacy and organisational structure of the church, though equally made widely and passionately in the Anglican circles, could be easily viewed as condescending or intrusive. This would be inappropriate to say the least. Being an 'outsider' so to say, does not make me less qualified to carry out this study. In fact, my not being directly involved in these conflicts increased my ability to investigate them as impartially and intelligibly as I possibly could.

METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES OF INFORMATION

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study uses a predominantly historical narrative research methodology, which John Best and James Kahn define appropriately as a way of "investigating, recording, analysing, and interpreting the events of the past for the purpose of discovering generalizations that are helpful in understanding the past and the present, and, to a limited extent, anticipating the future".³¹ It provides a firm basis and framework for

³¹ *Research in Education*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1993, p. 8. For a detailed study of this methodology see G Elton, *The Practice of History*. London: Fontana Publishers, 1969; R H Canary and H Kozicki (eds.), *The Writing of History: Literary Forms and Historical Understanding*. Madison, Wisconsin:

constructing reliable and well organised historical accounts in which historical materials become meaningfully historical,³² and which, according to Louis Mink:

aim at producing and strengthening the act of understanding in which actions and events, although represented as occurring in the order of time, can be surveyed as it were in a single glance as bound together in an order of significance, a representation of the *totum simul* which we can never more than partially achieve.³³

The principles, techniques of inquiry, and stages in the research process of this methodology provide researchers with the opportunity to engage seriously, impartially and intelligibly with historical source material. They provide suitable means for expressing and explaining this material and ensuring that narratives of historians are theoretically informed and methodologically sound. They also challenge and/or encourage researchers to do the following:

- To ‘do history’ in a manner which seeks to understand the past and the present, and to draw widely from recent developments in theories, studies, disciplines and discourses engaged seriously with the question regarding the nature of their own nature.³⁴
- To remember three things, namely that what they are given is never the past (which, by definition, is non-existent), but present sources of historical knowledge; that historical materials are not ‘divine texts’ which a historian interprets ‘faithfully’, but are open to critical investigation;³⁵ and that the past we know is contingent upon our own views, our own ‘present’.
- To be aware of three things, namely that historical readings of the past are multifarious (one past – many histories); that the process of historical research and reconstruction will never end (although this does not render their work unreal

The University of Wisconsin Press, 1978; J Goff and P Nora (eds.), *Constructing the Past: Essays in Historical Methodology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985; P Burke, (ed.), *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991; A Marwick, *The Nature of History (Third edition)*. London: Macmillan Publishers, 1993; A Lieblich, *Narrative Research: Reading, Analysis and Interpretation*. New Delhi and London: Sage Publications, 1998; J Trosh, *The Pursuit of History (Third edition)*. London: Longman Publishers, 2000; K Jenkins, *Re-thinking History (Seventh edition)*. London: Routledge, 2001.

³² L Gossman, *Towards a Rational Historiography*. Independence Square, Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1989, p. 22.

³³ “History and Fiction as Modes of Comprehension”, in R Cohen (ed.), *New Directions in Literary History*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974, p. 120.

³⁴ K Jenkins, *Re-thinking History*, p. 3.

³⁵ L Krieger, *Ranke: The Meaning of History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977, p. 361.

or illegitimate);³⁶ and that writing history is not merely a registration of chronologically ordered facts, but it is an academic exercise directed by concepts and (more or less explicit) theoretical questions.³⁷

- To take themselves personally: their values, positions and ideological perspectives, though not in ways which are biased so much so that they skew source material (by withholding documents and falsifying evidence) to fit their arguments, or which are neurotically obsessed with objectivity to the extent that they do not have their own narratives to tell.

The historical narrative research methodology is, therefore, a methodology which many scholars might find useful even though the subject matter of this thesis is not directly related to their field. I found it the most suitable means for reading, analysing and interpreting source material on the conflicts in Busoga Diocese. Four reasons explain this point. First, one of the underlying theoretical assumptions of this methodology, namely that “there is neither a single, absolute truth in human reality nor one correct reading or interpretation of a text”,³⁸ made it best fit to investigate the wide, conflicting and complex sources of information for the study of conflicts in Busoga Diocese. It also provided a suitable means of presenting issues and events concerned with the conflicts in a manner that took cognisance of internal and external innovations and challenges of the period and area of this study.³⁹ Secondly, the emphasis of this methodology on the need to maintain a balance between narrative and analysis, and between chronological and thematic approaches,⁴⁰ made it possible to present a historical account of the conflicts such as the present thesis, which is detailed, analytical and intelligible. This emphasis also suited the objective of addressing the limitations which characterise some earlier studies on the conflicts such as the inclination to concentrate on analysing selected events in the conflicts more than (and at the expense of) investigating their causes, developments and effects comprehensively and with considerable detail.

³⁶ G Elton *The Practice of History*, pp. 70, 112-3.

³⁷ G S Jones, “From Historical Sociology to Theoretical History”, in *British Journal of Sociology*, 27(3), 1976, pp. 295-296.

³⁸ A Lieblich, *Narrative Research*, p. 2.

³⁹ J F A Ajayi and E Ayandele, “Writing African Church History” in P Beyerhaus and C Hallencreutz (eds.), *The Church Crossing Frontiers: Essays on the Nature of Mission in Honour of Bengt Sundkler*. Lund: Gleerup, 1969, pp. 93-97; L Sanneh, “The Horizontal and the Vertical in Mission: An African Perspective” in *International Bulletin of Mission Research (IBMR)*, 7/4, 1983, p. 165.

⁴⁰ A Marwick, *The Nature of History*, pp. 242-254.

Thirdly, its being one way of investigating real life problems, made it best fit to study the conflicts in Busoga Diocese. It proved to be a useful means of narrating and analysing the conflicts and constructing an intelligible and reliable historical account which, amongst other things, gave serious and significant consideration to the ‘voices’, expressions and experiences of the people involved in (or affected by) these conflicts. Fourth, its being designed in ways that made it possible for researchers to use, if they found it necessary, other methodologies alongside it, created a conducive environment for the use (though to a lesser extent), in this study, of other methodologies, such as case study, surveys, narrative, socio-linguistics, and philosophical analyses which reinforce the process of collecting and interpreting data.⁴¹ The use of these methodologies, like that of the historical narrative methodology, contributed greatly to the process of collecting and analysing data on the conflicts which affected the church in Busoga.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary and Secondary Source Material

The source material used in this study is generally categorised into two groups, namely primary and secondary sources. Primary sources, like those of other historical studies, are raw materials which, according to Arthur Marwick, “came into existence during the actual period of the past which the historian is studying”, while secondary sources are “accounts written later by historians looking back upon a period in the past”.⁴² It is, however, important to add that some sources do not fit neatly into the categories of primary and secondary sources. For example, printed recollections of Wangola and others who were actively involved in the conflicts can, on the one hand, be viewed as primary sources inasmuch as they are ‘first hand’ material produced (in the past) by eyewitnesses/participants, and on the other hand, secondary because they reflect attempts to use primary sources to construct and interpret coherent and plausible accounts. One way to deal with this problem is to classify sources, as I have done in this study, as

⁴¹ For a detailed study of these methodologies see, M Miles and M Huberman, *Qualitative data analysis: A source book for new methods*. Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1984; S Hauerwas and G Jones (eds.), *Why Narrative? Readings in Narrative Theology*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1989; J Feagin, A Orum, and G Sjoberg, (eds.), *A case for case study*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1991; R Stake, *The art of case research*. Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications, 1995; A Lieblich and others, *Narrative Research: Reading Analysis and Interpretation*.

⁴² A Marwick, *The Nature of History*, p. 199.

primary on the basis of their being relics or traces left by the past, and as secondary largely because they are products of primary sources.

Primary sources, therefore, comprise interviews, personal reminiscences and handwritten/printed accounts of eyewitnesses/participants in the conflicts. They also constitute other relevant documentary sources kept in various archives and special collections. These include letters, minutes of meetings, reports, memoranda, ultimata, injunctions from courts of law, eviction orders, payments or compensations and articles in newspapers. Secondary sources comprise published and unpublished material such as articles in journals and church magazines, dissertations, theses and books deposited in various libraries and special collections inside and outside Uganda. I studied secondary sources in great detail before proceeding to study, and in some cases collect, primary sources. However, the bulk of this study was based predominantly on authentic and newly discovered primary source material, hence resulting in this study making a substantial and original contribution to scholarship.

Methods of Data Collection

Two methods were used to generate sources of information for this study, namely documentary and oral research. The documentary research method was used to study (and/or collect) materials such as minutes of meetings, reports, memoranda, ultimata, articles in newspapers and journals, theses and books. These are located in various libraries of the University of Edinburgh; the Special Collections Department in Birmingham University Library; the School of Oriental and African Studies Library (University of London); the Henry Martyn Centre for the Study of Missions and World Christianity (University of Cambridge); Africana/Special Collection Section in Makerere University Library; Uganda Christian University, Mukono Library; Uganda Government Archives in Entebbe; The Church of Uganda Provincial Archives (located at the Provincial head offices in Namirembe); Busoga Diocesan Archives (located in the diocesan headquarters); and in several other archives/special collections of archdeacons, parishes and individual Christians.

The documentary research method contributed greatly towards the acquisition of printed/written sources of information for this study. To this, two comments deserve to

be added concerning the problems I experienced during the process of studying and/or collecting written sources. First, although several documents had been written during these conflicts, not all of them were preserved in the archives of the church. Church leaders destroyed or omitted from the archives some written information on these conflicts, as they did that of other problems in the church,⁴³ because they regarded it as detrimental to the image of the church, or not 'safe' enough to be availed to present and future researchers. Therefore, I found the sources of information preserved in archives of the church to be insufficient, hence the necessity to study (and/or collect) written sources preserved 'unselectively' in the homes of some Christians at the grassroots level.

Secondly, some sources preserved in archives showed subjective inclinations of their authors. Moreover, my investigation of some sources led me to conclude that their authors were determined to argue passionately their own case *vis-à-vis* the conflicts, so much that they 'filtered' and/or misrepresented what is widely believed to have actually happened. These limitations underscore Edward Carr's observation that "the facts of history do not come to us 'pure'... they are always refracted through the mind of the recorder",⁴⁴ hence the imperative not to depend entirely on them.

The second method I used to collect information was oral research. A greater part of the fieldwork I carried out in Uganda, for a period of seven months (1st May – 30th November 1999), was devoted to this research. I held unstructured interviews with sixty-three people (informants) most of whom live in (or originate from) Busoga. These people (most of whom I interviewed largely in Lusoga,⁴⁵ and in their homes) had been actively involved in the conflicts. They were not predominantly so influential, elitist and prominent as to result in a data-collecting-process which Catherine Marshall and

⁴³ A Walls, "Structural Problems in Mission Studies" in *IBMR*, 15/4, 1991, p. 151; O Kalu, "African Church Historiography", in T Falola, *African Historiography: Essays in Honour of Jacob Ade Ajayi*. Harlow: Longmans, 1993, p. 176.

⁴⁴ *What is History?* (Second edition). London: Penguin, 1987, p. 22. For more discussions on the limitations of written sources, see D Bebbington, *Patterns in History: A Christian perspective in Historical thought*, (second edition). Leicester: Apolos, 1990, pp. 11,16; R Brown and C W Daniels, *Learning History: A Guide to Advanced Study*. London: Macmillan Education, 1986, p. 31; A Marwick, *The Nature of History*, p. 215.

⁴⁵ The only person I interviewed in English, for obvious reasons, was Rev Dr Chris Palacas. Also, some informants occasionally responded in Luganda, especially when they themselves wanted to emphasise a point to me in my own language (Luganda), and in English while discussing more technical and/or sensitive issues. The use of these three languages (Lusoga, Luganda and English) did not create any problem for me because I understand all of them well.

Gretchen Rossman described in their book *Designing Qualitative Research*, as elite interviewing,⁴⁶ but were drawn from all the levels in church and society in Busoga. I knew some of them personally, and their involvement in the conflicts was widely known. I selected others with the assistance of people I interviewed earlier. I interviewed most of the people I had identified.⁴⁷ I carried out a total number of sixty-one interviews, largely on a one-to-one basis. I interviewed some people twice, and others in groups, and preserved the data generated by tape recording most interviews and taking notes during those which, for one reason or another, I was not able to record. Later, I transcribed all the tape recordings, and used them and the notes as sources of information for this study.

I found this method best suited to facilitate personal reminiscences and to collect 'first hand' information.⁴⁸ It provided my informants with a comfortable, familiar and flexible environment for sharing willingly and candidly their views and experiences. It made it possible for every informant to narrate historical facts as accurately and intelligibly as he or she possibly could, at short notice, and without making prior or 'contaminating' consultations with other informants and/or written/printed source material. It comprised designs which included drawing informants from a cross-section of parties involved in the conflicts; interviewing some of them twice; asking largely open-ended questions and, if necessary, asking them twice; giving informants the opportunity to express themselves in their own words; and checking every oral source against other oral and written sources. It assisted in the following four ways:

- Minimising the risk of informants' mixing facts by accident or design;
- Preventing me from skewing oral sources;
- Addressing discrepancies which arose inevitably during the entire process of generating data;

⁴⁶ London: Sage Publications, 1989, p. 83. For detailed discussions on oral research and oral history see J Vansina, *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Method*. London: Routledge and Paul Kegan, 1965; *Oral tradition as history*. Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985; B Allen and W L Montell, *From Memory to History: Using Oral Sources in Local Historical Research*. Nashville, Tennessee: The American Association for State and Local History, 1981; D Henige, *Oral Historiography*. London and Lagos: Longman, 1982; P Thompson, *The Voice of the Past: Oral History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.

⁴⁷ One of the few people I did not interview was Bishop Cyprian Bamwoze. It seems to me that he did not want to be interviewed. Nonetheless, I benefited greatly from the interviews he had held earlier with other people.

⁴⁸ R Brown and C W Daniels, *Learning History: A Guide to Advanced Study*, p. 83.

- Creating a complete concordance between the independent sources of information.

It also contributed greatly towards the generation of sources of information which were as reliable and accurate as could be achieved, hence the certainty that the issues and events narrated and analysed in this thesis were authentic and did actually happen.

THE OVERALL SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS STUDY

I started writing this thesis in January 2000, shortly after the end of the Busoga Crisis, after the retirement of Bishop Cyprian Bamwoze and the consecration and installation of Rev Dr Michael Kyomya, as the new Bishop of Busoga. This means that, unlike earlier studies, it has been possible for me to narrate and analyse comprehensively and with considerable detail most of the factors which caused and/or influenced the conflicts in Busoga Diocese between 1972 and 1999. It also implies the possibility of suggesting insights and recommendations which, if considered seriously, would go a long way to help Busoga Diocese and the entire Church of Uganda understand its past, learn vital lessons from it, and re-invent itself in order to be in a better position, amongst other things, to address contradictions and ambiguity inside and outside it.

Consequently, this study illustrates the ways in which conflicts have battered and bruised the Church of Uganda, and made self-defeating its efforts, amongst other things, to address conflicts outside itself, in the ethnic and socio-political domains. It underpins the imperative to prevent the occurrence of conflicts and/or, if they occur again, to resolve them using constructive and reconciliatory measures. It challenges the church and its leadership to be more prepared and willing to deal with injustices, divisions and conflicts. It reiterates the call, made widely inside and outside the church, to reform the leadership ethic and organisational structure of the church in order to bring it in line with the *esse* of Anglicanism, namely the emphasis of the active participation of bishops, clergy and laity in the governance of the church.⁴⁹ It contributes greatly to the church's ongoing quest for unity, reconciliation and other prerequisites which help people attain, in Gregory Baum's apposite words, "the power beyond their own brokenness to enter

⁴⁹ D Pattinson, "Church government and administration: idol – or tool?" in J Greenhalgh and E Russell (eds.), *Building in Love: The Vocation of the Church*. London: St Mary's Bourne Street, 1990, p.117.

into self-recognition and overcome the barriers erected by sin”.⁵⁰ This study, it is to be hoped, will make a significant contribution to the imperative of letting the church be the church.

⁵⁰ G Baum, “A Theological Afterword” in G Baum and H Wells (eds.), *The Reconciliation of Peoples: Challenge to the Churches*. Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1997, p. 189.

CHAPTER TWO

BUSOGA, THE BASOGA AND THE CHURCH IN BUSOGA – NOT STRANGERS TO CONFLICTS AND DISASTERS

It appeared as if Busoga was under a curse. The people themselves felt it to be so and one saw amongst them the apathy of despair.¹

We must move to a situation where tribe ceases to be a qualification for any church job - particularly that of a Bishop... We must stop thinking simply of my tribe, or my diocese and think of the entire Church and Nation. God is challenging us to think of ourselves as a unified people and to live as a unified people.²

This chapter has three major objectives. First, it provides an overview of the historical, socio-political and religious setting of Busoga, the origin and growth of the church, and the disasters (both natural and human-made) and conflicts which have taken place in Busoga and in other places outside it. Second, it locates these disasters and conflicts within the wider studies of history, conflict, church, ethnicity and politics in Uganda. Third, it underscores the factors that resulted in (or allowed) their occurrence and escalation particularly in Busoga Diocese, Church of Uganda. It is therefore a historical study of disasters, tensions, divisions and conflicts in Busoga and beyond, one which seeks among other things to understand their origin, relation, development and impact. It is important to add that such a study being concerned among other things with the life and work of the church in Uganda as well as with the multi-faceted and protracted conflicts inside and outside it, is vast and complex. I cannot therefore accord the issues involved any more than a brief and selective discussion.

A TURBULENT BUSOGA

THE TRADITIONAL SOCIO-POLITICAL SETTING OF BUSOGA

The Origin of the Name Busoga

Many theories are advanced on the origin of the name Busoga. The one which is conflict-related and thereby significant to us here is that it was first used by early Baganda raiders

¹ A Wilson quoted in H H Bell, *Correspondence Relating to the Famine in Busoga District*. London: HMSO, 1908, p. 11.

² Erica Sabiti, "The Archbishop's Charge to the Church of Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi", Minute 5/70 and Appendix 'B' of the Provincial Assembly (PA), 9th to 11th December 1970, pp. 2 and 6, COU PA. See also *Daily Nation*, 10th December 1970.

to refer to a hill called Busoga,³ situated in the traditional home of the *baise*-Musoga clan. On this hill, also part of Musoga Ntembe's state (Butembe), Basoga warriors in one incident intercepted, defeated and sent back Baganda raiders.⁴ On returning to Buganda, the survivors, it is claimed, regretted *batusogga e Busoga* (we were wounded with spears in Busoga). If this version is true, then the name Busoga was first used by the Baganda to refer either to Busoga hill or to the domain of Musoga Ntembe.⁵ Gradually the name came to be used to refer to the entire area covering 3,443 square miles, which the explorer Speke mistakenly called an island,⁶ bounded to the north by Lake Kyoga and to the south by Lake Victoria, to the east by River Mpologoma and to the west by the Victoria Nile⁷

Busoga, "the Garden of Uganda"

Generally, Busoga was a fertile region. Most of the Europeans who stayed in Busoga or passed through it before the dawn of the twentieth century could not help admiring its conducive climate, rich and fertile lands, extensive gardens, large herds of cattle, and populous, hospitable and settled farming communities.⁸ According to Tom Tuma, a local historian, caravan traders and missionaries were impressed by the fertility of Busoga.⁹ They testified in particular to the "endless banana gardens" especially in the southern part of Busoga. These gardens ensured an abundant supply of food for the people in Busoga, contributed to Busoga's richness and beauty¹⁰ and attracted passers-by or anyone on the lookout for new areas of expansion.¹¹ However, owing partly to increasing human

³ Busoga Hill is located 33 - 36.1E, 0 - 28.5N. E D Mwamula-Lubandi. *Transitional Socio-Economic Clans Among Basoga*. Uppsala: Uppsala University Press, 1978, p. 7.

⁴ Busoga Local Government, Busoga Native Administration Constitution. Confidential File No. 2280/1, *Uganda Government Archives Entebbe*.

⁵ E D Mwamula-Lubandi. *Transitional Socio-Economic Clans Among Basoga*, p. 7.

⁶ J H Speke, *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile*. London: Blackwood and Sons, 1863, p. 467.

⁷ E Hansen, "Busoga" in J D Barkan and others, *Uganda District Government and Politics 1947-1967*. University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1977, p. 178; D W Cohen, *The Historical Tradition of Busoga: Mukama and Kintu*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972, pp. 23-24.

⁸ B W Langlands, "The Early History of Population in Busoga", Appendix in *The Population Geography of Busoga District*. *Occasional Paper* No. 40. Department of Geography, Makerere University, Kampala, 1971, p. 38.

⁹ T Tuma, *Building a Ugandan Church*. Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau, 1980, p. 5.

¹⁰ Busoga, according to D W Cohen, is an "undulating country with several northward flowing, swampy rivers and scattered flat-topped hills which reach between six hundred and seven hundred feet above the floors of the valleys". Its natural vegetation is mainly of savannah type interspersed with deciduous trees. In northern Busoga, across the basin of Lake Kyoga, short grass and papyrus swamps form a major part of the landscape. Annual rainfall is between forty and sixty inches per annum. *The Historical Tradition of Busoga*, pp. 22-23.

¹¹ T Tuma, *Building a Ugandan Church*, p. 5.

occupation, especially in southern Busoga, and the devastating effects of natural and human-made disasters, which I will discuss later in this chapter, Busoga gradually lost her coveted title, the “garden of Uganda”, and like in several other areas, its climatic condition gradually became erratic.

Migrational Movements in Busoga

The migrational movements inside and outside Busoga between late fourteenth and early eighteenth centuries are discussed in great detail in several studies on Busoga.¹² A discussion of these movements is outside the scope of this study. It is nevertheless necessary to mention the main results of these movements. First, Busoga was divided into two major dialect zones,¹³ namely the *Lupakooyo*-speaking north¹⁴ and the *Lutenga*-speaking south.¹⁵ Second, numerous small loosely affiliated statedoms were created, which from time to time made alliances with each other and/or with the larger neighbouring kingdoms of Buganda and Bunyoro.¹⁶ Finally, many people were reluctant to move from their traditional homes to dwell in other states, except in cases where they were affected by internal conflicts, raids and natural disasters. The tendency of relatives and people belonging to the same clan and state to stick together gave them a sense of identity, unity and continuity with their past, though it did not necessarily prevent them from adopting new ideas and interacting with other groups inside and outside Busoga.¹⁷ Moreover, the inclination of these groups to stick together, coupled with the absence of a centralised political structure in Busoga, made the region susceptible to interfamily,

¹² Three of these studies include Y K Lubogo, *A History of Busoga*. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, 1960; L A Fallers, *Bantu Bureaucracy: A Century of Political Evolution Among the Basoga of Uganda*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1965, pp. 30-6; and D W Cohen, *The Historical Tradition of Busoga; Towards a reconstructed past: historical texts from Busoga, Uganda*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.

¹³ S G Were, “The Western Bantu Peoples from AD 1300 to 1800” in B A Ogot (ed.) *Zamani: A Survey of East African History*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1964, pp. 186-93.

¹⁴ *Lupakooyo*, which resembles *Lunyoro*, is associated with dialects running east from Bunyoro, across the northern regions of Buganda and Busoga, and through the eastern part of Busoga. This association is attributed to the displacement, by the Jo-Bito (a group of Luo), of the Chwezi rulers of Bunyoro-Kitara in the late fifteenth century. The Jo-Bito became linguistically absorbed amongst the interlacustrine Bantu. From Bunyoro, they moved northwest into Busoga, settled amongst (or in some instances displaced) the original inhabitants and other interlacustrine Bantu immigrants (like the Bakenhye) they found in northern and eastern Busoga. E Hansen, “Busoga”, p. 180.

¹⁵ Most of people in the South spoke *Lutenga*, a *Lusoga* dialect closely related to *Luganda*, and akin to dialects spoken in Eastern Buganda, Ssese and Buvuma Islands in Lake Victoria. E Hansen, “Busoga”, p. 180.

¹⁶ B W Langlands, “The Early History of Population in Busoga”, p. 33.

¹⁷ L A Fallers, *Law Without Precedent: Legal Ideas in Action in the Courts of Colonial Busoga*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969, p. 40; *Bantu Bureaucracy*, chapters 2 and 6.

interclan and interstate feuds. It also made it vulnerable to raids from their more politically dominant and cohesive Baganda and Banyoro neighbours.

It is important to add that the influx of foreign religions, cultures and challenges which occurred since the latter part of the nineteenth century has seriously influenced the life patterns of the Basoga. While most Basoga continue to live in their traditional rural homes, occasionally going to towns to shop and to do business, others, like in other ethnic groups,¹⁸ have migrated to towns and to other places inside and outside Busoga in search of education and job opportunities. However, they have not become completely detached from their roots. They have retained contact with their homes and with people with whom they share the same clan or state, and have occasionally returned to their homes in the event of deaths in the family or to participate in cultural events like *okwabya olumbe* (funeral rites). Therefore, like in other ethnic groups, the sentimental attachment which most Basoga accord to their areas of origin, relatives and statemates makes ethnocentrism and regionalism a factor to reckon with in Busoga. I discuss this issue in more detail later in this study. Meanwhile I continue with the discussion on the traditional socio-political setting of Busoga, and the nature and effect of conflicts that occurred within it and/or because of it.

The Clan and the Endha (Lineage) Systems

The pre-colonial Busoga had two principal social organisations: the clan, encompassing blood relationships, and the state, encompassing political relationships. The clan and the state, albeit having kinship and territorial dimensions respectively,¹⁹ did not necessarily exist or operate independently of each other. In some cases, a ruler appointed the head of a clan to head a political territory. But in most cases, the territorial chief was not the head of a clan. He was, furthermore, not necessarily the head of the largest clan in his territory.²⁰ By the end of the twentieth century the Basoga had at least one hundred and fifty clans²¹ of *balangira* (royals) and *bakopi* (commoners), each of which was further

¹⁸ A E Larimore, *The Alien Town: Patterns of Settlement in Busoga, Uganda. An Essay in Cultural Geography*. Chicago and Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1958, p. 18.

¹⁹ D W Cohen, *The Historical Tradition of Busoga*, p. 8.

²⁰ L A Fallers, *Law Without Precedent*, p. 45.

²¹ Cohen estimated that by 1892 Busoga had over two hundred and twenty clans. Fallers suggested justifiably, in my opinion, that this estimate most likely mistook some lineages to be clans. D W Cohen, *The Historical Tradition of Busoga*, p. 8; L A Fallers, *Law Without Precedent*, p. 43.

divided into *endha* (lineages).²² The *balangira* were, in Fallers' words, "by birth assigned a higher status and an in-born fitness to rule".²³ The ruler represented his clan, and while his relatives shared in the ruling of the state, he himself had his predominance legitimised by accession rites.²⁴

Clan composition was²⁵ of patrilineal descent,²⁶ marriage was exogamous, and, like in Buganda, common clan totems and common ancestry defined limits of exogamy²⁷ and united the clan members. However, gradually a combination of factors compelled many people to migrate from their ancestral homes and settle in other areas in Busoga. These factors included rifts or power struggles in families, *endha* or clans; raids from neighbouring states or ethnic groups; mounting population pressure; and the need to search for new living opportunities.²⁸ As a result clan members dispersed, and the task of gathering them increasingly became very difficult.

But common clan identity did not necessarily cease to be an important and effective bonding factor after some of the clan members migrated to other areas. New forms of clan or clan-related bonding were adopted. For instance, in cases where the cohesiveness of an old clan was jeopardised by the dispersal of clan members, the *endha* emerged as a more localised, unifying, and definitive sub-unit within the clan. Furthermore, several *endha* which migrated to another state usually formed themselves in a new clan revolving around a common and relatively more recent ancestor. In cases where hatred existed between the state in which the new clan was based and the one from which they originated, communication became practically impossible, so much so that, partly for purposes of ensuring survival in their new state, both clans regarded each other as antagonists.²⁹

²² The term *endha* literally means 'loins' as in Hebrews 7: 5, "... they come out of the loins of Abraham." (King James Version).

²³ L Fallers, *Bantu Bureaucracy*, pp. 126-128.

²⁴ D Cohen *The Historical Tradition of Busoga*, p. 13.

²⁵ The use of the past tense does not mean that the clan as an institution no longer exists. I use it to refer to the institution as it was by the end of the nineteenth century. I also take cognisance of the fact that a lot has changed in it.

²⁶ D W Cohen, *The Historical Tradition of Busoga: Mukama and Kintu*, p. 6.

²⁷ L A Fallers, *Bantu Bureaucracy*, pp. 65-66; *Law Without Precedent*, p. 43.

²⁸ L A Fallers, *Bantu Bureaucracy*, p. 65; T Tuma, *Building a Ugandan Church*, p. 9.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

The Non-Centralised State System in Busoga

The Basoga, unlike most of the other interlacustrine Bantu,³⁰ did not give rise to a monarchical or centralised system of governance.³¹ Before the coming of the British imperial authority, they were formed in up to fifty small statedoms which, though independent, were loosely connected and shared common dialects, socio-political structures,³² and agricultural and subsistence economies.³³ These states were ruled by dynasties of different and dispersed groups of royal clans. Each dynasty had its own royal regalia, which comprised symbols like drums, spears and stools. These symbols were more elaborate than those of the commoner clans and served, among other things, as marks that distinguished one royal clan from another and as uniting 'cults' of states. Some of the royal clans ruled the larger states,³⁴ though most of the smaller states especially in the south had their own monarchs.

New states were founded when an existing ruler failed to control the rising status of his royal relatives, leading, for instance, to some of the princes he appointed as territorial administrators turning their divisions into new states or to others leaving the palace and establishing new states on the periphery of an existing state. This pattern of secession within states, coupled with the conquering of weaker states by stronger ones, usually resulted in inter-state conflicts and feuds.³⁵ In Buganda, by comparison, it was very difficult for princes to secede from the kingdom and form their own jurisdictions. One of the princes, on becoming the *Kabaka*, usually limited his relatives' involvement in the administrative roles of the kingdom by restricting them to the palace, executing them or banishing them to a remote island.³⁶

³⁰ For a more detailed discussion on the Interlacustrine Bantu, see L Fallers, *Bantu Bureaucracy*, pp. 23-25.

³¹ E Hansen, "Busoga", p. 180. For a detailed study of Busoga's political structure see D W Cohen, "The States of Busoga in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century", No. 15, in *Makerere Institute of Social Research*, 1971; E Hansen, "Political Leadership in Busoga". MA thesis, Makerere University, Kampala, 1968.

³² A I Richards (ed.) *East African Chiefs*. London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1960, p. 81; L A Fallers, *Law Without Precedent*, 1969, p. 48.

³³ A E Larimore, *The Alien Town*, p. 169; L Fallers, *Bantu Bureaucracy*, p. 27; B W Langlands, "The Early History of Population in Busoga", p. 33; and Y K Lubogo, *A History of Busoga*, p. 4.

³⁴ For example, the *baise*-Ngobi clan ruled Bugabula, Bulamoogi, Bukono, Luuka, Kigulu and Bukooli, the *baise*-Igaga ruled Busiki and Busambira, and the *baise*-Menhya ruled Bugweri. L A Fallers, *Law Without Precedent*, p. 48.

³⁵ D W Cohen, *The Historical Tradition of Busoga*, pp. 13-14; L A Fallers, *Law Without Precedent*, p. 49.

³⁶ M S M Kiwanuka, *The Kings of Buganda*, Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1971, p. 123.

Increasingly the tensions and conflicts in these states prompted the rulers in Busoga to check the powers of their royal relatives by increasing their patron-client relationships with the commoner clans through measures such as giving some of the veteran commoners control over territorial and palace affairs, and making marriage alliances with some commoner clans.³⁷ However, they were not always successful in ensuring unchallenged control over their states. In some cases, when commoner clans gained power or wealth, or had a princely candidate for an existing or potential state, they tended to constitute socio-political pressure groups in succession and/or secession struggles, as Cohen appositely states, “competitive commoner clans, each pressing the claims of their princely son-in-law, were, in a number of cases, the inciters of royal succession wars in Busoga”.³⁸

The political structure within the states in Busoga took the form of a hierarchy of patrons and clients, with the hereditary ruler pitched right at the top of the structure, followed by a staff comprising largely clientele and favoured chiefs, down to village chiefs, and the commoners at the bottom. The ruler at the top was a religious, social and political figure, endowed with an authoritative and priestly mystique, one which gave him a bureaucratic control over his subjects; made it possible for him to wield ultimate leverage over his chiefs and over the entire state; and gave him the leeway he needed to ensure that his subjects became (and remained) blindly obedient to him. Overall, his rulership was marked on one hand by his autocratic tendencies and on the other by his subjects’ fear of him and utter dependence on him.³⁹ This rulership had no provision for a balancing power or checks and balances, save for his obligation to be accountable to the ancestral world for his actions,⁴⁰ an obligation which, notwithstanding its significance, was secondary to the ruler’s incessant bid to ensure unchallenged control over his jurisdiction. Notably, if subsequent Basoga church and civic leaders adopted this style of rulership or one similar to it, they would become, as some did, equally fearful of potential ‘rivals’, autocratic, dictatorial and unaccountable to the people in their charge.

³⁷ S R Karugire, *A political History of Uganda*. Nairobi: Heinemann Educational Books, 1980, p. 19; In 1891, for example, when Fr. Brard arrived in Luuka, he found Tabingwa the ruler with five capitals and in each, he had at least two hundred wives. Bishop Tucker who also visited Tabingwa found three hundred wives in his capital at Kiyunga. A R Tucker, *Eighteen Years in Uganda and East Africa*. London: Edward Arnold, 1908, p. 223.

³⁸ D W Cohen *The Historical Tradition of Busoga*, p.14. On succession struggles in Busoga see D W Cohen, “Busoga and its Pattern of Succession” in *Makerere Institute of Social Research*, 1971.

³⁹ L Fallers, *Bantu Bureaucracy*, p. 36.

⁴⁰ E Hansen, “Busoga” in *Uganda District Government and Politics 1947-1967*, p. 180

BUSOGA - A CONFLICT AND WAR-STRICKEN REGION

Inter-State Tensions and Feuds

I mentioned earlier that secession struggles within individual states usually resulted in the creation of new rival states. The changeover of rulers at the death of an existing ruler created considerable conflict. The succession struggle in Kigulu between 1890 and 1892 is a case in point.⁴¹ Moreover, protracted wars occurred when large and powerful states raided small ones usually at the invitation of a 'rebel' prince who sought to use them to usurp power or to break away from their parent states, or when the large states themselves sought to extend their boundaries to exact tribute from small ones or to pillage them of people, ivory and animals.⁴²

Consequently wars and conflicts dominated the social-political setting in Busoga. The states in the north were larger than those in the south, suggesting that there were more interstate feuds in the south, hence more devastation there than in the north.⁴³ Moreover, the rulers of the large states sought incessantly to subdue small and rival states in order to increase their own influence and dominance in the region. Some of them also made alliances with the two major contending powers in the region, namely Buganda and Bunyoro, the two kingdoms which lay to the west and northwest of Busoga respectively.⁴⁴ However, despite this rampant search for influence and dominance, no single state emerged powerful enough to control the rest of the states.

The Banyoro and Baganda Raiders

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Banyoro and Baganda warriors intensified their raiding campaigns on Busoga. They invaded Busoga at the request of princes or rulers with secession disputes, civil disturbances to quell or interstate wars to fight.⁴⁵ They also sought to exact tribute over the states in Busoga and to plunder it of people, ivory, goats and cattle⁴⁶ in order to meet the ever-growing local and coastal

⁴¹ S R Skeens, "Reminiscences of Busoga and its Chiefs" in *Uganda Journal*, Vol. 4, 1937, p. 190.

⁴² B W Langlands, "The Early History of Population in Busoga", p. 33.

⁴³ Ibid; Y K Lubogo, *A History of Busoga*, pp. 19, 45, 55; T Tuma, *Building a Ugandan Church*, p. 11.

⁴⁴ E A Larimore, *The Alien Town*, p. 171.

⁴⁵ T Tuma, *Building a Ugandan Church*, p. 12.

⁴⁶ M S M Kiwanuka, *A History of Buganda*, p. 76; *The Kings of Buganda*, pp. 69, 75-6; D W Cohen, "Sharing Authority in Pre-colonial Northern Busoga", a paper submitted to the African Seminar, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, on 7th June 1972, p. 7.

demand for women, slaves, porters (for the caravan trade), ivory and animals.⁴⁷ Apart from one *Kabaka*, Kyabaggu (c1734-1764), whose attempt to turn Busoga into his kingdom aborted when the Basoga repulsed him, most of the kings in Bunyoro and Buganda were content to keep Busoga as a raiding ground and the states as tributary states. Bunyoro held dominant influence in northern Busoga, while Buganda controlled most of the states in the south.⁴⁸

From the middle of the nineteenth century, when the power of Bunyoro waned and that of Buganda increased,⁴⁹ Buganda controlled and raided most of the states in Busoga. For instance, towards the end of his reign, *Kabaka* Suna Kalema II (c1824-1854) ordered a raiding campaign on Busoga, as a result of which Kigulu was overrun, and plundered, homes and crops destroyed, and many people taken as slaves, while others, including Chief Lwayi, the father of Chief Luba, were executed.⁵⁰ Also, *Kabaka* Mukaabya Muteesa I (c1854-1884) launched a series of raids in Busoga,⁵¹ during which his men plundered many states in southern Busoga, and ordered others, like some of the small kingdoms in the region,⁵² to pay regular tribute to him, an order some of them followed until the Uganda-Usoga agreement of 1895 during which Buganda initially relinquished to the British Protectorate government her territorial claim over them.⁵³

⁴⁷Y K Lubogo, *A History of Busoga*, p. 198; S R Skeens, *Uganda Notes*, 3/3, March 1902, p. 22; M C Fallers, *The Eastern Lacustrine Bantu*, 1960, p. 24; A R Tucker, *Eighteen Year in Uganda and East Africa*, Vol. 1, p. 209; J Cunningham, *Uganda and its Peoples* 1905, p. 115.

⁴⁸Crabtree, *Mengo Notes*, May 1901.

⁴⁹S R Karugire argued that the power of Bunyoro-Kitara waned because of its own system of administration. He noted, "The Kitara chiefs wielded much independent authority, unlike in Buganda where all authority flowed from the *Kabaka*". *A Political History of Uganda*, p. 21; see also M S M Kiwanuka, "Bunyoro and the British: A reappraisal of the decline and fall of an African Kingdom" in the *Journal of African History*, 9/4, 1968, pp. 603-19.

⁵⁰It was to chief Luba that *Kabaka* Mwanga gave orders, in 1885, to execute Bishop James Hannington. Also, Lubogo recorded that, during Suna's reign, Baganda penetrated Busoga at least three times. *Kabaka* Suna himself led a raiding campaign against Wakholi's state in Bukooli, and returned to Buganda with booty, among others of over two thousand women. M S M Kiwanuka, *The Kings of Buganda*, pp. 130 – 131; Y K Lubogo, *A History of Busoga*, pp. 16, 19; J M Gray, "Early History of Buganda", in *Uganda Journal*, Vol. 2, 1935, p. 269.

⁵¹S R Skeens, "Reminiscences of Busoga", Typescript, *Uganda Society*, 1937, pp. 6-19; D W Robertson, "The Historical Considerations contributing to the Soga System of Land Tenure", *Uganda Government Entebbe Archives*, G P, 1940, p. 23; L A Fallers, *Law Without Precedent*, p. 50.

⁵²The other kingdoms from which Buganda exacted tribute included Kiziba, Karagwe, Kooki and Buhaya. Lugard to IBEA, *Parliamentary Papers*, 7th January 1892, p. 56; A D Roberts, "The Sub-Imperialism of the Baganda" in *Journal of African History*, 3/3, 1962, p. 435.

⁵³W F Nabwiso-Bulima, "The Evolution of the Kyabazingaship of Busoga" in *Uganda Journal*, 31/1, 1967, p. 90; S. R. Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*, p. 104.

As a result of these raids Busoga was devastated, with many of her people killed or taken as slaves, and properties plundered or destroyed.⁵⁴ This partly explains the indignation the Basoga had (and some still have) towards the Baganda, whose warriors depredated Busoga much more than did those of other ethnic groups. Moreover, the special religio-political relationship between the Baganda and the British, as a result of which the former continued to dominate and influence the Basoga, as they did in other areas, made it even more difficult for the Baganda to repair their image in the eyes of the Basoga.⁵⁵ It led many Basoga to resent them for what they viewed as their continued self-centred, arrogant and imperialistic tendencies.

It is necessary to make two comments concerning the raids on Busoga mounted by her neighbours. First, overall these raids were not necessarily carried out for expansionist reasons, but were mainly intended to meet domestic needs, particularly of the raiding parties. The raiders gained booty which they gave to the *kabaka* in return for promotions and other favours; acquired slaves whom they used in their gardens at home, or whom they sold to the coastal traders; and returned home with women and animals, hence increasing their wealth and prestige.⁵⁶ These methods, though unacceptable to us today inasmuch as they show one group of people benefiting at the expense of another, were some of the means through which the raiders addressed their domestic needs, and should, in my opinion, be viewed in this context.

Secondly, the raiders were greatly helped by Busoga's segmentary and weak political structure. The multiplicity of jealous and rival chiefs made the wealthy, densely populated, small states of Busoga particularly easy prey to raids from Buganda.⁵⁷ On several occasions the work of Baganda raiders was made easier when, partly in an effort to save themselves from being plundered, raiders from large strong states invaded the small weak states, and then handed over their booty to Baganda raiders or exchanged it for items like guns, mirrors, and clothes.⁵⁸ Hence Busoga's lack of political strength and

⁵⁴ H B Thomas, "The Last Days of Bishop Hannington" in *Uganda Journal* Vol. II. No. 1, September 1940, p. 40, Fr A Brard's Letter to "My Lord" 19th July 1891 in *Chronique Trimestrielle*, No. 53, p. 103.

⁵⁵ L A Fallers, *Law Without Precedent*, p. 39.

⁵⁶ S R Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*, pp. 38-40, 46.

⁵⁷ M S M Kiwanuka, *A History of Buganda*, p. 76, 140, 143. See also J Gray, "The Basoga" in *Uganda Journal* 3/4 (1936), pp. 308-13.

⁵⁸ J Gray, "The Basoga", p. 308.

cohesion made it possible for Baganda raiders to mount successful raids especially on the small vulnerable states in Busoga.⁵⁹ It would not have been easy for them to mount these raids if the states in Busoga had been large, strong or united. In fact these raiders found it difficult to raid Bulamogi or Bugabula in northeast and southeast Busoga respectively, mainly because these states were powerful and strong enough to ward off the Baganda raiders.⁶⁰

Moreover, towards the end of the nineteenth century when the small states increasingly re-grouped to resist the raiders, it became difficult and expensive for the latter to mount successful raiding campaigns. Many of their campaigns aborted, others cost many lives including those of the raiders, while others had to be abandoned before reaching Busoga because the raiders were so many that they ran out of food supplies.⁶¹ Concerted interstate efforts, when undertaken, not only made the vulnerable states in Busoga strong enough to ward off the raids from their neighbours, they also made it difficult particularly for the Baganda, to raid the Basoga as frequently and successfully as they had done in the past.

FAMINES, DISEASES AND OTHER NATURAL DISASTERS

Famine and Diseases in Busoga

As if the interstate feuds and invasions from Busoga's neighbours were not enough, other human-made factors aggravated the suffering of the people in Busoga. They included the Sudanese mutiny in Chief Luba's Kigulu state in southwest Busoga, a revolt which, though short lived, claimed the lives of many people, including that of the missionary and strategist George Pilkington.⁶² Another factor was the neglect of many farmers to grow food crops other than bananas, thereby relying largely on bananas which have a poor record of surviving strong periods of drought. Lastly the British colonial government's forced diversion of people from subsistence farming to work such as building roads, portorage and cultivation of cotton, resulted in less food being produced,

⁵⁹ S R Skeens, "Reminiscences of Busoga", 1937, p. 194.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ M S M Kiwanuka, *The Kings of Buganda*, p. 156.

⁶² Other people killed by the mutineers included Basoga, Baganda, Swahili, and white men like Major Thruston, N A Wilson, and Lt Macdonalds. Fr Mathew to Fr Aelen Rozendaal *Annalen*, Fort Luba's Busoga. 14 November 1897, March 1898, pp. 794 – 799; J V Taylor, *The Growth of the Church in*

thus making it more likely for people to starve to death when long spells of drought occurred, as they did between 1889 and 1920.⁶³

In addition to the human-made factors mentioned above, several natural disasters resulted in the loss of many lives and property in Busoga and beyond. These included locusts which invaded Busoga in 1893;⁶⁴ a smallpox epidemic which broke out in 1900;⁶⁵ plague and jiggers which were a menace in Busoga in 1908⁶⁶ as they were in Ankole;⁶⁷ leopards, hyenas, wild pigs, termites, mosquitoes, Mbwa flies (*simulium damnosum*) and tsetse flies (*glossina sp*) which attacked people, animals and crops between 1890 and 1910; five famines that struck Busoga intermittently between 1899 and 1945;⁶⁸ and the sleeping sickness (locally known as *mongoota*) and *nagana* epidemics which affected people and cattle respectively especially in the southern region of Busoga between 1899 and 1910. Evidently, the last three disasters, the famines, the sleeping sickness and *nagana* devastated Busoga a lot more than the other natural disasters. A detailed study of the causes and effects of these and other disasters mentioned above is not only outside the scope of this study, the issues involved are also so vast that they can only be discussed here in brief.⁶⁹

Buganda, London: SCM, 1958, p. 70. C W Hattersley, *The Baganda at Home*. London: Franc Cass and Company Limited, pp. 129, 141. S R Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*, pp. 92-94.

⁶³ CMS *Proceedings*, 1908-1909, p. 71; A Tucker, *Eighteen Years in Uganda and East Africa*, Vol. II, p. 220; H B Hansen, "Mission and Colonialism in Uganda: A Case Study on Forced Labour" in Torben Christensen and William R Hutchison (eds.), *Missionary Ideologies in the Imperialist Era: 1880-1920*. Denmark: Aros Publishers, 1982, pp. 104 -16.

⁶⁴ G Portal, *The Mission to Uganda*, 1894, pp. 248, 263.

⁶⁵ H P Gale, *Uganda and the Mill Hill Fathers*. London: Macmillan and Company, 1959, p 235; CMS *Proceedings*, 1901-1902, p. 144.

⁶⁶ It is likely that these jiggers were brought by the caravan traders. However, they were not as devastating as in Karagwe and Ankole where they paralysed the agricultural sector. J Ford, and R Hall, *The History of Karagwe. Tanganyika Notes and Records*, Vol. 24, 1947; S R Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*, p. 92.

⁶⁷ S R Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*, p. 92; L Pirouet, *Black Evangelists: The Spread of Christianity in Uganda, 1891-1914*. London: Collings, 1978, p. 113.

⁶⁸ These famines occurred during 1889-1890, 1899-1900, 1907-1908, 1914-1917, and 1944. A D P Hodges, "Sleeping Sickness and Filarial Perstants in Busoga" in *Journal of Tropical Medicine*, Vol. 5, 1902, p. 298; R L Buell, *The Native Problem in Africa*. Vol. 1, 1928, p. 603.

⁶⁹ For a more detailed discussion of these disasters see B W Langlands, "The History of Sleeping Sickness in 1900-1920" 1967, pp. 8-12. *Occasional Paper No. 1*, Department of Geography, Makerere University, Kampala; A D P Hodges, "Sleeping Sickness and Filarial Perstants in Busoga" in *Journal of Tropical Medicine*, Vol. 5, 1902, p. 298; H H Bell, *Correspondence Relating to the Famine in Busoga District*. London, HMSO, 1908, p. 5 (Cmd 4358); R R Kuczinsky, *A demographical Survey of the British Colonial Empire*, Vol. 2, 1949, p. 319.

The first of the three famines happened in 1889 and 1890. This famine was short and not as devastating as the subsequent two famines, one locally called *mugudya*, which occurred between 1899-1900, and the other called *mutama*, which occurred in 1907 and 1908. Both famines struck the southern part of Busoga more than other areas, leading to the starvation of over 20,000 people⁷⁰ and many animals. They also compelled many people to move away from the south, to settle in Central Busoga, Bukedi and other places which were not as adversely affected by the famines.⁷¹ Moreover during the same period sleeping sickness affected Busoga and some of the neighbouring regions. Like the neighbouring Kome Islands, whose population was reduced from 10,000 to a bare 500 people,⁷² in southern Busoga alone, it is estimated that between 1907 and 1911, over 100,000 people died of sleeping sickness, and another 100,000 were forced to evacuate southern Busoga to settle in Central Busoga.⁷³ Some of them returned between 1920 and 1930, but were again forced to leave when another sleeping sickness epidemic struck the area in 1944. It was not until 1956 that they returned to settle in southern Busoga after the area was said to be free from epidemic, famine and other disasters.⁷⁴

It is sufficient to mention here that besides the forced labour and the long periods of drought mentioned above, several other natural and human-made factors contributed greatly to the occurrence of the famines that affected Busoga. As in Ankole during the reign of *Omugabe* Ntare I, where famine was attributed to Banyoro raiders, who captured people and animals,⁷⁵ the Baganda and Banyoro raiders decimated the population and animals of Busoga. They destroyed crops, as did the locusts and wild pigs,⁷⁶ and, like the

⁷⁰ *Uganda Gazette*, Vol. 1, June 1908, p. 88; H H Bell, Correspondence Relating to the Famine in Busoga District. London: HMSO, 1908, p. 5 (Cmd 4358); R R Kuczynski, *A demographical Survey of the British Colonial Empire*, Vol. 2, 1949, p. 319.

⁷¹ *Uganda Notes*, June 1908, p. 90; R R Kuczynski, *A demographical Survey of the British Colonial Empire*, Vol. 2, 1949, p. 319; Diary of St Francis Xavier's Mission, Luba's 14th March 1900; J Roscoe, *Twenty Five Years in East Africa*, 1921, p. 243; H H Bell, Correspondence Relating to the Famine in Busoga District, p. 13; B W Langlands, "The Population Geography of Busoga District", p. 33

⁷² R R Kuczynski, *A demographical Survey of the British Colonial Empire*, p. 321; B W Langlands, "The History of Sleeping Sickness in 1900-1920", 1967, pp. 8-12. *Occasional Paper, No. 1*, Department of Geography, Makerere University, Kampala.

⁷³ In 1911, the average number of people per square mile in the North was sixty, compared to the estimated seventeen people in the south (Bukholi) and one hundred sixty four in Central Busoga. B W Langlands, "The History of Sleeping Sickness in 1900-1920", p. 17.

⁷⁴ D W Cohen, *The Historical Tradition of Busoga*, p. 25. The Problem and progress of the resettlement scheme in southern Busoga was discussed by S J Watts, "The South Busoga Resettlement Scheme" in *Occasional Paper, No.17*, The Program of Eastern African Studies. Syracuse University, NY, April 1966.

⁷⁵ S R Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda*, p. 33.

⁷⁶ H H Bell, "Glimpses of a Governors' Life" in *Uganda Notes*, July 1908, p. 108.

wild animals and epidemics, they forced many people to abandon their homes and gardens and to move towards central Busoga, away from the disaster areas, in search of peaceful settlement, food and shelter.⁷⁷

One would have expected the Basoga, following the litany of disasters which they suffered, to form themselves into a more cohesive entity united by their common suffering. Although most of the people who had fled their homes because of the disasters settled peacefully in the areas where they sought refuge, their tendency to re-group while in their new settlements on the basis of *endha*, and the resurgence of regional and clan bias when some of them finally returned to their homes underscored their general failure to transcend past divisions. They failed to translate their plight into an opportunity for addressing the divisive tendencies in the region and as a result, many of them remained more loyal to their regions and clans than to Busoga and to the emerging nation of Uganda. This allows us to understand why, as in several other areas, many church and civil leaders favoured people who came from their own clan and regions, hence making regionalism and favouritism major issues to reckon with in Busoga. I deal with these issues in more detail in the subsequent sections of this study. Meanwhile I turn to a discussion on the factors that caused and/or contributed to the occurrence of conflicts in the church in Busoga.

AN EMERGING CHURCH IN BUSOGA

THE ROOTS OF CONFLICTS IN THE CHURCH IN BUSOGA

The Hurried, Erratic and Competitive Missionary Enterprises in Busoga

Tom Tuma, in two of his scholarly works⁷⁸ discussed the origins of the church in Busoga, its growth and the challenges it faced. He suggested several factors that led the church and civil authorities to start work in Busoga. Two of them, which are directly relevant to this study, resulted in the hurried start of the Anglican and Roman Catholic mission work in Busoga: the religio-political tensions in Buganda and the denominational scramble for

⁷⁷ S R Skeens, "Reminiscences of Busoga", p. 127.

⁷⁸ T Tuma, *Building a Ugandan Church*, p. 23; T Tuma and P Mutiibwa (eds.), *A Century of Christianity in Uganda (1877-1977): A Historical Appraisal of the Development of the Uganda Church over the Last One Hundred Years*. Nairobi: Uzima Press Ltd, 1978, p. 45.

the eastern region.⁷⁹ These two factors, coupled with the presence in Busoga of a three-tiered, centralised, missionary- and clerical-dominated leadership structure, greatly determined and influenced the missionary and leadership policies of the Anglican and Roman Catholic missions in Busoga. Furthermore, they were a major factor in creating new conflicts and in fuelling those that already existed. To understand this point better, it is necessary first to carry out a brief historical survey of the first ten years of the church in Busoga.

In February 1891, the CMS missionaries, on learning that the White Fathers were about to start mission work in Kavirondo, western Kenya, sent Rev Cyril Gordon, Fred Charles Smith and two unnamed Baganda missionaries⁸⁰ to forestall the Catholics by starting work in Bukholi, the state whose ruler, Wakholi, had just allied with the Imperial British East African (IBEA) company.⁸¹ One month later, two White Fathers, Brard and Schmier, opened the first Roman Catholic station⁸² in Busoga at Tabingwa Nabwana's place in northern Busoga, approximately forty miles away from the first Protestant station,⁸³ leading the Anglicans to accuse the Roman Catholics of interfering with their work in Busoga.

The argument widely held within the Roman Catholic circles that although their first station was started in March 1892, the Catholics had established their work in Busoga as far back as 1890⁸⁴ deserves to be commented on here. The evidence available to me suggests that by the end of 1890 Busoga had not been actively evangelised by any one of the foreign religions. Although it is not unlikely that some Basoga visiting or living in Buganda had come into contact with Christianity, and embraced it before returning to

⁷⁹ For detailed discussions on these factors see H B Hansen, *Mission, Church and State in a Colonial Setting: Uganda 1890-1925*. London: Heinemann, 1984; H P Gale, *Uganda and the Mill Hill Fathers*. London: Macmillan and Company, 1959; and J V Taylor, *The Growth of the Church in Buganda*. London: SCM Press, 1958.

⁸⁰ It is likely that one of these two Baganda missionaries was called Timeteo a Muganda catechist who visited chief Wakaba in 1891. *CMS Proceedings*, 1891-1892, p. 63

⁸¹ Gordon to Lang. 15th August 1890, CMS Archives, G3 A5/0; A R Tucker, *Eighteen years in Uganda and East Africa*, Vol. II, p. 211; *CMS Proceedings*, 1890- 1891, p. 61, and 1891-1892, p. 63

⁸² A station is where at least one European or Muganda missionary lived.

⁸³ J M Waliggo noted that, "Protestantism and Catholicism in their constant competition to 'keep pace' with each other, extended their missionary work in Busoga from 1890". "The Catholic Church and the signs of the Times", in J M Waliggo and M D Byabazaire (eds.), *African Theology in Progress: Rethinking the Mission of the Church in Africa*. Kisubi: Marianum Press, Vol. I, 1989, p. 13.

⁸⁴ H P Gale, *Uganda and the Mill Hill Fathers*, p. 169. J M Waliggo "The Catholic Church and the signs of the Times", p. 13.

Busoga,⁸⁵ there is not sufficient evidence to suggest that these people, on returning to Busoga, carried out substantial evangelistic work prior to the arrival of the White missionaries. It seems to me that the claims made especially within the Roman Catholic circles that they started their work in Busoga prior to the arrival of the CMS missionaries are inadmissible, and are largely aimed at trashing the Anglicans' accusations that they followed them particularly in Buganda and Busoga in order to undermine their missionary efforts,⁸⁶ accusations which, in my view, were not entirely unjustified.

By the end of 1891, both the White CMS and WF missionaries had returned to Buganda, not because of the "thieving propensities of the natives",⁸⁷ as Captain Frederick Lugard condescendingly alleged, but partly because of an imminent war in Buganda. The situation in Buganda had deteriorated rapidly. The settlement of 1890, in which counties in Buganda were divided amongst the Roman Catholics and Anglicans, had become more fragile and was not helped when *Kabaka* Mwanga resorted to favouring Roman Catholics over Anglicans, leading some Anglican chiefs, contrary to a codicil added to the aforementioned settlement, to change to the Roman Catholic faith.⁸⁸ As a result the Anglicans became increasingly worried that they were losing their grip on Buganda. They resorted, from July 1891, to increased lobbying, resulting partly in renewed tensions in the region, most of which manifested themselves in the form of what John Mary Waliggo, a Roman Catholic cleric and theologian, aptly described as "sectarian killings, petty quarrels, traditional teasing and political manipulation".⁸⁹

In Buddu alone, where the Anglicans had just started work,⁹⁰ these conflicts, it was reported, resulted in the death of twelve Roman Catholics and three Protestants.⁹¹ Bishop Hirth feared that these tensions would inevitably lead to renewed fighting between the Catholics and Protestants. He felt it was necessary for all Roman Catholic missionaries to stay together during these turbulent times. That is why on 13th October 1891, he asked all of them to abandon their work and return to the Catholic base at Rubaga immediately lest

⁸⁵ T Tuma, *Building a Ugandan Church*, p. 27.

⁸⁶ A R Tucker, *Eighteen Years in Uganda and East Africa*, Vol. I, p. 268.

⁸⁷ F D Lugard, *The Rise of Our East African Empire*, Vol. II. London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1893, p. 103.

⁸⁸ H P Gale, *Uganda and the Mill Hill Fathers*, pp. 55-8.

⁸⁹ J M Waliggo "The Catholic Church and the signs of the Times", p. 13.

⁹⁰ T Tuma, "The Church Expansion in Buganda," in T Tuma and P Mutibwa, *A Century of Christianity in Uganda*. Nairobi: Uzima Press Limited, 1978, p. 22.

⁹¹ Walker to Lang, 5th August 1891, G3 A5/0, *CMS Archives*

they face the danger of being killed in an imminent war,⁹² which, true to his fears, broke out on 25th January 1892. The Anglican party defeated the Roman Catholics, thanks, among others, to the military assistance which Lugard gave to the former.⁹³

In April 1892, after the war and following the decline of the religious scramble for the eastern region,⁹⁴ Smith returned to his station at Wakholi's place. He was followed in June by John Roscoe, who opened a station at Luba's place called Kigwisa,⁹⁵ contrary to the IBEA company policy, which indefinitely prohibited further missionary expansion in Busoga.⁹⁶ In July 1892, Chief Wakholi was shot by one of Smith's porters, an incident which placed Smith in great danger and resulted in his return the following month to Buganda. During the same month Roscoe also returned to Buganda due to ill health.⁹⁷ Between August 1892 and June 1894, no White missionaries were sent to Busoga. Bishop Tucker even informed the CMS head office in London that work in Busoga had been indefinitely closed owing to an acute shortage of White missionaries.⁹⁸ Meanwhile, like the White Fathers, the CMS posted more White missionaries into Buganda in a bid to consolidate their hold on what they believed to be the most important part of the region.⁹⁹

It was not until July 1894 that William A Crabtree and Rowling were posted to Busoga, following their unsuccessful attempt to start work in Sio Bay, in western Kenya.

⁹² "Diary of Notre-Dame de L'Esperance (Busoga)", 13th October 1891, in *Chronique Trimestrielle*, No. 54, April 1892, p. 235.

⁹³ On the details of this war see H P Gale, *Uganda and the Mill Hill Fathers*, pp. 63-5; F D Lugard, *The Rise of our East African Empire*, pp. 329-343; R Ashe, *Chronicles of Uganda*. London: Rundolf and Company, 1885, pp. 220-221; A Rowe, *Lugard at Kampala*. Nairobi: East African Publishers, 1969; and J M Waliggo, "The Catholic Church in Buddu Province of Buganda, 1879-1925. D. Phil thesis, Cambridge University, 1976; H B Hansen, *Mission Church and State in Colonial Setting: Uganda 1890-1925*. London: Heinemann, 1984, pp. 29-57.

⁹⁴ H P Gale, *Uganda and the Mill Hill Fathers*, pp. 73, 108.

⁹⁵ Roscoe to Wigram 18th July 1892, *CMS Archives*, G3 A5/0

⁹⁶ The prohibition was prompted by the fear that missionary expansion into Busoga would extend rivalry and enmity into Busoga, A R Turker 1st January 1891, Occasional Paper, No. 9, *CMS Archives*, G3 A5/0; F D Lugard to John Roscoe 20th January 1892, in *CMS Archives*, G3 A5/0. But none of these happened, at least to the extent that they did in Buganda. Tuma argues appropriately that, "Although the religio-political struggle of the *Bangereza* and *Bafaransa* had been extended to Busoga, Busoga did not then become the scene of 'jealousy and strife'. This was because the focal point of the struggle was mainly the Buganda capital. This is where the plots and counter plots took place. The concentration of these activities at the capital tended to make Busoga virtually free of tensions". *Building a Ugandan Church*, p. 27; see also H P Gale, *Uganda and the Mill Hill Fathers*, p. 191.

⁹⁷ *CMS Proceedings*, 1892-1893, p. 61.

⁹⁸ Tucker to CMS, 14th February 1893, *CMS Archives*, G3 A5/P4.

⁹⁹ J M Waliggo, "The Catholic Church and the signs of the Times", p. 13.

Evidently, the renewed reinforcement of White missionaries between the years 1895 and 1897 was most erratic. In the middle of 1896, Allen Wilson joined Rowling at Bukaleba and Crabtree was transferred from Nasuti to Kyaggwe in Buganda.¹⁰⁰ One year later, Rowling left Busoga to leave with Miss Brown in Gayaza.¹⁰¹ Weatherhead joined Wilson, but returned to Buganda shortly, on grounds of failing health. Wilson was left behind alone to supervise Nasuti and Bukaleba stations and twenty outstations.¹⁰² The situation, however, improved from 1899, when Weatherhead returned with Rev Martin Hall.¹⁰³ Shortly afterwards Hall was transferred to Kooki. During the same year Mr and Mrs Innes arrived,¹⁰⁴ followed by Robert Sydney Skeens who started work at Iganga.¹⁰⁵

From 1899 the sole occupation of CMS mission in Busoga was broken with the arrival of two Mill Hill (MH) fathers, Kestens and Van Term, who opened their first mission at Bukaleba.¹⁰⁶ The arrival of the MH Fathers did not cause as much excitement to the CMS mission in Busoga as it did in Buganda and in Bugisu.¹⁰⁷ In Bukaleba, for example, the two missions enjoyed a cordial relationship marked by a great deal of co-operation.¹⁰⁸ Dominant chiefs like Luba welcomed the Roman Catholic missionaries and even gave them land on which to construct their mission station. However they refused to have anything to do with their religion, partly because they had already associated themselves with the CMS mission.¹⁰⁹ But they did not stop their subjects who wanted to join the Catholics from doing so. This partly explains why the early adherents of the Roman Catholic Church comprised largely commoners.

¹⁰⁰ *CMS Proceedings*, 1896-1897, p. 135.

¹⁰¹ Walker to Fox, 12th September 1897, *CMS Archives*, G3 A5/0

¹⁰² An outstation was a place, other than a station, with or without a local worker. *CMS Proceedings*, 1898-1898, p. 117.

¹⁰³ *CMS Proceedings*, 1899-1900, p. 135.

¹⁰⁴ *CMS Proceedings*, 1899-1900, p. 135.

¹⁰⁵ S R Skeens, "Reminiscences of Busoga", p. 186.

¹⁰⁶ Fr Grimshaw, *Some Notes on the Apostolic Vicariate of the Upper Nile, 1895-1945*, p. 24. A handwritten manuscript deposited in Mill Archives.

¹⁰⁷ Crabtree to Grant, 20th September 1901, Correspondence Busoga (in) August 1901 December 1902, *Uganda Government Archives Entebbe (UGAE)*; Kestens to Grant, 18th October 1901, Correspondence Busoga (in) August 1901- December 1902, *UGAE*; Grant to Ag. Commissioner and Consul General. Correspondence 14th October 1901, (Busoga) Vol. II, *UGAE*; T Tuma, *Building a Ugandan Church*, p. 220.

¹⁰⁸ T Tuma and P Mutiibwa, *A Century of Christianity in Uganda*, p. 49.

¹⁰⁹ *CMS Proceedings*, 1899-1900, p. 136.

“Have Raiders Become Preachers?”

Despite the fact that in 1892, CMS mission had an insufficient number of White missionaries, work in Busoga did not close, as Tucker informed the CMS head office. The Finance Committee,¹¹⁰ after resolving in 1892 not to send any more White missionaries to Busoga for an indefinite period, decided to send Baganda missionaries to work in Busoga and in other areas.¹¹¹ As a result, in August 1892, Yokana Mwira was posted to Kigwisa to fill the place vacated by John Roscoe.¹¹² During the same year CMS mission asked Yoswa Kiwavu to start work at Naminage in Bugabula, and two years later Nuwa Kikwabanga was also stationed at Nyiro’s place.¹¹³ By the end of 1894 twelve Baganda missionaries were working in Busoga¹¹⁴ and their number rose to forty-nine in 1900.¹¹⁵ Most of the Baganda missionaries worked very hard, carried out the mission work in Busoga in the absence of White missionaries and continued to work tirelessly under them when they returned in July 1894.

Two issues can be deduced from this brief historical survey, one concerning the posting of missionaries to Busoga and the other concerning the three-tiered hierarchical structure that emerged in Busoga. It seems to me that the CMS mission, particularly in Uganda, did not have or follow a consistent policy in its posting of White missionaries to Busoga. Given partly the insufficient number of White missionaries and following the shortage of Basoga church workers,¹¹⁶ the mission decided to concentrate on training Baganda Christians in the hope that they would, after their training, go out, as they did,¹¹⁷ and evangelise people of other ethnic groups, hence establishing an indigenous missionary movement. Furthermore, like their Roman Catholic counterparts, the CMS missionaries were not oblivious to the fact that the Basoga and other ethnic groups viewed the Baganda missionaries with disdain and suspicion, owing to the raids which their fellow

¹¹⁰ The Finance Committee was the administrative committee of the CMS mission.

¹¹¹ Resolution adopted by the Finance Committee, 3rd October 1892, *CMS Archives*, G3 A5/0.

¹¹² On Yokana Mwira see J V Taylor, *The Growth of the Church in Buganda*, p. 270, R Ashe, *Chronicles of Uganda*, p. 361.

¹¹³ On Yoswa Kiwavu and Nuwa Kikwabanga, see J V Taylor, *The Growth of the Church in Buganda*, pp. 62-3, 265, 266.

¹¹⁴ Proceedings of the Finance Committee, 9th July 1894, *CMS Archives*, G3 A5/0. *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, Vol. XIX 1894, p. 917.

¹¹⁵ A R Tucker, “Mengo Notes”, 1/8, December 1900, p. 30, *CMS Archives*, G3 A7/0.

¹¹⁶ Fr Van Term to the Acting Commissioner, 8th October 1901, Busoga (in) August 1901- December 1902, *UGAE*; L Pirouet, *Black evangelists*, p. 13.

¹¹⁷ T Tuma, *Building a Ugandan Church*, pp. 32-4; T Tuma, “Church Extension to the East” in T Tuma and P Mutiibwa, *A Century of Christianity in Uganda*, p. 51; A L Kitching, *On the Backwaters of the Nile: Studies of some Child Races of Central Africa*. London, 1912, p. 66.

Baganda had carried out in their territories in the past. This notwithstanding, two reasons compelled them to send Baganda to work in other areas, a decision that Father Van Term appropriately referred to as a necessary evil.¹¹⁸ First, most missionaries, like the protectorate government officials, though convinced that the Baganda church workers were racially and intellectually inferior to themselves, regarded them as superior to the Basoga and other ethnic groups, so much so that they could, as they did, use them to conquer, christianise and civilise them.

However, it is inadequate to suggest, as some scholars do, that the Baganda were unwillingly drafted into christianising and imperial missions, ones in which they did not have any vested interests.¹¹⁹ Much as the missionaries and colonial administrators saw in the Baganda an opportunity to convert and colonise other ethnic groups, and also used them to do so,¹²⁰ the Baganda leaders themselves, now at the height of power, nursed ambitions to extend their influence and control over other ethnic groups.¹²¹ For instance, the Baganda leaders like Apollo Kagwa and Zakaria Kisingiri regarded the new missionary and chieftain roles of the Baganda in surrounding ethnic groups as a continuation of Buganda's dominance and influence in other ethnic groups. They advocated sending Baganda missionaries to places where Buganda had political interests, and were pleased when the colonial government appointed Baganda as chiefs in surrounding ethnic groups. They strongly believed that the active presence, in other regions, of Baganda "who had emerged with a modicum of British ways" would continue, as it did, the dominance, influence and flavour of the Baganda and of *Kiganda* culture.¹²² Therefore, the presence of Baganda missionaries and administrators in other ethnic groups was of political benefit to European administrators and missionaries as much as it was to the Baganda.¹²³ Moreover this allows us to understand why Baganda civic and church workers were rejected in Busoga and in several other areas. Their

¹¹⁸ Fr Van Term to Grant, the Acting Commissioner, 8th October 1901, Busoga (in) August 1901-December 1902, *UGAE*.

¹¹⁹ A R Nsibambi, "Buganda" in *Uganda District Government and Politics 1947-1967*. African Studies Program, University of Wisconsin- Madison, 1977; S Lwanga-Lunyiigo, "The Colonial Roots of Internal conflicts" in Kumar Rupesinghe (ed.) *Conflict Resolution in Uganda*. Oslo: International Peace Research Institute, 1989, p. 26.

¹²⁰ L A Fallers, *Law without Precedent*, p. 50.

¹²¹ L Pirouet, *Black Evangelists*, p. 36.

¹²² L A Fallers, *Law without Precedent*, p. 51.

¹²³ T Tuma, *Building a Ugandan Church*, p. 92.

presence there was viewed as unacceptable, inasmuch as it showed and encouraged the dominance of the Baganda over them.¹²⁴

Secondly, the missionaries assumed, inadequately in my view, that shortly after the Christian faith had been planted in Busoga, the Basoga would need to look beyond the atrocities which the Baganda raiders had committed and unreservedly embrace the Baganda preachers and their message. But it seems to me that it was too early for the Basoga to forget the atrocities which the Baganda raiders had committed in Busoga. That is why some of the Baganda preachers were refused permission to work in Busoga, and some chiefs who allowed them to stay, partly because they feared reprisal from the colonial administration, tortured them, again because of the atrocities their fellow Baganda had committed in the past. For example, Chief Luba starved Baganda missionaries in his court on the grounds that Baganda raiders killed Chief Lwayi, his father.¹²⁵ Moreover the Baganda missionaries' image was not helped by the continued misconduct of some Baganda civic and church workers. The perpetual condescending, forceful and warrior-like ways of some of them did not help to improve their negative image.¹²⁶ Instead it led many Basoga to resent them and to view all their actions, including preaching, with suspicion.

¹²⁴ R Sweeting, "The Growth of the Church in Buwalasi - 1", in *The Bulletin of the Society for African Church History*, 2/4, 1968, p. 338; G N Uzoigwe, "The Kyanyangire, 1907: Passive Revolt against the British Overrule" in B A Ogot, *War and Society in Africa*. London: Franc Cass and Company, 1972, pp. 179-214; L Pirouet, *Black Evangelists*, pp. 69, 103-108.

¹²⁵ Roscoe to Wigram, 18th July 1892, *CMS Archives*, G3 A5/0; J M Gray, "Early History of Buganda", in *Uganda Journal*, 2, 1935, p. 269; T Tuma, *Building a Ugandan Church*, p. 46.

¹²⁶ Three examples which led the Basoga to conclude that the Baganda's image had not changed include the invasion of Busoga in 1892, by the colonial administration. This invasion was mounted from Buganda, largely with the help of Baganda soldiers; Walabyeki and some other Baganda missionaries' demand that the commoners in Busoga give them the respect similar to that which they gave to their chiefs; and the ways in which some of the Baganda missionaries destroyed shrines, drums and other traditional regalia, or seized animals and property of some people partly in order to force them to convert to Christianity. G Wilson to Marquess of Salisbury, Kampala. 5th October 1897, BB (Africa), 2/42, 1898, p. 40; Fr Van Term to the Acting Commissioner, 8th October 1901, Busoga (in) August 1901- December 1902, *UGAE*; Commissioner to Senior Collector 23rd October 1901, Correspondence, Busoga (in) August 1901 - December 1902, *UGAE*; T Tuma, *Building a Ugandan Church*, p. 75; Busoga, Correspondence (in) District Office Iganga, 1/68, 9th November 1900, *UGAE*; Kestens to Grant 18th October 1901, Correspondence Busoga (in) August 1901- December 1902, *UGAE*; Grant to Jackson, Ag. Commissioner, 4th October 1901, Correspondence, Busoga (in) August 1901- December 1902, *UGAE*; Kestens to Grant, 14th October 1901, Correspondence, Busoga (in) August 1901- December 1902, *UGAE*; Kampala Diary II, 28th October 1901, *Mill Hill Archives, Jinja*.

However, it is sufficient to mention here that partly because of the fear of the retaliation of the colonial administration, the Basoga were generally not as harsh to the Baganda missionaries as the Banyankole and Bakedi were.¹²⁷ Nevertheless the torture and hatred which missionaries like Kiwavu suffered from,¹²⁸ together with the natural disasters¹²⁹ which affected them, discouraged them and as a consequence led them to abandon their work. Four other comments deserve to be made here concerning the relationship between the missionaries and the Basoga, and the growth of the church in Busoga. First, concerning the torture of missionaries, it was not only the Baganda missionaries who were tortured. Some of the White missionaries also worked under very difficult and harsh conditions because the chiefs in Busoga realised that unlike the IBEA company, the missionaries were not in a position to give them guns and gunpowder which they needed to improve their military muscle.¹³⁰ They also realised that the main objective of the missionaries was to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ,¹³¹ a gospel which, in my view, the missionaries interpreted largely in terms of personal piety, not, as the chiefs preferred, in terms of addressing issues of security, prosperity, fertility, fellowship and several others. Consequently these chiefs lost interest in the missionaries. Some of them went as far as stopping their subjects attending the missionaries' classes or selling food to them,¹³² hence affecting their effectiveness. However, on the whole the conditions which the White missionaries experienced in Busoga were not as harsh as that which the Baganda

¹²⁷ In Ankole, Baganda missionaries were repeatedly sent away until 1899, when Firipo Bamulanzeki and Andereya Kamyia were allowed to stay, while two Baganda church workers, Alikizanda Njubirese and Zakayo Katono, were killed during a riot mounted the people in Bukedi. L Pirouet, *Black Evangelists*, p. 119; M J Twaddle, "Politics in Bukedi 1909 – 1939: A Historical Study of Administrative Change Among the Segmentary People of Eastern Uganda Under the Impact of British Colonial Rule". PhD Thesis, University of London, 1967, p. 214; T Tuma, *Building a Ugandan Church*, p. 46.

¹²⁸ Yoswa Kiwavu was hated and mistrusted, accused of causing the death of Gabula by burying a dead hyena. Partly as a result of this hatred and mistrust, Kiwavu abandoned his work temporarily in 1893 and in 1905. Rowling to Baylis 7th August 1897, *CMS Archives*, G3 A5/0; *CMS Proceedings*, 1904-1905, pp. 128-129; T Tuma, *Building a Ugandan Church*, p. 46.

¹²⁹ The sleeping epidemic, for instance, claimed the lives of missionaries like Rev Nuwa Kikwabanga. Also, in 1902, the epidemic forced thirty-nine of the fifty CMS Baganda missionaries in Busoga to return to Buganda. *CMS Proceedings*, 1904-1905, pp. 97, 129; A G Fraser, "Cycle Trip in Usoga and Kavirondo", December 1902, *CMS Archives*, G3 A7/0.

¹³⁰ Wakholi and other Basoga chiefs made treaties with Jackson, Gedge and Lugard, and also received gifts like guns and gunpowder from IBEA Company, Jackson, *Early Days in East Africa*, London: Edward Arnold and Company, 1930, p. 253; Diary of *Notre-Dame de L'Esperance*, 12th August 1891, in *Chronique Trimestrielle*, 54, April 1892, p. 234.

¹³¹ S R Skeens reported that Basoga ran into hiding on seeing White missionaries. Skeens, Mengo Notes, December 1901, Vol. II No. 8, p. 92, *CMS Archives*, G3 A7/0.

¹³² Wakholi also forbade his subjects to sell food to them. T Tuma, *Building a Ugandan Church*, p. 45.

counterparts in Busoga suffered or those which other White missionaries working in other areas experienced.¹³³

Secondly, the torturing of some missionaries made it not unusual in Busoga for people to assault church workers. It set a precedent in which some people in Busoga felt it acceptable to inflict physical harm on them, especially when they felt that they behaved in ways that were contrary to the interests of their region. That is why some Christians in the 1980s and 1990s were audacious enough to assault physically church leaders including, Dr Yona Okoth, the Archbishop of the Church of Uganda. In my opinion, they would have been reluctant to assault them if there had not occurred in the past incidents in which church leaders were subjected to physical and emotional torture.

Thirdly, by mentioning that the missionaries worked under hard and harsh conditions, leading some of them to abandon their work, I do not suggest that their work in Busoga was entirely disastrous and unsuccessful. Several cases show that in the midst of gross opposition and persecution,¹³⁴ the missionaries made remarkable achievements. They attained many *abasomi* (readers), although initially, they were very few and comprised mostly Baganda living in Busoga.¹³⁵ They also worked diligently, enduring hostile conditions, and waiting patiently for a year before attaining their first Basoga adherents.¹³⁶ Evidently, therefore, it is in particular to the Baganda missionaries' resilience and dedication that the growth and development of Christianity in Busoga and beyond has been appropriately credited.¹³⁷

Lastly, although during the first two decades, the Anglican and Roman Catholic missions recorded a poor response of the Basoga to the Christian faith, from the second decade of the twentieth century both missions started to register steady growth. Three of the factors

¹³³ For a more detailed discussion on the experiences of the missionaries inside and outside Busoga see T Tuma, "Church Expansion in Buganda", p. 27.

¹³⁴ Skeens reports on the persecution of catechists, teachers and readers in *CMS Proceedings*, 1901-1902, p. 152.

¹³⁵ *CMS Proceedings*, 1896-1898, pp. 134-5; T Tuma, *Building a Ugandan Church*, p. 35.

¹³⁶ In 1894, three years after the opening of CMS work in Busoga, there were, in Busoga, twelve native Baganda church workers, one baptised convert and 14 catechumen. Up to 1896 there had not been any baptised Musoga converts, Previous converts were Baganda residents in Busoga. There were, however, several Basoga adherents under instruction. *CMS Proceedings*, 1894-1895, pp. 61, 64; 1896-1897, p. 135.

¹³⁷ J V Taylor, *The Growth of the Church in Buganda*, p. 65.

which were responsible for this positive development were the Anglican and Roman Catholic missions' caring for the victims of the natural disasters which struck Busoga and other parts; the increase in the number of Basoga church workers,¹³⁸ and the Basoga's strategic change of attitude towards the Baganda church workers.¹³⁹ Concerning the third factor, the Basoga felt it imperative to relate positively with the Baganda church workers for three reasons: the fear of reprisal from the colonial administrators; a sincere desire of many Basoga to embrace the new religion; and their desperate need to learn to read and write.¹⁴⁰ Of these three reasons, the third was the most important. Like other ethnic groups, the Basoga, realising that the Baganda had benefited immensely especially from the mission schools, found it imperative to embrace Christianity and all the benefits associated with it. They did not want to face the danger of being relegated to the periphery in an age and new social order in which submission and education rather than opposition and ignorance were *sine qua non* requirements. Hence the chiefs invited (and/or allowed) missions to operate in their area, knowing very well that doing so implied giving Baganda missionaries permission to operate in their areas.

A CONFLICT-PRONE LEADERSHIP STRUCTURE

A Three-Tiered, Centralised, Missionary and Clerical Dominated System of Governance

It is imperative to mention that the presence in the church in Busoga of White and Baganda missionaries, both of whom were placed in leadership positions that were higher than those of the Basoga Church workers, resulted in the creation of a three-tiered hierarchical structure. Perched at the top of this structure were the White missionaries who, though their number was small and declining, occupied the key leadership and specialist positions. They were based at the centres of missionary districts,¹⁴¹ and were charged with the task of equipping and overseeing the work, a task which involved, among other duties, translating scriptures into local languages; training church workers;

¹³⁸ T Tuma, *Building a Ugandan Church*, pp. 71-111, 144-168.

¹³⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 56-8.

¹⁴⁰ Finance Committee Sitting on 9th July 1894, *CMS Archives*, G3 A5/0.

¹⁴¹ Missionary districts later became known as rural deaneries. Their borders were coterminous with *masaza* (counties). They were subdivided into pastorates, whose borders were similar to those of the *gombolola* (sub-counties). The pastorates were generally looked after by African clergy. They were also, in turn, subdivided into six to ten *miruka* (parishes), and entrusted to the lowest in rank of the church workers.

and going round, once or twice a year, visiting and supervising the missions under their control.¹⁴²

Under the White missionaries were Baganda missionaries/assistants based at the missionary stations and outstations. Their duties included training catechists and catechumens, and establishing and supervising outstations.¹⁴³ They also kept the White missionaries regularly informed about the progress of their work. At the bottom of the ladder were the Basoga catechists and *basizi* (school masters), the rank and file who performed the bulk of the mission work. These were supervised directly by Baganda church workers. They were required among other things to travel to the mission stations at least once a month to attend monthly meetings during which they submitted to their superiors reports on their work, and in turn received financial support, advice and/or solutions to their problems.¹⁴⁴ Thus the Basoga church workers at the grassroots level were dependent and answerable to Baganda assistants, who were themselves dependent and answerable to the White missionaries. This in effect entrenched a three-tier hierarchy and a missionary watchfulness¹⁴⁵ into the leadership policy and structure of the church, hence engendering a system of governance in which, according to Tuma, “the Baganda pastors were as subjected to the European missionary watchfulness and domination as the Basoga catechists and *basizi* (school masters) were victims - only more intensely - of the policy of continuous tutelage from both the Baganda pastors and the European missionaries”.¹⁴⁶

Furthermore, the clerical centred and pyramid-shaped church orders and councils characterised the organisational structure of the church in Busoga. As in the case of the Mill Hill mission,¹⁴⁷ the form of governance in the nascent Anglican Church in Busoga was intricately arranged in the form of a clerical centred and pyramid-shaped ecclesiastical order (a rather non-presbyterian-centred structure which comprised) from bottom upwards; laity, untrained village catechists, junior catechists, senior catechists,

¹⁴² T Tuma, *Building a Ugandan Church*, p. 86.

¹⁴³ J V Taylor, *The History of the Church in Buganda*, p. 266.

¹⁴⁴ T Tuma, *Building a Ugandan Church*, p. 86.

¹⁴⁵ On missionaries' assertiveness and paternalism see J V Taylor *The History of the Church in Buganda*, pp. 75-90.

¹⁴⁶ T Tuma, *Building a Ugandan Church*, p. 91.

¹⁴⁷ Fr Wheatly to Bishop Biermans, 31st August, 1921, 17/7, *Bishop's House Archives*, Jinja.

lay readers, deacons and pastors.¹⁴⁸ The only way in which a Christian could, if he desired, rise up in this structure, was through a long and meticulous process comprising training, favours and promotions.

The higher one rose within this structure the more likely it became for him, if he wanted, to enjoy more latitude, power and prestige, hence making it possible for him, when he attained a clerical status or any other above it, to execute church affairs in a way that was marked by dictatorship and lack of accountability. In fact, generally the clergy, high up in this hierarchy, exercised considerable control over the decision-making organs and processes under their charge, so much so that it was imperative to first consult with them before churches were built or before prospective church workers were enlisted, lest they failed (or is it refused?) to give them their blessing. Although the influence of the clergy was seriously affected because of a number of factors, including the gradual reduction in size of the *busumba* (parish) partly because of the rapid growth of the church; the ordination of more clergy; and the increased number of educated laity in their *busumba*, their watchfulness and dominance over the laity and subordinate church workers under them did not cease to exist. It increased with every new responsibility and leadership opportunity that unfolded to the extent that in some places, the influence of some senior clergy paralleled that of the civic and cultural leaders.¹⁴⁹

The formation of church councils, in 1894, after the CMS mission in Uganda was divided into thirteen missionary districts, increased the democratic representation and the participation of the nationals and of the laity in the decision-making organs and processes of their church. However, at the same time the power and influence wielded by these councils and by the clergy increased perpendicularly from the congregational councils at the grassroots levels to the diocesan councils at the top. As a result the governance of the church turned out to be centralised and dominated by the clergy, who gradually came to hold to themselves the right to make the major decisions in the church. Moreover the diocesan level gradually became the point where all the plans and problems of the church were ultimately discussed; recruitments made or confirmed; and directives on the life and work of the church communicated downwards, hence creating a leadership structure that

¹⁴⁸ T Tuma, *Building a Ugandan Church*, p. 77.

¹⁴⁹ L Brown, *The Three Worlds: One World*. London: Rex Colling, 1981, p. 128.

was based on the principle of tutelage; dominated by a clerical bureaucracy; and impoverished in its view of the role of the laity in the leadership of the church. It contributed a great deal to the general exclusion of the laity from the running of the church. This exclusion that was so extensive that it persisted even when the participation of the laity was substantially increased after the office of the *bakebezi* (church wardens) was introduced.¹⁵⁰ Taylor appropriately viewed the emergence of this structure to be the worst blunder of the church committed at the turn of the twentieth century. It was, according to him, a structure that was marked:

[by] a clericalism which cannot trust the laity with spiritual responsibility; by a bureaucracy in which every official is supervised by the man above him; by a centralisation which only recognises as part of the church's life those things that are initiated, supported and controlled from a central office; and by imposition of extraneous demands which do not touch the conscience of local Christians. Above all it expresses itself in attitudes of watchfulness, anxiety and pessimism.¹⁵¹

Taylor, in the above-mentioned quotation, appropriately identifies several limitations in the leadership policy and structure of the CMS mission in Uganda during its formative stages. As far as the church in Busoga is concerned, it seems to me that three of these limitations, namely watchfulness, centralisation and clericalism, have caused and allowed in the church a tendency to limit the right to make decisions on church affairs to a small group of privileged, dominant and ordained people. They have also been partly responsible for the occurrence of rifts among church workers and between the clergy and the laity. To understand these problems and their legacies better, it is necessary to discuss briefly the authority which the missionaries had, and how over the years this authority was transferred and exercised.

As I mentioned earlier during the formative stages of the Roman Catholic and Anglican churches in Uganda, the White missionaries were perched at the top of the leadership structure, and there was always room at the top for new White missionaries.¹⁵² This small group of missionaries dominated the decision-making organs and processes of the nascent church, and limited to themselves the leadership and specialised positions, thereby having (and holding closely to) a status superior to that of their African counterparts, save for a few cases, particularly in Buganda, where some Baganda church

¹⁵⁰ J V Taylor, *The History of the Church in Buganda*, p. 77; T Tuma, *Building a Ugandan Church*, p. 90.

¹⁵¹ J V Taylor, *The History of the Church in Buganda*, p. 83

¹⁵² *Ibid*, pp. 85-88

workers, after attaining, among others, a chiefly status, were viewed to have a status similar (or equal) to that of their White colleagues. The partnerships between Henry Wright Dutamaguzi and George Pilkington in Mengo and that between Yonasani Kaizi and George Baskerville in Ngogwe are two cases in point.¹⁵³

In Busoga, the three-tiered leadership structure aggravated the problem of the distribution and transfer of authority even further, particularly for the Basoga church workers located at the bottom of the leadership hierarchy. They had hardly any prospects for promotion or further training because priority was usually given to Baganda church workers who had a higher status than that of the Basoga church workers and whom some of the White missionaries regarded as more intelligent and more effective in church work than their Basoga counterparts.¹⁵⁴ As a result the Basoga church workers, though actively involved in the work of the church in Busoga and beyond, remained marginalised and largely untrained.¹⁵⁵ The church failed to develop an indigenous and authentic leadership to the extent that by 1910, like the Mill Hill mission, which did not have any Musoga who had advanced beyond the level of a head-catechist, the CMS mission in Busoga, though having inaugurated their first church council in 1908, did not have any Musoga who had risen as far as the order of deacon.

Serious efforts to train Basoga church workers and to appoint them in places of responsibility were undertaken after 1913 following the complaints made by Christians in Busoga concerning the domination of their church by non-Basoga and the absence of Basoga in senior positions of responsibility. However, church leaders could give further training only to a few of the Basoga church workers because most of them lacked the basic academic requirements needed to train particularly for the ordained ministry at Mukono or at Buwalasi.¹⁵⁶ This partly explains why by 1918, twenty-seven years after starting its work in Busoga, the CMS mission had only one Musoga church worker, Rev Nasanairi Wabuleta, who had been trained and ordained as a deacon.¹⁵⁷ It also explains

¹⁵³ Ibid, p. 88

¹⁵⁴ Fr Drontmann, "A half Yearly Report", 15th August 1914, File IV, Reports, *Bishop's House Archives*, Jinja.

¹⁵⁵ S R Skeens, in *Uganda Notes*, March 1913, 3/14, p. 73.

¹⁵⁶ T Tuma, *Building a Ugandan Church*, p. 145.

¹⁵⁷ In 1918, When Wabuleta was ordained deacon, there were four European and four Baganda clergy working in Busoga. T Tuma, *Building a Ugandan Church*, pp. 86, 89.

why, after their withdrawal from their positions and manses in Busoga, White missionaries were initially replaced, not by Basoga church workers, but by the Baganda.

It was not until after the late 1930s that Basoga church workers started to take over the control of their church. The marks that showed and/or facilitated this development include: the decline of White missionaries in Busoga; the return of some Baganda church workers to Buganda and transfer of others to Ankole and other newly founded mission stations; the successful training and ordination of eleven Basoga church workers; the division of Busoga into North Busoga and South Busoga deaneries; and the appointing, in 1940, of two Basoga clergymen, Mwanja and Ibula as assistant rural deans, working under Rev Cole, the only remaining White missionary in Busoga. This development notwithstanding, it is sufficient to observe here that the failure of the church to train Basoga and to appoint them in positions of leadership early enough during the formative stage of the church in Busoga led to a situation in which the church stayed for a long time in the hands of European and Baganda foreigners, resulting in the frustration of the early development of Basoga church leaders and thereby making it difficult for authority to be transferred smoothly, widely and effectively from the 'foreigners' to the local leaders.

Furthermore, it should not be forgotten that after the White and Baganda church workers had withdrawn from Busoga, the positions, respect and privileges which they enjoyed, the manses which they occupied, and the watchfulness and dominance which marked their governance, were all taken over by a small group of Basoga clergy. Basoga church workers who were keen on training and who had moved upwards from their poorly facilitated rural ministries in turn succeeded these clergy. Moreover, as Basoga church workers acquired more training, became promoted, and acquired more privileges, they increasingly held to themselves the right to make decisions especially on the administrative affairs of the church. But they were withdrawn from the rural missions whose financial positions were generally poor. They left rural missions to be taken care of by ill-equipped, partially trained or untrained catechists and lay preachers, and they increasingly became less sensitive to the problems and grievances of the laity and church workers under them.

As a result, many of these senior church workers increasingly disengaged themselves from the junior church workers and laity. They allowed differences to occur between them and the junior church workers and between them and the laity, on the basis of prestige, wealth and authority.¹⁵⁸ This partly explains the disagreements and other conflicts that occurred in the church during the first half of the twentieth century. Three of these were the sharp decline in the number of the junior church workers in Busoga between 1902 and 1904, following the decision made by some of them to abandon church work largely as a result of their appalling living and working conditions; the strike carried out in 1905 by catechists, protesting amongst others against the special prerogative given to the clergy; and the demand made, in 1935, by the catechists in Busoga to be given the right to form themselves into a council, a demand which the clergy initially rejected, then reluctantly allowed in 1938.

These three incidents, together with other conflicts mentioned earlier in this section, show that the missionary and leadership policies of the Anglican church in Busoga (though not resulting in hindering the numerical and spiritual growth of the church in Busoga or in dividing Busoga widely and devastatingly along denominational lines) had serious limitations, such as causing and/or allowing rifts and conflicts to occur in the church. They made it difficult for the church to help resolve the conflicts which existed in Busoga prior to the coming of Christianity. They also resulted in limiting the decision-making initiatives and processes to senior leaders of the church, and consequently contributed a great deal to the emergence and solidification within the church of a clerical-centred and bureaucratic form of governance, one which embodied tendencies, as in the state system of rulership in Busoga, of the topmost leaders to be disengaged with the people at the grassroots level, and to be dictatorial and autocratic in their stance and *modus operandi*.

It is also necessary to add here that these tendencies were significantly aggravated by an authoritarian form of governance which, as I mention in more detail later, generally marked the Anglican form of episcopacy prior to the substantial development in the Anglican tradition of the synodical and participatory forms of governance. One case in point worth mentioning here is the White missionaries' rejection, at the turn of the

¹⁵⁸ J V Taylor, *The History of the Church in Buganda*, p. 90.

twentieth century, of the constitutional reforms suggested by Alfred Tucker, the Bishop of Uganda. The White missionaries rejected these reforms not, as it has been widely argued, solely because they were not willing to be equal to or ruled by their African protégés, but also because most of them, having been partly under the jurisdiction and pastoral care of bishops back home, were afraid of placing their lives in the middle of Africa, entirely and dangerously under the exclusive authority of a single person, without any higher authority to appeal to, if need be.¹⁵⁹

Hence they preferred to remain securely, in their view,¹⁶⁰ under the direct control of the parent council of CMS and outside the exclusive control of Tucker or any other subsequent White or African bishop. After all, the leadership policy and structure of the Anglican Church in Uganda gave (and still gives) a bishop exclusive control over the affairs of his jurisdiction, so much so that it was possible for him, if he wanted, to be authoritarian and autocratic in his policy and style of leadership. This partly explains why some bishops in the Church of Uganda have tended to be generally authoritarian, disengaged and unaccountable to their Christians, hence causing and/or allowing conflicts to occur in their dioceses. I deal with this issue in more detail in the subsequent sections of this study. Meanwhile I turn to a discussion on the creation of Busoga Diocese, one in which I illustrate, among others points, the place of in-group and inward looking proclivities in the making of the diocese and in causing and fuelling conflicts, not least in the Church of Uganda.

¹⁵⁹ A R Cook to CMS, 22nd October 1890, *CMSA*, G3 A7/ L1; Lady Missionaries to Tucker, CMS Précis Book, 23rd November 1898, 27th December 1898; W M. Mande, "An Ethic of Leadership Power and the Anglican Church in Uganda". Aberdeen University: PhD thesis, 1997, p. 76; For details of the first constitutional controversy of the CMS mission in Uganda see J V Taylor, *The History of the Church in Buganda*, pp. 72, 240; W M Mande, "An Ethic of Leadership Power and the Anglican Church in Uganda". PhD thesis, Aberdeen University, 1997, pp. 73- 76.

¹⁶⁰ Lady Missionaries to Tucker, CMS Précis Book, 23rd November 1898, 27th December 1898, *CMSA*.

THE MAKING OF BUSOGA DIOCESE

THE MAKING OF BUSOGA KINGDOM

Busoga's Struggle Against Marginalisation and Regionalism

In order to understand the politics surrounding the creation of the Busoga diocese, it is imperative first to discuss the issues concerning the socio-political development of Busoga during the time when Uganda was still a protectorate (1893 –1962). This study is relevant here mainly because at the time the Basoga Christians were agitating for the creation of a separate diocese, the Basoga in general were fighting against the marginalising and divisive tendencies of the British protectorate government. Moreover, some of the reasons which the Basoga Christian agitators gave to justify their demand to be formed into a separate diocese were similar in their objectives to those given by people in other ethnic groups to justify their need to have separate dioceses created and/or to have the status of their region and cultural rulers elevated to a level equal or similar to the kingdom areas and of the kings of these areas. Therefore a study of the issues concerning the socio-political development of Busoga is necessary here inasmuch as it helps to underpin the view that the demand for the creation of a separate diocese of Busoga was partly an element and microcosm of the in-group and divisive proclivities in Busoga and beyond it.

Two issues in this study which are particularly relevant here are the efforts of the Basoga to contest the marginalising tendencies of the protectorate government and of the Baganda, and the inward looking proclivities which intermittently affected Busoga as they did other regions during the period between 1900 and 1962. These issues were vast and complex. Furthermore, they have been studied in great and commendable detail elsewhere,¹⁶¹ hence they do not deserve any more than a brief discussion here. Busoga, as I mentioned before, comprised several statedoms which, by the end of 1900, the British protectorate government had annexed without making any prior occupational agreements with the rulers in Busoga, like those agreements which they made with the kings of

¹⁶¹ D M Mudoola, "Chiefs and Political Action: The Case of Busoga 1900-1962". PhD thesis, Makerere University, Kampala, 1974; W F Nabwiso-Bulima, "The Evolution of the Kyabazingaship of Busoga" in *Uganda Journal*, 31/1, 1967; E Hansen, "Busoga" in J D Barkan and others, *Uganda District Government and Politics 1947-1967*; M Twaddle, "Tribalism in Eastern Uganda", in *Makerere Institute of Social Research*, 1969; L Mair, "Busoga Local Government", in *Journal of Commonwealth Political Studies*, 1967.

Buganda, Toro, Ankole and Bunyoro.¹⁶² Moreover, after taking over Busoga, the protectorate government reduced it to a single district,¹⁶³ regarded it, like other colonially-created districts, as inferior in status to Buganda and other kingdom/agreement areas,¹⁶⁴ and ruled it indirectly¹⁶⁵ using Baganda chiefs, and an administrative and economic structure modelled on Kiganda lines.¹⁶⁶

I proceed to make three observations here concerning the different status which the colonial government gave to the ethnic groups in Uganda. First, the special status which the protectorate government gave to Buganda over and above other ethnic groups did not help to improve Buganda's negative image in the eyes of the Basoga and the other ethnic groups. It was, in effect, a failed effort on the part of the protectorate government inasmuch as it enhanced Buganda-centric politics,¹⁶⁷ accelerated Buganda's rise to dominance and separateness; and also fostered structural imbalances between Buganda and other regions in Uganda.¹⁶⁸ Second, the people in other regions generally resented the

¹⁶² The two agreements, namely Uganda-Usoga agreement of 1895 and the Uganda Agreement of 1900, as a result of which Busoga was taken over and added to the Uganda Protectorate, were not made between the Basoga rulers and the protectorate government, but between the protectorate government and Buganda Kingdom. The Protectorate government signed agreements with Buganda and Toro in 1900, Ankole in 1901 and Bunyoro in 1933. J Mittelman, *Ideology and Politics in Uganda from Obote to Amin*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1975, p. 62.

¹⁶³ In the process of being formed into a district, Busoga lost part of her territory to Bugweri, Samia and Bukedi. The statedoms that comprised Busoga were also converted into counties, and reduced further to eight by 1962. E D Mwamula-Lubandi, *Transitional Social Economic Clan Relations Among Basoga*, p. 98. For a detailed account on Britain's annexation of Uganda, see D A Low and C Pratt, *Buganda and the British Overrule, 1900-1955*. London: Oxford University Press, 1960 and J Barber, *The Imperial Frontier*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1968

¹⁶⁴ Agreement areas were those with which the British protectorate government made agreements prior to occupying them. They included Buganda, Toro, Ankole and Bunyoro.

¹⁶⁵ For a detailed study of the colonial policy of indirect rule in Uganda see F G Burke, *Local Government and Politics in Uganda*, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1964; R C Pratt, "The Politics of Indirect Rule, 1900-1950", in D A Low, (ed.), *Buganda and the British Overrule, 1900-1950*, London: Oxford University Press, 1960.

¹⁶⁶ T Tuma "African Chiefs and Church Work in Busoga, Province of Uganda 1900-1940", Part I in *Kenya Historical Review: Journal of the Historical Association of Kenya*, 4/2, 1976, p. 289; E Hansen, "Busoga" in J D Barkan and others, *Uganda District Government and Politics 1947-1967*, p. 181; T B Kabwogycrc, *The Politics of State Formation: The Nature and Effect of Colonialism in Uganda*. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, 1974, p. 175; F Burke, *Local Government and Politics in Uganda*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1964, pp. 33-34.

¹⁶⁷ K Ingham, *The Making of Modern Uganda*. London: Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1958, pp. 91-2. See also A Nsibambi, "The Rise and Fall of Federalism in Uganda" in *East Africa Journal*, 12/1966; D Rothchild, *Towards Unity in Africa*, Washington DC: Public Affairs Press, 1960, p. 56; A I Richards, *The King's Men*. London: Oxford University Press, 1964, p. 358; H P Morris and M Reed, *Indirect Rule and the Search for Justice*, London: Oxford University Press, 1964, p. 27; O A Otunnu, *Politics and the Military in Uganda*. London: Macmillan Publishers, 1987, p. 37.

¹⁶⁸ Between 1922 and 1953, 50% of the students at Makerere were Baganda, and approximately three quarters of the civil servants in Buganda were Baganda. J Mittelman, *Ideology and Politics in Uganda from Obote to Amin*, p. 62; M C Young, "The Obote Revolution", in *Africa Report* XI/ 6, 6/1966, p. 13.

continued presence of Baganda civic and church workers in their territories, regarding it as unwarranted continued influence and domination of the British and Baganda over them.¹⁶⁹ Moreover, by using the Baganda as imperial and administrative agents and by following the colonial policy of divide-and-rule, the protectorate government widened the cleavage between the Baganda and other ethnic groups,¹⁷⁰ aggravated intra- and inter-ethnic feuds and disputes;¹⁷¹ and made parochial proclivities and fragmentation to be major factors in the religious, social and political development of Uganda. Consequently the forging of national unity and consensus building was affected so much that for a long time ethnic groups regarded themselves as separate entities within the protectorate.¹⁷²

Third, Busoga, as I mentioned above, was one of the regions adversely affected by the protectorate government's marginalising and divide-and-rule policies. The protectorate government pursued administrative policies aimed at keeping Busoga divided and inferior in status in relation to Buganda and other kingdom areas. They also ensured that the reforms which they introduced in Busoga did not go so far as to give Busoga a status similar to that of other kingdom areas. Although, from 1914, the protectorate government replaced Baganda chiefs with Basoga, they made sure, especially from 1938, that the new class of Basoga chiefs were appointed more on the basis of personal merit than on chiefly

¹⁶⁹ M Twaddle, "The Bakungu chiefs of Buganda under British Colonial Rule 1900-1930", in *The Journal of African History*, X, 2 (1969), pp. 309-322, 335; S. Lwanga-Lunyiigo, "The Colonial Roots of Internal Conflict", in K Rupesinghe (ed.), *Conflict Resolution in Uganda*, p. 26; P M Gukiina, *Uganda-A Case Study in African Political Development*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1972, pp. 56-7.

¹⁷⁰ The formation of the Uganda Peoples Union in 1958, by seven non-Baganda representatives of the Legislative Council and simultaneously, leaders of respective local governments, is probably the most outstanding mobilisation undertaken by other leaders partly, in order to check Buganda's dominance. It revealed their determined effort to secure special status for their respective regions, but also push forward their resolve to 'gang-up' against Buganda. S R Karugire, *Roots of Instability in Uganda*, p. 45.

¹⁷¹ Three cases in point here include the irredentist disputes that raged between the Bugisu and Bukedi districts over the ownership of Mbale, Lwanjusi, Buswale and Bulugi; demands by the Sebei to be made a district separate from Bugisu; and the rebellion of Bamba and Bakonjo against the domination of the Toro aristocracy. *Bukedi District Council Minutes*, "Comments by the District Council on the Munster Report (Uganda Relationship commission)", Minutes of 3rd Sitting of the Bukedi Council, 7th February 1962; M C Young, "Sebei", in J D Barkan, and others, *Uganda District Government and Politics 1947-1967*, pp. 294-7.

Uganda Government, "Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Recent Disturbances amongst the Bamba and Bakonjo People of Toro", (Ssembeguya Report), Entebbe: Government Printer, 1962; Martin R. Dornobos, "Kumanyana and Rwenzururu: Two Responses to Ethnic Inequality" in R I Rotberg and Ali A Mazrui, *Protest and Power in Black Africa*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.

¹⁷² P M Gukiina, *Uganda: A Case Study in African Political Development*, p. 60; F Burke, *Local Government and Politics in Uganda*, p. 14.

descent,¹⁷³ and that they were employed administrators, working as agents of the central administration, and thus answerable more to the protectorate government than to their own people.¹⁷⁴ Also Busoga's District Council, though established in 1905 and developed further in 1930s as the official executive and deliberative body of Busoga, was in reality mainly an advisory body to the central government.¹⁷⁵ Unlike the *Kabaka* and Buganda's *Lukiiko* (parliament), who enjoyed relatively more leverage in the control of the affairs of Buganda, the functions of the *Kyabazinga* and those of the Busoga District Council were on the whole limited to advising the protectorate government in its administration of the district.¹⁷⁶

Therefore it was such marginalising tendencies that the Basoga strongly resisted particularly during the period between 1930 and 1960, a period marked by the revival of *Kisoga* consciousness. During this period, the Basoga intensified their demand to have the status of Busoga and of their *Kyabazinga* comparable to that of the kingdom areas and their monarchs. Like several other non-kingdom areas, the Basoga created the office of a cultural head and demanded to be granted a monarchical status.¹⁷⁷ They also agitated for less interference of the central government at Entebbe in their internal affairs, a demand which was motivated among others by the widespread belief that the Baganda had achieved political and economic successes largely because of the special semi-autonomous status they enjoyed. Hence the Basoga, like the Bagisu,¹⁷⁸ though insistently indignant towards the Baganda's continued dominance, viewed the Baganda's political status and success as objects to be emulated, and as a result clamoured for a monarchical

¹⁷³ Initially, the protectorate government had appointed Basoga chiefs from royal families. But even this new class of meritorious chiefs continued to be constituted predominantly by the royal families. The old chiefs, by virtue of their influence and wealth, were able to educate their sons; hence, they increased their chances of becoming chiefs. D Mudoola, "Chiefs and Political Action: The Case of Busoga 1900-1962", pp. 32-33.

¹⁷⁴ Dan Mudoola appropriately referred to them as "malleable instruments of colonialism". "Chiefs and Political Action: The Case of Busoga 1900-1962", pp. 32-33.

¹⁷⁵ E Hansen, "Busoga", p. 183

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

¹⁷⁷ In 1963, ethnic groups, which traditionally had a non-centralised system of government, created the office of a cultural head. The Bagisu referred to theirs as *Umuinga*, the Sabiny, *Kingoo*, the Adhola, *Benkulu*, the Langi, *Won-Nyaci* the Bakiga, *Rutakirwa* and so on. S Lwanga-Lunyiigo, "The Colonial Roots of Internal Conflicts", in Kumar Rupesinghe, (ed.), *Conflict Resolution in Uganda*, Oslo: International Peace Research Institute, pp. 40-3.

¹⁷⁸ M C Young "Bugisu", in J D Barkan, and others, *Uganda District Government and Politics, 1947-1967*, pp. 101-2.

status and institutional arrangements which, when granted, could promote their interests along political successes similar to those of the Baganda.¹⁷⁹

The Problem of Fragmentary Politics in Busoga

The Basoga's clamour for a monarchical status and their struggle against the marginalising tendencies of the protectorate government were not an easy task. Several problems affected their demands, two of which were the protectorate government's repeated refusal to grant them a monarchical status, and the divisive tendencies which made mobilisation beyond the regional level very difficult. I proceed to discuss these problems in more detail. First, the protectorate government feared that granting Busoga a status similar to that of Buganda would result in the formation of a politically strong and cohesive *body politic* in the east, and thereby jeopardise their influence there. They also feared that if they gave Busoga a special or monarchical status, the Basoga would become powerful enough to rebel against them, as the Baganda occasionally did. Hence they repeatedly rejected Busoga's demand, and explained that Busoga, being a 'colonially created' territory, was not a tribal organisation or a territory deserving to be granted a monarchical status.¹⁸⁰ This reason justifiably offended the Basoga inasmuch as it reflected the marginalising tendencies of the protectorate government. However it also made them more determined to press even harder for their demands, knowing very well that it was only through persistent and concerted agitation that their demands would be listened to and duly addressed.

Secondly, the Basoga's demand for a monarchical status was affected by the presence of divisive tendencies among them, tendencies which for a long time, had characterised the socio-political setting of Busoga, and which were aggravated amongst others by the divide-and-rule policies of the protectorate government. Generally, cleavages occurred at regional (*saza*), consanguineous, political and religious levels, and were caused or fuelled mainly by the desire of chiefs and other influential people to attain, then limit to themselves, their relatives and friends the control of the available decision-making

¹⁷⁹ D M Mudoola, *Religion, Ethnicity and Politics in Uganda*, p. 17; "Chiefs and Political Action: The Case of Busoga 1900-1962", p. 283.

¹⁸⁰ A Cohen, "Governor's Address to Busoga Council 27th October 1942", File No. 2280, *Entebbe Archives*; R Kakembo, *The African Soldier Speaks*, Ms confidential, file No. 2845, *UGAE*; T Kabwegyere, *The Politics of State Formation and Destruction in Uganda*, Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 1995, p. 32.

organs and processes. Furthermore several tensions and rivalries emerged and solidified from 1914, when the hereditary chiefs sought for an opportunity to become President,¹⁸¹ the topmost and coveted office in Busoga. Owing to the fact that by becoming President of the Busoga District Council, chiefs would, in effect, have their status and that of their counties greatly enhanced, several chiefs and their supporters did everything they possibly could to assume this office. However, some of the canvassing strategies they employed, such as gerrymandering and name-calling,¹⁸² aggravated inter-county rivalries, feuds and in-group pride and prejudice.

One of these conflicts which deserves to be mentioned here was the Bagabula-Balamogi rivalry, which escalated from 1918 onwards. This rivalry escalated partly because the hereditary chiefs of these counties, namely Ezekiel Wako of Bulamogi and William Kadhumbula Nadiope of Bugabula, eventually emerged as the front-runners for the presidency, a race which the former won in 1919, in a manner that did not help or improve the already strained relationship between the two contenders and between their respective counties. Moreover, during and after this race, most of the Basoga allied either with Bugabula or with Bulamogi on the basis of patron-client relationships, and because of other past or ongoing religious, social and political associations.¹⁸³ As a result *sazaism* (regionalism), polarisation and other parochial proclivities which were based on consanguineous, religious and political differences marked the political framework of Busoga. They also spilled over to other domains, including the church.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸¹ The title President was replaced, in 1938 by a local title *Kyabazinga* which literary means the one who is in charge of all. E Hansen, "Busoga", p. 182.

¹⁸² The Bagabula called the Balamogi *bakedi* because they are akin to the Luo; people commonly nicknamed *bakedi* (naked people). The Balamogi also called the Bagabula *banyoro*, because they too are akin to the Banyoro. S R Isabirye, "Schism Within Busoga Diocese, Church of Uganda 1983-1988. An Analysis of Causes, Developments and Effects". BD dissertation, ATIEA, 1989, p. 12.

¹⁸³ During the campaign for *Kyabazingaship* in 1962, chiefly groups of Kigulu and parts of Butembe-Bunya, for instance, supported Muloki, a Mulamoogi, partly because of their geographical proximity between the former and to Bulamoogi county, and because of their numerous intermarriages with the Balamoogi, while Bukooli and Bugweri supported Nadiope a Mugabula, partly because of existing of patron-client relationships between the Bugabula hegemony and the chiefly groups in Bukooli and Bugweri respectively. D M Mudoola, "Religion and Politics in Uganda: The Case of Busoga, 1900-1962", in *African Affairs*, 77/306, pp. 31-33

¹⁸⁴ For instance, a group of Christians in Kaliro accused clergy in their area of not being honest and truthful. They told Rev Ibula, the Head of Clergy NAC Iganga Deanery, in a letter they wrote to him, "They [the clergy] are not truthful and honest in the process of recommending people to train as church workers. For a long time people have been dissatisfied with the way the clergy hate and unjustly character-assassinate Christians especially when it comes to selecting future church workers. It is surprising to realise that your clergy lack a spirit of Christian truthfulness and exemplary life. On many occasions clergy in Busoga have recommended people from their own counties and clans to train for the ministry. Every minister desires that a person from his own county or clan be accepted to train for

Arguably the deepest tensions and rivalries in the history of Busoga district happened from 1949 to 1967, following the decision of *Kyabazinga* Nadiope and his close supporters to form themselves in a hegemony consisting predominantly of Protestants, Bagabula and supporters of Uganda Peoples' Congress (UPC), the ruling political party.¹⁸⁵ They held exclusive control of Busoga from 1962, after Nadiope had officially become *Isebantu Kyabazinga* of Busoga and after Busoga had been granted a semi-federal status.¹⁸⁶ They limited to themselves and their supporters all the essential offices in the Busoga Local Government; disregarded and suppressed the opposition; and manipulated, in their favour, the election of the councillors of the Busoga *Lukiiko*.¹⁸⁷ Although some Balamogi, Catholics, Muslims and other marginalised sections in Busoga resorted to seeking patron-client relationship with the Bagabula hegemony as a way of surviving at least politically, the bulk of them intensified their opposition towards the Bagabula hegemony. They accused Nadiope in particular of mismanaging public funds, of being nepotistic and dictatorial, and as a result sought and plotted for his downfall in July 1966 by casting a vote of no confidence in him. Nadiope would have been removed from office had it not been for the Minister of Regional Administration in the central government, who refused to approve the loss of confidence in him, hence making it ineffective.¹⁸⁸ It was fourteen months later that he was finally removed from office, following Milton Obote's abolition of all the kingdoms in Uganda, turning it into a republic,¹⁸⁹ and lowering Busoga back to a district status.

the priesthood". J C J Mbalule and others to Rev E Ibula, the Head of Clergy NAC Iganga, dated 4th June 1949, COU PA (translation mine); M Twaddle, "Tribalism in Eastern Uganda", in *Makerere Institute of Social Research*, 1969; S R Isabirye, *Schism Within Busoga Diocese, Church of Uganda 1983-1988*, p. 12.

¹⁸⁵ D M Mudoola, "Religion and Politics in Uganda", pp. 26-30; Interview with D Kazungu, 26th November 1999.

¹⁸⁶ In 1962, Busoga was eventually granted a semi-federal status, an achievement that is largely and appropriately credited to persistent pressure exerted by the Basoga with the help of the Uganda People's Congress, which, at that time, strategically 'buried' its anti-Buganda and anti-monarchical stance. For detailed discussion of the making of Busoga Kingdom see E. Hansen, "Busoga", pp. 183-4, 190; D A Low, *Political Parties in Uganda, 1949-1962*, London: Institute of Common Wealth Studies, University of London, 1962, p. 32; D Mudoola, "The Upticification (UPC) of Kyabazingaship", in *Makerere Institute of Social Research*, 1973.

¹⁸⁷ The Busoga District Council was renamed the Busoga *Lukiiko* in 1962. E Hansen, "Busoga", p. 184.

¹⁸⁸ Minute 7/66 of Busoga District Council, 1966, *Bugembe Local Government Archives*.

¹⁸⁹ P Mutiibwa, P Mutiibwa, *Uganda Since Independence: A Story of Unfulfilled Hopes*. Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 1992, pp. 59-60.

It is necessary to address two issues here concerning the implications of the concerted effort of the Basoga which contributed a great deal to Busoga's attaining of a monarchical status, and the persistence of marginalising tendencies in Busoga even after it had attained this status. First, although the regional differences which affected the Basoga were deeply entrenched in Busoga, they were not so devastating as to stall altogether the Basoga's concerted agitation for a monarchical status. However, the decision of Basoga to unite and make a concerted demand for a monarchical status, does not, in my view, necessarily imply a dawn of a new era, one in which the Basoga had become deeply and widely willing to forego their regional differences, embrace one another unreservedly and work relentlessly towards a united Busoga. The presence of in-group proclivities in Busoga after it had become a kingdom, as the events mentioned above reveal, is a case in point showing that *sazaism* and other in-group proclivities persisted in Busoga kingdom as it did in other places in Uganda.

In my opinion, the willingness of the Basoga to unite beyond their regional differences and make a concerted demand for a monarchical status showed a readiness to team up with other people, irrespective of counties of origin, for the sake of a cause that they deemed to be of as much interest to their respective counties as to the entire ethnic group. As succeeding events in this study reveal, many Basoga were willing to transcend regional and other differences and come together, if and when it was deeply and widely deemed necessary, in order to address an issue (or issues) which affected them individually and as a group. This is partly why some of them, as I mention in more detail later joined together beyond their regional boundaries, and opposed a form of governance in the church which they justifiably regarded as authoritarian, autocratic, and lacking in transparency and in accountability.

Secondly, the tendency of the central government to control closely the affairs of Busoga Kingdom shows that the marginalisation of Busoga by non-Basoga continued even after it had attained a monarchical status. For instance, the central government required that the Busoga *Lukiiko*, unlike other kingdoms, submit its fiscal policy, debated motions and resolutions to the Minister of Regional Administrations of the central government for approval before they came into force. Furthermore, the refusal of this same minister to ratify the vote of no confidence in *Kyabazinga* cast by the *Lukiiko*, hence making it null

and void, is a case in point showing the close supervision of the central government, a supervision which the Basoga resented as much as they dreaded the domination and control over them by other non-Basoga. Their struggle for self-determination was far from being accomplished. It is therefore hardly surprising that it was during this same period that Basoga Christians intensified their clamour to be cut off from Namirembe Diocese, whose headquarters were based in Buganda, and formed into a separate diocese of Busoga.

THE CREATION OF BUSOGA DIOCESE AND THE APPOINTMENT OF ITS FIRST BISHOP

'We Too Want Our Own Diocese and Bishop'

In 1922, the leadership of the Anglican Church in Uganda decided to form the eastern part of Uganda into a separate diocese known as the Upper Nile Diocese, with its headquarters located at St Andrew's Church in Jinja. However, the Christians in Busoga refused to be lumped together with the ethnic groups in the east and the north, the *bakedi* (naked people) as the Baganda and Basoga nicknamed them. As a result Busoga was placed under Namirembe Diocese and the headquarters of the Upper Nile Diocese were re-located from Jinja to Mbale,¹⁹⁰ leading the Anglican Church in Busoga to lose an opportunity that would have resulted in its becoming separate ecclesiastically from Buganda and in becoming a diocese earlier than it did.¹⁹¹

Nonetheless, from the early 1950s some Christians in Busoga made isolated demands to have Busoga cut off from Namirembe and formed into a separate diocese. They gave several reasons to justify their demand, two of which were the fear that being placed under Buganda encouraged Buganda to perpetrate its condescending attitude towards Busoga, and that the church in Busoga had grown so much that it was high time it ceased to be an 'outpost' of Namirembe. They argued that the money which they collected then sent periodically to Namirembe could be used more appropriately to prepare Busoga to become a separate diocese.¹⁹² Their demand for a separate diocese continued to grow and to attain the support and sympathy of many Basoga, thanks partly to the concurrent

¹⁹⁰ Interview with S R Isabirye, 12th June 1999.

¹⁹¹ Busoga was declared a diocese on 13th August 1972. Church of Uganda, "Notable Events in the History of the Province", p. 4, COU PA.

¹⁹² Interviews with E J Batambuze, 10th October 1999 and A Waiswa, 11th September 1999.

demand for granting Busoga a monarchical status, a demand which agitated the Basoga to resist all forms of domination and to agitate unmistakably for the right to control their own affairs, including those concerning the church in their region.

In 1963, as a result of this increasing demand for a separate diocese of Busoga, the House of Bishops embarked on the task of preparing Busoga to become a diocese. They decided initially to appoint an Assistant Bishop of Namirembe Diocese residing in Busoga.¹⁹³ However the Basoga rejected Rev Canon Benon K Lwanga, the person the house had selected for this office, mainly because he was a Muganda.¹⁹⁴ Subsequent efforts made to appoint Akisoferi Wesonga, a Mugisu, to assume the same office also failed because most Basoga leaders insisted on having a Musoga as their bishop, not a clergyman from another ethnic group.¹⁹⁵ In his response, Archbishop Leslie Brown refused to grant the Basoga a bishop on the basis of his ethnic identity. He argued further that even if the Province decided to give in to their demand for a Musoga bishop, it would go into great pains before finding one, since the only Musoga clergyman, Rev Thomas Nabeta,¹⁹⁶ who according to him, had the required basic theological education and satisfactory pastoral experience, had declined to assume the office of a bishop, preferring to carry on with his work at Makerere University and in the provincial offices.¹⁹⁷ This position was not acceptable to the Basoga. Like other ethnic groups, they insisted on having a bishop who belonged to their group. They blamed the Namirembe for failing to ensure that Basoga

¹⁹³ Minutes of the House of Bishops held on 4th December 1963, COU PA.

¹⁹⁴ Also Festo Lutaaya, Bishop of West Buganda, objected to the nomination of Canon Lwanga on grounds that he had rebelled against him. Rev. Canon B K Lwanga was one of the clergy who opposed Bishop Festo Lutaaya's decision to transfer the headquarters of West Buganda Diocese from Kako to his hometown in Mityana, partly because he did not want to live in Buddu. A special committee appointed by the House of Bishops cleared Lwanga of the charges made, by Lutaaya, against him. On details of the crisis in West Buganda, see E Sentongo, "The Conflicts Surrounding the Creation and Development of an Anglican Diocese of West Buganda (Uganda), 1960- 1976". DipTh dissertation, Makerere University, Kampala, 1981.

¹⁹⁵ Minutes of the House of Bishops' meetings held at the Provincial offices held on 31st August 1964 and 13th January 1965, COU PA.

¹⁹⁶ T T Nabeta (1927- 1984) held a diploma in Education, taught for five years at Busoga College Mwiri, studied Theology and Ordination Course at Trinity Hall and Westcott House, Cambridge. While in Britain, he undertook deputation preaching for CMS, Ordained deacon in 1960, priested in 1961. Between 1961 and 1965 served as Principal of Namutamba TTC, and acting parish priest of Butambizi and Namutamba and secretary of the Provincial Board of Theological Education (1962-1973). Between 1965-1967, served as warden at Makerere, and from 1967 until 1974, he was appointed chaplain of St Francis Makerere University. He was elevated to status of Provincial Canon in 1974, and became a lecturer in the Department of Education, Makerere University from 1974, member of Editorial Committee of Centenary Publishing House, Chairman of Radio Centre Committee and Editor of New Century. From 1982, he was appointed Assistant Bishop of Busoga. T T T Nabeta, Curriculum Vitae, COU PA.

¹⁹⁷ Interviews with E J Batambuze, 10th October 1999 and A Waiswa, 11th September 1999.

clergy were duly and adequately prepared to take over the control of their church and as a result asked that they be given "...*omulabirizi omusoga, nebwanabera nga munafu era nga mugayavu*".¹⁹⁸

Two points should be mentioned here concerning the Basoga's rejection of Lwanga and Wesonga and their demand for a Musoga bishop. First, the leadership in Namirembe, it seems to me, took it for granted that because the Teso had accepted Stephen Tomusange, a Muganda, as their first bishop,¹⁹⁹ the Basoga would do the same. They failed to realise that for the Basoga, having a Muganda as their bishop was completely unacceptable inasmuch as it was tantamount to failing in their struggle for self-determination and against the Baganda's dominant and condescending tendencies. The leadership also failed to see that in rejecting Lwanga in particular, the Basoga had sent a clear message to the Baganda and to the entire church that they could no longer tolerate being regarded as inferior, especially in the church. Second, the Basoga resented what they felt to be the Baganda's regarding their area as an 'outstation' of Namirembe, so much that the latter could post a Muganda clergyman to supervise it. Consequently, they insisted that, like other ethnic groups, they were capable of managing their own ecclesiastical affairs and saw no reason whatsoever why the church had failed to appoint a Musoga to be their bishop. This view was succinctly expressed in a letter that Erusaniya Kalireku, an elder in the church in Busoga, sent to Archbishop Erica Sabiti of the Church of Uganda. In this letter Kalireku made the Basoga's demand unmistakable:

Like the Batoro who do not like their non-Mutoro bishop, we too do not want a non-Musoga bishop. The Baganda have Baganda bishops, the Acholi have a Mucholi, the Bagisu a Mugisu, the Teso a Muteso, the Banyarwanda a Munyarwanda, the Balundi a Mulundi and so on. The Basoga also prefer to have a Musoga bishop. Give us a Musoga bishop, even if he is weak or lazy.²⁰⁰

On learning that the Basoga were bent on having a Musoga bishop and that in the past the *Kyabazinga* and the Busoga *Lukiiko* had given to the church the former residence of *Kyabazinga* and hill at Bugembe to be residence of the bishop and site on which the cathedral would be built, in 1967, the House of Bishops asked Dunstan Nsubuga, the

¹⁹⁸ "...a Musoga bishop, even though he is weak or lazy (translation mine)". Erusaniya Kalireku, an elder in the church, to Sabiti, undated, p. 1; Interview with A Waiswa, 11th September 1999.

¹⁹⁹ Festo Tomusange was bishop of Teso from 1961 until 1964. Church of Uganda, "Notable Events in the History of the Province", p. 8. COU PA.

²⁰⁰ E Kalireku to Sabiti "*Nyini Kigwa Yakiwebula*", undated, p. 1, COU PA, (translation mine); Sabiti to Kalireku, entitled, "*Obulabirizi bwe' Busoga*", dated 10th December 1969, COU PA.

Bishop of Namirembe, to make the necessary arrangements needed to prepare Busoga to become a diocese, presided over by a Musoga bishop. These arrangements included asking the Basoga to raise Ushs 30,000, being a contribution towards the money required to support their bishop, which they did.²⁰¹ As a result, on 14th July 1969, Bishop Nsubuga forwarded to the House of Bishops, through Archbishop Erica Sabiti, two names nominated by Namirembe Diocesan Electoral College, namely Rev Canon Abuneri Kadaali and Rev Cyprian Bamwoze,²⁰² both from Bugabula county.²⁰³ Hence it appeared as if Busoga was set on an irreversible road to becoming a diocese and to having a Musoga cleric appointed as their bishop.

However two issues seemed to stall the process of making Busoga a diocese, namely the nominations forwarded to the House of Bishops, and the general decline in the giving of the Christians in Busoga. I proceed to discuss them in more detail. First, Sabiti, like many other senior leaders in the church, felt that the two clergy whose names were forwarded to the House of Bishops for consideration lacked the qualifications needed in a bishop. Kadaali was relatively old and had received very low theological training,²⁰⁴ while Cyprian Bamwoze, the other nominee, though a graduate of Makerere University, was a novice in terms of pastoral work; had hardly worked as a pastor in Busoga, save for a few years during which he had worked as a curate at St James' Church in Jinja; and was widely believed to be arrogant and self-conceited.²⁰⁵

²⁰¹ Minute 4/68 of the House of Bishops meeting held at the Provincial Offices, Namirembe, on 16th and 17th October 1968, COU PA.

²⁰² Cyprian Kikunyi Bamwoze, son of Birusani Munananfu and Budesta Mukoda, was born in 1934 in Nakimegere Butayundwa sub-county, Bugabula County, Kamuli District. He studied at Naminage Primary School, Kamuli Junior School, Busoga College Mwiri. He trained for the ordained ministry at BTTC Mukono. He was ordained in 1961 and three years later he joined Makerere University, from where he attained a degree in Political Science and Religious Studies and a Post Graduate Diploma in Education. Before he was appointed bishop Bamwoze served as a youth worker in Namirembe Diocese, Assistant Chaplain of St Francis Chapel, chaplain in several schools in Buganda, curate at St James Church in Jinja. He also undertook further training and Parish experience in England. Interview between John Were and Bamwoze published in *The Monitor*, 3rd–6th November 1995; W Kivebusoga, "Busoga Diocese Crisis – The Bishops' Findings", p. 5, BDA.

²⁰³ Rt. Rev D Nsubuga, Bishop of Namirembe to Archbishop Sabiti, 14th July 1969, COU PA.

²⁰⁴ Rev Canon A Kadaali was born in 1913, and served in different capacities including Rural Dean of Busoga (Iganga). He had undertaken a certificate course in theology and an ordination course. T. Tuma, *Building a Ugandan Church*, p. 190.

²⁰⁵ Some of my informants told me that several church leaders complained about Bamwoze's arrogance and warned that if he were appointed bishop, the church in Busoga would be in trouble. Interviews with A Waiswa, 11th September 1999 and S R Isabirye, 12th June 1999.

Secondly, Sabiti, like other officials in the Provincial headquarters, doubted whether Busoga was prepared at least financially to support its own bishop and ultimately to become a diocese, following a general decline in their giving. It seemed to Sabiti and others that the efforts in Busoga of raising the money needed to contribute towards the cost of supporting their bishop and building the cathedral at Bugembe had left the Christians there unable to raise the funds needed to meet other expenses in the church, leading Sabiti to wonder whether they would, if they became a diocese, be able to meet all the financial expenses of their diocese. Sabiti expressed his doubts to Nsubuga and quoted the conclusions of Mr Compton, the Provincial Auditor, on this issue, in order to prove his own point:

The East Buganda part of Namirembe Diocese had an increase of about 9%, but a drop of a third in Busoga meant a drop of 10% in the Dioceses as a whole. Clearly there is need for an investigation of what is happening in Busoga. It appears that only a little of the money is being drained off in to the special funds for the Cathedral and for a Bishop of Busoga. This is a serious matter for the Province, Busoga in 1967 provided more than a tenth of the Uganda collections. If Busoga is reducing so much its contribution to the fund which pays Bishops it does not seem reasonable for that fund to pay for an extra Bishop for Busoga. Certainly on the evidence of the 1968 accounts Busoga is not yet ready to become a Diocese. The money received onto the "sub-Diocese" Fund was hardly enough to pay for the present commitments.²⁰⁶

Therefore, Sabiti, though sympathetic to the Basoga's request for a bishop,²⁰⁷ felt that they were not ready, at least in terms of personnel and finances, even to have the assistant bishop whom the House of Bishops had earlier promised to give them by 25th January 1970.²⁰⁸ As a result, Sabiti and the entire House of Bishops resolved unanimously to delay the appointment of an assistant bishop for Namirembe (Busoga). In principle, they approved the appointment of an assistant bishop, but postponed the appointment of any person to this office until after the Provincial Assembly of December 1970. Thus the process of giving Busoga a bishop and ultimately a diocese suffered yet another blow, leading the Christians in Busoga to be frustrated by what they felt to be duplicitous and marginalising tendencies on the part of the Province.

²⁰⁶ Mr Compton, quoted in a letter from E Sabiti to D Nsubuga, Bishop of Namirembe, dated 8th October 1969, COU PA.

²⁰⁷ He expressed this sympathy to the Bishop of Namirembe, during the House of Bishop's meeting held at the Provincial Offices, Namirembe, on 13th January 1970. See minutes of the House of Bishops' held on 13th January 1970, COU PA.

²⁰⁸ Rev. Canon J M Waibale and others to Sabiti, "*Ebiriwo Eby'olukiiko Lw'bulabirizi Olwa Synod mu Kitundu Ky'obulabirizi Bw'e Namirembe Ekye' Busoga*", 21st October 1969, p. 1, COU PA.

This period was also marked by tensions between the Province and the 'Church in Buganda'. Namirembe Diocese, probably in an effort to solicit Busoga's support for her cause, created the impression that Sabiti and other provincial authorities were strongly opposed to giving Busoga a bishop and a diocese. On receiving the above-mentioned confidential letter from Sabiti, Nsubuga sent a copy of it to Busoga. Although Sabiti had asked him to take up the issue of the drop in giving with the people of Busoga, this did not, in my view, imply that he should send copies of this letter to Christians in Busoga, given the fact simply that it was confidential. It seems to me that Nsubuga's decision to send this letter to Busoga was aimed at creating, as it did, an impression among the Christians in Busoga that Sabiti and his office were frustrating Busoga's demand for a diocese and a Musoga bishop.

In my opinion, Nsubuga succeeded in getting the Basoga to believe that Sabiti was opposed to their demand for a diocese and bishop. After reading the letter during the council held on 21st October 1969 at All Saints Church in Iganga, three Basoga councillors and members of Namirembe Synod, at the instruction of the council in Busoga, wrote to Sabiti, accusing him of being unwilling to give the Basoga an assistant bishop. They clarified to him that the drop in giving in Busoga was a result of a general decline in the agricultural production, not, as he and others thought, because of the inability of the Christians in Busoga to raise all the funds needed to meet the expenses of the diocese. They insisted that it was not appropriate to use this drop in giving to back down on a promise that was first made to the people of Busoga in 1963, and warned that if this promise was not kept and pursued as planned, the hearts of many Basoga would be broken and their commitment towards the church in terms of giving and attendance would decline even further.²⁰⁹

In the same letter the group noted in a more critical tone that the delay in appointing a bishop for Busoga was a case in point of the prevalent marginalisation of Busoga by the Church of Uganda. They accused the Church of Uganda of failing to recognise the importance of Busoga and the Basoga. They reminded Sabiti that the government had elevated Jinja, the chief town of Busoga and chief industrial town of Uganda, to a status

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

second only to that of Kampala, the capital city of Uganda. Also, the Roman Catholics, having duly recognised the importance of Busoga, had elevated it to a diocesan status in 1966,²¹⁰ resulting in the Roman Catholic Church's making significant progress there, while the Anglican Church suffered decline in its membership and giving especially during the late 1960s. They blamed this decline on the manner in which Sabiti and other provincial authorities marginalised the church in Busoga, and feared that the church would continue to experience this decline unless the leadership of the church changed its attitude towards Busoga and gave it the respect and status it deserved.²¹¹

Convinced that it was necessary to mount a more stringent demand for a diocesan status and for a Musoga bishop, a group of Christians met at Iganga, appointed a general council and a task force comprising Canon John Waibale, Joy Batambuze and Abe Kalikwani. They gave them the duty of overseeing this process and the mandate to do everything possible to speed it up. One measure that the task force employed was writing provocative letters to the leadership of the church, accusing them of marginalising Busoga and failing to realise that Busoga and the Basoga had played an important role in spreading the gospel in the eastern and northern part of Uganda. They argued:

Busoga should have been the first District, because of its history, to get the Bishop before any other District. Bukedi, Bugisu, Teso, Lango, Acholi, and Karamoja were all persuaded to become Christians mostly by Basoga and yet three of these districts have their own Bishops... Busoga in the present government is considered to be one of the most senior districts in almost every respect, but for reasons known only to the Church of Uganda, Busoga is terribly under ranked.²¹²

On the 21st of March 1970, Sabiti, now worried that the Basoga “had a feeling that the Archbishop was refusing to give them a bishop”,²¹³ invited a group of influential lay

²¹⁰ In 1966 Pope Paul VI revised the boundaries of the Roman Catholic diocese of Rubaga and Kampala. On 8th August 1966, he created Kampala Archdiocese and Jinja Diocese. Jinja Diocese, which covered the whole of Busoga region, was part of the former Kampala Diocese. On the same day he appointed Mgr Wierts MHM, the *Vicar Capitular* of Kampala as the Apostolic Administrator of Jinja Diocese. On 13th July 1967, he appointed Mgr Joseph Willigers MHM as the first bishop of Jinja Diocese. Willigers was consecrated as a bishop by Archbishop Emmanuel Nsubuga of Kampala on 3rd December 1967. Yves Tourigny WF, *So Abundant a Harvest. The Catholic Church in Uganda 1879-1979*, Darton: Longman and Todd, 1978, pp. 183-4.

²¹¹ J Waibale and others to Sabiti, “*Ebiriwo Eby’olukiiko Lw’bulabirizi Olwa Synod mu Kitundu Ky’obulabirizi Bw’e Namirembe Ekye’ Busoga*”, p. 1.

²¹² J Waibale to Sabiti, “Bishop for Busoga”, 5th March 1970, p. 1, COU PA. The three districts quoted in this letter were Mbale, Soroti and Northern Uganda. Church of Uganda, “Notable Events in the History of the Province”, p. 8, undated, COU PA.

²¹³ Sabiti to Nsubuga, entitled, “A Bishop for Busoga”, 6th March 1970, COU PA.

Basoga Christians to meet with him and other Provincial Officials²¹⁴ at the Provincial Office, in order to explain his own position to them and to seek their advice.²¹⁵ He notified Nsubuga about this meeting but did not invite him or any other diocesan official to attend it because of the strained relations between the Province and Namirembe Diocese. During this meeting the members came to the conclusion that it was necessary to proceed with arrangements to give Busoga a bishop. They promised to support the bishop and the diocese. Partly as a result of this meeting the House of Bishops and the Provincial Assembly blessed Busoga's petition to be separated from Namirembe, to be formed into Busoga Diocese.²¹⁶ This decision excited the Christians in Busoga. It also revived the canvassing of some senior clergy in Busoga for the office of bishop of Busoga.

Cyprian Bamwoze – The Maiden Bishop of Busoga

Following the decision of the two would-be front-runners, namely Waibale and Nabeta, to decide not to join this race,²¹⁷ Canon Silas Wekiya, Canon Yosamu Kapere, Rev Munyonkano, and Cyprian Bamwoze became the main contenders for the office of Bishop of Busoga.²¹⁸ Kapere was so interested in becoming bishop that he even resigned from his post as a chaplain of Ndejje Teacher Training College and moved to Bugembe, in order to come closer to the opinion leaders in the diocese.²¹⁹ After the House of Bishops had queried two sets of nominations of the Electoral College, and allegedly following the special recommendation by *Kyabazinga* Nadiope, a relative of Bamwoze,²²⁰

²¹⁴ Some of the provincial officials who attended this meeting were Rev Yona Okoth, the Provincial Secretary, Canon Wasikye, the Provincial Treasurer and Rev Thomas Nabeta, the Provincial Communications Officer.

²¹⁵ Archbishop Sabilito to E M S Kate, Wokubira, Z K Nsajja, A Nyanga, J M Zikusooka, W Wanje, J B Lubandi, Gubayanga, E N K Wekikye, A Kalikwani, T. Nabeta, Y Okoth and J Wasikye, "A Bishop for Busoga", 6th March 1970, COU PA. The two people known to me who replied to this letter were E M Kate, and J M Zikusoka.

²¹⁶ Minute 32/71 of the House of Bishops meeting held on 19th October 1971; Minute 4/72 of the PA, 10th and 13th January 1972, COU PA.

²¹⁷ Interview with S R Isabirye, 12th June 1999.

²¹⁸ Interview with Mr A Kisambira, 26th September 1999.

²¹⁹ Interview with S R Isabirye, 12th June 1999; F J Baalwa, "The Causes and Development of the Busoga Crisis (1992-1993)". BD dissertation, Makerere University, Kampala, 1996, p. 5.

²²⁰ Fred Mukobe claims that Bamwoze's link with Nadiope is traced through his mother, but Bamwoze himself is a Munyole. His father, Kikunyi, was a Muslim and a Munyole, hailing from Sango near river Mpologoma. Kikunyi went to Kamuli in search of work and better living conditions. While in Kamuli he worked as Nadiope's entertainer, (harpist), married Budesta (Bamwoze's mother), a princess, before being taken ill and dying of leprosy at Buluuba. After Kikunyi's death, Bamwoze was taken care of by his relative, Rev. Canon Boaz Waimaga. It was while staying in Waimaga's home at Butansi that Bamwoze became an Anglican. Bamwoze, in an interview with John Were of *the Monitor*, rejected this and other versions, regarding them as misguided and malicious. According to him, both his parents

Bamwoze, a hardly known cleric in Busoga, was eventually elected as the maiden Bishop of Busoga.²²¹ On 6th August 1972, Bamwoze and two other clergy, namely Yona Okoth and Yustasi Ruhindi, were consecrated bishops at Namirembe Cathedral, and on 13th August, Bamwoze, aged thirty-eight, was installed as Bishop of Busoga at Bugembe Cathedral.²²² At the time he was consecrated and enthroned, Bamwoze was the youngest and only African bishop of the Church of Uganda who had trained up to a graduate level, hence giving him and Busoga *ekitiibwa* (prestige).²²³

Moreover, most of the members of the specially convened Electoral College of Namirembe Diocese²²⁴ and many senior leaders in the church in Busoga felt that Bamwoze, being a young educated clergyman, had the capacity to provide vigorous leadership and pastoral care to the new diocese; to attract more young men and women to become church workers; and to assist in bringing innovative approaches to the management of the new diocese.²²⁵ The extent to which he was able to meet these and other expectations is largely the subject of the succeeding chapters of this study. However two other factors, namely the requirement made by the Basoga that the bishop of Busoga necessarily had to be a Musoga, and the significance of the maiden bishop of Busoga following Milton Obote's banning of Busoga and other kingdoms in 1967, deserve to be discussed in more detail. First, in demanding that the bishop of Busoga had to be primarily a Musoga clergyman, ethnic identity sadly became the basic qualification for any aspirant for the office of Bishop of Busoga.

In my opinion, placing ethnic identity of a prospective bishop before more important qualifications and qualities, like those which Dietrich Bonhoeffer appropriately summarised as “a simple, faithful man, sound in faith, and life, who rightly discharges

were Christians and Basoga. When Bamwoze was six years old his mother left his father and befriended a Muslim. Interview with F Mukobe, on 20th October 1999; Interview held between John Were and Bamwoze in *The Monitor*, 3rd–6th November 1995, p. 10.

²²¹ Interviews with Mrs A Waiswa, 11th September 1999; S R Isabirye, 12th June 1999, and J Mugaya, 10th October 1999.

²²² Okoth was enthroned Bishop of Bukedi at Tororo on 1st October 1972 and Ruhindi as Bishop of Bunyoro-Kitara at Hoima, on 28th October 1972. Church of Uganda, “Notable Events in the History of the Province”, pp. 3 and 4.

²²³ W Kivebusoga, “Busoga Crisis – The Bishop’s Findings”, p. 4, BDA.

²²⁴ The college comprised mostly of Christians from Busoga.

²²⁵ Interview with Mrs A Waiswa, held on 11th September 1999; W Kivebusoga, “Busoga Diocese Crisis – The Bishops’ Findings”, p. 5, BDA.

his duty to the church, [and whose] authority lies in the exercise of his ministry”.²²⁶ the church in Busoga courted the danger of having a bishop from the right tribe, but with insufficient or immoral conduct. The Christians in Busoga, it seems to me, sealed their fate when they asked not primarily for a capable bishop and a father in God, but for “a Musoga bishop, even if he is weak or lazy”.²²⁷ It is in this respect hardly surprising to note that their demand for a tribal bishop resulted in their being given Bamwoze, a Musoga clergyman who was hardly known in the church in Busoga and did not have broad and adequate experience in pastoral work. By making him bishop, the church in Busoga and beyond, in effect, took a dangerous gamble. It was left to wait and see what kind of bishop he would be, and to hope and pray that his twenty-seven-year period of service as a bishop did not turn out to be disastrous for the church.

Secondly, owing to Obote’s banning of the kingdoms in Uganda, in September 1967, the Basoga, like the Baganda,²²⁸ regarded their bishop as the custodian of their cultural institution. In the case of Bamwoze, the weight of this responsibility was even heavier on him than it was on bishops in other kingdom areas. In fact, several factors led him to have an image greater than that of an Anglican bishop. Three of them included Bamwoze’s being the only Musoga bishop in Busoga, since the Roman Catholic Bishop of Jinja Diocese, Joseph Willigers MHM, is Dutch; Bamwoze’s being closely related to *Kyabazinga* Nadiope; and his occupying, after he was enthroned as Bishop of Busoga, the residence that was formerly the official residence of *Kyabazinga*. Consequently, like William Crabtree, a CMS missionary whom the Bagisu called *Nabwana* (paramount chief) partly because he occupied the official residence of Semei Kakungulu in Nabumali,²²⁹ some people referred to Bamwoze as *Kyabazinga*, while others viewed him as the figure that carried his mantle. The gifts which several people in Busoga gave Bamwoze and the banquets befitting a *Kyabazinga* to which they occasionally treated him are a case in point showing that some people regarded him as the *Kyabazinga* or at least viewed him as one who represented him.

²²⁶ D Bonhoeffer, *Life Together*. London: SCM Press, 1954, p. 85.

²²⁷ E Kalireku to Sabiti “Nyini Kigwa Yakiwebula”, undated, p. 1, COU PA, (translation mine); Sabiti to Kalireku, entitled, “*Obulabirizi bwe’ Busoga*”, dated 10th December 1969, COU PA.

²²⁸ K Ward, “The Church of Uganda Amidst Conflict: The Interplay between Church and Politics in Uganda Since 1962”, in H B Hansen and M Twaddle, *Religion and Politics in East Africa*. London: James Currey, 1995, p. 76.

²²⁹ H P Gale, *Uganda and the Mill Hill Fathers*, London: Macmillan and Company, 1959, p. 220.

It is in respect sufficient to conclude here that four factors, namely Bamwoze's becoming a bishop at the age of thirty-eight²³⁰ (a tender age compared to that of other bishops in the Church of Uganda); the special status he had as a cultural leader; his specialised training among others in Political Science; and the episcopal authority available to him, one which constitutionally allowed him, if he wanted, to exercise exclusive control over his diocese, all gave him power that was extremely immense and unrivalled by any other bishop in the province. Such power and resultant influence when misused, as it generally was by Bamwoze, resulted in some of his Christians accusing him of being authoritarian, autocratic, and lacking in transparency and accountability.

Yet Bamwoze knew very well that the misuse of this authority, together with other factors, like the shaky circumstances surrounding his becoming a bishop; and his hailing from Bugabula (the home of a hegemony who had in the past dominated the religious and political leadership in Busoga) were liable to result, as they did, in some of his Christians regarding him with suspicion and in their being indignant towards him. He should in this regard have deemed it imperative to do everything possible to win and/or maintain their confidence, among others, by implementing the charge which Sabiti gave to him on the day he was enthroned bishop:

...be to the flock of Christ a shepherd, not a wolf; feed them, devour them not. Hold up the weak, heal the sick, bind up the broken, bring again the outcasts, seek the lost. Be so merciful, that you be not too remiss; so minister discipline, that you do not forget mercy; that when the Chief Shepherd shall appear you may receive the never fading crown of glory; through Jesus Christ our Lord.²³¹

Furthermore it was necessary for him not to forget that, like any other bishop, he was called to be, according to Bishop Robert Morgan, "a shepherd, a prophet, a priest, a man of understanding and learning, a good disciplinarian, a teacher, businesslike in administration, and alive to current affairs and social responsibilities".²³² It was also imperative for him to understand that he wielded his authority by courtesy of Christ's divine commission and in synodical association with the clergy and laity in his diocese; his authority as a religious leader had to be exercised in humble submission, with himself

²³⁰ Since Bamwoze's becoming bishop, the minimum age a cleric of the Church of Uganda had to have before being consecrated bishop has been set at forty-five. Canon 3:6 of the *Provincial Canons of the Church of Uganda*, 1997, p. 58.

²³¹ Quoted in R Morgan, "The Office and Work of a Bishop", in G Simon (ed.), *Bishops*. London: The Faith Press, 1961, p. 17.

²³² R Morgan, "The Office and Work of a Bishop", p. 17.

being positioned under it;²³³ and that he had to look to Jesus Christ, the Chief shepherd, for support and encouragement, since, as Morgan again succinctly advised bishops, “it is to the Ascended Christ that a bishop must direct his gaze, to him that he must be attached and responsible, with him that he must be clothed...”.²³⁴ Then and only then would Bamwoze, like other bishops, exercise his authority constructively and effectively at all levels within his diocese, in the task of serving and caring for the people of God in Busoga, and in helping them, as their chief pastor and father-in-God, to grow in faith and power, to become capable of taking on their responsibility and to make significant contribution in the oversight of their church.²³⁵ However, as I show in more detail in the succeeding sections of this study, Bamwoze, like several other bishops in the Church of Uganda, generally misused his authority, leading some of the Christians to resent him, oppose him and reject him with all means available to them including violent ones, hence plunging Busoga Diocese into a state of anarchy during the larger part of its first twenty-seven years (1972 – 1999) as Bishop of Busoga.

THE DIVISIVE TENDENCIES IN THE CHURCH OF UGANDA – TOWARDS AN UNDERSTANDING

THE ‘CHURCH IN BUGANDA’ VERSUS THE CHURCH OF UGANDA

The Legacies and ‘Palimpsests’ in the Church of Uganda of Colonial Fragmentary Politics

In the previous sections of this chapter, I have dwelt more on the factors inside Busoga which caused and/or created circumstances that resulted in conflicts in the church and politics in Busoga. I now proceed to mention some of the factors outside Busoga which contributed equally to the occurrence and escalation of these conflicts. It is sufficient to mention here that these factors and the conflicts they caused (and/or helped to create) have been studied elsewhere in remarkable depth,²³⁶ hence a great attention to their detail need not detain us here.

²³³ Ibid, p. 19.

²³⁴ Ibid, p. 24.

²³⁵ Alternative Service Book quoted in D Cutts, *Welcoming the Bishop*. Bramcote Notts: Grove Books, 28, 1984, p. 5; N Biggar, “Power and Powerlessness”, in D Atkinson (ed.), *Pastoral Ethics*. Oxford: Lynx Communications, 1994, p. 152.

²³⁶ K Ward, “The Church of Uganda Amidst conflict”, pp. 73-82; A B Mujaju, “The Political Crisis of Church institutions in Uganda”, in *African Affairs*, 75, (298), 1976, pp. 76-78

Nonetheless it is important not to forget two presuppositions widely and appropriately advanced in some of these studies. First, the conflicts which the Church of Uganda suffered, especially during the second half of the twentieth century, were partly legacies or 'palimpsests' of the divisive and marginalising policies perpetuated in church and politics during the colonial era. For instance, the preferential treatment which the CMS mission, like the protectorate government and the Roman Catholic missions gave in particular to Buganda, tended to place the church in Buganda in a special and *ipso facto* privileged status. Hence tensions were created and/or fuelled between the church in Buganda and the rest of the church in Uganda, in which the latter justifiably accused the former of seeking to perpetuate dominant and divisive strategies in the church.²³⁷

Second, the conflicts which occurred at different levels in the Church of Uganda generally were microcosms of the complex, post-colonial, multi-faceted and protracted social conflicts²³⁸ which gripped and devastated the religious and socio-political domains in Uganda. Two incidents which show parallels between the expressions of tensions and conflicts in the church and those in the socio-political domain are: the reluctance in the late 1950s of some of the Christians in the northern part of Uganda to be formed, in 1961, together with Christians in the southern part, into a province, on the grounds that the latter, given partly the preferential treatment they had received during the pre-independence era, would limit to themselves the leadership affairs of the church as they did in the political domain;²³⁹ and the demand made by some Christian leaders in Buganda (following the declaration by Leslie Brown in 1963 that he intended to retire as Archbishop and Bishop of Namirembe in order to give way to African leadership)²⁴⁰ that the next Archbishop be a Muganda, leading other ethnic groups to resent the Baganda

²³⁷ D A Low, *Buganda in Modern History*, London: Berkeley, 1971, pp. 167-226; A B Mujaju, "The Political Crisis of Church Institutions in Uganda", p. 68

²³⁸ E E Azar describes protracted social conflicts as deep-seated divisions between, racial, religious, cultural, or ethnic groups, characterised by continuous tensions and sporadic outbreak of violence, and causing numerous frustrations, shortage or absence of security, recognition and distributive justice. "The theory of protracted social conflict and the challenge of transforming conflict situations". Monograph series in *World Affairs*, 20/12, 1983, pp. 81-99; *The Management of Protracted Social Conflict*. Aldershot: Dartmouth, 1990.

²³⁹ Archbishop Fisher of Canterbury, under whose jurisdiction the Church of Uganda suggested that, given the tensions and cleavages among the Christians in Uganda, it would be better for the church there to have two provinces instead of one. This suggestion was opposed by Bishop Usher Wilson of Upper Nile on the grounds that having "two Provinces would perpetuate the division which exists politically" between the northern and southern parts of Uganda. Fisher to Brown, 30th January 1958, LPL, FP, Vol. 210; Usher-Wilson to Fisher, 6th November 1958, 195, LPL, FP, Vol. 210.

²⁴⁰ Archbishop Leslie Brown, "Opening Address to the Assembly by His Grace", September 1964, COU PA; A B Mujaju, "The Political Crisis of Church Institutions in Uganda", p. 69

even more and to accuse them of perpetrating Buganda-centric tendencies in the church and in politics.²⁴¹ I proceed to discuss the second incident, its development and implications in more detail, since they reveal the tensions and the divisive tendencies present in the church as well as in the socio-political domain. They are also partly a basis for understanding how conflicts at the national and provincial levels caused and/or fuelled those in individual dioceses, particularly the Anglican diocese in Busoga.

The 'Church in Buganda' Versus the Church of Uganda

On 7th June 1964, Brown consecrated Dunstan K Nsubuga, a Muganda clergyman, as Assistant Bishop of Namirembe Diocese,²⁴² and on 21st November 1965, he installed him as Bishop of Namirembe.²⁴³ This development was interpreted particularly by the Baganda Christians as a precursor to Nsubuga's enthronement as Archbishop. Nonetheless, they still suspected that Brown, owing to what they had believed to be his past perpetual anti-Buganda stance,²⁴⁴ intended to use his influence to have a non-Muganda appointed as Archbishop. As a result they threatened to secede from the Province if the next archbishop was not a Muganda,²⁴⁵ leaving other ethnic groups to confirm and subsequently regret the insistence of some Baganda that the next primate be chosen mainly on the basis of his ethnic identity.²⁴⁶ However their threats or canvassing did not result in having a Muganda bishop elected as Archbishop. Instead, on 4th January 1966, the House of Bishops elected Erica Sabiti, a Munyankole and bishop of Rwenzori Diocese in western Uganda, as the first African Archbishop of the province.²⁴⁷ It is

²⁴¹ *Uganda Argus*, 13th November 1965; 16th November 1965; and 22nd November 1965.

²⁴² For a brief biography of Nsubuga see W Mande, "An Ethic for Leadership Power...", p. 89

²⁴³ Church of Uganda, Rwanda Burundi and Boga Zaire, "Notable Events in the History of the Province", p. 1; *Uganda Argus*, 22nd November 1965, p. 3.

²⁴⁴ In 1953 Brown, shortly after he was appointed bishop, replaced the phrase 'Kabaka of Buganda' in the prayer book with a more inclusive one, 'President of Uganda'. He also did not (in his capacity as an influential person in Uganda) prevent or oppose Governor Cohen's deportation of Kabaka Muteesa II in 1953, leading many Baganda to accuse him of being anti Buganda, anti Kabaka and pro non Baganda. L Brown, "The Anglican Episcopacy in Africa" in Peter Moore (ed.), *Bishops But What Kind?* London: SPCK, 1982, pp. 136- 140; Z Niringiye, "The Church in the World: A Historical-Ecclesiological Study of the Church of Uganda with Particular Reference to Post-Independence Uganda 1962-1992". PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1998, pp. 137-140; W Mande, "An Ethic of Leadership Power...", pp. 91-92.

²⁴⁵ *Uganda Argus*, 13th November 1965.

²⁴⁶ *Uganda Argus*, 13th November 1965; 16th November 1965; and 22nd November 1965; D. Mudoola, *Religion, Ethnicity and Politics in Uganda*, p. 46. However, it was inadequate, in my view, for the Baganda to view ethnic identity as a basis for election of the next primate, since only three out of the eight bishops who formed the Electoral College were Baganda. Hence, a Muganda candidate would not stand a chance if a primate were to be elected on the basis of 'tribal' identity.

²⁴⁷ Bishop Erica Sabiti was elected Archbishop on 4th January 1966 and installed in Namirembe Cathedral on 25th January 1966. Church of Uganda, "Notable Events in the History of the Province", p. 1.

sufficient to add here that Sabiti was elected not because of his ethnic background or because Brown favoured him, as some Baganda claimed,²⁴⁸ but because he was, evidently, the most experienced pastorally and most qualified in terms of theological education of all the African bishops present at that time in the province.²⁴⁹

Most Christians, especially those who were strongly opposed to having a Muganda archbishop, welcomed the appointment of Sabiti.²⁵⁰ They saw his enthronement as a triumph over the influence and domination of Buganda, and as a milestone in their bid to ensure a firm grip on Namirembe hill, a place which had played a pivotal role in the life and work of the entire province. Conversely several church leaders in Buganda were generally disappointed that a Muganda did not succeed Brown as archbishop.²⁵¹ They felt strongly that by denying them a right to have a Muganda enthroned as archbishop, the province had failed to recognise and appreciate the fact that Buganda was the historical nerve centre of the Church of Uganda.²⁵² Having lost their bid to have a Muganda appointed as archbishop, the Baganda proceeded, in the wake of a subsequent and inevitable battle for Namirembe hill,²⁵³ to ensure that they did not lose to non-Baganda the control over Namirembe hill and cathedral, places that were of as much significance to the Baganda as they were to other Christians in the province.²⁵⁴

With the demise of the monarchy in September 1967, Namirembe remained a salient and visible symbol of Buganda's glory. Any attempt to take over the control of Namirembe

²⁴⁸ A B Mujaju, "The Political Crisis of Church Institutions in Uganda", p. 70

²⁴⁹ Ibid; Z Niringiye, "The Church in the World...", p. 140.

²⁵⁰ Some of the people who were not happy with the appointment of Sabiti included the Baganda, who had wanted a Muganda appointed as Archbishop, and a small group of Christians in his own Diocese of Ankole, who resented him because of his *kilokole* (revivalist) stance and refusal to be actively involved in politics. M Ford, *Janani Luwum: The Making of a Martyr*, London: Marshal, Morgan and Scott, 1978, p. 34.

²⁵¹ P Mutiibwa, *Uganda Since Independence*, p. 67.

²⁵² Z Niringiye, "The Church in the World...", p. 140.

²⁵³ Bishop Dunstan Nsubuga moved into the residence of the Bishop at Namirembe as soon as Archbishop Brown vacated it, to make sure that Archbishop Sabiti did not occupy it. So before the official residence was built for the Primate (with the help of funds from among others USA and the UPC government) Sabiti resided for a short time in the guest wing (servants' quarters) of the bishop's residence at Namirembe. W. Mande, "An Ethic for Leadership Power...", p. 93.

²⁵⁴ The province regarded Namirembe hill as very important hill because on it was (and still is) located the provincial offices, and the official residence of the Archbishop. Also, the throne of the Archbishop was (and still is) situated in Namirembe Cathedral. Buganda, for its part equally regarded the hill to be extremely important to it because besides being located in Buganda, it was (and still is) an important historical and cultural site, the centre of 'Protestant' Christians in Buganda, the place where the main church (Namirembe Cathedral) of the *Kabaka* and the seat (*cathedra*) of the Bishop of Namirembe

was for the Baganda tantamount to inflicting a final blow on their glory and heritage. They worked tirelessly to ensure that the glory of Buganda and of the church in Buganda, as they perceived it, remained firmly enshrined in the symbolic image of Namirembe and of the church in Buganda. Retrospectively they feared that allowing Namirembe to be under the control of Sabiti, a non-Muganda primate, in effect jeopardised the survival and glory of the church in Buganda, and of the entire kingdom. Consequently, they regarded him with suspicion, resented his friendship with President Milton Obote, the sworn enemy of Buganda, and as a result they strongly opposed him and his initiatives of streamlining and modernising the administrative and financial sectors of the church.

This led to the occurrence of the Namirembe Crisis, which affected the church of Uganda at its provincial level for over five years. It was marked, among others, by protests made by the two dioceses in Buganda, *alias* the 'church in Buganda', against the recommendations of the Provinces' Canon Law and Constitution Commission (CLCC) concerning: the procedure for the election of the bishops and the powers of the provincial authorities *vis-à-vis* the constituent dioceses; the ownership and management of church land (including a scheme to form church commissioners); and a proposal to create a metropolitan Diocese of Kampala as the permanent see of the Archbishop of the Province.²⁵⁵ This crisis created new tensions and fuelled existing ones, and resulted among others in the attempts of the 'church in Buganda' to secede from the Church of Uganda. It would have continued unabated had God not used General Idi Amin Dada, a Muslim President of Uganda, to get the Church, through a series of interventional meetings held in 1971,²⁵⁶ to reach a settlement.²⁵⁷

were (and still are) located. The Constitution of the Church of Uganda, Rwanda-Urundi, 1960, Article VII (a); W. Mande, "An Ethic for Leadership Power..." p. 102.

²⁵⁵ COU, *The Bikangaga Report on Church Administration and Finance in Uganda*, April 1969, COU PA; COU, "The Draft Report of the Preliminary Survey of the Church Organisations in Uganda Undertaken by the Director of Corat", 15th – 28th August 1971, p. 2, COU PA; Namirembe Delegation to the Constitutional Consultation Commission, 31st January 1970, COU PA; Namirembe Diocese, "*Obulabirizi bwe Namirembe Buyimiriza Okukolagana N'obussabalabirizi Bwa Uganda Rwanda ne Burundi*", 6th May 1970, p. 3, COU PA. On the details of Namirembe's objection to the Canon law Commission on Canon Law and Constitution *vis-à-vis* the creation of Kampala Diocese see a letter from Namirembe Diocese to the PAE, 29th November 1968, COU PA.

²⁵⁶ One of these was held in June 1971 in Kampala and chaired by Engineer James M Zikusoka, at that time, Minister of Works, Communications and Housing, and member of Namirembe Cathedral. Engineer Zikusoka played a significant role during the Busoga Crisis.

²⁵⁷ For a more detailed study of this crisis see Z Niringiye, 'The Church in the World...' pp. 143-169; W. Mande, "An Ethic for Leadership Power..." pp. 90-93; A B Mujaju, "The Religio-Regional Factor in

The Namirembe Crisis worsened the already precarious relations between Buganda and the rest of the regions in Uganda. It led Christians in other areas to accuse the Baganda Christians of putting their interests before those of the province, in a way that revealed their tendencies to be dominant, divisive and separate. The Christians in Busoga, for instance, were affected by a publication in *Taifa Empya*, by Rev Sengendo, the Diocesan Secretary of Namirembe Diocese, in which he stated that the land on which Namirembe Cathedral was constructed, "... *siryia Kanisa ya Uganda ne Rwanda Burundi naye nti lya Buganda yokka era nti ly'agabibwa Kabaka wa Buganda (sic)*".²⁵⁸ After reading this publication, the parish council of Buwologoma, Luuka concluded that the Namirembe Diocese had disowned the Christians in Busoga, "*kubanga Busoga teri ku ttaka lya Buganda era ne Kabaka tagabanga takka mu Busoga*".²⁵⁹ They went on to disassociate themselves from the Bishop of Namirembe, under whose jurisdiction they fell, declaring their support and allegiance to Sabiti and the Province. Gavani Batwala wrote to Dunstan Nsubuga, the Bishop of Namirembe Diocese, on behalf of the council:

Following the way in which we were, in that document, disowned and rejected, I have written to inform you that we have barred you from church land in Busoga and from performing any episcopal or pastoral duties as our bishop, because we are still united with the Church of Uganda and Rwanda Burundi and we support the Archbishop of Uganda and Rwanda Burundi and all the recommendations approved by the Province of the Church of Uganda and Rwanda Burundi... We, the Basoga, no longer regard you as our Bishop and we thus reject you because you seek to mislead us and to create a rift between us and our brethren in the other nine Dioceses, with whom we are united as the Province of the Church of Uganda and Rwanda Burundi, under the leadership of its Archbishop, Erica Sabiti.²⁶⁰

Attitudes of other ethnic groups towards the Baganda like the one mentioned above underscore the presence of their general and increasing tendencies to view the Baganda with suspicion and disdain, tendencies which were not helped by the continued demands of some Baganda Christian leaders to be dominant, separate and to have a Muganda bishop appointed as Archbishop of the Church of Uganda. This partly explains the

Ugandan Politics" in *Mawazo*, Kampala, 1973, 4, p. 2; "The Political Crisis of Institutions in Uganda"; and K Ward, "The Church of Uganda Amidst Conflict", pp. 73-9.

²⁵⁸ "...does not belong to the Church of Uganda and Rwanda and Burundi, but it belongs only to Buganda and it is the king who gave it to Buganda (translation mine)". *Taifa Empya*, 11th June 1971

²⁵⁹ "Busoga is not part of Buganda and the *Kabaka* does not own land in Busoga (translation mine)". *Taifa Empya*, 11th June 1971.

²⁶⁰ A letter, entitled "*Omukristayo Atangaaza Omulabirizi*", written by Gavani Batwala on behalf of the Christians of Buwologoma Luuka, to Bishop D Nsubuga, Bishop of Namirembe Diocese, 14th June 1971, COU PA (translation mine).

accusations of Christian leaders in Busoga that Baganda bishops had been behind the conflict in Busoga with a view to frustrate Bamwoze's bid for the primacy and make it possible for Nkoyooyo to become the first Muganda primate. I deal with this issue in more detail in the fifth chapter. Meanwhile I address the role and impact of ethnocentrism in the making of bishops and dioceses.

The Creation of 'Tribal' or Regional Dioceses

Evidently, ethnic bias, differences and tensions played (and still play) a significant role in the demarcation of ecclesiastical territories and in the making of bishops in the Church of Uganda, more so than in the Roman Catholic Church, where the final decision on these issues lay generally and unchallengeably in the hands of the Pope and the Vatican.²⁶¹ It was in this respect not unusual in the Church of Uganda for communities at parish levels to use ethnic or regional differences as a basis for demanding to be granted parish status, even when these communities did not have the basic requirements needed before parish status could normally be granted.²⁶² Furthermore, ethnic and regional tensions affected the Church of Uganda so much that many ethnic or regional groups used them, directly and indirectly, as a reason for demanding to be separated from larger dioceses and formed into small ones. Some groups, if not desiring to be formed into separate dioceses, were reluctant to allow a person from another ethnic group to be their bishop. They preferred to have as their bishop a white missionary, partly because they thought such a person would, if appointed, be neutral and acceptable to all the groups in the diocese. For instance, in 1959 a group of Batoro protested against the appointment of Erica Sabiti as

²⁶¹ This does not imply that the Roman Catholic Church was not affected by divisions or conflicts on the basis of ethnic differences. Two of the most publicised conflicts which affected the Roman Catholic Church happened in Gulu and in Kabale dioceses. Some Christians in the Catholic Diocese of Gulu were not happy with that they viewed to be the decision of the Pope to impose foreign church administrators on them. They complained about this situation and intensified their disagreement after Monsignor Luluga, a non-Acholi, was consecrated to be an auxiliary bishop to assist Bishop Kihangire, whose health was failing. They did not want to see Luluga replace Kihangire. They preferred to have an Acholi replace him as bishop. Second, between 1969 and 1994 the Catholic Diocese of Kabale suffered divisions following the appointment of Bishop Halem'Imana a Mufumbira as Bishop of an area occupied predominantly by Bakiga. Some Christians within his diocese accused him of corruption, administrative anomalies and supporting the RPF rebel movement in Rwanda. A conflict erupted in Kabale, resulting in among other things, the resignation of Kihangire in 1994. D Kambere, "The Bakonzo-Rwezururu War 1962-1982: Its Effect in the Growth of the Anglican Church, South Rwenzori Diocese, Kasese District, Uganda". BD dissertation, ATIEA, July 1987, p. 101; P Gifford, *African Christianity: Its Public Role*, London: Hurst and Company, 1998, pp. 123-4.

²⁶² The basic requirements needed before a parish was granted parish status were a manse for the minister and the financial capacity to support the minister. K Ward, "Church of Uganda Amidst Conflict", pp. 93-94.

assistant Bishop of Toro, Bunyoro and Mboga Zaire, on grounds that Sabiti was a Munyankole. They wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury asking to be given an “impartial European Bishop of exemplary character” instead of Sabiti, “a person likely to cause a division in the church”.²⁶³

Moreover, the tendencies of some people in the Church of Uganda to clamour for diocesan status on the basis of ethnic or regional tensions or differences paralleled those in which ethnic or regional groups asked the protectorate and central governments to grant them separate local or district administrations. In the political domain, the active presence of ‘tribal’ administrations tended to aggravate divisions, emphasise differences, engender conflicts and frustrate forging of national unity, beyond ethnic or regional levels.²⁶⁴ Likewise, the Church of Uganda, by allowing dioceses to be formed on the basis of ‘tribal’ lines, resulted in having situations in which some people were rabidly inward-looking, unwilling to unite or work closely together with people beyond their dioceses, ethnic or regional groups, hence frustrating the forging towards a forward-looking and united province.

It is, however, important to add here that the presence of these in-group tendencies in church and politics was not entirely a bad thing. If utilised well and managed constructively they would have helped to concentrate power brokering and constructive competition at diocesan, ethnic, or regional levels; promote decentralisation of power; encourage more people to participate in leadership affairs; and to enhance economic development at these levels. But because these proclivities were in effect divisive, separatist, and inward-looking in stance, they resulted in the interests of ethnic or regional groups being put before those of the province and the nation.²⁶⁵ It is in this respect not surprising to note that partly as a result of these in-group proclivities, the Church of Uganda saw an increasing demand for the creation of dioceses whose boundaries were coterminous with those of ethnic or regional groups. It also suffered from the demand made by many people to be given bishops along the same ‘tribal’ lines,

²⁶³ *Uganda Argus*, dated 22nd December 1959, p. 5. Also, Mbale and Northern Uganda Dioceses welcomed the choice of Charles Usher-Wilson and John Keith Russell respectively as their first bishops (1961-1964). “Notable Events in the History of the Province”, COU PA, p. 8.

²⁶⁴ S Lwanga-Lunyiigo, “The Colonial Roots of Internal Conflict”, p. 31.

²⁶⁵ Y Barongo, “Ethnic Pluralism and Political Centralisation: The Basis of Political Conflict”, in K Rupesinghe, (ed.), *Conflict Resolution in Uganda*. Oslo: International Peace Research Institute, 1989, pp. 64, 70-84.

hence the creation of 'tribal' dioceses and 'tribal' bishops. To understand this phenomenon better, it is imperative to describe briefly the proliferation of dioceses in the church of Uganda, a process in which several ethnic and regional groups asked to be granted a diocesan status and to have one of their local clergy appointed as their bishop.

In 1961, the Province of Church of Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi comprised only eight dioceses.²⁶⁶ Barely seventeen years later, the number of dioceses had skyrocketed to twenty, rising to twenty-seven by the end of 2000. Notably, the emergence of these new dioceses was driven not so much by a corresponding stupendous church growth to the extent that explosion of dioceses was warranted, but rather by a rush to create dioceses in ethnically homogenous regions.²⁶⁷ Archbishop Sabiti, in his charge to the Provincial Assembly held at Mukono in December 1970 expressed his disapproval of a trend in which ethnic and regional groups clamoured to have their own dioceses and their own kind as bishops. He regarded this trend to be regrettable both for the church and for the government, given that the church was supposed to be the champion of national unity. He also observed that although the Church of Uganda was tainted with regional and 'tribalistic' tendencies, it had, nonetheless, struggled to unite the people. There were clear instances in the Church of Uganda that revealed its endeavour "to transcend the divisions of tribe, clan, language, culture and race", divisions which held the church back for many years and frequently, prevented it from doing the work of God. He cited cases when the church, in search of unity, appointed bishops to serve in ethnic groups different from ones to which they belonged.²⁶⁸ Sabiti preferred this trend to the one in which

²⁶⁶ The Diocese of Uganda formed in 1897 out of the Diocese of Eastern Equatorial Africa, was in 1926 divided into two, that is, the Diocese of Uganda and the Diocese of Upper Nile. In 1960 and 1961 both dioceses were subdivided to form eight dioceses (The Diocese of Uganda was divided into the dioceses of Namirembe, West Buganda, Ankole-Kigezi, Rwenzori and Rwanda-Urundi. The Upper Nile diocese was divided into Mbale, Northern Uganda and Soroti). In 1961 the Province of the Church of Uganda Rwanda-Urundi (later renamed Rwanda and Burundi) was inaugurated. Leslie Brown, who was at that time Bishop of Namirembe, was enthroned as the first Archbishop. From this period onwards, the Province saw an increasing clamour of geo-political regions and ethnic groups to be formed into separate dioceses. The first division happened in 1966 when Rwanda-Burundi was divided into two dioceses of Rwanda and Burundi, followed in 1967 by the division of Ankole-Kigezi into Ankole and Kigezi dioceses. In 1969, the Diocese of Northern Uganda was divided further into Northern Uganda (covering a geographical area coterminous with Acholi and Lango ethnic territories) Madi and West Nile Dioceses. COU, *The Bikangaga Report on Church Administration and Finance in Uganda*, April 1969, p. 5; Minute 3/68 of the House of Bishops' meeting held on 16th and 17th October 1968 at the Provincial offices Namirembe; *Bikangaga Report*, 1969, p. 5.

²⁶⁷ K Ward, "The Church of Uganda Amidst Conflict", p. 94.

²⁶⁸ However, from 1981 bishops were translated from dioceses where they served to their home areas. President Milton Obote criticised this development, referring to it as move to 'tribalise' the church at a

dioceses and bishops emerged purely on sectarian lines. For him, it was extremely important for the church to triumph over the increasing parochial trend of creating 'tribal' or regional bishops and dioceses. As a result he challenged the church:

I should like to point out that even in the placing of our Bishops we have sought unity. The Dean of the Province, a Muganda, was for years the Bishop of Soroti. The former Bishop of Ankole comes originally from Rwanda. I myself, Bishop of Rwenzori, come from Ankole. This is a great heritage and we must view with alarm the growing pressure of each tribe to have its own Bishop. Dare the church move backward in a time when the rest of the nation is moving toward greater and greater unity? We must move to a situation where tribe ceases to be a qualification for any church job - particularly that of a Bishop... We must stop thinking simply of my tribe, or my diocese and think of the entire Church and Nation. God is challenging us to think of ourselves as a unified people and to live as a unified people.²⁶⁹

Despite his challenge, several groups continued to demand diocesan status and to have their own kind appointed as their bishops. The following year, in an effort to prevent further premature division of existing dioceses, the Provincial Assembly Executive (PAE) suggested that assistant bishops be appointed in dioceses like Rwenzori, Mbale and Namirembe, which were very large in terms of numbers and space, in order to help some of their areas develop steadily to a level that was worthy to be granted diocesan status. However, Christians in these places refused to settle for anything less than diocesan status as soon as possible. Consequently, in January 1972 the Provincial Assembly, during its meeting, gave in to these demands and granted diocesan status to Busoga, Bunyoro, and Bukedi, a decision, which, as the Provincial Assembly was aware at the time, set a precedent by which other ethnic groups or districts could, if they wanted, demand to be made dioceses.²⁷⁰

To avoid this problem, the assembly adopted "Resolution 22" of the Anglican Consultative Council held at Limuru in 1971, which put in place several guidelines to be

point in time when the nation strived to transcend tribal barriers. K. Ward, "The Church of Uganda Amidst Conflict", p. 94.

²⁶⁹Erica Sabiti, "The Archbishop's Charge to the Church of Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi", Minute 5/70 and Appendix 'B' of the PA, 9th - 11th December 1970, pp. 2 and 6, COU PA. See also *Daily Nation*, 10th December 1970. It is important to add that in 1981 bishops were translated back to their home areas and in their places new ones were created from those localities. K Ward, "The Church of Uganda Amidst Conflict", p. 94.

²⁷⁰Minute 5/72 of the Provincial Assembly (PA) held from 10th to 13th January 1972, COU PA.

followed before granting an area diocesan status.²⁷¹ However, groups in Rwenzori, Ankole-Kigezi, Mbale and other dioceses comprising more than one ethnic or regional group disregarded this resolution, viewing it to be in the way of their struggles against the marginalising and exploitative tendencies of other groups. They pressed on with their demands to be given the right to control their affairs in the church as well as in politics. This resulted in a scenario in which most of these groups mounted agitations marked by separatist, ethnocentric and forceful measures. These agitations, it is important to add, were not limited to the Church of Uganda. They affected other religious groups as much as they did the Anglicans. They were also caused or fuelled by tensions in the religious as well as the socio-political domains. For instance, the resentment of the Bakonzo towards domination, misrule and exploitation of the Batoro resulted in some of them mounting a movement, the Bakonzo-Rwenzururu movement, aimed at stamping out what they viewed as the continued control of the Batoro over their church and political affairs.²⁷²

Also the Bafumbira and the Sabinu claimed that the marginalising tendencies of their neighbours in the religious as well as political sectors necessitated them to demand to be separated from them and formed into separate religious and political entities. As a result, both groups asked to be given separate districts and dioceses.²⁷³ A more detailed study of the process through which the Bakonzo and the Northern Bagisu demanded to be made dioceses deserves to be undertaken here inasmuch as it reveals the coercive, ethnocentric and separatist ways in which this demand was made. It also shows how demands caused and/or resulted in disagreements, tensions and conflicts, and underscores the tendency of the church leadership to mismanage grievances and disputes in the church.

²⁷¹ This resolution advised that a proposed diocese should, (a) be of a size to enable those living in it to feel they belong to a witnessing fellowship", (b) be large enough for it to be seen as the church uniting people of different activities, backgrounds and cultures", (c) "be large enough to engage the bishop fully and small enough for him to have a sufficiently intimate knowledge of his clergy and people", (d) "have sufficient measure of financial and administrative independence and not be so small as to be unable to organise and plan its work effectively", (e) have boundaries coinciding as far as possible with those of the community". Minute 6/72 of the PA held from 10th to 13th January 1972, COU PA.

²⁷² D Kambere, "The Bakonzo-Rwenzururu War 1962-1982...", p. 68.

²⁷³ For more detailed information concerning these two ethnic groups see B Tusiime, "Background to the Creation of a New Diocese of Muhabura in Kisoro Sub-District, Uganda". DipTh dissertation, Makerere University, Kampala, 1987; S R Mftimukiza, "The Origins and Growth of the Anglican Church in Bufumbira Area, Uganda 1912-1980". DipTh dissertation, Makerere University, Kampala,

The Batoro, to begin with, had kept the Bakonzo for a very long time as their subjects. They had marginalised them and exploited them economically. As a result, the Bakonzo mounted the Bakonzo-Rwenzururu movement in order to liberate themselves from the yoke of the Batoro and to stamp out their dominance over them in the socio-political and religious domain. Between 1962 and 1982, the leaders of the movement pressed the members of Church of Uganda in Kasese District to demand a separate diocese of South Rwenzori, despite the fact that the church in the area did not meet the criteria of "Resolution 22". On realising that the diocese of Rwenzori was initially not willing to grant their demand, the Bakonzo resorted to forceful measures in order to get the diocese and the entire province take their demands seriously. These measures included arresting arbitrarily and detaining church workers,²⁷⁴ barring, in 1981, Yonasani Rwakaikara, a Munyoro Bishop of Rwenzori; from visiting South Rwenzori,²⁷⁵ asking churches to withhold indefinitely their financial contribution to Rwenzori Diocese; and ordering priests to dishonour their oath of obedience to the Bishop and Rwenzori Diocese.²⁷⁶ Consequently, Rwenzori Diocese and the province gave in to the pressure of the Bakonzo and on 26th August 1984 the Province separated them from the diocese of Rwenzori and formed them prematurely²⁷⁷ into the diocese of South Rwenzori, an area whose borders were coterminous to those of Kasese District.²⁷⁸

While the diocese of Rwenzori was going through turbulent times, elsewhere, in Mbale Diocese, the Northern Bagisu were agitating to be formed into a separate diocese of North Mbale, thanks largely to the longstanding social, political and religious rivalry between the south and the north. This rivalry escalated so much that it made it difficult for the northerners to remain united with the rest of the Bagisu under any form of umbrella, including a diocese. It was also aggravated by the way in which Akisoferi

1987; *New Century*, September 1992, p. 2; Minute 13/86/iv, of PA, 19th to 22nd August 1986, p. 16, COU PA; P Gifford, *African Christianity: Its Public Role*, London: Hurst and Company, 1998, p. 136.

²⁷⁴ Some of the church workers who were arrested were Revs. Yohana Masereka, Hosea Kiiza and six lay readers. D Kambere, "The Bakonzo-Rwezururu War 1962-1982...", pp. 54-55.

²⁷⁵ The Mutoro Roman Catholic bishop was also asked to leave and not to return to the area controlled by the Rwenzururu movement.

²⁷⁶ Rt. Rev E Kamanyire, *The Bishop's Charge*, made on 26th July 1984, the day he was enthroned as Bishop of Rwenzori Diocese, COU PA. On the violent demand for South Rwenzori Diocese see D Kambere, "The Bakonzo-Rwezururu War 1962-1982...", pp. 54-6

²⁷⁷ At the time the PA granted South Rwenzori with a diocesan status, it did not meet most of guidelines of Resolution 22. For example it did not have a residence for the bishop and a building to serve as the head office for the diocese. D. Kambere, "The Bakonzo-Rwezururu War 1962-1982...", p. 66.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

Wesonga, Bishop of Mbale in particular, mismanaged the northerners' petition to have their archdeaconry of Buhugu separated from Mbale Diocese and formed into the diocese of North Mbale.²⁷⁹ Wesonga responded to their petition in a manner that evidently did not seem to show much sensitivity to the polarisations present in his diocese and in the entire region. On being asked to bless the idea of creating the diocese of North Mbale, Wesonga merely rejected this idea outright, dismissing it as a sinister plan on the part of the northerners to use Christianity to serve their political ambitions, claiming:

The Northerners are not only demanding a diocese, but also a separate district and a separate co-operative union, based in their area. They are using Christianity, which has been a uniting factor to achieve their political intentions.²⁸⁰

Wesonga also accused the group who agitated for a new diocese of seeking to create a rift between the Christians in the diocese, and as a result regarded it as his responsibility to frustrate any divisive tendencies in his diocese. He invited into his office Mr R G Masaaba and other people who spearheaded the clamour for a separate diocese. But instead of addressing them pastorally and as their father-in-God, he treated them as if they were before a tribunal, accusing them of creating chaos in his diocese. He also refused to include the issue on the agenda of the Mbale Synod held on 23rd April 1982, insisting that he had made his final ruling on the same in February 1982.

But faced with increased pressure from the north, Wesonga and Archbishop Silvanus Wani met, in 1982 on separate occasions with the Christians of Buhugu and advised them on the proper channels to follow in asking to be granted a diocesan status. This led some of these Christians to conclude, inaccurately that Wesonga, who had been initially and resolutely opposed to the demand for a separate diocese, had now changed his mind and supported the idea. However, others suspected that the prelate was merely bluffing or playing delaying tactics, and as a result urged caution in the way the northerners related to him. Undeterred by these suspicions, the organising committee for the new diocese embarked on the task of putting in place some of the requirements needed before a diocese could normally be granted. They also asked the Christians to raise the funds

²⁷⁹ R G Masaaba to Wesonga, 19th September 1981, COU PA. For a detailed study of the schism in Mbale Diocese, see S F M Nambobi, "The Schism Within the Anglican Diocese of Mbale, Church of Uganda: An Analysis of the Background and Development". BD dissertation, ATIEA, 1985.

²⁸⁰ A Wesonga, quoted in S. F. M. Nambobi, "The Schism Within the Anglican Diocese of Mbale, Church of Uganda...", p. 29. This accusation was rejected by the organising committee of North Mbale Diocese. Organising Committee of North Mbale Diocese to Wesonga, 29th August 1982, COU PA.

needed to meet the cost of creating a new diocese. Meanwhile, Wesonga, on realising that the northerners were determined and unrelenting in their demand for a new diocese, called a meeting of all the clergy in the diocese. During this meeting Wesonga castigated the clergy in Buhugu Archdeaconry for being involved in the preparation for the North Mbale Diocese, reiterated his decision not to bow to the pressure from the northerners and denied that he had ever accepted the demand for the creation of a separate diocese of North Mbale.

As a result, the northerners doubted the integrity and honesty of Wesonga, wrote a letter to him and copied it to Wani, accusing him (Wesonga) of being inconsistent in the way he dealt with their demands and grievances, resolving to sever their relations with him and with Mbale Diocese and declaring themselves unconstitutionally as a new diocese of North Mbale with effect from 29th August 1982. Wani, in the reply to his copy, informed the northerners that their diocese was not recognised because it had not been formed through the proper church procedures. He urged them to channel their demands and grievances in constitutional and peaceful ways, “not to go *ultra vires*, but to co-operate with their bishop and the Mbale Diocesan Synod”,²⁸¹ the two organs through which their demands would be pastorally and constitutionally addressed. Wani in effect informed the northerners that there was only one channel through which complaints and grievances could be addressed in the church, that is through the decision-making organs and processes of the church. Any prospect of dealing with disputes and grievances outside these channels was in effect virtually unthinkable.

The northerners viewed this directive to be unacceptable because they could not channel their problems through Wesonga, a prelate in whom they had no confidence and who they viewed to be part of their problems. Moreover Wesonga’s close relationship with President Milton Obote, a Head of State who was widely and appropriately viewed as a dictator, and his (Wesonga’s) alleged manipulation of the organs of the state to torture clergy who, in addition to being northerners, supported the demand for creation of North Mbale,²⁸² all increased the northerners’ resentment towards him, and as a result

²⁸¹ Archbishop Silvanus Wani to G Gimugu, Chairman of Organising Committee, Proposed North Mbale Diocese, 29th August, 1982, COU PA.

²⁸² It is alleged that at the instigation of Wesonga, Mwonjo was evicted from the church manse in Butandiga Parish. Also in 1983, Wesonga defrocked Mwonje together with three other clergy, Nabugoomu, Watawa and Sakwa, on the grounds of being disobedient to him and of inciting Christians

aggravated the conflict in the diocese. The northerners, in the absence of political support similar to that which Wesonga had, resorted to employing coercive tactics like depriving Mbale Diocese of their financial contribution (that is, 35% of the diocese's local income); refusing to accept delegates and officials from the diocesan office; and barring Wesonga from carrying out pastoral duties in the northern part of his diocese.²⁸³ They also turned down the invitation to hold meetings at the diocesan offices with the delegation sent to them by the House of Bishops and other provincial authorities,²⁸⁴ insisting that they would only meet with them in Buhugu Archdeaconry.

Bishop Wesonga and Archbishop Yona Okoth, Wani's successor, refused to meet with the northerners at Buhugu, arguing that doing so would appear as if they endorsed their demand for a separate diocese. But they accepted the idea of setting up among other interventional measures, a fact-finding committee to investigate the grievances of the group and to devise the best ways of dealing with them within the constitutional channels of the church.²⁸⁵ Partly as a result of this committee's work, the groups held a reconciliatory meeting, during and as a result of which they regretted having been divided amongst themselves; emphasised the need for reconciliation and peaceful resolution of their differences; acknowledged the importance of forgiveness, unity and team work for effective service to God;²⁸⁶ and agreed to form the northern part of Mbale into a separate diocese on 26th March 1992,²⁸⁷ hence resolving the conflict in an amicable and effective manner. However, the fruitful agitation of the northerners encouraged groups in Busoga and in other places to make similar demands, with the hope that they too would succeed in attaining control over their own church affairs.

It is therefore sufficient to conclude that dissident and schismatic tendencies affected Mbale Diocese and several dioceses in the province. They caused and/or resulted in the

to rebel against him. However these clergy disregarded their dismissal and continued to perform their pastoral duties. S F M Nambobi, "The Schism Within the Anglican Diocese of Mbale, Church of Uganda...", p. 43.

²⁸³ K Ward, "The Church of Uganda Amidst Conflict", p. 94.

²⁸⁴ One of the delegations sent to Mbale comprised Bishop Yokana Mukasa of Mityana Diocese, Bishop G Ilukor of Soroti Diocese, Rev B Kitembo, the chairman House of Clergy, and Mr John Bikangaga, the chairman House of Laity. Minute 5/83 of the Provincial Assembly Standing Committee (PASC) meeting, 20th May 1983, COU PA.

²⁸⁵ This committee comprised of Bishop Yoramu Bamunoba (Chairman), Rev B. Kitembo (Secretary) and Dr Y. Kahirimbanyi (Member)

²⁸⁶ *New Century*, April 1992, p. 1.

²⁸⁷ Minute 13/86 of the PA, 19th to 22nd August 1986, p. 16, COU PA.

creation of dioceses which were not viable economically or spiritually,²⁸⁸ leading their bishops to appeal for financial and other material donations for their dioceses from friends abroad. In addition, some bishops failed to account satisfactorily for these donations, resulting in their being widely accused, inside and outside their dioceses, of misappropriating church funds and property. Busoga Diocese was one such diocese in which these accusations were made against Bamwoze, in ways and with implications which were arguably unrivalled in the history of the province. Besides, as in Mbale Diocese, the ways in which Bamwoze and other diocesan and provincial officials handled these accusations generally did not help to resolve the problems in the diocese. In fact, they aggravated the tensions and conflicts there even further.

The most devastating of these conflicts were commonly known as the Iganga Diocesan Crisis (1984-1988) and the Busoga Crisis (1992-2000). They occurred and escalated in Busoga, a region which was, like many others, not unused to conflicts and disasters, one which had suffered widely and intermittently from (and as a result of) in-group proclivities, natural and human-made disasters, condescending, isolationist and fragmentary politics, misrule and misappropriation of funds and property. These conflicts seriously affected the life, work and image of the church in Busoga and beyond. They underscored a disturbing inability of the church at all its levels to deal effectively with these and other internal grievances, differences and disagreements. They made it imperative for the Church of Uganda to reform its administrative and organisational policies and structures in a way that encouraged, among other things, more participation of all its members in the decision-making organs and processes. Finally, they challenged the Church to put in place constructive measures of managing grievances and conflicts. To understand these and other issues better, it is necessary to devote the succeeding section of this study largely to the tensions, grievances and conflicts in Busoga Diocese, discussing their immediate causes, their development, their impact, and the ways in which they were managed and/or mismanaged.

²⁸⁸ *New Century*, August 1991, p. 4; May 1992, p. 2.

CHAPTER THREE
TENSIONS IN THE NASCENT PERIOD OF
BUSOGA DIOCESE AND THE IGANGA
'DIOCESAN' CRISIS (1972 -1988)

There are some people who, because of reasons best known to themselves, do not desire to see Busoga united. Let them wait for their time. Meanwhile, they should leave us alone to build the Diocese of Busoga. If they want to divide Busoga into separate parts, then they should wait for their regime. The division of Busoga into separate parts is not part of the duties that God has shown us and therefore, we will not do it.¹

In this chapter, I discuss the causes, course and consequences of the conflicts that raged during the first sixteen years of the existence of Busoga Diocese. I mention the initial conflicts in the diocese and the ways in which they were (or were not) addressed. I examine the efforts of Bishop Bamwoze to develop his diocese and the entire region of Busoga, and also discuss the disputes that emerged within the diocese partly as a result of his development programmes. I analyse the manner and the extent to which Bishop Bamwoze, his supporters and 'antagonists' dealt with the tensions and conflicts which emerged and flourished in the diocese. I discuss the early conflicts which affected the diocese, showing that they were not caused by doctrinal disagreements between Christians, but by a combination of many historical and immediate disagreements and disputes. I show that some of these disagreements and disputes had started in small ways, resulting, amongst other things, in many Christians becoming disillusioned and angry. Furthermore, I discuss the ways in which these conflicts, given the general absence of constructive conflict management strategies, escalated and turned malevolent, leading, amongst other effects, to the solidifying of dissident groups and the first attempt, in July 1987, by a group of Christians to secede from Busoga Diocese.

In the last section of this chapter, I reflect on the presence and impact of the conflicts which raged in the diocese. I parallel, in particular, the conflicts in Iganga and Namutumba archdeaconries with the largely ethnically motivated conflicts which occurred elsewhere in the province in order to show that the problems in Busoga were, in many respects, similar to those which happened elsewhere in the province. I allude to the

¹ Cyprian K Bamwoze, "Okwogera kw'omulabirizi wa Busoga eri Sinodi y'obulabirizi ey'okuna, mu lutuula lwayo olusooka e Kamuli nga 24th April 1986 (translation mine)", p. 4, Busoga Diocesan Archives (BDA).

authoritarian tendencies of Cyprian Bamwoze, Bishop of Busoga, and of Akisoferi Wesonga, Bishop of Mbale, which were unleashed during the conflicts that flourished in their respective sees. The necessity to understand and subsequently address the place of these authoritarian tendencies compelled me to end this chapter with a brief historical study of the authoritarian tendencies in the episcopacy of the Church of Uganda.

EARLY CRACKS WITHIN THE DIOCESE

A Bishop for all the People in Busoga

On 13th August 1972, Cyprian Kikunyi Bamwoze was enthroned at Bugembe amidst tremendous jubilation as the Bishop of Busoga Diocese. People from all over Busoga flocked to Bugembe to witness this historical occasion and to acclaim their first bishop. At last the Basoga were given their own bishop and the powers to direct their own internal church affairs. Or were they?

Soon after his enthronement, Bamwoze embarked on the task of establishing the diocesan headquarters² and of promoting a stable and harmonious co-existence within his diocese. Within one year of its inception, the leadership of Busoga Diocese, unlike those of some already existing dioceses,³ had set up functional head offices, where they managed the pastoral, administrative and financial affairs of the diocese. But Bamwoze's task of uniting his people beyond county and clan prejudices was not easy. It was hindered partly by the fact that Bamwoze, being a Mugabula, was associated with the Bagabula hegemony in Busoga, who had dominated the local government of Busoga between 1949 and 1967. Hence, many non-Bagabula viewed him with suspicion and had little confidence in him. The only way to win their support was by pursuing pastoral and leadership strategies which did not perpetuate (or fall prey to) past polarisations.

² Following the expulsion of the Asian community by President Idi Amin Dada, Bishop Bamwoze requested the government to permit the diocese to use the buildings located on church land vacated by the departed Asians. On being granted permission, the diocese turned one of these buildings in Jinja town (located on the Main Street, Plot Number 59) into the diocesan headquarters. Bamwoze to the Permanent Secretary for Religious Affairs, "Request for Permission to Use Vacant Houses on Church land in Jinja Town", 4th January 1973, BDA; Keesi Kyaligonza Adyeri, Information Officer and Estates Manager to all the clergy and Christians in Busoga Diocese, "*Office Empya Egulibwaawo mu Jinja*", 24th January 1974, BDA.

³ Church of Uganda (COU), *Survey of the Administration and Finance of the Church of Uganda*. Section 1/21, 12. Namirembe: Uganda Bookshop Press, 1969, p. 14.

Bamwoze showed, in his initial action of appointing Venerable Silas Wekiya,⁴ from Iganga, as the first Diocesan Secretary, that he was determined to transcend the county and clan prejudices which characterised the church and politics in Busoga and beyond. Nonetheless, he had to do a lot more than appoint a non-Mugabula to the second most important office in the diocese, in order to win the trust of most people. He had to prove to them practically, with his life and actions, that he had the capacity to be a bishop to all the Basoga regardless of their counties of origin or whether they liked him or not. Meanwhile, some Christians in the diocese continued to behave in ways which not only frustrated his efforts, but also revealed lack of respect for him. In 1972, for instance, shortly after he was enthroned bishop, a group of eight Christians in Busowoko in Jinja District, seized church land in their area and changed the name of the sub-grade school built on it, from Busowoko Church of Uganda Primary School to Nawampanda Parents' School. They also barred Rev Andrew Kizza and a supervisor of sub-grade schools in the diocese from carrying out pastoral and administrative activities in the school.⁵ This problem was later settled, in favour of the church, after the intervention of government officials.

Again, in August 1973, a group of Christians of Namalemba Church of Uganda in Iganga, led by Mr E M Kibedi, rejected Canon Kidaga and a lay reader assigned to the church. They wrote to Bamwoze, asking him to send them elsewhere and replace them with others. Kibedi demanded rather provocatively in a letter to Bamwoze on behalf of the group, "*Ye ssebo Kitaffe mu Katonda lwaki tomweraga nti oli muzira nnyo okukyusa Kidaga no mubulizi ono mangu (sic)?*"⁶ Again, Bamwoze succeeded, through his diocesan officials, in pacifying this group. As a result, Kidaga and the lay reader were not

⁴ Rev. Canon Silas Wekiya was an unsuccessful aspirant for the office of Bishop. He was also viewed by most Christians in the diocese as relatively more experienced pastorally and more educated (theologically) than Bamwoze. Interview with Rev Henry Naluswa, 4th June 1999.

⁵ In 1957, Mr Gaiso donated this land to the church. Seven of the eight members of this group included W Mbagambi, Y Lwanga, S Mawerere, A Kigenyi, Y Makonzi, B Bawaya and B Kalenzi, the headmaster of the school. Kamu Guina to the Permanent Secretary, Department for Religious Affairs, 30th August 1973, COU PA; E M K Kuchope, Permanent Secretary for Religious Affairs to C Bamwoze, "Dispute Over Church Land in Your Diocese", 30th August 1973, BDA. It is important, however, to mention that it was common for people to occupy church land, resulting in the church in Busoga filing several lawsuits against people who had encroached its land. COU, *Survey of the Administration and Finance of the Church of Uganda*, pp. 64-65; Interview with Samuel Kafuko, 10th September 1999.

⁶ "Sir, our father-in-God, why don't you prove to Him that you are brave enough to transfer Kidaga and this lay preacher quickly?", (translation mine). E M Kibedi to Bamwoze, "*Okwanukula ebaluwa eyo*", 29th October 1973, BDA. Kibedi was responding to a letter written to Bamwoze by Erukana Kirunda,

transferred from Namalembe. So, barely one year after Bamwoze was enthroned bishop, defiant or dissident elements had emerged within the diocese. Kibedi, mentioned above, one of the Christians who had demanded a bishop of Busoga, now wrote to the same bishop, provocatively demanding that he prove his worth by transferring a clergyman whom some of the Christians disliked. It was not unusual for some Christians in Busoga to write demanding letters to church leaders, since, as I showed in the previous chapter, some of them were already disposed to sending memoranda to church and civic leaders. But the contents of Kibedi's letter, written barely thirteen months after Bamwoze was enthroned, I suspect, must have irked Bamwoze. Here was Kibedi, an ordinary Christian audacious enough to challenge the bishop to do something which the bishop himself did not initiate or agree with.

In my opinion, this development was symptomatic of a growing tendency by some people to challenge what they felt to be irregularities within the church. Two major factors made this situation possible. First, the long drawn-out struggles for political independence of Uganda and the subsequent and rampant protests unleashed against the first (1962-1971) tyrannical government of Milton Obote, all fine-tuned the capacity of the many ordinary people to contest the comfort and irregularities of their civic and church leaders.⁷ Secondly, the dawn of political independence of Uganda in 1962 saw the beginning of a decline (though not necessarily a demise) in the influence of the Anglican bishops in Uganda. Their power and influence within the religio-political domain declined to the extent that a daring albeit ordinary person like Kibedi could take a bishop to task without suffering devastating consequences in return. The fact, therefore, that such a scenario was happening in the church should have alerted Bamwoze and other bishops that the signs of the times necessitated, not least within the church, that bishops take cognisance of disgruntled and disruptive voices lest they face resentment and opposition.

the Head of Laity Namalembe Parish, expressing his and other Christians' support for Venerable Kidaga and the unnamed lay preacher, 17th August 1972, BDA.

⁷ During the pre-independence era, the Anglican bishop ranked third in status and influence. Above him was the *Kabaka* and at the top was the Governor. He was given a place of honour at the opening of the parliament. He sat together with the Archbishop of the Roman Catholic Church and the Chief Mufti of the Muslims. But when this structure was dismantled after independence he lost his place in the social and political structure, a position he had inherited from the colonial times and had accepted as of right.

It is important to note that the two groups cited above held disputes with the church or with specific church workers, but not directly with Bamwoze, although he was bound to get involved, as he did, by virtue of his office. Bamwoze's involvement in these cases therefore was not because he was directly accused of any wrongdoing. But still the role he played as a father-in-God was crucial in preventing the flourishing of discontent in the early stages of his episcopacy. It was, however, as a result of two disputes which raged later in Busoga Diocese from 1976 that the personal character of Bamwoze and his administrative style began to be seriously called to account. One was between Bamwoze and Keesi Kyaligonza Adyeri, an employee of the diocese, and the other was between Bamwoze and the Christians of Christ's Cathedral Bugembe, following the closure of their school. I describe and comment on each of these events separately.

The Termination of the Services of Mr Keesi Kyaligonza Adyeri

Keesi Kyaligonza Adyeri, a Mutoro in terms of ethnicity, worked for Busoga Diocese between 1973 and 1975 as a diocesan youth leader, information officer, and, for a short time, as the Diocesan Estates Manager.⁸ Like other employees of the diocese, Kyaligonza had not received a letter of appointment or a job description.⁹ Early in 1975, Bamwoze relieved him of his duties as Estates Manager and assigned them to Nathan Kagoda, a land surveyor by profession,¹⁰ leaving Kyaligonza in charge of the diocesan information office and the relatively less demanding youth office. After working for eighteen months, Kyaligonza's relationship with Bamwoze and some of the staff members in the secretariat started to deteriorate. He was accused by the bishop and the other staff of several things, such as misusing the telephone in his office, misappropriating diocesan funds,¹¹ inducing the government officials to deport Rev John Holden, the vicar of St Andrew's Church, Jinja¹² and revealing to John Burrows, the Provincial Auditor, the diocesan budget of 1974, which some of the diocesan officials had deliberately withheld

L Brown, "The Anglican Episcopacy in Africa" in Peter Moore (ed.), *Bishops But What Kind?* London: SPCK, 1982, pp. 136, 173.

⁸ Kyaligonza to all the clergy and Christians in Busoga Diocese, 24th January 1974, BDA.

⁹ Kyaligonza to Bamwoze, "Diocesan Information Post and Conditions of Service", Ref. CA/BD/INF/YD/5/75, 18th February 1975, Wangola's special collection; S E Obonyo, the Provincial Labour Officer, Busoga Province to the Permanent Secretary, Minister of Labour, Ref. M/CONF/1, 29th December 1975, p. 1, Wangola's special collection.

¹⁰ Interview with N Kagoda, 3rd September 1999.

¹¹ Kyaligonza to Bamwoze, "Diocesan Information Post and Conditions of Service", p. 2, BDA.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

from him.¹³ Furthermore, his furtive association with government security officials and his unexplained disappearances from the office for long periods of time led Bamwoze and other staff members to mistrust him and to suspect that he was a government informer.¹⁴

On 18th February 1975, Kyaligonza wrote to Bamwoze complaining about this treatment. He also took up with him other issues that concerned him personally as a staff member.¹⁵ In the same letter, Kyaligonza daringly pointed out to Bamwoze what he felt to be the evils which affected the secretariat. These, according to him, included internal strife, rumour mongering, corruption, mud slinging, tribalism and favouritism. He claimed that these problems were caused by the 'closed' administrative style of Bamwoze and its ramifications such as patronage, intrigue, secrecy and manipulation. He suggested, as a solution to these problems, the establishment of an administrative structure that was transparent, interactive and cordial.¹⁶

Kyaligonza's letter, given its critical stance, created more problems for him. The staff members who read it accused him of acting like an expatriate invited to save the diocese from 'corruption and backwardness', while Bamwoze detested his attempt to instruct him on how to run the diocese. On 17th July 1975, as a result partly of the strained relations, Bamwoze relieved Kyaligonza of his duties as a diocesan worker. He asked him to return all church property and to vacate the church premises with immediate effect. He also instructed the Diocesan Treasurer to pay him an equivalent of two month's salary. Also, two days after his dismissal, two members of staff broke into Kyaligonza's residence, allegedly with the sanction of a top official in the diocese, and retrieved church property

¹³ Obonyo to the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Labour, Ref. M/CONF/1, 29th December 1975, p. 2, BDA.

¹⁴ Interview with N Kagoda, 3rd September 1999.

¹⁵ He reminded him that, like other staff members, he had not received his letter of appointment. He requested Bamwoze to clarify to him as to whether he worked, as it appeared to be, as a permanent youth/ voluntary information officer or, as he believed, as a permanent youth/ information officer. He also sent to him a specimen appointment letter for consideration in case he needed one. He sought further his assurance that the diocese would pay for all the services he rendered as a church worker, and that it would also pay him all the arrears that accrued to him since the time he started working for the diocese. Kyaligonza to Bamwoze, "Diocesan Information Post and Conditions of Service", p. 1, BDA.

¹⁶ Kyaligonza to Bamwoze, p. 1.

they found in the house.¹⁷ Kyaligonza interpreted this act and his dismissal as disgraceful and unjustified.¹⁸ His efforts to apologise to Bamwoze for any wrong he might have committed were unsuccessful. After failing to get Bamwoze to re-consider his decision to dismiss him, Kyaligonza reported his grievances to the Permanent Secretary, Department of Religious Affairs and to the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Labour,¹⁹ who in turn asked Mr Obonyo, the Provincial Labour Officer, Busoga Province, to handle them.

I am inclined to agree with Kyaligonza that he was disgracefully and unjustifiably dismissed.²⁰ His work, which involved fieldwork as well as office work, youth work and information work, did not limit him to any place or schedule. Like other staff members, Kyaligonza had not been given a job description, hence he did not have any terms of employment or working schedule to which he was required to adhere. It is also possible that Kyaligonza exploited, in his favour, the loopholes mentioned above, in the diocese's employment policy. Even if that was the case, Bamwoze should not have dismissed him. Instead he should have reprimanded him and then initiated the necessary reforms in the diocese's employment policy. He should also have been lenient to him, remorseful as he (Kyaligonza) was, as Obonyo succinctly commented:

... tolerance would have been expected of a clergyman in the rank of a bishop, who, as Chairman of the Staff Board, should have advised the Board to take a more lenient view, considering that, as Mrs Bameka said, the complainant apologised to him in the presence of the Board members for any offence he [the complainant] might have committed.²¹

After failing to get Bamwoze re-employ Kyaligonza, Obonyo again tried in vain to get him to pay Kyaligonza his arrears and to give him a letter of recommendation.²² Bamwoze even failed (or is it refused?) to respond to the letters, which Obonyo and

¹⁷ Kyaligonza to the Permanent Secretary, Department of Religious Affairs, Presidents Office (copy to Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Labour), 7th and 20th August 1975. See also Obonyo, Provincial Labour Officer, Busoga Province to the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Labour, p. 4, BDA.

¹⁸ *Uganda Gazette*, 68/38, 5th September 1975, Industrial Court Case No. 5 of 1975, BDA. On being appropriately advised by an official from the Ministry of Labour, Kyaligonza accused the bishop and diocese of having his services disgracefully terminated. Obonyo, Provincial Labour Officer, Busoga Province to the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Labour, pp. 1, 5, BDA.

¹⁹ Kyaligonza to the Permanent Secretary, Department of Religious Affairs, Presidents Office (copy to Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Labour), 7th and 20th August 1975, BDA.

²⁰ In expressing his disapproval of the dismissal of Kyaligonza, Obonyo said, "By any standard of fair judgement, termination of service in this case was completely out of proportion to the offence which was alleged to have been committed by the complainant...", Obonyo to the Permanent Secretary, Minister of Labour, p. 7, BDA.

²¹ Obonyo to the Permanent Secretary, Minister of Labour, p. 7, BDA.

²² *Ibid*, pp. 3, 6-7. See also Obonyo to Bamwoze, Ref. M/CONF/40/1, 15th October 1975, COU PA.

others²³ wrote to him. Consequently, Obonyo compiled a report on the case of Kyaligonza and forwarded it to the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Labour. The Permanent Secretary, in turn, wrote to Bamwoze and asked him to do four things: to give all the employees in the Secretariat letters of appointment; to pay, through his office, the accumulative leave of two months for Kyaligonza; to frame out a testimonial letter certifying the period Kyaligonza worked for the diocese, and the posts he had held until termination of his services; and to send this letter to the Permanent Secretary for onward transmission to Kyaligonza”.²⁴

One can only forgive the supposition of this civil servant that Bamwoze could be easily coerced into doing anything against his will. Two months after his letter, the Permanent Secretary had still received no response from Bamwoze or from any other official in the diocese. Not discouraged by Bamwoze’s apparent silence, the Permanent Secretary sent him a reminder.²⁵ One month later, the Diocesan Treasurer wrote to the Permanent Secretary stating rather perplexingly, that Kyaligonza had not applied for leave and as a result, forfeited his pay. The diocese, he concluded, “had no justification whatsoever for paying any money to Kyaligonza in lieu of leave”.²⁶ On receiving this letter,²⁷ the Permanent Secretary felt that it was unacceptable for Kyaligonza to forfeit his leave pay on the basis that he had not applied for it. He insisted that he was entitled to it and therefore did not have to apply for it. Left with no other option, the Permanent Secretary filed a civil suit in a court of law against Bamwoze.²⁸

Meanwhile, Tumubweinee, the acting Permanent Secretary, Department of Religious Affairs pleaded with Archbishop Janani Luwum to intervene, to save the image of the

²³ The Permanent Secretary, Department of Religious Affairs, Presidents Office to Kyaligonza, Ref. CRA/192, 12th August 1975; Obonyo to Bamwoze, Ref. M/CONF/40/1, 15th October 1975, COU PA.

²⁴ The Permanent Secretary, Minister of Labour to Bamwoze, Ref: M/CONF/40(ii), 5th March 1976, COU PA.

²⁵ The Permanent Secretary, Minister of Labour to Bamwoze, Ref. M/CONF/40, 12th May 1976, COU PA.

²⁶ Tumubweinee to Archbishop Luwum, p. 3, COU PA.

²⁷ A copy of this letter was sent to Mrs C. W Tumubweinee, the Permanent Secretary, Department of Religious Affairs. She replied to it, stating, like the Permanent Secretary, Minister of Labour, that the decision not to pay Kyaligonza his money was not acceptable. She pleaded with the Bishop to settle Kyaligonza’s case in a “religious spirit of love and forgiveness” so that it would not take unnecessary and embarrassing dimensions. Tumubweinee to Bamwoze, Ref: CRA/192, 30th June 1976, COU PA.

²⁸ Tumubweinee to Luwum, Ref: CRA/192, 23rd July 1976, p. 2, COU PA.

church from being tarnished by a civil suit.²⁹ But what Tumubweinee probably did not know was that it was not possible for the primate to intervene in the capacity, as she desired, of an *episcopus episcoporum*, because according to the Provincial Constitution, Luwum was a *primus inter pares*,³⁰ and was therefore not allowed to ‘meddle’ in the internal affairs of a diocese over which he was not the incumbent bishop.³¹ He could intervene in a diocesan dispute only at the request of a synod or a diocesan council and with the full consent of an incumbent bishop, or, as he did in the case of Kyaligonza, give pastoral advice to the bishop concerned.³² Following Luwum’s pastoral conversation with Bamwoze, the latter instructed his Diocesan Treasurer to pay, through the Permanent Secretary, the money that the diocese owed to Kyaligonza.³³ But he still refused to give Kyaligonza a letter of recommendation.³⁴ Luwum encouraged Kyaligonza to abandon his demand for a testimonial letter from Bamwoze and to use the one he had received from Yonasani Rwakaikara, Bishop of Rwenzori, to look for another job, which he did, hence, bringing an end to a case which, though had small beginnings, developed rapidly into a saga.

The circumstances surrounding Bamwoze’s dismissal of Kyaligonza left a poignant mark on the rest of the diocesan staff. It became clear to them that their own fate as employees of the diocese was in the hands of Bamwoze. It was as easy for him to employ as to dismiss any person, hence, entrenching the problem of patronage in the secretariat even further. It also became evident to some other people in the diocese³⁵ who learnt of this

²⁹ Tumubweinee informed and simultaneously pleaded with the prelate, “as you will note, Your Grace, the contemplated court action to be taken against the Bishop of Busoga will not only mar the good name of the new Diocese of Busoga, but will in the long run affect the whole church of Uganda. I have already informed the Bishop of Busoga about the contemplated legal action by the Ministry of Labour against him and the implications involved if the case of Mr Kyaligonza is not settled by peaceful means. But it seems the Bishop is playing it cool when the envisaged consequences of such court action may spoil the good name of the whole Church of Uganda... Your Grace, the case of Mr Kyaligonza should not be allowed to take unnecessary dimensions, when in actual fact, [it] could be solved in the religious spirit of love and forgiveness. I am requesting Your Grace, to immediately intervene in the matter and find a peaceful solution to the case of Mr Kyaligonza”. Tumubweinee to Luwum, p. 2, COU PA.

³⁰ He was a first among equals, but not an *episcopus episcoporum* as in the case of the Pope.

³¹ Also, the provincial head office could not interfere in the internal affairs of a diocese, since it was functionally viewed *vis-à-vis* as merely a co-ordinating, advisory and consultative organ. Article 9(a) of the *Provincial Constitution of the Church of Uganda*, 1972.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ S J Lukandwa to the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Labour, Ref. FIN. 2/1, 30th July 1976, COU PA; Tumubweinee wrote to Luwum, confirming that Kyaligonza had received his money and thanked him for his efforts. CRA/192, 11th August 1976, COU PA.

³⁴ Kyaligonza to Luwum, “Your letter dated 26th July 1976”, 18th August 1976.

³⁵ Interview with C B Nambogo, 19th July 1999.

case that Bamwoze, barely three years after his enthronement, had already instituted a tight control over the secretariat to the extent that any worker who dared to criticise his governance would lose his or her job. They also felt, appropriately in my view, that Bamwoze's incessant refusal to co-operate with people who sought for an amicable settlement to the case of Kyaligonza revealed his authoritarian and arrogant tendencies.³⁶

The Closure of the Lubiri Diocesan School

At the same time as the case of Kyaligonza was raging, the Parish Council of Christ's Cathedral Bugembe was also battling without much success against the bishop's decision to close their inadequately facilitated sub-grade school,³⁷ which had an annual average of one hundred pupils. For Bamwoze, the school, located on Bugembe hill, was in the way of the long-term plan, which he and the planning and development committee of the diocese intended for the hill. He preferred that if there was to be a school on the hill at all, it had to be a small nursery school. Consequently, in July 1974, he asked the Parish Council through Rev James Kitamirike, their vicar, to close the school at the end of the year and to transfer the children to Nakanyonyi Primary School, also owned by the church, situated barely a mile away from the cathedral.³⁸

This decision astounded the council. They complained that their maiden bishop³⁹ had not consulted them before making it. They feared that closing the school would affect many people and also damage the witness of the church in Bugembe. Furthermore, there was on Bugembe hill a classroom block under construction using money raised locally by Christians and parents of the children in the school. The closure of the school within barely six months, as the bishop wanted, implied that the construction of this building had to be abandoned forthwith. It also necessitated the council to undertake the unenviable task of communicating the bishop's decision and its implications to all the people concerned. The council held several discussions on this issue.⁴⁰ After careful

³⁶ Interviews with C B Nambago, 19th July 1999; N Kagoda, 3rd September 1999.

³⁷ By definition, a sub-grade school is started by a local community in order to meet the educational needs of their children. It is not supported by the government and usually suffers from shortages of personnel, financial and other material needs.

³⁸ Minute 7/74 of Christ's Cathedral Bugembe Parish Council, 4th July 1974, BDA.

³⁹ The term 'maiden bishop' is commonly used in Busoga to refer to Bamwoze as the first bishop of Busoga diocese.

⁴⁰ Some members preferred not to close the school but to transfer it to another place and suggested that the bishop be requested to help them acquire another site for the school. Others felt that the school should

consideration of the matter, it asked Kitamirike to write to the prelate, requesting him to allow the school to continue at least on a temporary basis until such a time when proper arrangements for its closure were finalised.⁴¹ The bishop, after receiving Kitamirike's letter, postponed the closure of the school to the end of 1975.⁴² He wrote to Kitamirike informing him that the school would not be closed at once, but in phases. He also asked him to invite Nathan Kagoda, the Diocesan Estates Officer to educate the parish on the 'long term planning' of the diocese.

The members of the council interpreted the bishop's reply as a determination on his part to have the school closed without consulting with them at all. Nonetheless, they accepted his suggestion of closing their school in phases and of inviting Kagoda to educate them about the 'long-term planning' of the diocese. They also requested Bamwoze, in a letter they wrote to him directly, to meet with them in person, to hear their views concerning the fate of their school.⁴³ But as in the previous incidents, he did not reply. They sent him a reminder dated 2nd January 1976,⁴⁴ but again no reply was forthcoming from him or from any other official of the diocese. Meanwhile, at the direction of the bishop, a fence of barbed wire was erected around the school, and the whole area where the sub-grade school was previously located was turned into a dairy farm. So, on 13th January 1976, the parents who brought their children to resume schooling were astounded to find a dairy farm instead of a school. When they consulted the church workers they found on the hill, they were told to take their children to Nakanyonyi because the school was closed.

Most of the members of the Parish Council were deeply hurt and let down by the bishop's failure to give them an opportunity to meet with him before closing their school.

not be closed or transferred at all, arguing that the presence of children at the cathedral was necessary because they helped in the cleaning of the cathedral grounds (usually pupils in church owned schools help in general cleaning of church compounds). They argued further that the nursery school children, whom the bishop preferred, would be too young to help with this cleaning task, and that the children at Nakanyonyi, the other church school (situated approximately barely one mile away from the cathedral, and where the bishop wanted all the children to be transferred), would not cope with the task of cleaning the cathedral grounds and those of their own school. They also insisted that the construction work of the classroom block should continue, arguing that it would, after its completion, also serve as the much-needed church hall. Kitamirike to Bamwoze, p. 2, COU PA.

⁴¹ Kitamirike to Bamwoze, "Lubiri Diocesan School (Sub-Grade)", 26th October 1974, p. 1, COU PA.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ P Njuba, Secretary Christ's Cathedral Bugembe Parish Council to Bamwoze, "Lubiri Diocesan School (Sub-Grade)", 26th June 1975, COU PA.

⁴⁴ Y Basutagaine, Assistant Parish Secretary, Bugembe to Bamwoze, "Okujjukiza: Lubiri Diocesan School (Sub-Grade)", 2nd January 1976, COU PA.

They felt that he had deliberately avoided them when they sought audience with him. Furthermore, his failure to keep the promise of closing their school in phases saddened them. Hence, they interpreted the bishop's actions as tantamount to underrating them. They also became more inclined to believe the accusations of arrogance made in the past against him.⁴⁵ As a result, their confidence and trust in Bamwoze declined a great deal, hence making Bugembe Parish one of the leading 'springboards' for the subsequent conflicts which were to rage in the diocese.

Some of the leaders appealed in writing to Archbishop Janani Luwum, requesting him to intervene, in order to help them re-establish their school, which Bamwoze had, in their view, unacceptably closed down.⁴⁶ Luwum, in turn, sent a pastoral letter to Bamwoze, requesting him to re-think his decision of closing the school.⁴⁷ But his intervention came late, since preparations were already underway to establish a diocesan farm on the hill. As a result, some members of the council, who at this time had no other body to appeal to, decided to abandon the fight to save their school. Like many Christians in the parish, they tried to forget about this issue and to resort to re-building their relationship with Bamwoze. But others merely increased their suspicion and indignation towards Bamwoze. They accused him of being an 'earthly' prelate who was more interested in projects than in preaching.⁴⁸ They alleged that "*omulabirizi okulunda abantu takwagala ayagala kulunda nte*".⁴⁹ They also accused him of being authoritarian and compared his behaviour in closing their school without consulting with them to that of Bishop Festo Lutaaya who, in the early 1960s, had transferred the head offices of West Buganda Diocese from Kako to his hometown in Mityana without consulting with the leadership in the diocese. The Deanery of Masaka, in which Kako was situated, protested against this decision, sparking a wrangle in which Lutaaya was eventually rejected and subsequently requested by the province to retire prematurely, which he did.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Interviews with C B Nambago, 19th July 1999; B Naigere, 20th July 1999.

⁴⁶ H Mukama and others to Luwum, "Lubiri Diocesan School (Sub-Grade)", 19th January 1976, COU PA.

⁴⁷ Luwum to Bamwoze, "Lubiri Diocesan School (Sub-Grade)", 3rd February 1976, COU PA.

⁴⁸ Interview with D Kazungu, 19th November 1999.

⁴⁹ "The Bishop wants to look after cows, but not people" (translation mine). Mukama and others to Luwum, p. 2, COU PA.

⁵⁰ After Lutaaya retired, Archbishop Erica Sabiti asked Canon B K Lwanga to serve as caretaker bishop from September 1964 until November 1965, when Bishop Stephen Tomusange was translated from Soroti to West Buganda Diocese. For a detailed study of the crisis in West Buganda Diocese, see E Sentongo, "The Conflicts Surrounding the Creation and Development of an Anglican Diocese of West Buganda (Uganda), 1960- 1976". DipTh dissertation, Makerere University, Kampala, 1981.

Retrospectively, the group in Bugembe warned that Bamwoze was courting rejection if he continued to perpetuate what they viewed as similar arrogant and dictatorial tendencies.

In my opinion, the conflict which arose from the closure of Lubiri Diocesan School was the most devastating of the conflicts that occurred between Bamwoze and some of his Christians during the first five years of his episcopacy. As a result of this conflict, disillusionment and mistrust in him solidified first within the Christians of the Cathedral Parish and then gradually spread out (and/or was duplicated) in many other areas in the diocese. All this discord would not have happened if Bamwoze had taken the initiative to meet with the leadership of Bugembe Parish, explained to them the long-term plans of the diocese, and teamed up with them to devise acceptable ways in which their school would be closed. Such measures, if undertaken, would also have alleviated the ill-feelings held by many Christians in Bugembe that he underrated them and that their school was sacrificed for the sake of a dairy farm.

The presence of leaders in the diocese who claimed not to know the long-term plan of the diocese also deserves three comments. First, it seemed to many people that the diocese did not have a long-term plan or master plan, arguing that if it had, the leaders in Bugembe, given their special status in the diocese, would have known about it. Second, assuming that such a plan existed, Bamwoze should have been worried by the presence in the diocese of leaders who claimed not to know it. If they were (or remained) uninformed about it, they would reject it *en masse* or be indifferent to it, thinking that it was in the interest of Bamwoze and his close friends. It was, therefore, necessary for Bamwoze together with Kagoda to share this plan not only with the leadership of Bugembe Parish, but also with all the leaders in the diocese. Third, it was Bamwoze's duty to ensure that as many people as possible were favourable to the development plan of the diocese. He needed people in his diocese whose vision of development was not limited to their local areas and projects, but extended to the entire diocese and its projects. The extent to which he succeeded in finding these people is partly the subject of the next section.

THE RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

Bamwoze became leader of a diocese which was beleaguered by an acute shortage of funds needed to meet its administrative expenses and to pay its financial obligations.⁵¹ The diocese had chunks of arable land spread widely throughout Busoga,⁵² but most of them were either underdeveloped or virtually undeveloped. Furthermore, most of the Christians could not support the diocese financially because they had very low incomes or none whatsoever. Generally, the few Christians who were more economically endowed were (and have continued to be), according to Dr David Kazungu,⁵³ “unimpressively committed in their giving and tithing”.⁵⁴

Bamwoze, believing that the financial constraints in his diocese epitomised the general plight of underdeveloped contexts, which suffer from acute shortages of material and skilled human resources, and convinced that the church was obliged to minister to whole persons and not just their souls,⁵⁵ embarked on the painstaking task of establishing a versatile church mission strategy in which rural development was integral and indispensable. He believed further that the church could preach ‘fullness of life’ with remarkable success only if it demonstrated unequivocally its commitment to making that fullness of life a reality.⁵⁶ He anticipated that such a holistic mission enterprise would be achieved as a result of introducing improved health, prosperity and hope to the people of his diocese. He strongly believed that this rural development programme would make the problem of financial constraints in the diocese a thing of the past, and would also help a great deal, when fully functional, in the task of building strong and stable families, communities and churches.⁵⁷

⁵¹ These included the annual contributions the diocese sent to the province and to Bishop Tucker Theological College (BTTC), Mukono.

⁵² By 1972 Busoga Diocese had forty-six church plots (covering a total area of approximately 2564 acres) with title deeds and 547 church plots without land titles. By the end of 1989 plots without title deeds were estimated to be over seven hundred. VD Wangola, Acting Busoga Diocesan Secretary to Bamwoze, “Report on some of the Diocesan Activities for the Period Between 1st October, 1988 and 31st March 1989”, 27th April 1989, BDA.

⁵³ Kazungu worked as Director of Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Project (MSRDP).

⁵⁴ Interview with D Kazungu, 19th November 1999.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Busoga Diocese (BD), “Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme, Phase Three, Programme Review, June 1990- June 1995”, p. 3.

⁵⁷ C Bamwoze, quoted in Richard Franks, “Busoga Trust, Busoga Diocese Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme: Water and Sanitation Sector, Jinja, Uganda”, 18th March 1998, p. 3, copy held at Busoga Trust, St Margaret’s Patters, Eastcheap, London, EC3M IHS.

So, partly taking his cue from the operations of two Provincial Executive Departments, Christian Rural Service (CRS)⁵⁸ and the Planning and Development Advisory Office,⁵⁹ Bamwoze, like Bishop Lyth of Kigezi, launched the Diocesan Agricultural Programme as a constituent part of the Diocesan Planning and Development Programme. At his initiative, agricultural-oriented, money-generating, and demonstration projects were established on strategic church land under the supervision and facilitating capacity of the Diocesan Agricultural Office. High quality seeds, farming tools and equipment⁶⁰ were made available at subsidised rates to these rural church projects. The Bugembe Diocesan Farm,⁶¹ the Soya Bean and Maize Scheme at Mwiri,⁶² and other agricultural field extension saturation projects were set up to help generate, in the long-run, funds for their respective programmes, and to serve as demonstration projects for the rural farmers. All these agricultural projects were largely intended to provide the rural churches and farmers with improved methods of farming, which would in turn, increase their food production and incomes.

Bamwoze emphasised the need for co-operation and understanding amongst field extension officers, clergy and laity in rural areas. A sustained cordial working relationship, he insisted, underpinned development projects and ensured their success. His diocese relied heavily on the co-operation and assistance of President Milton Obote's second UPC-led government. The government's efforts of reducing the cost of transporting agricultural products, building and repairing feeder roads, maintaining law and order, and ensuring a fair price for farmers' products all served as important incentives to this emerging rural development programme. Bamwoze, in his capacity as the chairman of the Busoga Diocesan Finance Board, visited many parts of the world

⁵⁸ CRS was started by Rev R E Lyth, a missionary working with Ruanda CMS Mission and later a Bishop of the Diocese of Kigezi. Its work and influence spread to other parts of the province, and by 1977 it was operating in 15 dioceses. Its main objective, according to the Provincial Planning and Development Advisory Office, was to "demonstrate the relevance of the Christian message to everyday living and to discount the widely held belief that the Church was merely a building, and Christianity a Sunday activity". COU, *Information About Church of Uganda*, 1977, p. 6, COU PA.

⁵⁹ The Planning and Development Department comprised four units: Research, Projects, Training and Education, and Coordination. One of its main functions was to "coordinate the Church's concern on planning and development in relation to issues that affect all dioceses in their development activities". COU, *Information About Church of Uganda*, 1977, p. 9.

⁶⁰ These came in as donations from friends abroad, or were purchased using loans attained from commercial banks.

⁶¹ The diocese attained an overdraft from Uganda Commercial Bank to extend Bugembe Diocese Farm. Interview with C B Nambago, 19th July 1999

⁶² The Soya Beans and Maize Scheme at Mwiri, was started in 1977. It was sponsored by Mukono Poultry Farm, Church of Uganda. Interview with N Kagoda, 3rd September 1977.

appealing for skilled personnel, financial, material and moral support for the diocesan rural development programme.

As a result of his tours, he obtained donations of money and material gifts such as vehicles, motorcycles, agricultural and medical tools and equipment, to mention but a few. This assistance helped a great deal in meeting the running costs of the programme; purchasing more farming stock such as animals and seeds; training and equipping the field extension officers; easing the problem of transport; and increasing and improving the available tools and equipment. Therefore, Bamwoze's fundraising efforts helped to reinforce the development programme of the diocese. But because Bamwoze, like other bishops, was the only person who appealed for financial and material support on behalf of his diocese, inevitably some people suspected that he diverted to himself and his friends some of the donations he received on behalf of the church, leading them to demand that he account for all the gifts he received, a demand that was also applied to some other bishops in the province.⁶³

The First Phase of the Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme (1979-1985)

In 1979,⁶⁴ Busoga Diocese placed its rural development work under a single body, the Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme (MSRDP),⁶⁵ generally Africanised as *Maluti*. The main objective of the programme was to work towards providing all households in Busoga, irrespective of religious, political party affiliations and consanguinity of the people with increased self-sufficiency in the things of everyday life.⁶⁶ In 1979, the programme started its operations in nine pilot parishes with four sectors, six senior staff and twenty-seven community workers.⁶⁷ Gradually, it extended its operations to cover other parts of the diocese. By 1984 through increasing funding and effectiveness, MSRDP had grown to constitute nine sectors: water and sanitation,

⁶³ *New Century*, September 1990; *New Vision*, 3rd August 1993.

⁶⁴ An Official Report of MSRDP dates the first phase of MSRDP between 1979 and June 1985. It was not set up in 1982 as mentioned in two documents of Busoga Trust. It was, rather, the partnership between St Michael's Church and Busoga Diocese (as a result of which the Busoga Trust was formed) that started in 1982. Trustee Representative, "Report of the Trustees", 1999/ 2000, Busoga Trust Office, St Margaret's Pattens, Eastcheap, London, EC3M 1HS; Busoga Diocese "Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme...", pp. 1, 39, BDA.

⁶⁵ For a detailed study of MSRDP, see S Yardley, "A Study of Busoga's Multi Sectoral Rural Development Programme". MSc thesis, University of London, 1998.

⁶⁶ Busoga Diocese, "Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme...", p. 4.

⁶⁷ *Ibid*, p. 6.

medical, forestry, agriculture, women, youth, education and training, co-operatives and marketing, and finally the secretariat, which managed the administrative and financial affairs of the programme.⁶⁸ However, it was the joint effort of MSRDP, in its capacity as an integrated and multi-faceted programme, that allowed the programme to avail people situated in Busoga's rural areas of several life-saving benefits, like clean and safe water, medical and health education centres, tree-planting projects, improved farming skills, agricultural tools and equipment, and many others.⁶⁹

Bamwoze succeeded in securing support for MSRDP from an assortment of sources, including churches, schools, charities and individuals. The programme was, however, funded mainly by five organisations: *Evangelische Zentralstelle für Entwicklungshilfe* (EZE),⁷⁰ Busoga Trust,⁷¹ Experiment in International Living (EIL),⁷² Heifer Project International (HPI), and Pathfinders International. With this support, MSRDP set up a programme infrastructure which was unparalleled in the Church of Uganda. Busoga Trust, a UK-based charity was the most consistent of all the trusts that supported Busoga's development programmes.⁷³ It was started in 1982 after Bamwoze's visit to St Michael's Church, Chester Square, London.⁷⁴ Its main objective was to raise financial and personnel support for water development projects in Busoga. From 1983, the Trust received donations from schools, churches and individuals in the United Kingdom, which it used to raise the profile of its water-source construction and health education work in Busoga.⁷⁵ The Trust encouraged a pattern of links between parishes and schools in Britain and in Busoga Diocese, and supported other sectors of MSRDP such as the medical and community training sectors.⁷⁶ However, its main objective was to help fund

⁶⁸ Some of these sectors were further sub-divided into units, partly because of the need to achieve greater impact and of the availability of funds that were directed to specific causes. For instance, the medical sector was sub-divided into three units, Family Life Education Programme (FLEP), Community Health Services (CHS), and Curative Unit. Interview with B Naigere, 20th July 1999.

⁶⁹ Busoga Diocese, "Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme...", p. 5.

⁷⁰ In December 1978, EZE, a German based funding organisation, went into a partnership with MSRDP and gave it a grant of DM 1,200,000.

⁷¹ Busoga Diocese, "Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme...", pp. 38-40, BDA.

⁷² EIL, based in Brattleboro, Vermont, USA, also supported the programme financially during the period between 1980 and 1984. Busoga Diocese, "Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme...", pp. 38-39.

⁷³ Interview with B Naigere, 18th July 1999.

⁷⁴ Busoga Diocese, "Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme...", p. 39.

⁷⁵ *Busoga Bugle*, Spring 1997, pp. 1-2, 4; Summer 1998, p. 4; Spring 1997, Busoga Trust Office, pp. 1-4.

⁷⁶ *Busoga Bugle*, Busoga Trust Office, Autumn 1997, pp. 1-4; Summer 1998, pp. 1-2.

the construction and maintenance of water and sanitation projects in the rural areas,⁷⁷ a task it took over in 1983 from Christian International Development Agency (CIDA).⁷⁸

By the end of 1984, MSRDP was still in its first phase. Therefore an evaluation of its nature and effectiveness in this phase would be at most insufficient. In the succeeding chapter, I examine in detail the impact and politics of the programme in all three phases. Nonetheless, it is important here to comment on some of the Christians' initial attitudes towards it and its work. Generally, many leaders at archdeaconry and parish levels, albeit happy with the work of MSRDP, felt, at least theologically, that its development work, though extremely important, was outside the mission of the church. Others, who regarded it as an integral part of church mission, viewed it to be more an affair of the secretariat, with themselves serving merely as intermediaries between its sectors and the rural communities. Most of them knew very little about its sources of funding and organisational structure, hence, they claimed that the decision made by Bamwoze and his friends not to inform the people in the diocese about the position of the programme was aimed at covering up what they (the people) suspected to be corruption and mal-administration within it.⁷⁹

Tensions Between the Development Sector and the 'Pastoral' Sector

A church that was more accustomed to engaging in pastoral and charity work than in speaking and doing development work was bound to have problems. The bishop, his clergy, the rest of the Christians and onlookers were all faced with the challenge of internalising a development programme, a task which included understanding how such a programme is planned and sustained. It was also imperative for the church leadership to understand that the typically foreign-funded development programmes had specific demands. These included: drawing up comprehensive project proposals prior to requests

⁷⁷ These included water sources like hand-dug shallow wells of 20-30 feet deep; bore holes (consallen type pumps), protected springs and roof rainwater catchments. Between January 1984 and December 1985, the trust helped to construct up to forty wells in Kamuli. This project that was officially inaugurated on the Busoga Development Day, held at Naminage on 16th June 1984. *Busoga Bugle*, Busoga Trust Office, spring 1997, pp. 1-2; Richard Franks, "Busoga Trust, Busoga Diocese Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme...", pp. 3, 9.

⁷⁸ *Busoga Bugle*, Busoga Trust Office, spring 1997, pp. 1-2; Richard Franks, "Busoga Trust, Busoga Diocese Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme...", pp. 3, 9; Trust Representative, "Report of the Trustees", 1999/2000, Busoga Trust Offices; Busoga Diocese, "Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme...", p. 21

⁷⁹ Interviews with E Kayeyera, 11th October 1999 and B Naigere, 20th July 1999.

for funding and ensuring that funds and other gifts received were properly used and accounted for, and not diverted to uses other than those for which the assistance was given. It was, therefore, necessary for Bamwoze to ensure that the leaders at all levels in the diocese were sufficiently trained before involving them actively in this programme, lest they mismanage it.

However, owing partly to the fact that most of the clergy, in particular, were not adequately trained in managerial and development work, it became difficult to avoid a scenario in which the progress of the development programme was jeopardised. Kazungu appropriately expressed this problem with these words:

So when we started getting funds, incidentally we started as a relief programme. We brought in some relief items from the UK. We worked with the clergy. They were the principal stewards of these items. But then it became increasingly more and more difficult to exact accountability from the clergy. It is not that they were untrustworthy, but I think they were confronted with two issues. One, the issue of strict accountability was a new thing to them. But more so, it was difficult for them as religious leaders in a community to refrain from giving out some of these items free, although they were supposed to be paid for. Some also loaned them to people who eventually failed to pay for them, and as a result, they [the clergy] were not able to account for them later on...⁸⁰

The presence of such problems in the programme confirms that these clergy were ill-equipped for the task of managing or co-ordinating the development programme. Also, as with tithes and offerings collected in church, the money which some clergy received from the sale of development programme items was not satisfactorily recorded or accounted for. Bamwoze and his office accused them of misappropriating the items of the programme,⁸¹ but did not reprimand them.⁸² In addition, the culprit clergy themselves lost their moral ground for speaking out against the misappropriation of church funds and property, making it possible for more wrongdoing to flourish, with limited contestation, especially at the upper leadership levels of the diocese.

⁸⁰ Interview, 19th November 1999. Kazungu does not accuse the clergy of being untrustworthy. He is, nonetheless, aware of several cases in which some clergy misappropriated church funds and property.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² During the Diocesan Council held on 27th May 1982, it was noted that funds collected in parishes were, on several occasions, misappropriated by clergy and other church leaders. It was as a result suggested that 'culprits' should be disciplined according to the stipulation of the diocesan constitution and that a seminar should be undertaken to help clergy, treasurers and other church leaders become better stewards of church funds and property. Busoga Diocese, "*Report y'olukkiko lw'obulabirizi bwa Busoga (Diocesan Council) eri Olukiiko lwa Synod ya Busoga ey'okutuula ku lw'okusatu nga 23/4/1986 ne kulw'okuna nga 24/4/1986, e Kamuli*", p. 6, BDA.

To avoid jeopardising the future funding of the programme, the MSRDP secretariat, in 1985, created a boundary between the development sector and the 'pastoral' sector. It became necessary for the programme to reduce the involvement of clergy⁸³ in the running of its projects and to employ more professional staff who, in addition to providing the expertise required, were relatively more obliged than the clergy to account for the funds and other items donated to the programme. Furthermore, as a matter of necessity, these professional staff were given living and working conditions that were far better than those of clergy and other church workers, and similar to those of professionals elsewhere in the country. Kazungu described this situation and the problems it created with these words:

We were recruiting people to perform specific tasks, and these people had to be paid handsomely. The donors insisted that the salaries for the clergy come from the Christians. They also consulted with us on the salaries of the programme staff since they were supposed to be paid according to what I would call the market price for those people... So there was no way that MSRDP could fail to give its professional staff salaries and other benefits that were equivalent to those which their colleagues outside the programme were entitled to. Consequently, you could see nurses and social workers riding motorcycles, driving cars and so on, while the clergy rode bicycles or walked. There was indeed a serious problem for the clergy and the rest of the Christians to understand and reconcile these differences.⁸⁴

Kazungu, in the above quotation, confirms the presence of an emergent inequality in living and working conditions between workers in the development and pastoral sectors. The persistence of this disparity, coupled with Bamwoze's failure to improve the living and working conditions of workers in the pastoral sector, led many Christians to think that Bamwoze was more interested in the development sector than the pastoral sector. But the evidence available to me leads me to infer that Bamwoze was equally interested in both sectors and their workers, since they jointly and indispensably participated in the holistic mission enterprise of the church. He was not supportive of the separation of the two sectors, but had to accept it because it was necessary, at least in the short run, until

⁸³ Kazungu informed me that there were not many clergy who worked for the programme. One of the few clergy the programme employed was John Tirusoniwa. Tirusoniwa was not employed because he was a clergyman, but because he was double-trained (He has two degrees, one in theology and the other in social sciences). Interview with D Kazungu, 19th November 1999; J Tirusoniwa, 26th October 1999.

⁸⁴ Interview with D Kazungu, 19th November 1999.

the clergy and other workers in the pastoral sector were capable of participating in the work of the programme without jeopardising its survival and its progress.⁸⁵

During the early eighties, the diocese received many donations from friends abroad, thanks to several working visits of Bamwoze. On several occasions, Bamwoze, after returning from abroad, informed his Christians that he had received donations of money, bicycles and other material gifts.⁸⁶ But these donations were intended mainly to support the development sector. He received relatively fewer funds and other forms of material support for the pastoral sector. Worse still, the diocese failed to raise money locally needed to support its pastoral sector.⁸⁷ As a result, the diocese suffered from an acute shortage of funds needed to meet its financial demands and obligations, such as salaries for its workers in the pastoral sector,⁸⁸ administrative expenses of the secretariat,⁸⁹ the costs of holding the synod and other church meetings,⁹⁰ servicing its loans,⁹¹ and payment of its annual contributions to the province.⁹²

Furthermore, most clergy and lay preachers experienced hardships in their living and working conditions. The clergy continued to be poorly clothed and housed, and some of

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Busoga Diocese, *“Report y’olukkiko lw’obulabirizi bwa Busoga (Diocesan Council) eri Olukiiko lwa Synod ...”*, p. 8.

⁸⁷ Ibid, pp. 5-8, 12.

⁸⁸ The Diocesan Finance Board went through great pains to pay the salaries of its staff, and like other diocesan finance boards in the province experiencing similar financial problems, it resisted requests to increase salaries, following the government’s raising of its workers’ salaries by 20%. Minute 4/83 of the Provincial Standing Committee Meeting (PASC), 20th May 1983. COU PA.

⁸⁹ The Diocesan Finance Board had agreed in principle to fund the renovation the residence of Bishop Bamwoze in Bugembe and to buy a vehicle for Nabeta, but failed because the diocesan treasury did not have funds to do any one of these things. Minute 1/84 of an Extra-ordinary Diocesan Council Meeting, 6th December 1984, BDA; Busoga Diocese, *“Report y’olukkiko lw’obulabirizi bwa Busoga (Diocesan Council) eri Olukiiko lwa Synod...”*, p. 8.

⁹⁰ As a result, the diocese failed to hold any synod meeting during the period between 1981 and 1986. Busoga Diocese, *“Report y’olukkiko lw’obulabirizi bwa Busoga (Diocesan Council) eri Olukiiko lwa Synod ...”*, p. 1, BDA.

⁹¹ The Diocesan Treasurer informed the Diocesan Council sitting on 22nd September 1982 that in 1980, a Mercedes Benz registration number UWX 162 was bought, for the bishop’s use, with money (Ushs 3,187,173.75) borrowed from the Provincial Refugee Account. Only Ushs 150,000.00 of the loan was repaid and the rest, he hoped, would be paid between 1984 and 1986. Busoga Diocese, *“Report y’olukkiko lw’obulabirizi bwa Busoga (Diocesan Council) eri Olukiiko lwa Synod ...”*, p. 7; M J Ibanda Diocesan Secretary/Treasurer to the Provincial Treasurer, “Payment for Diocesan Vehicles Received from the Province UShs. 3,037,173.75”, 29th April 1983, BDA.

⁹² J Sentongo, the Provincial Treasurer to Diocesan Treasurer, “Unpaid Quota”, 18th November 1986. In this letter Sentongo cautioned that unless the diocese paid to the province the quota for the year 1985/6 totalling Ushs. 2,400,000.00, he would not pay the allowances of the bishop with effect from October 1986. Minute 3/79 of the Provincial Assembly (PA), 18th - 23rd August 1979, p. 7, COU PA.

them received no salaries for over four months.⁹³ They struggled to maintain themselves and their families, and found it difficult to meet the cost of educating their children. They lived in poorly furnished and maintained manses, while most of the staff of MSRDP, some of whom were not members of the Church of Uganda, were allocated houses equipped with better facilities than those of the clergy. The MSRDP staff members were also paid salaries over five times the basic stipend given to clergy. Most of the clergy travelled long distances on foot or on bicycles to carry out their pastoral services,⁹⁴ while a few staff of MSRDP were allocated vehicles and motorcycles. With the exception of Bamwoze, who owned a Mercedes Benz, none of the clergy known to me or to any of my informants, possessed a personal or church vehicle in the early 1980s.

The inferior living and working conditions of workers in the pastoral sector, made it very difficult for Bamwoze to escape the accusations that he acted duplicitously in the way he treated them. Many clergy felt that Bamwoze cared more for the workers in the development sector than he did for the clergy and other workers in the pastoral sector. Yet, according to them, the pastoral sector was the *raison d'être* of the church, and the former merely complemented the efforts of the latter. They also felt that Bamwoze's increasing tendencies of rebuking them in public or before their congregations revealed his lack of affection for them. As a result, their confidence and trust in him as *a pastor pastorum*⁹⁵ was deeply dented. The alleged rebuking of the clergy notwithstanding, it was difficult for Bamwoze to improve the living and working conditions of his clergy, since his diocese did not have sufficient locally generated funds needed to do so. It was furthermore impossible for him to divert some of the donations of the development sector to the pastoral sector, as many people desired, because had he done so, he would have risked jeopardising the future funding of the development sector.⁹⁶ Most of the donors demanded that their money be used only in the development sector. They emphasised further that the task of supporting the entire pastoral sector was the responsibility of the local Christians.

⁹³ Interviews with Revs, R Isabirye, 12th June 1999; M Wambuzi, 5th September 1999, and Kalimungabo Bagenda, 8th November 1999.

⁹⁴ The dioceses paid salaries to the clergy and gave the parishes the responsibility of paying transport expenses and other allowances of clergy and other church workers. Interview with M J Ibanda, 23rd September 1999.

⁹⁵ A bishop is obliged to provide pastoral care and oversight to his clergy. L Paul, *A Church by Day*. London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1973, p. 139.

⁹⁶ Interviews with M J Ibanda, 23rd September 1999 and C B Nambago, 19th July 1999.

Hence, they sought and received unequivocal assurance from Bamwoze that funds destined for development purposes would not be diverted to other sectors, and that the Christians themselves would raise the funds needed to support the pastoral sector.⁹⁷ They were aware that most Christians were not well enough endowed financially to be able to support their church, and that the pastoral sector needed a lot of financial and material support. But they were nevertheless reluctant to support it because they believed that doing so would stifle the obligation of the Christians to support their churches. It would also interfere with the self-understanding and autonomy of the diocese.⁹⁸ So, the development programme contributed substantially (and in many ways) to the improvement of the life of the people in Busoga region. But it also created disparities amongst church workers, as a result of which the clergy, in particular, emerged as an affected group. However, they did not translate their frustrations into an organised dissident voice or pressure group because they were obliged to uphold the vows which they had made when they were priested, to obey Bamwoze and other senior church leaders unreservedly. Resorting to 'rebel' tendencies would be tantamount to disobedience and would result in defrocking. It was from groups of disgruntled laity who were not employees in the church that rebel tendencies solidified and gained momentum.

⁹⁷ Kazungu succinctly reflected on the demands which the donors made, and their role in fuelling discordant feelings in the diocese. He observed, "But at the same time, the very *Bazungu (Whites)* who brought this religion, I think have acted in a manner, I would say full of duplicity. When they (donors) bring in development funds, they say in clear black and white, that this (money) has nothing to do with spiritual work. No shilling goes to build the church, no shilling goes to pay salaries for the clergy, no shilling is used for evangelism, and so on. They also go ahead and say, our development funds are not confined to the denomination which receives them. They are funds for the community. To me, I think, it has been very, very difficult, for the traditional church, the leaders, the followers, to appreciate this situation brought about by the donors themselves". Interview, 19th November 1999.

⁹⁸ It is, however, sufficient to add that some donors believed, appropriately in my view, that in supporting the development sector, they were, in effect, indirectly helping the Christians to attain sources of income, out of which they would, if they committed themselves to giving and tithing, contribute to the cost of maintaining and developing their diocese. Also, I do not probe in detail the politics of the donor community because it is beyond the scope of this study. For a detailed study of this and other issues related with foreign aid, see G Gordon, *The Idea of Christian Charity: A Critique of Some Contemporary Conceptions*. London: Collins, 1990; H Singer, *The Ethics of Aid*. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies, 1984.

TENSIONS IN THE DIOCESE DURING THE EARLY EIGHTIES

The tensions which occurred in the diocese during the 1980s are, in my opinion, viewed against the background of four significant events that took place at the same time in the diocese. These include: the consecration and opening, on 10th October 1982, of Christ's Cathedral Bugembe; the consecration and appointment of the Rt Rev Thomas T Nabeta, on 22nd May 1983, as Assistant Bishop of Busoga; the visit of Archbishop Robert Runcie of Canterbury to Busoga Diocese and in particular to Bishop James Hannington Memorial Shrine at Kyando, on 27th January 1984,⁹⁹ and the launching of Busoga Development Day at Naminage¹⁰⁰ by President Milton Obote, on 16th June 1984.¹⁰¹ I proceed to describe them in more detail. The building of the cathedral gained momentum in the early eighties, under the oversight of the Cathedral Building Committee, whose chairman and treasurer were engineer James M Zikusoka and Luwuliza-Kirunda MP respectively.¹⁰² Christians and friends of the diocese within and outside Busoga donated funds and building materials. However, the work would have taken longer and the cathedral would not have looked so magnificent had it not been for the financial and moral support of President Milton Obote, his UPC government and their supporters.¹⁰³

In January 1983, Nabeta started work in Busoga as the dean of the cathedral, and on 22nd May he was consecrated bishop and appointed by Bamwoze as Assistant Bishop of Busoga.¹⁰⁴ In addition to his work as dean Bamwoze asked him to oversee the training of church workers and to encourage more people within the diocese to join the ministry,¹⁰⁵ hence, relieving Bamwoze of these responsibilities. Nabeta performed his duties to the satisfaction of Bamwoze¹⁰⁶ and the Christians in the diocese. Christians admired his saintly life and praised his dedication to his work. Unfortunately, Nabeta came into the

⁹⁹ C Bamwoze, "*Okwogera Kw'omulabirizi wa Busoga eri sinodi y'obulabirizi ey'okuna mu lutuula olusooka e Kamuli nga 24/04/86*", pp. 2-3, BDA.

¹⁰⁰ Busoga Diocese, "*Report y'olukkiko lw'obulabirizi bwa Busoga eri Olukiiko lwa Synod ...*", p. 10, BDA.

¹⁰¹ C Bamwoze, "*Okwogera Kw'omulabirizi wa Busoga eri Sinodi ...*", p. 1, BDA

¹⁰² Busoga Diocese, "*Report y'olukkiko lw'obulabirizi bwa Busoga eri Olukiiko lwa Synod ...*", p. 6, BDA.

¹⁰³ Although support from the UPC government helped to speed up the construction work, it was still not possible to have it opened on 13th August 1982, as the bishop and Diocesan Council had desired. C Bamwoze, "*Okwogera kw'omulabirizi wa Busoga eri Sinodi ...*", p.1, BDA; Busoga Diocese, "*Enteekateeka ey'okusinza kw'okwawula n'okuyingira luttiko ya Busoga ku Ssabiiti nga 10 October 1982, Eessaawa 4 ez'enkya*", BDA.

¹⁰⁴ Minute 5/83/5 of the PASC, 20th May 1983, p. 7. COU PA.

¹⁰⁵ Busoga Diocese, "*Report y'olukkiko lw'obulabirizi bwa Busoga eri Olukiiko lwa Synod ...*", p. 7, BDA.

¹⁰⁶ However, some people informed me that Bamwoze belittled Nabeta. Interviews with S Ndekeru, 5th October 1999 and J Wandera, 5th October 1999.

diocese with failing health. In December 1984, he was admitted into Mulago hospital suffering from cancer. Sadly, he died on 8th December. He was mourned and missed by the entire diocese. His death robbed the diocese of a servant who contributed a great deal to its life and work. Following his death, Bamwoze took up again the responsibilities that he had given to him.

Worse still, on the very day Nabeta died, Adulamu Bamuzibire, his co-worker in the task of training church workers, was shot dead while taking part in an MSRDP women's education seminar at Wairaka. His death shocked the diocese. Bamuzibire was a committed and talented worker whom Bamwoze spoke of as "having no debt against anyone".¹⁰⁷ Like Nabeta, Bamuzibire was greatly missed by the diocese. Some people thought that the deaths of two colleagues on the same day, were too striking to be regarded merely as a coincidence, especially at a time when politically motivated killings were not unusual in the country. They suspected that they were killed¹⁰⁸ to get rid of them, since their increasing success and popularity posed a great threat to the influence of the bishop and also threatened prospects for the promotion of some senior church workers in the diocese. I will return to the issue of the 'mysterious deaths' that occurred in the diocese later in this chapter. Meanwhile, I will discuss the other tensions that rocked the diocese in the early eighties.

Complaints Against the Bishop Within the Mothers' Union, Busoga Diocese

From March 1982 onwards, the administrative style of Bishop Bamwoze came under stringent criticism from a section of the Mothers' Union in the diocese. The married women's organisation had resumed its operations in 1979, after the overthrow of General Idi Amin, who had banned it during the latter part of his regime.¹⁰⁹ By March 1982, the Mothers' Union had already been re-established in Busoga. The Union was operating in most of the parishes in the diocese, and its members had appointed their leaders at the parish and the archdeaconry levels. However, they had not yet elected leaders at the

¹⁰⁷ C Bamwoze, "Okwogera Kw'omulabirizi wa Busoga eri Sinodi ...", p. 3.

¹⁰⁸ Most of the people I interviewed believed that Bishop Nabeta died of natural causes, but a few others, including a member of his family, who preferred to remain anonymous, did not rule out the possibility that Bamwoze had a hand in the cause of his death.

¹⁰⁹ When Amin banned the Mothers' Union, the church replaced it with the Home and Family Life Programme. After the fall of Amin the Mothers' Union was revived but also retained the insights of the Home and Family Life Programme. Minute 3/79 of the PA, 18th - 23rd August 1979, COU PA.

diocesan level.¹¹⁰ On 17th March Bishop Bamwoze invited to Bugembe a few members and non-members of the union and introduced to them Mrs Alice Muloki, whom he himself had appointed to replace Mrs Joy Batambuze¹¹¹ as chairperson. On 26th March, he introduced her again to the Diocesan Council, together with three other people,¹¹² whom he had also appointed as his own representatives to the union. These developments hurt some members of the union. They complained that the bishop imposed on them leaders who despite their good standing in church and in Busoga, were not elected by the women, but were “secretly chosen by Bamwoze himself”. They insisted, appropriately in my view, that he had violated the diocesan constitution which, although stipulating that he was the patron of the union, did not entitle him to vote or choose its leadership.¹¹³

Mrs Ezeresi Badobya, one of the members of the union, wrote to Archbishop Silvanus Wani, on behalf of the union, complaining about Bamwoze’s decision to impose on them Muloki, “a lady who had never been in any Mothers’ Union group and was not known in its circles”. She observed that by imposing Muloki and other people on them, Bamwoze had discouraged many dedicated members of the union and had, in effect, insinuated that the women were too weak to appoint their own leaders. As a result, he abused their dignity and underrated their capacity to govern themselves. Badobya also accused Bamwoze of hindering the development of the union and the women’s work in the diocese. He supervised them closely and also interfered with their affairs. She complained that there was no women’s worker in the diocese simply because Bamwoze had taken it upon himself to look for a woman he deemed suitable, and had still not found one. She noted further that women in the diocese who were capable of doing the job were reluctant to take it up because they knew that working under the bishop was difficult, if not impossible.

¹¹⁰ Busoga Diocese, “*Report y’olukkiko lw’obulabirizi bwa Busoga eri Olukiiko lwa Synod ...*”, p. 2.

¹¹¹ Batambuze was also appointed by Bamwoze. He preferred her to Mrs Jennifer Bukumuhne, whom members of the Mothers’ Union had appointed in 1980 as their leader. Interviews with Y Nsajju, 2nd September 1999 and J Bukumuhne, 9th September 1999.

¹¹² The other people were Mrs Beatrice Bamwoze, Mrs A Magezi and Dr Tom Tuma. Other leaders of the Union Bamwoze introduced to the Busoga Diocesan Council (BDC) which met on the 22nd September 1982 included Mrs C Bawuna (Vice-Chairperson), Mrs B Nabeta (Treasurer), Mrs F Mwonda (Secretary), and Mrs M Bageya (member). Busoga Diocese, “*Report y’olukkiko lw’obulabirizi bwa Busoga eri Olukiiko lwa Synod ...*”, pp. 2, 6.

¹¹³ Section 8 of the *Busoga Diocesan Constitution, 1973* (amended and enacted in 1994), BDA.

Badobya also accused Bamwoze of not allowing the women direct contact with their friends abroad, but preferred, without their consent, to represent them himself.¹¹⁴ After raising assistance intended for the union and the women's work in the diocese, Bamwoze, she alleged, diverted most of it to different causes, including his own. As a result, women's work in the diocese lagged behind that of other dioceses in which bishops had allowed the women to raise their own support and to use it without much interference from them. Hence, she urged Wani to intervene and save the union and the entire women's ministry in Busoga from what she claimed to be the corrupt and dictatorial tendencies of Bamwoze.¹¹⁵

Badobya went on to inform Wani that the diocese suffered from Bamwoze's authoritarian and manipulative tendencies. Bamwoze, she claimed, viewed the diocese as his personal property and sought further to ensure that nothing, not even the constitution of the diocese, challenged his exclusive control over it.¹¹⁶ She viewed, for example, his decision to appoint Ibanda, a layman as the Diocesan Secretary, as being strategically intended to frustrate the clergy and to strengthen his hold on the diocese. She regretted:

Even the Reverends and other church workers here in Busoga work under tention because of his [Bamwoze's] dictatorial ways in which he treats them. For example, here in Busoga the Diocesan Secretary [M J Ibanda] is just a layman, not a Reverend like other Dioceses do. So how can you expect a layman to solve problems of a Reverend, a person who is supposed to be the adviser to the laymen. It is difficult for Reverends to present their social and office problems to this secretary as you can also see the difference in understanding (sic).¹¹⁷

There is no evidence available to me showing that Wani responded to Badobya's letter. Nonetheless, it is necessary to comment on some of her complaints. First, most of the

¹¹⁴ Badobya to Wani, "Election of a Chairman of the Mothers' Union in Busoga Diocese", 31st March 1982, p. 2, COU PA.

¹¹⁵ Badobya to Wani "Election of a Chairman of the Mothers' Union in Busoga Diocese", p. 2, COU PA. There is no evidence known to us suggesting that Wani responded to Badobya's letter or that he took up the issues she raised with Bamwoze. Also, it was reported during the Diocesan Council meeting held on 26th October 1983 that Mothers' Union had received seventeen bicycles, of which ten had already been distributed. Busoga Diocese, "*Report y'olukkiko lw'obulabirizi bwa Busoga eri Olukiiko lwa Synod ...*", p. 8, BDA.

¹¹⁶ Badobya, in explaining this issue, informed the primate that on 17th March 1982, the day Mrs Muloki was first introduced at Bugembe as the chairperson of the Mothers' Union, Bishop Bamwoze openly made clear his intention to control the diocese single-handedly. On this day, the prelate told the people present that he wanted to set up a new bye-law in the Diocesan Constitution upon which he did not have to consult anybody before saying or doing anything. Badobya to Wani entitled "Election of a Chairman of the Mothers' Union ...", 31st March 1982, p. 1, COU PA.

¹¹⁷ Badobya to Wani "Election of a Chairman of the Mothers' Union ...", p. 2, COU PA.

diocesan constitutions do not stipulate the category of the person (clergyman or layperson) who occupies the position of the Diocesan Secretary (DS). But in practice the diocesan secretaries in the other dioceses were (and still are) clergy, inasmuch as they were the chief executive officers in the diocese.¹¹⁸ Therefore, the constitution of Busoga Diocese, in effect, gave Bamwoze the leeway to appoint any person, ordained or otherwise, he deemed fit to occupy this office.¹¹⁹ Consequently, he chose Ibanda, a respected person in Busoga and a man who, according to many people, was well experienced in administration and finance management. However, given the absence of another prelate in the diocese and the increasingly strained relations between Bamwoze and some of his clergy, it would have been more appropriate to appoint a senior clergyman with whom other clergy would share their problems when they failed (as they sometimes did) to attain an audience with Bamwoze.¹²⁰

Secondly, Badobya's fears, like those of many clergy, arose out of the suspicion that Bamwoze used a layman (Ibanda) manipulatively, notwithstanding his competence, seeking to increase his influence even further over the clergy. Some clergy feared, justifiably in my view, that by imposing a layman on them at a point in time when their relationship with him was increasingly becoming more precarious, Bamwoze seemed to send a clear message that their supposedly privileged and clerical status and the fate of their individual ministries all lay entirely in his hands. He could do whatever he deemed fit with any of them, just as he decided humiliatingly to appoint a layman as their 'boss'.

Thirdly, Badobya's criticism of Bamwoze's style of administration reveals the presence of discontent against him, not least within the Mothers' Union. In my opinion, it was futile for him to allow grievances to solidify within this union, given the fact that women constituted, as they still do, the majority and relatively more dedicated members of the Church. It should have been a matter of priority for him to settle their complaints so that they and other Christians would not lose confidence in him. But he refused to withdraw

¹¹⁸ The senior clergy who believed that this office should be occupied by a priest, tried in vain to convince Ibanda to join the ordained ministry. He insisted that he was not called to be a priest, and did not see any problem in executing his duties as a layperson. Interview with M J Ibanda, 23rd September 1999.

¹¹⁹ Ibanda held the job of DS from 1978 until 1988 when he resigned. Interview with M J Ibanda, 23rd September 1999.

¹²⁰ Interviews with Revs. M K Wambuzi, 5th September 1999, and S R Isabirye, 12th June 1999.

his imposition of Muloki and others,¹²¹ and, in addition, failed to reconcile himself with the emerging dissident section of the women in the diocese. As a result, many women identified closely with other people in the diocese whose confidence in Bamwoze had declined, making it increasingly possible for secessionist or dissident tendencies to proliferate within Busoga Diocese. The first major dissident (and later secessionist) tendency in the history of the diocese was commonly known as the Iganga Diocesan Crisis. It happened between 1984 and 1988 following largely the adamant refusal of Bamwoze to allow Iganga Archdeaconry, one of the three archdeaconries in the diocese, to be formed into a separate diocese. I proceed to discuss it in more detail.

THE ATTEMPTED SECESSION OF IGANGA AND NAMUTUMBA ARCHDEACONRIES (1984-1988)

The Immediate Causes of the Iganga Diocesan Crisis

To understand the factors which led the Christians in Iganga Archdeaconry and later in Namutumba Archdeaconry¹²² to want to secede from Busoga Diocese and be formed into a separate diocese, it is necessary to return briefly to the regional tendencies in Busoga which I discussed in the previous chapter. In 1962, following the construction on Igenge hill of a new palace for the *Kyabazinga*, *Kyabazinga* Nadiope gave his old palace on the nearby Bugembe hill to the Church of Uganda, to be the future residence of the Bishop of Busoga and the site on which the cathedral would be constructed. Consequently, it became necessary for the church in Busoga to move its headquarters from Iganga CMS (generally Africanised as *Semwesi*), situated in Kigulu county, to Bugembe in Butembe county, close enough to the headquarters of Busoga kingdom and to the new palace of the *Kyabazinga*.

This development dismayed many Christians in Kigulu County. For them, Iganga CMS was one of the oldest sites of the church in Busoga, the most developed and thereby the most suited to be the headquarters of Busoga Diocese.¹²³ Most of them felt that the

¹²¹ On 22nd September 1982, again Bamwoze introduced Mrs Muloki the Diocesan Council as the Chairperson of the Mothers' Union. Busoga Diocese, "*Report y'olukkiko lw'obulabirizi bwa Busoga (Diocesan Council) eri Olukiiko lwa Synod ...*", p. 6, BDA.

¹²² In 1986 Bishop Bamwoze divided Iganga Archdeaconry into two archdeaconries of Iganga and Namutumba. Interview with A Kisambira, 29th September 1999.

¹²³ COU has a very big piece of land at *Semwesi* in Iganga, on which All Saints Church, Primary, Senior Secondary, Teacher Training schools and a technical institute are located. Interview with A Kisambira, 29th September 1999

Kyabazinga was driven by political reasons to give his old palace to the church. These included his desire to influence the church to move its headquarters out of Kigulu, a ‘rival’ county to his own Bugabula County.¹²⁴ Additionally, he wanted to move the church headquarters to Bugembe, close enough to his palace and to the headquarters of Busoga kingdom. This was interpreted as a vital part of his plan of establishing a hereditary monarchy and of consolidating, like the Kabaka of Buganda, religious and political power around himself.

Many Christians in Iganga contested the decision to move the headquarters of the church from Iganga CMS to Bugembe, but they were unable to prevent the transfer, and, consequently, in 1962, the headquarters of the church were moved from *Semwesi* to Bugembe.¹²⁵ Shortly thereafter, a small group of Christians decided to agitate for a separate diocese of Iganga. But they abandoned their demand after failing to win the support of the majority of the Christians in Iganga who like other Christians in Busoga, were, between the late 1960s and early 1970s, more preoccupied by the anxiety of having a separate diocese of Busoga.¹²⁶ They remained hopeful, however that their demand would be re-considered in future.

The Demand for the Creation of a Separate Diocese of Iganga

During the early 1980s, three friends and members of All Saints Church, Iganga, Yokana Lekobowamu Nsiiro, Yeseri Kafambe Nsajju and Yona Nuwa Kyobika, alias “the three Ys”, used to meet regularly after church on Sundays at the home of Nsajju to discuss the plight of their church in Busoga. In October 1984 they decided to initiate the process of asking for a separate diocese of Iganga,¹²⁷ being, in their view, the only viable solution to the rampant exploitation, administrative and financial problems in the diocese. They shared their suggestion with some other laity,¹²⁸ teamed up with them, and wrote a letter

¹²⁴ S R Isabirye, “Schism Within Busoga Diocese, Church of Uganda 1983-1988. An Analysis of Causes, Developments and Effects”. ATIEA: BD dissertation, 1989, p. 14.

¹²⁵ S R Isabirye, “Schism Within Busoga Diocese...”, p. 15.

¹²⁶ Interview with A Kisambira, 29th September 1999.

¹²⁷ According to S R Isabirye, this decision was prompted by a series of dreams that Yona Nsiiro had (S R Isabirye, “Schism Within Busoga Diocese...”, p. 19). Nsajju rejected this view, insisting that the idea arose as a result of regular informal meetings of the ‘three Ys’. During one of these meetings Nsiiro was asked to draft a letter to the bishop, which he did. He took it to the Diocesan Office in Jinja and handed it over to the Diocesan Secretary. Interview with Y Nsajju, 2nd September 1999.

¹²⁸ It is not unlikely that Canon Silas Wekiya and some other clergy were informed about this decision, and that they decided not to be directly involved because it was bound to cause problems for them. Interview with A Kisambira, 29th September 1999.

to Bamwoze, asking for a separate diocese.¹²⁹ In their letter, dated 24th October 1984, the group mentioned three reasons supporting their demand for a separate diocese. First, they observed that the church in Busoga had grown tremendously, and had become too big for Bamwoze and the three archdeacons in the diocese to manage pastorally and administratively. They suggested that if Iganga Archdeaconry (which had twenty-four parishes spread out in six counties¹³⁰) was turned into a separate diocese, Busoga region would have two relatively more manageable and growing dioceses.

Secondly, they alluded to the historical significance of Iganga CMS, arguing that it was too important historically not to be a headquarters of the church. Hence, they revived the reasons employed during the previous short-lived struggle for a separate diocese of Iganga. Thirdly, they stated that Iganga Archdeaconry had all the requirements needed for it to be turned into a separate diocese. These included All Saints Church, which was suitable to be a cathedral; a house that could, with minor repairs, be converted into a residence of the bishop; and others which could serve as offices for the new diocese.¹³¹ On receiving this letter, Ibanda forwarded it to Bamwoze,¹³² who, after reading it, instructed him to reply to it, informing the group that their request could be dealt with further only if it came to the diocesan office through the proper church channels. On the 25th October 1984, Ibanda wrote to the group, as he was instructed, stating:

We received your letter, read it and understood the contents therein. We note however that your letter has not come to us through the proper channels. According to our constitution, requests of this nature are first discussed in Parish and Archdeaconry Councils. The Archdeaconry office then forwards them to Diocesan Office to be dealt with further.¹³³

The group was surprised by the contents of this reply. They had expected the bishop to reject their request outright. Instead, he advised them, through Ibanda, to follow the proper procedure, an instruction, which they interpreted as an approval of their request. So, the group embarked on the task of demanding a diocese through what they viewed as

¹²⁹ Yokana Nsiiro, Yeseri Nsajju, Yona Nuwa Kyobika, S K Segonga, Samuel Kagolo, George W Ntalo, E K Zabuliwo and Y M Baisuka to Bamwoze, 24th October 1984, Nsajju's special collection.

¹³⁰ The six counties which constituted Iganga Archdeaconry were Kigulu, Bugweri, Bunha, Busiki, Bukholi and Bulamogi. Interview with Mr A Kisambira, 26th September 1999.

¹³¹ Y Nsiiro and others to Bamwoze, 24th October 1984, ASCIA.

¹³² Interview with M. J. Ibanda, 23rd September 1999.

¹³³ Ibanda, Diocesan Secretary/ Treasurer to Nsajju and others, Ref. PAR 1/1, "*Okuweebwa Obulabirizi mu bu Ssabidikoni bwe Iganga*", 25th October 1984, ASCIA, (translation mine).

the 'proper channels'.¹³⁴ They began by writing to the heads of laity¹³⁵ of all the twenty-four parishes in the Archdeaconry, outlining their vision to them and requesting them to attend a meeting scheduled to take place at All Saints Church, Iganga, on 23rd November 1984.¹³⁶

At this meeting Nsajju spoke to the heads of laity on behalf of the group. He read out to them the correspondence between the group and the Diocesan Secretary and suggested the need to establish a House of Laity for Iganga Archdeaconry as the initial forum in which the demand for a separate diocese would be officially discussed. The heads of laity welcomed the idea of creating a house of laity at the archdeaconry level. They resolved to hold another meeting in order to establish the house and its administration.¹³⁷ During the first of their periodical meetings, held on 4th January 1985, the house elected a thirteen-person executive committee chaired by Amulaferi Kisambira.¹³⁸ It also discussed and passed the crucial resolution of petitioning for the creation of a separate diocese of Iganga by the end of 1986. They forwarded this petition to Rev Canon Silas Wekiya, Archdeacon of Iganga, for further consideration during the Archdeaconry Council of 14th February 1985.¹³⁹

The Bypassing of the Parish Councils in Iganga Archdeaconry

The petitioners did not follow the advice of the Diocesan Secretary to first discuss their request for a separate diocese in parish councils and then forward it to the Iganga Archdeaconry Council for further consideration. Instead they deliberately bypassed the parish councils and used the House of Laity of Iganga Archdeaconry as their first forum.

¹³⁴ Interviews with A Kisambira, 26th September 1999 and Y Nsajju, 2nd September 1999.

¹³⁵ Heads of laity are lay heads of Christians at the parish, archdeaconry and diocesan levels in the diocese.

¹³⁶ Interview with Mr Fredrick Wambi Wabegha, 4th November 1999; Y L Nsiiro, Y K Nsajju, Y N Kyobika, S Segonga, E K Zabuliwo, C Tibatemwa and F W Wabegha to all heads of laity in all the Parishes of Iganga Archdeaconry, 12th November 1984, Nsajju's special collection.

¹³⁷ In the subsequent meeting held on 12th December 1984, they established the house and resolved to communicate all their deliberations to the archdeacon and to all the vicars in the archdeaconry. They also planned to meet regularly on every first Friday of each month at All Saints Church, Iganga. Kisambira to Archbishop Okoth, "House of Laity, Iganga Archdeaconry", 30th September 1985, p. 1, Kisambira's special collection.

¹³⁸ Other members on the executive committee included Mrs Jennifer Bukumunhe (Vice-Chairperson), Mr Yeseri Kafambe Nsajju (Secretary), Mr Edward Valantino Waloki (Treasurer) and nine committee members drawn from various parts of the archdeaconry. Three of these nine committee members included Y L Nsiiro, Y A Kyobika and A Waiswa. Kisambira to Okoth, "House of Laity, Iganga Archdeaconry", 30th September 1985, p. 1; A Kisambira, "Okukyala kwa Kitaffe mu Katonda Omulabirizi we Busoga mu Busumba bwe Iganga ku Sunday nga 20 October 1985 mu Kanisa ya batukuvu bonna: Okwogeta kw'omukulu w' abakristayo", p. 4, Kisambira's special collection.

¹³⁹ Kisambira to Okoth, "House of Laity, Iganga Archdeaconry", 30th September 1985, p. 1.

Kisambira and Nsajju gave two reasons why the group chose this approach.¹⁴⁰ First, they thought that it would be difficult to convince the vicars and other clergy to discuss this petition in parish councils and to forward it to the Archdeaconry Council. They suspected that the clergy would be unwilling to handle this petition, since they (the clergy) were not certain that it was acceptable to the bishop and other senior leaders in the diocese. True to their suspicions the clergy, albeit not opposed to the idea, were not prepared to put themselves and their ministries in danger.¹⁴¹ They were, therefore, relieved when the laity decided strategically to exclude them from the preliminary discussions of the petition.

Secondly, the petitioners themselves felt that excluding the clergy from the process of demanding a separate diocese, would underscore the importance of the laity in the church which limited to the clergy the task of making decisions on crucial issues.¹⁴² They were not oblivious to the special training and place of the clergy in the church. They were also aware of the immense contribution, over the years, of the laity in the life and work of the church. After all, some of these petitioners had special responsibilities in the church in Busoga. However, they felt that generally the clergy did not emphasise and affirm the place of the laity in the church, that they denied them the opportunity to use their gifts and talents fully and effectively, and that they dominated the decision-making organs and processes of the church. In the view of the laity, this resulted in an acute absence of mutual respect, companionship and equality of clergy and laity. Consequently, they decided to exclude the clergy to show that, given a chance, they too were able to play a key role in the life and work of the church.¹⁴³ Therefore their intention to exclude the clergy from the initial process of demanding a separate diocese underscored, amongst others things, the poignant re-invention of the place of the laity in the life of the Church.

¹⁴⁰ Interviews with A Kisambira, 26th September 1999 and Y Nsajju, 2nd September 1999.

¹⁴¹ Interview with A Kisambira, 26th September 1999. On their ordination day, the clergy make an oath to obey their bishops, their successors and other prelates and senior clergy in all matters honest and lawful. COU, *Okwawula abakadde mu Kitabo ky'okusaba kwa'bantu bonna*. Kampala: Centenary Publishing House, 1990, p. 420.

¹⁴² Interview with Y Nsajju, 2nd September 1999.

¹⁴³ This was not the first time the laity expressed their unease concerning the limited involvement of the laity in the leadership affairs of the church. In 1979, the Provincial House of Laity submitted to the Provincial Assembly a report in which it had discussed among other things the "constitution, which gave exclusive powers to the clergy and the bishops". Minute 4/79/ii of the PA, 18th - 23rd August 1979, COU PA; Interview with A Kisambira, 26th September 1999.

The Opposition, Within Iganga, to the Creation of a Separate Diocese

On 14th February 1985, Iganga Archdeaconry Council discussed the petition, which had been forwarded by the House of Laity. This meeting, chaired by Wekiya, was the longest and most controversial council held in the archdeaconry. The members present discussed the petition and its implications in detail. A small group in the council rejected the petition, whilst the majority supported it, a situation that adequately epitomised the state of affairs in the entire archdeaconry. Those who opposed it gave three main reasons. First, they observed that the petition had come to the council unconstitutionally, through a recently and strategically formed House of Laity. They argued that the parish councils in the archdeaconry had not considered the petition, as was normally expected. They also feared that some of the petitioners were influenced by incidents elsewhere in the country where archdeaconries whose boundaries coincided with ethnic, regional or political district territories were clamouring to be formed into separate dioceses.¹⁴⁴ Consequently, they suspected that the petitioners were driven by political and insular motives¹⁴⁵ and not the interests of the church.¹⁴⁶

Secondly, they believed that for reasons of political and economic interdependence, Iganga Archdeaconry, despite its large size and rapid growth, could not afford to sever itself at this time from Jinja and Kamuli, the two other archdeaconries in the diocese.¹⁴⁷ They suggested that the archdeaconry had to secure more church workers, obtain more fixed assets and investments before asking to be granted a diocesan status, otherwise it could become, like many existing dioceses, disastrously lacking in human skill, finances

¹⁴⁴ From 1976, the Archdeaconry of Kinyasano whose boundaries coincided with Rukungiri District (formerly North Kigezi District) demanded to be separated from Kigezi Diocese and to be formed into the North Kigezi Diocese. Also from early 1980s the Archdeaconry of Sebei, whose boundaries were coterminous with the cultural boundaries of the Sabinu, demanded to be separated from Mbale Diocese to be given their own diocese; Minute 3/79/xi/ii of the PA held at BTTC, Mukono, 18th - 23rd August 1979, p. 13, COU PA. Minute 13/86/iv of the PA held at BTTC, Mukono, from 19th to 22nd August 1986, p. 16, COU PA; *New Century*, September 1992, p. 2.

¹⁴⁵ The group that opposed the creation of Iganga Diocese argued that Kisambira, in particular, was driven by a desire for personal aggrandisement. He failed to become a *saza* (county) chief and started many projects for political and economic reasons, such as the *Bukyanagandi* (every day has its news) Newspaper, but most of them were not successful. They argued further that he viewed the Iganga diocesan affair as his only chance of making money. Interviews with C B Nambago, 19th July 1999 and with Mr M J Ibanda, 23rd September 1999; S R Isabirye, "Schism Within Busoga Diocese...", pp. 26-27.

¹⁴⁶ Both Kisambira and Nsajju rejected the allegation that they were driven by selfish motives. But they agreed that the developments, especially in Kigezi District, re-enforced their demand for a separate diocese. Interviews with A Kisambira held, 26th September 1999 and with Yeseri Nsajju, 2nd September 1999.

¹⁴⁷ Interview with J Mugaya, 10th October 1999.

and other material possessions.¹⁴⁸ Lastly, they disputed the view that the majority of the people in the archdeaconry supported the decision to create a new diocese. They wondered how the petitioners could be sure about this, especially after the decision not to have their petition discussed in parish councils.¹⁴⁹ They insisted that the petitioners belonged to the small group of laity who initiated it. Some of these people, they alleged, had picked a quarrel with Bamwoze after he had asked them to vacate church land which they occupied illegally. Instead of leaving they decided to build permanent houses and to agitate for a separate diocese, as a way of making it difficult for Bamwoze and other church officials to evict them.¹⁵⁰ They claimed further that the few clergy who supported the petition and/or directed its course behind the scenes, were also long-standing 'rivals' of Bamwoze. Some of these clergy, they alleged, held grudges against Bamwoze partly because he had asked them to retire early from the ordained ministry.¹⁵¹ Such people, they claimed, hoped to be re-instated into full-time ministry and possibly be given key offices in the church in the new diocese. The minority group in the council (which opposed the petition) concluded that the petitioners wanted to have Iganga Archdeaconry declared a diocese through an unconstitutional process and for the wrong reasons, a conclusion which, as I will discuss in more detail shortly, was partly justified.¹⁵²

Majority Support for the Petition

However, the minority who opposed the petition failed to convince the majority in the council who supported it. The latter reminded the former that when the headquarters of the church were transferred from Iganga CMS to Bugembe, through the influence of the *Kyabazinga*, Iganga CMS had most of the requirements needed for it to become the headquarters of Busoga Diocese.¹⁵³ Furthermore, the supporters of the petition refuted the claim that their group comprised of disgruntled people. They insisted, on the contrary,

¹⁴⁸ Interview with M J Ibanda, 23rd September 1999.

¹⁴⁹ Although the issue of creating a new diocese for Iganga was discussed on 1st December 1985, during a general meeting of Iganga Christians, there is no evidence known to me suggesting that it was discussed in Iganga Parish, or in any other Parish Councils, or that it was forwarded by any Parish in the form of a resolution to the Archdeaconry Council.

¹⁵⁰ Kafuko told me that Yona N Kyobika was among the Christians who wanted unlawfully to occupy church land. He himself built a permanent house on it, encouraged all other squatters on church land in Iganga to do the same and to resist all attempts to evict them. Interview with S Kafuko, 10th September 1999

¹⁵¹ These included clergy like Enoke Wakibi and Canon Isabirye. Interview with S Kafuko, 10th September 1999; S R Isabirye, "Schism Within Busoga Diocese...", p. 25.

¹⁵² Interview with Joy Batambuze, 10th October 1999.

¹⁵³ Interview with Alexandra Waiswa, 11th September 1999.

that the petition was initiated by people who were deeply concerned about the *status quo* in the diocese and that their concerns had been overwhelmingly embraced by the rest of the Christians in the archdeaconry.¹⁵⁴ However, it is sufficient to mention here that by the time the petition was forwarded to Iganga Archdeaconry Council in February 1985, many people in the archdeaconry had already developed a keen interest in it and expected to benefit in many ways from the creation of a separate diocese. Some felt that a new diocese would spur growth and effectiveness of the church in Busoga, while others sought to use it to achieve their own parochial ends, as did some people in Bulamogi.¹⁵⁵

The majority group in the council adopted the petition and developed the three reasons put forward by the group which initiated it. These reasons were: the historical significance of Iganga CMS; the increasing difficulty of Bamwoze and the three archdeacons in the diocese to provide adequate pastoral and administrative services to the church; and the availability in Iganga Archdeaconry of most of the requirements needed for a diocese to be established. First, the supporters of the petition reiterated the claims that “*ekigo ekikulu eky’eddini*”¹⁵⁶ in Busoga was moved inappropriately, in 1962, from Iganga CMS to Bugembe. They insisted that the elevation of Iganga Archdeaconry to diocesan status would make Iganga the headquarters of the new diocese, restoring the special status it lost in 1962.¹⁵⁷

Secondly, the church in Iganga had experienced a steady growth in the numbers of congregations and Christians. In 1985, twenty-five out of the forty-four parishes in Busoga Diocese were located in Iganga Archdeaconry.¹⁵⁸ The petitioners alleged that the bishop did very little to respond to this tremendous growth. He failed to raise and train

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ The Balamogi, who belonged to Iganga Archdeaconry, hoped that the creation of the new diocese would boost their struggle to be transferred from Kamuli to Iganga District. Their county was lumped geo-politically, during the regime of Idi Amin, together with their ‘rival’ Bugabula County, to form Kamuli District. They had tried unsuccessfully and for a long time to get the civil government to transfer them from Kamuli to their preferred district of Iganga. When the Iganga Diocesan Affair emerged towards the end of 1984, they supported it wholeheartedly in the anticipation that, if it succeeded, it would re-enforce their own cause. S R Isabirye, “Schism Within Busoga Diocese...”, p. 48.

¹⁵⁶ “The headquarters of religion” (translation mine).

¹⁵⁷ Wekiya to Ibanda entitled, “*Ekiteeso eky’a Min. No. 6/85 eky’olukiiko lw’obwasabadikoni bwe Iganga olwatuula nga 14 February 1985 e Iganga mu All Saints’ Church*”, 15th March 1985, pp. 1-2, ASCIA.

¹⁵⁸ S R Isabirye, “Schism Within Busoga Diocese...”, p. 15.

more church workers or to establish further training for the clergy.¹⁵⁹ He also decided, for reasons unknown to the archdeaconry, to close Bishop Hannington Training Centre in Iganga, hence denying the archdeaconry and the entire diocese an opportunity to have more church workers trained.¹⁶⁰ The increase in the number of congregations and parishes necessitated a corresponding increase in pastoral visits and supervision by the bishop. However, on the contrary, the petitioners alleged, the archdeaconry saw a rapid decline in his visits and other pastoral services, so much so that he failed to visit places like the Sigulu Islands; to arrange, in 1985, a commemoration service marking a hundred years since Bishop Hannington was murdered at Kyando;¹⁶¹ and to take care of Kyando in order to prevent it, as it did, from becoming a jungle.

The petitioners noted further that, unlike the other two archdeaconries, the giving of the Christians in Iganga Archdeaconry was on the increase. They raised money needed to construct permanent church buildings and manses for their clergy. This was, in their view, a good sign that showed their readiness to contribute towards the funds needed to run the new diocese. They also complained that the head office placed more financial strain on the Christians in Iganga than it did on Christians in other parts of the diocese. As if that was not enough, from 1984 the head office introduced a quota system, in which parishes were required to send regular contributions of money to the diocesan treasury. They claimed that they did not benefit from the money they contributed, since they suffered an acute shortage of church workers, and that the diocesan office hardly supported their efforts to develop the church land in the archdeaconry. They therefore suggested that the creation of a new diocese would stop exploitation of the Christians in Iganga, and that money they contributed would be used mainly to run the church in their area.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁹ A table drawn by Ibanda in 1987 showed that Busoga Diocese had sixty-six clergy. Twelve were from Jinja, thirty-six from Iganga and eighteen from Kamuli. One clergyman (Tom Tuma from Iganga) with a PhD, two (one from Iganga and one from Kamuli) with masters' degrees, five (four from Iganga and one from Kamuli) with bachelors degrees (BA or BD), five (four from Iganga and one from Kamuli) with diplomas in theology, nineteen (three from Jinja, twelve from Iganga and four from Kamuli) had certificates in theology, and thirty-four (nine from Jinja, fourteen from Iganga and eleven from Kamuli) were untrained theologically. Busoga Diocesan Clergy as at December 1987, BDA.

¹⁶⁰ According to Kisambira, between 1930s and late 1970s, Bishop Hannington Training Centre was used to train catechists. All Saints Church, Iganga, A Kisambira, "*Okukyala kwa Kitaffe mu Katonda Omulabirizi we Busoga mu Busumba bwe Iganga ...*", p. 3, Kisambira's special collection.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Interview with F W Wabegha, 4th November 1999.

Lastly, the petitioners reported that the archdeaconry had sufficient lay and ordained¹⁶³ personnel and the infrastructure¹⁶⁴ needed to establish and run a diocese. They also observed that the House of Laity had opened an account with Uganda Commercial Bank, into which Christians and other well-wishers sent money needed to create the new diocese. With these three reasons, the petitioners observed that the archdeaconry had most of the requirements for elevation to a diocesan status. They also emphasised that the process of elevating Iganga to a diocesan status had already gained an irreversible momentum. Consequently, the council resolved, during a meeting held 14th February to adopt the demand for a separate diocese of Iganga and to forward it to the Diocesan Secretary for consideration during the Synod held on 23rd and 24th April 1985.¹⁶⁵

In my opinion, the demand for a separate diocese in Iganga was not feasible. The above-mentioned reasons notwithstanding, the diocese, as I mentioned earlier, had still failed to raise enough money locally to support its pastoral sector. Also, half of the money it raised came from Iganga. So, separating Iganga from the rest of the archdeaconries implied a worsening financial crisis of the church in Busoga. Moreover, there was no guarantee suggesting that Iganga itself would have sufficient funds needed to take care of its pastoral sector. Hence, the two dioceses, that is, Busoga Diocese and the proposed diocese of Iganga, faced the danger of joining the growing list of non-viable and fragile dioceses in the province.¹⁶⁶ Therefore, I find it difficult to understand why the bishop and his office failed to make this position clear to the petitioners even before advising them on the proper channels to follow in asking for a diocese. This advice, given in utmost sincerity, would probably have compelled the original petitioners to re-consider their demand. The absence of this advice, as succeeding events show, engendered a ‘stubborn’

¹⁶³ The petitioners argued that the first people to be trained for the ordained ministry were members of Iganga Archdeaconry. S R Isabirye, “Schism Within Busoga Diocese...”, p. 15

¹⁶⁴ Iganga CMS had access to water, electricity and telephone facilities. The buildings located in this place could, after minor repairs, be turned into diocesan offices and residences for the diocesan staff. All Saints Church, Iganga could also serve as the pro-cathedral and the residence of the archdeacon could be upgraded to become the official residence of the bishop. Also, the archdeaconry had two large pieces of land at Iganga and Bugabwe, which could be used for development purposes. Interview with F Wabegha, 4th November 1999.

¹⁶⁵ Wekiya to Ibanda entitled “*Ekiteeso Ekya Min. 6/85 Eky’olukiiko lw’bwasabadikoni bwe Iganga Olwatuula nga 14th February 1985 e Iganga mu All Saints’ Church*”, 15th March 1985, ASCIA. In this letter Canon Wekiya mentions 20th April 1986 as the scheduled date for the Diocesan Synod, but the synod took place, on the 23rd and 24th April 1986.

¹⁶⁶ *New Century*, August 1991; W M. Mande, “An Ethic of Leadership Power and the Anglican Church in Uganda”. PhD thesis, Aberdeen University, 1997, p. 175.

insistence on the creation of a separate diocese and also made it inevitable that dissident and secessionist leanings began to flourish in the diocese.

Bamwoze's Ambivalent Handling of the Iganga Diocesan Affair

On 19th March, Archdeacon Silas Wekiya forwarded, in person, the petition of the Archdeaconry to the Diocesan Secretary, and thence to the bishop. By this time the bishop had already learnt of the decision of Iganga Archdeaconry Council and was still surprised that the small group of laity had succeeded in getting their petition this far. But he also suspected that Wekiya and some other senior clergy in Iganga had a stake in this affair. He felt strongly that they directed the Iganga diocesan affair behind the scenes. So, when Wekiya presented the petition to him, he openly rebuked him, accusing him of masterminding it. Wekiya refuted these accusations, claiming that he got involved in his capacity as the archdeacon of Iganga, and because of the letter written by Ibanda on 25th October 1984, in which he advised the initiators of the petition to follow the proper procedure for demanding a diocese.¹⁶⁷ Bamwoze rejected Wekiya's explanation, viewing it as inadmissible. The evidence available to me leads me to infer that Wekiya, like some other clergy who resented Bamwoze, advised the petitioners behind the scenes on the best possible ways to process the demand for the diocese of Iganga.¹⁶⁸

Six weeks later, an interesting development occurred. On 6th May, the Diocesan Secretary sent a letter to Kisambira inviting him and his colleagues to attend a meeting with Bamwoze. He wrote:

I have been directed by the Rt. Rev C K Bamwoze, Bishop of Busoga, to inform you that he wishes to see you together with the following at 10:00 am on Wednesday 22nd May 1985, at Christ's Cathedral Bugembe:

1. Mr Yokaana Nsiiro
2. Mr Yeseri Nsajju
3. Mr Yona N Kyobika
4. Mr S. K. Segonga
5. Mr E. K. Zabuliwo¹⁶⁹

Following this invitation, Kisambira and his colleagues, with the exception of Segonga, went to Bugembe to meet with Bamwoze and the Diocesan Secretary. The Diocesan

¹⁶⁷ Interviews with Y Nsajju 2nd September 1999 and R Isabirye, 12th June 1999.

¹⁶⁸ Interviews with Y Nsajju 2nd September 1999; R Isabirye, 12th June 1999 and A Kisambira, 26th September 1999.

¹⁶⁹ Ibanda to Kisambira, Ref. Par 1/1, 6th May 1985, ASCIA.

Secretary welcomed them. He informed them that Bamwoze would join them soon. He showed up at midday, apologised for coming late and then went on to meet with them as planned. The mood of the meeting was cordial. Bamwoze listened attentively to the reasons which led them to demand a diocese. At the end of the meeting, he promised to keep in touch with them, and he also prayed for them. Both Kisambira and Nsajju alleged that Bamwoze invited them, not because he wanted to meet with them, but because he wanted to get rid of them.¹⁷⁰ They claimed that Bamwoze decided to meet with them after certain people with whom he had plotted to take them away, torture or possibly murder them, let him down at the last moment. These allegations, disturbing as they are, beg to be commented on here. First, it is difficult to understand why Bamwoze decided to meet with the initiators of the petition in the absence of their archdeacon, and after the Iganga diocesan petition had been adopted and forwarded by the Archdeaconry Council to the Diocesan Office. Certainly, he was not meeting with them in order to ask them to abandon their demands, because these demands were, at the time when he met with them, beyond their control. Therefore, technically, this meeting was pointless.

Furthermore, even if he deemed it necessary to torture them or get rid of them, as they claimed, it seems to me that it was all too obvious to entrap them using the organs of the church, that is, by getting the Diocesan Secretary to ask them to meet with him at Bugembe. He could not have avoided being directly implicated if anything bad happened to them. I am, in this respect, inclined to view this meeting as part of Bamwoze's wider strategy of frustrating further development of the petition by trying to woo its key petitioners to his side. But it was not intended to inflict bodily harm on them, as some of them alleged. It is also necessary to mention here what seemed to be the duplicitous way in which Bamwoze responded to the events of the Iganga diocesan affair. Notably, it was initially very difficult to perceive Bamwoze's own position on the petition. As I have shown earlier, Bamwoze rebuked Rev. Canon Silas Wekiya for helping to direct the petition behind the scenes. But just over one month later, he held a meeting with the group that initiated the petition, and at the end of this meeting he blessed them and all

¹⁷⁰ Nsajju and Kisambira informed me that while they were waiting for a taxi at Iganga *Semwesi*, a concerned person (name withheld on request) approached them and warned them that he had been reliably informed by a senior clergyman/ex-soldier (name withheld on request) that if they went to Bugembe they would not return alive. He claimed further that a few days after the meeting, he learnt that Bamwoze told Segonga to remain at home because he wanted to spare him from the harm he

their efforts.¹⁷¹ Given such circumstances in which Bamwoze ambivalently rebuked one priest and blessed the laity because of the role they played in the same affair, it became difficult to know whether he approved of it or not.

However, the Christians in Iganga, like most clergy in the diocese, suspected that he opposed the petition. Nonetheless, some laity held to the process of preparing for the diocese, operating under the pretext that he approved of it. They held regular preparatory meetings, sought and obtained permission from the civil authorities to raise funds¹⁷² needed to create the new diocese.¹⁷³ They also placed a signpost at the main road pointing to Iganga CMS on which they inscribed, "The Proposed Iganga Diocese. P O Box 19 Iganga".¹⁷⁴ These efforts, focused as they were, compelled Bamwoze to make his position on the Iganga diocesan affair very clear. From December 1985, he clearly revealed his opposition to the new diocese by halving the size of Iganga Archdeaconry, hence creating a new Archdeaconry of Namutumba.¹⁷⁵ He also hastily transferred Wekiya from Iganga to Namutumba¹⁷⁶ and appointed Rev. Canon John Kalimungabo Bagenda as the new Archdeacon of Iganga.

intended to inflict on the other people he had invited to meet with him. Interviews with Y Nsajju 2nd September 1999 and A Kisambira 26th September 1999.

¹⁷¹ On 30th May 1985, Kisambira wrote to the Diocesan Secretary to express his appreciation for the meeting and the encouragement which the bishop gave the group. He wrote, "Please convey our heartfelt thanks to our Lord Bishop, for the fatherly reception he accorded to us on Wednesday 22nd May 1985 in Christ's Cathedral Bugembe. We are really very grateful and we departed in contention (sic) of getting IGANGA DIOCESE. With regard to our Lord Bishop's remark that 'we will call you' (referring to the Chairman of the Laity) for further talks on this subject", I am looking forward to getting that invitation". Kisambira to Ibanda, "Formation of Iganga Diocese", 30th May 1985, ASCIA.

¹⁷² At first it was estimated that Ushs. 100, 000,000 was needed to meet the cost of creating the new diocese. In August 1986, the amount needed was increased to Ushs 150,000,000. Iganga Diocesan Steering Committee (IDSC), "*Embalirira (estimates) y'ensimbi ez'okuleeta obulabirizi bwe Iganga 1985/1986*", ASCIA; Kisambira to the Christians in Iganga Parish, "*Okuleeta obulabirizi bwe Iganga*", 5th August 1986. Kisambira's special collection.

¹⁷³ Wekiya to the District Commissioner of Iganga District, "The need to Create a new Diocese at Iganga", 14th June 1985, ASCIA. The District Police Commander permitted Wekiya to collect funds needed for the creation of a new diocese. He wrote, "This is to certify that Rev Silas Wekiya, the Archdeacon of Iganga has been authorised to collect funds within the District for the purpose of creating a new Diocese for Iganga. Please assist him as well as other Church officials who will be involved in the exercise". G A Odong, ASP, District Police Commander, Iganga, Ref. 127/222, "To whom it may concern: authority to collect funds", 19th July 1985, Kisambira's special collection.

¹⁷⁴ Interview with A Waiswa, 11th September 1999.

¹⁷⁵ S R Isabirye, "Schism Within Busoga Diocese...", p. 23.

¹⁷⁶ On 31st December 1985, while conducting the end of year service in All Saints' Church, Iganga, a messenger from the bishop handed a letter to Canon Wekiya, informing him of his immediate transfer to Namutumba with effect from the 1st January 1986. S R Isabirye, "Schism Within Busoga Diocese...", pp. 23-24.

The constitution of the diocese empowered Bamwoze to form, with the advice of the Diocesan Council, a section of the diocese into an archdeaconry. It also empowered him to transfer clergy, with the approval of the Staff Board, from one place to another.¹⁷⁷ Therefore, in creating Namutumba Archdeaconry and transferring Wekiya from Iganga to Namutumba, Bamwoze was operating within the parameters of the diocesan constitution. He also seemed to be addressing the logistical demands created by the rapid church growth in Iganga. Bamwoze's constitutional prerogative to initiate changes in the diocese notwithstanding, his timing was inappropriate, because he introduced these changes to an already suspicious people in the midst of an on-going demand for Iganga Diocese.

Most Christians in Iganga interpreted these changes as a divide and rule strategy undertaken by Bamwoze to frustrate their efforts. They also viewed the transfer of Wekiya from Iganga to Namutumba as a punishment for his role in the Iganga diocesan affair. But if it is true that these changes were intended to de-rail the affair, then, in my view, Bamwoze miscalculated. The transfer of Wekiya from Iganga to Namutumba brought him closer to Christians there and thus brought the latter closer to the campaign for the creation of Iganga Diocese. Also, the friends of Wekiya and the supporters of the petition became increasingly disillusioned with Bamwoze and his close friends, whom they generally regarded to be opposed to the creation of the new diocese. Besides, Bamwoze's sympathy with Milton Obote and his UPC government strained his relations with the non-UPC supporters in Iganga and Busoga even further,¹⁷⁸ leading the people who hated Bamwoze because of his political persuasions to sympathise with the people who clamoured for a separate diocese¹⁷⁹ and, as subsequent events show, to support their demand for his removal as Bishop of Busoga.

¹⁷⁷ The Constitution of Busoga Diocese, Law VII, 1 (a), p. 7, BDA.

¹⁷⁸ It is widely believed that Bamwoze played a considerable role in helping Milton Obote to return to Uganda in 1980 (partly by diverting church funds to help fund his rebel activities) and openly campaigned for him at Busoga College Mwiru shortly before the 1980 presidential elections. This is why after the fall of Obote in 1985, Bamwoze and other UPC supporters in Busoga (especially those who defected from DP to UPC) were ridiculed. Also, on 27th July 1985 anti-UPC elements raided the residence of Bamwoze in Bugembe and stole his robes. They also raided the residence of Bishop Wesonga of Mbale Diocese, the other self-confessed UPC supporters. *The Star*, daily, 27th September 1985; S R Isabirye, "Schism Within Busoga Diocese...", p. 26; P Gifford, *African Christianity: Its Public Role*, p. 130.

¹⁷⁹ *The Telecast*, 25th May 1988.

But all these ill feelings directed against Bamwoze did very little to deter his opposition to the Iganga diocesan affair. He used his powers as bishop to refuse to allow the inclusion of the Iganga's petition as an item on the agenda to be discussed during the long-awaited¹⁸⁰ Synod of April 1986.¹⁸¹ The only comment that he himself made *vis-à-vis* Iganga's petition in effect, dismissed the whole affair outright:

There are some people who because of reasons best known to themselves, do not desire to see Busoga united. Let them wait for their time. Meanwhile, they should leave us alone to build the Diocese of Busoga. If they want to divide Busoga into separate parts, then they should wait for their regime. The division of Busoga into separate parts is not part of the duties that God has shown us and therefore, we will not do it.¹⁸²

The Escalation of Dissident and Violent Tendencies Within Busoga Diocese

Shortly after the bishop's charge, Kisambira courageously complained, albeit unsuccessfully, about the way their petition had been handled.¹⁸³ Later, the delegations from Iganga and Namutumba walked out of the Synod, and from that time onwards the relationship between the two archdeaconries and Bamwoze became strained.¹⁸⁴ They went on to form themselves into a dissident movement within the diocese by turning the House of Laity for Iganga and Namutumba Archdeaconries into the Iganga Diocesan Steering Committee (IDSC).¹⁸⁵ They made one last attempt to engage Bamwoze in dialogue with a view to finding a solution to their grievances. On 12th May, the Secretary of IDSC wrote to Bamwoze, requesting a meeting in his office, on 12th June, between him and a delegation of fourteen representatives of IDSC.¹⁸⁶ But he received no reply.¹⁸⁷ Nonetheless, the group went ahead and travelled to Jinja. They found him in his office,

¹⁸⁰ The previous Synod of the Diocese was held in 1981, yet according to the Constitution of Busoga Diocese, it was supposed to meet "at least once in every two years". 1973 The Constitution of Busoga Diocese (English version), Law V, p. 4.

¹⁸¹ As a result, the petition for the creation of Iganga Diocese was not discussed since, according to the diocesan constitution, "No other issue shall be raised in the Synod meetings except those listed on the agenda". The Constitution of Busoga Diocese, 4 (b), p. 5, BDA.

¹⁸² C Bamwoze, "*Okwogera kw'omulabirizi wa Busoga eri Sinodi ...*", p. 4, BDA (translation mine). In the Church of Uganda it is customary for bishop to refer to themselves using the pronoun "we".

¹⁸³ Interview with A Kisambira, 20th September 1999.

¹⁸⁴ S R Isabirye, "Schism Within Busoga Diocese...", p. 27.

¹⁸⁵ The executive members of the Iganga Diocesan Steering Committee between 1984 and 1989 were A Kisambira (Chairman), J Bukumunhe (Vice-Chairperson), Y Kafambee Nsajju (Secretary), S Ndekera (Assistant Secretary), Y Kyobika (founder). Other Committee members were S John Waiswa, E Waiswa, A Waiswa, D Misango, A J Nswemu and S Kunya. Interview with A Kisambira, 26th September 1999.

¹⁸⁶ Kisambira and others to Okoth, "Creation of Iganga Diocese Detachable from Busoga Diocese", 3rd April 1987, p. 2, COU PA.

¹⁸⁷ Kisambira to Bamwoze, "*Okutondawo Obulabirizi bwe Iganga -Okuwera Olukiiko Lw'abakristayo*", 4th February 1987, p. 1, Y Nsajju's special collection.

but he refused to meet with them, arguing that he was on the way to the hospital because he had just learnt that his friend Wakate had died. This refusal to meet with the group fuelled the indignation in Iganga and Namutumba towards Bamwoze. It was also the first of many impasses caused by Bamwoze's intentional refusal to engage in dialogue with people in Iganga over the Iganga diocesan affair.¹⁸⁸ It seems to me that Bamwoze refused to meet with this group because he believed that talking to them was tantamount to giving them and their demands a platform.¹⁸⁹

On 26th June 1985, after failing in their attempts to meet with Bamwoze, the Steering Committee sent a delegation of four people led by Kisambira¹⁹⁰ to meet with Archbishop Yona Okoth and Rev Canon Charles Obaikol, the Provincial Secretary. The delegation appraised¹⁹¹ the primate on the developments in their diocese and appealed to him to intervene in order to save it from what seemed to be yet another crisis in the Province. Okoth promised to use his office to facilitate an amicable and constitutional solution to their problem. He urged the delegates, in the meantime, to follow the proper church procedure for demanding a diocese, and not: "to act like [their] brothers in Bugisu who applied 'withholding church funds' as the quickest route of reaching their destination".¹⁹²

By the end of June 1986 the Christians in Iganga gave up hope of getting a diocese in 1986 as they had hoped earlier. However, they did not abandon their struggle, or set another deadline, but resolved to work towards attaining a diocesan status as soon as possible. Following what they thought to be a helpful meeting with Okoth, the IDSC consolidated their efforts towards raising the money needed to create a new diocese. On 4th July they appointed a team comprising sixteen members and gave them the task of carrying out a fundraising drive in Iganga and Namutumba Archdeaconries.¹⁹³ As the

¹⁸⁸ Nambago informed me that the bishop received the letter written by the group in Iganga, requesting to meet with him on 3rd December 1985, but he decided to ignore it. It was true that after the group had arrived, the bishop coincidentally received a message over the telephone that Wakate had died. Interview with C B Nambago, 20th October 1999.

¹⁸⁹ S R Isabirye, "Schism Within Busoga Diocese...", p. 42

¹⁹⁰ The three other delegates who met with the primate and the Provincial Secretary were J Bukumunhe, Y Nsajju and Y L Nsiiro. Nsajju to Okoth, "Creation of Iganga Diocese: Laity's Financial Control", 10th November 1986, p. 1, Nsajju's special collection.

¹⁹¹ On 3rd December 1985, Kisambira had met, for the first time, with the primate and informed him about Iganga's desire to be made a diocese. Interview with A Kisambira, 20th September 1999.

¹⁹² Nsajju to Okoth, "Creation of Iganga Diocese: Laity's Financial Control", ASCIA.

¹⁹³ Nsajju to all Archdeacons, the Heads of Laity, Synod delegates and Christians of Iganga and Namutumba, "*Ababaka Okutalaga mu Bwassabadikoni Bwombi Iganga Ne Namutumba Ku Nsonga*

members of the fundraising team went round executing their duty, many clergy and other lay church workers complained to them that they had not received their stipend from the diocesan office since May 1986. The team duly communicated this problem to IDSC, which, in turn, passed it on to the diocesan office. It is, however, important to note that the strained relations between the two archdeaconries and Bamwoze played a major role in the failure of the diocese to pay salaries of church workers. I mentioned earlier that half of the money raised within the diocese came from Iganga Archdeaconry. The increasing disillusionment of Christians and their increasing tendency towards dissidence resulted in a sharp decline in the tithes and offerings collected. Furthermore, many Christians decided to divert their giving from the regular tithes and offerings to contributing towards the cost of creating Iganga Diocese. Hence, at this time, the parishes in Iganga remitted very little money to the diocesan treasury. As a result, the treasury found it very difficult to pay salaries of most of the workers in the diocese.

The situation worsened from August when Bishop Bamwoze refused to respond to a request from the Provincial Assembly and the media to comment on Iganga Christians' demand for a diocese,¹⁹⁴ and in November, when some church workers not paid for seven months threatened to abandon their work. Consequently, IDSC resolved, during a meeting held on 7th November to assume control over all finances collected in the two archdeaconries with effect from 1st December.¹⁹⁵ During their meeting of 5th December, the IDSC re-confirmed their decision to take up the responsibility of "treasuring the tithes collected in Churches throughout the two archdeaconries" and to set up a finance committee to manage these funds. The following day they communicated their decision to Okoth.¹⁹⁶ Nsajju also wrote to all the leaders in both archdeaconries, instructing them to deposit their contributions in the bank account of the proposed diocese. He warned all

Y'okuleeta Obulabirizi bwe Iganga 20th July – 30th August 1986", 7th July 1986, Nsajju's special collection; Kisambira to all the Christians in Iganga Parish, "*Okuleeta Obulabirizi Bwe Iganga*", 5th August 1986, Kisambira's special collection.

¹⁹⁴ Interview with C B Nambago, 19th July 1999; S R Isabirye, "Schism Within Busoga Diocese...", p. 40.

¹⁹⁵ On 10th November, Nsajju wrote a letter to Okoth, in which he stated, "Your Grace, we, the LAITY, obediently respond to the LORD'S appeal by taking the TITHES into the STORE-HOUSE but the LEVITES our Pastors don't draw hither that which deserves them, some of them since seven months back. Bearing in mind that if the LEVITE doesn't get his MEAT, we don't get the LORD of hosts' blessings, we decided to withhold the TITHES at our Archdeaconry level, save, those necessary for the up-keep of the Diocesan and the Provincial expenses, with effect from 1st December, 1986. We therefore, request Your Grace, to give our Chairman, who is presenting this letter to you, the necessary figures for our subsequent remittances" (sic). Nsajju to Okoth, "Creation of Iganga Diocese: Laity's Financial Control", 10th November 1986. A copy of this letter was sent to Bishop Bamwoze.

¹⁹⁶ Nsajju to Okoth, "Creation of Iganga Diocese", 5th December 1986, ASCIA.

parishes and clergy, especially those in Bugiri area which were 'pro-Busoga Diocese, and 'pro-Bamwoze', that taking money to the diocesan office in Jinja would be interpreted as an attempt to frustrate the creation of the new diocese. He encouraged the Christians whose clergy were anti-IDSC, not to give them their money and to seek assistance from IDSC.¹⁹⁷

Hence, it became clear to many people in Busoga that a dissident movement had emerged and solidified within the diocese, and that the clamour for the creation of a separate diocese of Iganga had gained what seemed to be an irreversible momentum. Also, there were no efforts undertaken between the diocesan officials and IDSC to handle the affair in a constructive and amicable manner. They became intolerant towards each other and also used coercion in order to outwit each other, thus making the disagreements between them destructive and more difficult to resolve.¹⁹⁸ In December the members of Iganga Archdeaconry Council held several meetings, during which they denounced IDSC, lashed out against their actions, and urged Christians not to have any dealings with them.¹⁹⁹

The members of IDSC defended their existence and actions by insisting that they were not lunatics and infidels, as some members of the Archdeaconry Council alleged.²⁰⁰ They castigated Canon Bagenda, the Archdeacon of Iganga, accusing him of calling them *bayekera* (rebels),²⁰¹ and of spearheading the fight against them by among other things, locking All Saints Church, Iganga, in order to prevent IDSC from using it as a venue for

¹⁹⁷ A declaration made on 10th December 1986 by Yeseri K. Nsajju, sent to all leaders and churches in Iganga and Namutumba Archdeaconries, Nsajju's special collection.

¹⁹⁸ Morton Deutsch appropriately suggested in his studies on constructive conflict resolution that resorting to the use of force in resolving disputes or disagreements is likely to increase the size of the conflict and thus increase the likelihood of a destructive process. "Constructive Conflict Resolution: Principles, Training, and Research", in *Constructive Conflict Management: An Answer to Critical Social Problems?* *Journal of Social Issues*, 50/1, 1994, pp. 18-19.

¹⁹⁹ During these two meetings, the council resolved to inform the Christians in the archdeaconry that the joint House of Laity of Iganga and Namutumba Archdeaconries was not recognised by the church and that Kisambira and other committee members operated illegally and unconstitutionally. Rev. Canon Bagenda, the Chairman of the Council, also advised members present not to allow Kisambira and his group to address their congregation, fearing that they would lead them in unnecessary problems. Nsajju to Okoth, "Creation of Iganga Diocese", 5th December 1986, p. 1, ASCIA. John K Bagenda to all leaders in the Iganga Archdeaconry, "*Ensonga enkulu ezikwaata ku Mr. Amulaferi Kisambira*", 30th April 1987, ASCIA.

²⁰⁰ Kisambira and others to Okoth, "Creation of Iganga Diocese Detachable from Busoga Diocese", p. 2, ASCIA.

²⁰¹ Interviews with A Kisambira, 26th September 1999 and Yeseri Nsajju, 2nd September 1999.

their meetings.²⁰² As a result, they tried to isolate him by turning back Christians who went to attend the services he conducted.²⁰³ Also, on the 6th May 1987, they cast a vote of no confidence in him,²⁰⁴ in order to send a stern warning to him and other ‘opponents’ that IDSC members would not hesitate to resist any person or group of people who opposed them.

However, a greater show of intolerance, intrigue and use of coercion was unleashed by Bamwoze and some Christians opposed to IDSC. From 31st December 1986, Bamwoze, arguably in retaliation, again punished Wekiya for his continued involvement in the Iganga diocesan affair. He demoted him from archdeacon to Vicar of Nawansega, his home parish, with effect from 1st January 1987. He instructed him to wait for a truck from the diocese, which would take him, his family and property to Nawansega on 9th February. The truck arrived at 5:00 pm²⁰⁵ when Wekiya and his family had given up hope of travelling and had unpacked some of their property. Hence, they decided not to leave on that day. Bamwoze interpreted Wekiya’s refusal to transfer as disobedience, and proceeded to suspend him indefinitely from the ministry, without giving him a chance to defend himself before the relevant committees or tribunals.²⁰⁶ He asked him to hand over the leadership of Namutumba Archdeaconry to Rev Augustine Kamira,²⁰⁷ vacate church premises immediately and to find his own means of transport to Nawansega. However, Christians of Namutumba felt that Wekiya was unfairly punished, and as a result asked him to defy Bamwoze and stay, which he did.²⁰⁸

Meanwhile, early in 1987, Ibanda informed Nsajju that the Diocesan Council had decided to evict, by the end of March, from church houses, people like him and others

²⁰² Kisambira to Bamwoze, “*Okutondawo Obulabirizi bwe Iganga: Okuwera Olukiiko lw’abakristayo*”, 4th February 1987, p. 1; Interviews with A Kisambira, 26th September 1999; Yeseri Nsajju, 2nd September 1999.

²⁰³ Interview with J K Bagenda, 8th November 1999.

²⁰⁴ Kisambira to Iganga District Administrator, entitled, “*Okujja Obwesige mu Ssabadikoni Waffe Rev. John Kalimungabo Bagenda*”, 6th May 1987, Kisambira’s special collection.

²⁰⁵ S R Isabirye, “Schism Within Busoga Diocese...”, p. 30.

²⁰⁶ Law thirteen, *The Constitution of Busoga Diocese*, 1973 (Re-approved in 1994), English version, p. 17.

²⁰⁷ Later Bamwoze accepted Kamira’s plea not to be transferred to Namutumba and instead asked Rev Difasi Mwanja to replace him. Interview with N Mukwaya, 8th November 1999.

²⁰⁸ Nekemiya Mukwaya told me that the Christians in Namutumba insistently refused to accept Mwanja. Rev Paul Kitakule, who was the Vicar in Namalemba, took over the control of the archdeaconry, and that Bamwoze confirmed him as the archdeacon. Interview with N Mukwaya, 8th November 1999.

who were not employees of the church or who did not pay rent to the church.²⁰⁹ Following his failure to vacate the church house as requested, on 23rd April, Ibanda, Bagenda, court brokers and two armed policemen broke into the house of Nsajju, put all his property out and locked the house.²¹⁰ Nsajju slept outside his house for two cold and rainy nights before he was able find another place to stay.²¹¹ Again this incident was viewed as an act (on the part of Bamwoze and his supporters) of terrorising a member of IDSC. Seven days after evicting Nsajju, the Christians and local police unit in Namutumba intercepted and foiled attempts made by four armed policemen together with Rev Difasi Mwanja, to evict Wekiya from the church manse.²¹² Moreover, at the beginning of July, armed thugs, allegedly sent by the bishop of Busoga, attacked the Rev Canon Isabirye, a retired clergyman and one of the few clergy that openly supported the creation of Iganga Diocese.²¹³ A correspondent of *The Telecast* reported this incident in these disturbing words:

A CHURCH of Uganda Bishop in Eastern Uganda has been implicated in an attempt to murder a very Reverend Canon in Iganga District. Early this month, the old Reverend while at his home in Iganga District was set upon by thugs who after raining heavy blows with clubs upon him, finally cut his head with a panga [mashete] and left him half dead. Throughout the ordeal, the correspondent records, the thugs could be heard debating over whether or not to “finish off” the old man in order to please the ‘Biscou’ (taken to mean bishop). The relatives of the victim, our man further reports, were completely hostile to the queries and showed signs of great fear. Our correspondent, questioned the neighbours, some of whom while seeking anonymity in the strongest terms disclosed that the thugs were the henchmen of a Bishop who is said to be opposed to the victim. Asked as to why he should so oppose a mere Reverend, our man was told that the Reverend was a key respected figure in popular demands in Busoga Diocese to create another diocese in Iganga. It was further alleged that the Bishop is very studiously opposed to this move.²¹⁴

²⁰⁹ Interview with M J Ibanda, 23rd September 1999.

²¹⁰ Kisambira to Iganga District Administrator entitled, “*Okujja Obwesige mu Ssabidikoni Waffe Rev. John Kalimungabo Bagenda*”, 6th May 1987.

²¹¹ Interview with Y Nsajju, 2nd September 1999.

²¹² It was not until the middle of June 1987 that Wekiya eventually left Namutumba, and transferred to his home in Nawansaga. The diocese did not contribute towards the cost of transferring to his home. This partly explains why it took him a month to do so. S R Isabirye, “Schism Within Busoga Diocese...”, p. 32.

²¹³ Kisambira to the Chairman Human Rights Commission, Ministry of Justice, “Complaints Against Bishop of Busoga”, 25th May 1987, ASCIA.

²¹⁴ Correspondent, “UPC Appointed Bishops: Bishop Implicated in Murder Attempt”, in *The Telecast*, daily, 4/26, 14th July 1987, p. 1. Amulaferi and Florence Kisambira also informed me that an unsuccessful plot was made to murder them and the close members of their family by planting a bomb in their compound. Interviews with Mr and Mrs Kisambira, 20th September 1999 and 26th September 1999.

In addition to these coercive acts against members and supporters of IDSC, the bishop and his key supporters mounted strategies designed to create further divisions and confusion in Iganga. First, in an action that could be mistaken for a sudden change of heart, on 4th December 1986, Iganga Archdeaconry Council appointed a committee of eighteen members and entrusted them with the task of being “in charge of constitutional preparation for a diocese at Iganga”. James Eremye, a person viewed by IDSC as a close friend of Bamwoze, was appointed as the chairman of this committee.²¹⁵

It is hardly surprising to me that this committee did not make much progress in this ‘task’ since it was mainly intended to frustrate the work of IDSC.²¹⁶ For instance, they discouraged Christians from contributing towards the funds needed by IDSC to create Iganga Diocese. They also cautioned Christians that their money was ending up in the pockets of IDSC members. Furthermore, during one of its meetings, a suggestion was made in this committee to locate the headquarters of the proposed Iganga Diocese at Bugiri, not at Iganga CMS, as was originally suggested, on the grounds that Iganga was too close to Bugembe.²¹⁷ This suggestion was intended, as it did, to create a division amongst Christians by reviving the old rivalries between people in Kigulu and Bukholi Counties in which Iganga CMS and Bugiri were situated respectively.²¹⁸ Hence, they succeeded in preventing the Steering Committee from making further progress towards becoming a diocese, and by the end of 1987, Eremye’s committee, having succeeded in its mission, resolved that Iganga was not ready to become a diocese.²¹⁹

²¹⁵ The rest of the Executive members of this committee were Rev J Magumba (Vice-Chairman), Rev D Kizza (Treasurer), N Mugoya (Secretary), Canon J Bagenda (ex-officio), and committee members were G Muluya, Rev Samuel Magulu, Paul Kidibye, James Mugoya, S Lubanga, S Muwereza, M Bageyo, Rev Canon A Kadali, M Mpiira, R Kitakule, W Batabaire, C Tibatemwa, A Kisambira and J Bukumuhne. During the same meeting Kisambira and Bukumuhne were accused of pursuing unconstitutional procedures in demanding for a diocese. A vote of no confidence in them was taken during a succeeding meeting. Minute 10 and 11 of the Iganga Archdeaconry Council, 4th December 1986, ASCIA; J K Bagenda, and others to Okoth, “Your Letter to all the Christians in Iganga and Namutumba Archdeaconries”, p. 1, ASCIA; Kisambira to Okoth, “Your Letter to all the Christians in Iganga and Namutumba Archdeaconries”, 24th September 1987, pp. 1-2, ASCIA.

²¹⁶ Rev John Magumba informed me that the task of the committee was genuine and effective, but it was affected by the transfer of Canon Bagenda to Bugiri. Telephone conversation, 26th October 2000.

²¹⁷ IDSC felt that this suggestion was unrealistic, giving an example of the head office of Kampala Diocese, situated at All Saints Cathedral, Nakasero, which was less than two miles away from that of Namirembe Diocese. Interview with A Kisambira, 26th September 1999.

²¹⁸ Kisambira to Okoth, Ref. ID/APT/1/89, “Creation of Iganga Diocese: Your Pastoral Tour of Busoga”, 4th May 1989, p. 2; S R Isabirye, “Schism Within Busoga Diocese...”, p. 55.

²¹⁹ Interview with A Kisambira, 26th September 1999.

Unsuccessful Attempts to Secede from Busoga Diocese

Early in 1987, Bamwoze divided the two archdeaconries further into four and also increased the number of parishes from twenty-five to thirty-five.²²⁰ Furthermore, during the Diocesan Council which met at Bugembe Cathedral on 29th May, Bamwoze, though still accusing IDSC of not understanding the five-year plan of the diocese, stated that if any decision to create another diocese was to be considered, it had to be approved by the Diocesan Planning and Development Board.²²¹ Kisambira and his colleagues rejected this idea of waiting until after the Diocesan Planning and Development Board discussed the Iganga diocesan affair. They viewed it as a delaying tactic, since, like most of the other boards and committees within the diocese, the membership of this board was non-existent.²²² In spite of all the coercive measures undertaken to outwit the 'rebels', the clamour for the creation of Iganga diocese did not diminish. After realising that it was not possible for Okoth to take seriously the complaints levied against Bamwoze, his personal friend, IDSC resolved to become even more insistent in their demands. They appealed to the government to intervene in their affair.²²³ They also resorted to coercive tactics like sending several memoranda to Okoth and other senior church officials.

The Iganga diocesan affair was the main issue that dominated these memoranda.²²⁴ But despite these memoranda Okoth refused to intervene in it. As a result, on 30th July 1987, IDSC called a press conference and declared that they had seceded from Busoga Diocese and formed themselves into a new diocese of Iganga. They warned that if Okoth failed to recognise them and to appoint a caretaker bishop as soon as possible, they would appeal

²²⁰ Bugiri Archdeaconry was one of the four archdeaconries Bamwoze created. Interview with S Ndekera, 5th October 1999.

²²¹ Kisambira and others to Okoth, 9th June 1987, ASCIA; Interview with A Kisambira, 26th September 1999.

²²² Interview with A Kisambira, 26th September 1999.

²²³ Kisambira to Dr Samson Kisekka, the Prime Minister, "Creation of Iganga Diocese – Church of Uganda", 20th May 1987, Kisambira's special collection; E M Mayanja-Musoke, Principal Private Secretary to the Prime Minister to Kisambira, Ref. PPS/1, 26th May 1987, ASCIA. The Prime Minister met with Kisambira and his colleagues on 14th June 1987, at the International Conference Centre. He informed them that the government did not interfere into internal affairs of the church unless the security of the citizens was threatened, but promised to take up their concern with relevant officials within the church.

²²⁴ IDSC sent a memorandum to the archbishop on 2nd April and a reminder on 9th June 1987. They also met with him for ten hours on 28th and 29th April to discuss the two major issues in the petition. During this meeting they pointed out to the archbishop that when his predecessor intervened in the affairs of West Buganda he set a precedent in which the primate would, if he wanted, intervene to settle disputes within a diocese. Kisambira and others to Okoth", 9th June 1987, p. 1, Nsajju's special collections.

to the House of Bishops and if they deemed it necessary, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.²²⁵ Okoth, in his response, denounced their newly created diocese, stating:

I am astonished at such a move on your part to declare yourselves as a new diocese. This move is unconstitutional and therefore as a Province of Church of Uganda we want to denounce the existence of such a diocese in our Province. I took it upon myself to attend to you when you came to my office on the 29th April 1987, and as a Chief shepherd, I advised you to follow the procedure of asking for a diocese through your Councils and Synod. It is therefore sad to see your letters declaring yourselves as a new diocese. I therefore condemn the action taken as unconstitutional and unwarranted. It is my prayer that you subject yourselves to the regulations and governance of our Church as laid down in diocesan and Provincial constitutions.²²⁶

This letter gave Bagenda and others an opportunity to lash out at IDSC and their supporters.²²⁷ IDSC, for their part, felt let down by Okoth. They accused him of siding with Bamwoze and his supporters and of bungling all the available opportunities of finding a peaceful and lasting solution to the affair. Kisambira expressed his disappointment in a letter he sent to Okoth on 2nd September 1987:

Your Grace, we have frequented your office for no reason other than the creation of IGANGA DIOCESE. We cannot waste our elderly energy and precious time, coming to your office without a justifiable cause. Your letter dated 24th August 1987, and Reverend John K. Bagenda's coverage dated 26th August 1987, do not cure our spiritual ailment. Your tarrying in appointing a CARETAKER is dispersing your flock to other Christians sects, and emprovising the Church. We have a lot, as church elders, that we have tolerated in our diocesan poor leadership. We should not like to be forced to "reveal the concealed" by your inflexible decision..."(sic).²²⁸

²²⁵ N Salis, "*Bishop Bamwoze aggidwamu obwesige n'Obulabirizi bwa Busoga Bwekutuddemu*", in *Ngabo*, Saturday, 1st August 1987, p. 6.

²²⁶ Okoth to the Christians, Iganga and Namutumba Archdeaconries, entitled "Cessation (sic) of Iganga and Namutumba Archdeaconries to Form a New Diocese", 24th August 1987, COU PA.

²²⁷ Bagenda sent copies of Okoth's letter and his own response to it to all the clergy in the Iganga archdeaconry. Furthermore, Bagenda and other leaders stated in their reply to Okoth, "Your Grace, our Chief Shepherd, we wish to express our deep appreciation for the above said letter; in which you have greatly enlightened and directed us in matters concerning preparations for the new diocese at Iganga. The unconstitutional move in which Iganga was declared a new diocese, was engineered by a few unconstitutional people. Neither in the Synod nor in the Church councils has the resolution of declaring Iganga as a new diocese been taken. Hence we were also highly astonished at that unfortunate declaration. Moreover we had already denounced such unconstitutional characteristics. The said people do not carry the people's mandate for the preparation of a diocese at Iganga. The people you mention to have attended to on the 29th April 1987, took that opportunity to their advantage to continue in their pursuits regardless of the advice you gave". John K Bagenda and others to the archbishop, entitled "Your Letter to all Christians in Iganga and Namutumba Archdeaconry", p. 1, ASCIA; Bagenda to all the Clergy, entitled "Ebaluwa ya Ssabalabirizi wa Uganda eri Abakristayo Bonna mu Bwassabadikoni bwe Iganga ne Namutumba", 26th August 1987, ASCIA.

²²⁸ Kisambira, Chairman to Okoth, entitled "Cessation (sic) of Iganga and Namutumba Archdeaconries to Form a New Diocese", 2nd September 1987, Kisambira's special collection.

IDSC members did not like the way Okoth handled the affair. They claimed that he mishandled it and gave two examples to prove their point. First, they claimed that he failed to visit the Christians in Iganga, despite the fact he usually passed through Iganga on his way to his home in Tororo.²²⁹ Second, they argued that he refused to appoint a delegation (as he and his predecessor had done in the case of Mbale Diocese) to investigate the problems in Busoga. They claimed that, on the whole, Okoth was reluctant to intervene in the Iganga diocesan crisis, alleging that the only time Okoth responded substantially was in August 1987, when he wrote to IDSC criticising their decision to secede from Busoga Diocese. They concluded that Okoth, given his friendship with Bamwoze, was unwilling to intervene in the affair, fearing that doing so would jeopardise his friends' hold on the diocese.²³⁰ IDSC resorted in desperation to disparaging Bamwoze in the hope that they would get the diocese and the province to remove him, and to support their demand for a separate diocese.

They exposed his weaknesses with the intention of making his position as bishop untenable. They claimed that the ironhanded, duplicitous and torturous ways in which Bamwoze and his friends handled the Iganga diocesan affair affected their credibility as church leaders. They accused Bamwoze of several other irregularities, like corruption;²³¹ failing (or refusing?) to train most of the clergy in the diocese; frustrating some of the clergy who desired to go for further training, either by refusing to give them permission or by belittling them, saying that they were not good enough academically to undertake

²²⁹ On the failure of the archbishop to visit Busoga Diocese and Iganga in particular, the Steering Committee informed the primate, "Your Grace, since your assumption of office, FOUR YEARS today, you have failed or have been diverted from performing your Pastoral Tour of Busoga Diocese. The consequence is that you are not aware of, OR are ignorant of the mischievous acts that are done in this part of your domain, by the bishop of Busoga (sic)". Kisambira and others to Okoth, "Declared Iganga Diocese", 28th January 1988, p. 2; A letter from Kisambira to Okoth, entitled "Your Pastoral Tour of Busoga", undated, Kisambira's special collection; S R Isabirye, "Schism Within Busoga Diocese...", p. 35.

²³⁰ An unnamed correspondent of *The Telecast* newspaper also reported that "the Bishop (Bamwoze) could have been already thrown out had 'he not' been a protégé of another powerful political appointee [meaning Okoth] who wielded power in the House of Bishops. This one, it is said, was "elected" because he fought dictator Idi Amin". Correspondent, "UPC Appointed Bishops: Bishop Implicated in Murder Attempt", in *The Telecast*, 4/26, 14th July 1987, p. 1.

²³¹ They alluded, as a case in point, to what they felt as his misappropriation of funds and items like the big tent donated, by Archbishop Robert Runcie of Canterbury, to Bishop Hannington Memorial Shrine at Kyando. Kisambira and others to Okoth entitled, "Declared Iganga Diocese", 28th January 1988, pp. 1-4, Nsajju's special collection; Kisambira to Okoth, Ref. ID/APT/1/89 entitled, "Creation of Iganga Diocese: Your Pastoral Tour of Busoga", 4th May 1989, pp. 1-2, Kisambira's special collection.

further training,²³² failing to establish a theological training centre in the diocese; and lavishing close friends and relatives with special favours.²³³ In the next chapter, I will pursue in more detail the issue of Bamwoze's failure to train the clergy in his diocese and his tendency to give preferential treatment to some of his friends and relatives. Here, I merely point out that IDSC saw in these actions his intention to consolidate his exclusive power and influence over the diocese. They were also cases in point, which underpinned what they felt to be his unfitness and unworthiness as a diocesan bishop.

Furthermore, IDSC accused Bamwoze of being a dictator and a 'spiritually bankrupt' prelate, weaknesses which they also alleged to be manifest in the life and actions of some other senior leaders in the diocese. They identified a number of Bamwoze's irregularities. These included his filling the diocesan office with laity and with his own relatives; diverting to himself and his friends funds and gifts donated by friends of the church abroad; transferring all the livestock at Bugembe Diocesan Farm to his own farm in Nakimegere; transferring the MSRDP training centre from Kaliro in Iganga Archdeaconry to Naminage in Bugabula County, close enough to his home;²³⁴ rebuking clergy and other church leaders in public; and behaving indecently (after the death of his first wife) with Naomi Lilian Takubika, before and after he married her.²³⁵

The group alleged further and more disturbingly that the prelate was suspected as responsible for a number of mysterious deaths in Busoga. They singled out the murder in 1983 of Godfrey Kibalya, the headmaster of St James Senior Secondary School,²³⁶ with whose wife Bamwoze was suspected to have had an indecent love affair;²³⁷ the shooting to death of Adulamu Bamuzibire at Wairaka and of Rev Augustine Kamira, a 'rival'

²³² V D Wangola, "Busoga Crisis", an unpublished manuscript; Interview with VD Wangola, 16th September 1999.

²³³ S R Isabirye, "Schism Within Busoga Diocese, Church of Uganda 1983-1988...", p. 36.

²³⁴ Interview with Rev. R Isabirye, 12th June 1999; S. R. Isabirye, "Schism Within Busoga Diocese...", p. 50.

²³⁵ Takubika was a widow of Colonel James Tibamuleke, was killed in what was suspected to be a politically motivated murder. S R Isabirye, "Schism Within Busoga Diocese...", p. 34; Correspondent, "UPC Appointed Bishops: Bishop Implicated in Murder Attempt", p. 1.

²³⁶ S R Isabirye, "Schism Within Busoga Diocese...", p. 34.

²³⁷ Kibalya was abducted on 25th February 1983. His mutilated body was found on 27th February 1983 and was buried on 1st March 1983. At the time Kibalya disappeared, Dr Joyce Namutebi Nsubuga, his wife, was the head of the medical sector of MSRDP. After his death she left the country to live in USA. Interviews with VG J Wangola, 16th September 1999; F Mukobe, 20th October 1999.

cleric of Bamwoze,²³⁸ and the mysterious death, on 5th January 1986, of Beatrice Bamwoze, his first wife.²³⁹ It is imperative, however, to point out here that neither the church nor the Criminal Investigation Department (CID) investigated these allegations. They remained unsubstantiated, but, nonetheless, seriously affected Bamwoze's credibility.

These accusations and allegations, vast and perplexing as they were, led many people in Busoga and beyond to lose confidence and trust in Bamwoze. It became difficult for him to execute his duties, especially in Iganga. Some Christians barred him from visiting them, while others interrupted his schedules by giving him memoranda whenever they got an opportunity. But all this opposition and indignation towards him did not result in his resigning or in the creation of a diocese of Iganga.²⁴⁰ So, despite all stringent oppositional, dissident and secessionist movements in Busoga, Bamwoze remained in office as Bishop of Busoga, and he refused to yield to the demand for the creation of a separate diocese. Gradually, many people gave up hope of seeing the diocese of Iganga created. By the end of 1988 the influence of IDSC had declined rapidly, and from the beginning of 1989 it existed only in name. Hence, Bamwoze and his supporters succeeded in confounding the clamour for a separate diocese of Iganga,²⁴¹ but also failed terribly to reconcile themselves with a large body of Christians within the diocese who incessantly lamented the "loss of pastoral flavour (sic)"²⁴² in Busoga Diocese. If another active dissident group emerged in the diocese, as it did from the early 1990s, it would find ready support from this large group of dissatisfied, frustrated and angry Christians.

²³⁸ Bamwoze suspended Kamira from the ordained ministry on 5th February 1988, accusing him of being disobedient. Kamira left the church and formed the Evangelical Church of Uganda, with its headquarters based in Jinja. In the same year thugs broke into Kamira's house and killed him.

²³⁹ Several people told me that Bamwoze was informed of his wife's death while conducting a service at Bugembe. But he carried on with the service. His failure to show immediately an emotional response to this sad news led many people to accuse him of having a hand in her death. Interviews with S R Isabirye, 12th June 1999; S Kafuko, 10th September 1999; and S Ndekera, 5th October 1999.

²⁴⁰ S R Isabirye, "Schism Within Busoga Diocese...", p. 50.

²⁴¹ Interviews with M J Ibanda, 23rd September 1999 and with C B Nambago, 19th July 1999.

²⁴² Kisambira and others to Okoth, "Declared Iganga Diocese", 28th January 1988, p. 4, ASCIA.

REFLECTION

In this and in the previous chapter, I have discussed several conflicts which raged at the provincial and diocesan levels in the Church of Uganda until 1988. One way of understanding these conflicts is through the principles of conflict resolution and management. It is, in this light, worth noting that most of these conflicts, like many others that raged elsewhere, started small and were triggered by issues or feelings that could have been resolved amicably had it not been for influences which included the notorious win/lose power plays;²⁴³ the absence or frustration of insider negotiation; and the general inadequacies (including aggravations of discordance) in intervention of the outside parties (bystanders and third parties). In the case of Busoga Diocese, several isolated discordant feelings remained largely unresolved, leading to accumulations of unresolved emotional and substantive differences between the principals, and escalating, as Hugh Halverstadt appropriately suggested, into malevolent cycles of conflicts.²⁴⁴

As in some other conflicts in the province, the conflicts in Busoga Diocese discussed in this chapter reveal the presence of a combination of traits, dispositions and propensities. These include overgeneralisation; exaggeration or personalisation of issues or feelings of 'other' parties; reducing disputes to "issues of face or self-esteem";²⁴⁵ and reluctance or refusal of principals to confront their differences in an amicable and effective manner.²⁴⁶ This resulted in the absence of conciliation and frequent tendencies to use coercion in order to get 'other' parties to submit or surrender. As a result, the conflicts in Busoga escalated with polarising and malevolent effects, and ultimately, in the absence of constructive conflict management strategies, they evolved into rigid dissident groups, factions or secessions. Furthermore, most of the concerns expressed, for instance in meetings, letters or petitions, were relatively more motivated by win/lose conflict management than by a win/win oriented resolution of conflicts. Also, the conflicting parties tended to label the characters and intentions of their 'antagonists' as very bad, self-centred or self-aggrandising. Given such circumstances, it became very difficult to

²⁴³ Principals, in terms of conflict resolution and management, are parties with personal or representative interest in a conflict.

²⁴⁴ *Managing Church Conflict*. Louisville Kentucky: Westminster, 1991, p. 8.

²⁴⁵ H Halverstadt, *Managing Church Conflict*, p. 21; D Burns, *Feeling Good: The New Mood Therapy*. New York: Signet Books, 1980, pp. 40-41.

²⁴⁶ D G Pruitt and J Z Rubin, *Social Conflict: Escalation, Stalemate and Settlement*. New York: Random House, 1986, p. 4.

follow benevolent processes of dealing with the conflicts using a mutual gains approach²⁴⁷ and in a manner that constrained those who 'fought dirty' and assisted those who 'fought fair'.²⁴⁸

As in many conflict-riddled contexts, the issues and feelings at stake in Busoga were determined by the personal interests²⁴⁹ of the principals, coupled with (or assisted by) the cooperative and competitive interests of their respective groups, structures or organisations. Bamwoze, for example sought, like some other bishops, to uphold and protect the written or unwritten canons of the church, especially those that favoured his exclusive claim to power and frustrated the interests of other parties. He refused to reply to letters written by people who sought an amicable settlement to the case of Kyaligonza, and to that written, on 12th May 1986, by Nsajju, the secretary of IDSC, because, in my view, he feared that replying to them would give a vantage point and negotiating position to the 'other' parties, and thereby threaten his zero-sum-oriented²⁵⁰ desire of emerging as the winner, at 'other' parties' expense. Furthermore, Bamwoze's refusal to include Iganga's petition on the agenda of the diocesan synod of 1986, and the intermittent disciplinary measures to which he subjected Canon Silas Wekiya using his constitutional prerogative as the head of the diocese, all underpinned what many people in Iganga, rightly in my opinion, interpreted as part of his absolute determination to prevent a decline in his leverage as the 'Bishop of Busoga'. It is interesting to observe here the acute absence of the emulation of Jesus, the Chief Shepherd's persistent and self-giving intervention, one that is committed to reconciling people to God and to each other, and one in which power is utilised primarily for the purpose of nurturing the flock rather than controlling it.

Also, the discordant feelings in the diocese about the less than adequate care for the church workers in the pastoral sector, marginalisation of women, the misappropriation of church funds and property, and the failure by the leadership of the diocese to involve the

²⁴⁷ A mutual gains approach "argues for the possibility of solutions that all sides find acceptable". J Z Rubin, "Models of Conflict Management", in *Journal of Social Issues*, 50/1, 1994, pp. 35-37.

²⁴⁸ Hugh Halverstadt, *Managing Church Conflict*, p. 10.

²⁴⁹ For a detailed discussion on these interests see M Deutsch, "Constructive Conflict Resolution: Principles, Training, and Research", in *Journal of Social Issues*, 50/1, 1994, pp. 13-15.

²⁵⁰ A zero-sum arrangement is one in which one side does well in a conflict at the expense of another. J Z Rubin, "Models of Conflict Management", in *Journal of Social Issues*, 50/1, 1994, p. 36.

laity more actively in the decision-making organs of the church, predisposed the choices of the emergent anti-Bamwoze parties in the conflicts that bedevilled the diocese. Most of the disgruntled and disillusioned elements which emerged in Busoga found it very difficult to get Bamwoze to respond amicably to their problems. The most affected of these groups was IDSC, who saw most of the avenues leading to demanding a separate diocese closed to them. In desperation, they resorted to smearing Bamwoze's image anticipating that he would, in the face of humiliation, give in to their demands and also resign as Bishop of Busoga. But far from being overpowered, Bamwoze and his supporters intensified their determination to outwit their 'antagonists'. By the end of 1988, they had succeeded in subduing them, and reducing their existence to a name, IDSC. However, although Bamwoze and his supporters managed to overpower IDSC and their supporters, they failed to establish common ground upon which all disagreements could be amicably resolved, hence making the atmosphere conducive for a malevolent cycle of conflicts to develop.

It is also necessary to compare, albeit briefly, the variables in the Iganga Diocesan Crisis with those of the conflicts in other dioceses. Such a comparison, I believe, explains further the nature and impact of disagreements in the church. It also reveals in no uncertain terms the general inability of the Church of Uganda, both at diocesan and provincial levels to manage disputes and conflicts within its borders in a manner that is constructive, amicable and effective. Unlike the crisis which raged at the provincial level between the dioceses in Buganda and the province, or those that occurred in Rwenzori, and Ankole-Kigezi, the Iganga diocesan crisis was not marked by ethnic differences, prejudice and isolation, since the principals in the conflict belonged to the same ethnic group. But like the conflict between South and North Mbale, the Iganga affair was motivated partly by regional differences, and injustices and/or malpractices like domination and exploitation. Moreover, the grievances and demands of the Christians in Iganga were not as intensive as those of North Mbale, who in addition to demanding a separate diocese, also asked to be given a separate district and cooperative society, and whose clergy risked being defrocked by their bishop for putting the interests of their region before obedience to their bishop. Many clergy in Iganga desired to see a separate diocese of Iganga, but preferred not to be directly involved in demanding it, fearing reprisal from Bamwoze for being disobedient to him and the church.

Furthermore, the ways in which the bishops of Mbale and Busoga handled the grievances of their Christians contributed a great deal to the occurrence and escalation of the conflicts in their dioceses. Generally, the two close friends and fellow partisans dealt with the demands of their Christians in a manner that could be justifiably said to be legalistic, rigid, and insensitive to the deep-seated tensions in their sees. Their conduct underscored their inclination and that of some other bishops in the Church of Uganda to be authoritarian and to employ win/lose destructive conflict management strategies. They regarded the petitions for the creation of separate dioceses as attempts by ‘antagonists’ to cause chaos and to infringe on their power and influence. As a result, they frustrated further progress of these petitions, and used coercive measures such as threats and punishments to outmanoeuvre the petitioners. The unrelenting struggle of the northerners compelled Wesonga to give in to their demand for a separate diocese, though this did not happen in his lifetime.²⁵¹ While in Busoga, Bamwoze insistently refused to accept the petition to divide his see into two parts. He also failed to resolve amicably and constructively the grievances of his Christians, leading them to accuse him justifiably, in my view, of being a dictator and a bad bishop.²⁵²

Lastly, I note the absence within the Church of Uganda of a person or office potent enough to turn to in case an individual or a group of people fell out with their bishop. The Archbishop, to whom many parties usually turned, was not, like the Pope, *an episcopus episcoporum*, but was a *primus inter pares*, whose role was largely limited to giving pastoral advice to his fellow bishops. He could only intervene in any internal affairs of a diocese at the invitation of the incumbent bishop. Evidently, it was not possible for him to be invited by an incumbent bishop to intervene in a conflict in which he (the bishop) was a principal and culprit. Worse still, the primate’s role as bystander or as a third party would be to no avail if he were openly biased towards the incumbent bishop, as was the case in the Iganga affair. So, without any available option open to them, dissident elements within a diocese were left with no alternative but to resort to

²⁵¹ On 19th November 1991, before North Mbale became a diocese, Wesonga died in a car accident. On 9th August 1992 Rev Canons Israel Koboyi and Peter Mudonyi were consecrated and enthroned as bishops of Mbale and North Mbale respectively. Also, the former’s consecration took place only after a section of Christians withdrew the petition they submitted to the district magistrate barring his ordination. N Etengu, “Bishops to be Consecrated”, in *New Vision*, 7/182, 3rd August 1992, p. 3.

²⁵² Interview with A Kisambira, 26th September 1999.

unconstitutional and secessionist methods, as did the 'rebel' groups in Busoga and Mbale dioceses. When they were defeated, the Christians remained disgruntled, waiting for another opportunity to mount or participate in another struggle, as did the Christians in Iganga.

Authoritarian Tendencies in the Episcopacy: Towards an Understanding

It is imperative to comment, as a corollary to this chapter, on the use (and misuse) of the episcopal authority (or is it power?)²⁵³ in the church, since, as preceding and succeeding events reveal, the exercise of episcopal authority is one major and unmistakable variable in the growth of discord, not least in the Church of Uganda. It is, therefore, necessary to discuss here how and why authoritarian tendencies came to flourish in the Church of Uganda, to the extent of being significant determinants of conflicts. In my opinion, the growth of authoritarianism in the church may be attributed largely to the presence of an underlying 'princely' and hierarchical discourse in the episcopacy. Attempts at understanding the persistence of authoritarian tendencies in the Church of Uganda's episcopal government must necessarily take cognisance of several factors, such as the evolution of the episcopacy in the Anglican tradition, though not necessarily forgetting that there have been (and still are) huge variations in the perception and appropriation of episcopacy within this tradition,²⁵⁴ the traditional concepts of chieftaincy; and the social, religio-political developments in Uganda, all of which jointly influenced the development of the episcopacy in the Church of Uganda. The vastness of all these subjects cannot permit here any more than a brief discussion.

First, in the absence of an organisational blueprint left by Jesus Christ for his church, the apostles appointed bishops to serve, initially as presbyters, in the task of shepherding new converts and of meeting the secular needs of their religious communities.²⁵⁵ As the apostles disappeared from the scene, and churches gradually settled down, and the

²⁵³ On the discussion of authority and power in the Anglican Church see S R White, *Authority and Anglicanism*. London: SCM Press, 1996, pp. 101-124; S Skyes, *Authority in Anglican Communion*. Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1987.

²⁵⁴ S Blanch, *Future Patterns of Episcopacy: Reflections in Retirement*. Oxford: Latimer House, 1991, p. 6.

²⁵⁵ Acts 16.4, 20.17, 21.18, Phil 1.1, Titus 1:7-9. On a detailed study of the origin, functions and traditions of the bishops see H E Turner, *Why Bishops? Their Origin, Functions and Traditions*. Westminster: The Church Information Board, 1955; H W Beyer, "Episcopos" in G Kittel, *The Dictionary of the New Testament Vol. II*. Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1964, p. 619; S Blanch, *Future Patterns of Episcopacy*, pp. 1-31.

bishops generally²⁵⁶ shifted from being presbyter-bishops to monarchical bishops.²⁵⁷ They succeeded the apostles, assumed the task of being upholders and defenders of the apostolic faith, and ultimately became the nucleus of the sacramental life of the local church.²⁵⁸ By the third century, a three-fold order of ministry had emerged, comprising the bishops, presbyters and deacons, with the bishops perched at the top of the hierarchy and with enough influence that during the early second century, Ignatius of Antioch could write to the Christians in Ephesus:

Wherefore it is fitting that ye also should run together in accordance with the will of the bishop who by God's appointment rules over you... it is manifest that we should look upon the bishop even as we look upon the Lord himself, standing as he does before the Lord.²⁵⁹

However, from the early fourth century, after emperor Constantine declared Christianity the official religion of his empire, bishops generally became officials of more than ecclesiastical significance,²⁶⁰ rising in status even further during the Middle Ages, when the system of the episcopacy developed as part of the medieval feudal establishment. As a result, bishops were elevated to the status of lords and prelates.²⁶¹ They exercised high offices of the state and also donned imperial purple, aping styles and manners of the ruling classes.²⁶² Some of them also became quasi-independent princes whose jurisdictions rivalled those of the kings within the territorial borders of their sees.²⁶³

So, the permitting and even encouragement of the bishops' close association with the establishment resulted in a situation where they became powerful and influential figures both in the church and in the state. This inadvertently allowed the church to enhance greatly its authority and influence subject to necessary revisions and reforms. But it also resulted in the replicating of the political structures of the church after the models of the

²⁵⁶ The use of this term here implies that episcopacy did not develop at the same pace or in the same form during the early church. S Blanch, *Future Patterns of Episcopacy*, pp. 8-9.

²⁵⁷ K Ware, "Patterns of Episcopacy in the Early Church and Today: An Orthodox View", in P Moore (ed.), *Bishops But What Kind? Reflections on Episcopacy*. London: SPCK, 1982, p. 1.

²⁵⁸ H E Turner, *Why Bishops*, pp. 7-27; J R Wright (ed.), *On Being a Bishop*. New York: The Church Hymnal Corporation, 1993, pp. 16-18.

²⁵⁹ A Roberts and J Donaldson (eds.), *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981, pp. 50-51.

²⁶⁰ J Halliburton, "A Historical Perspective", in C Buchanan (ed.), *The Bishop in Liturgy*. Bramcote Nottingham: Grove Books, 1988, pp. 14-15.

²⁶¹ This term came to be used more regularly during the evolution of the episcopal office, when bishops assumed political roles and claimed temporal powers. H E Turner, *Why Bishops...*, p. 61.

²⁶² S Blanch, *Future Patterns of Episcopacy*, p. 31.

²⁶³ H E Turner, *Why Bishops...*, pp. 29-32; P Moore, "The Anglican Episcopate: Its Strengths and Limitations", in *Bishops But What Kind?* p. 127; Stuart Blanch, *Future Patterns of Episcopacy*, p. 11.

monarchical and civil values underlying the civil bureaucracies of the Middle Ages.²⁶⁴ Hence, it paved the way for the creation of a hierarchical leadership structure, in which a higher, monarchical and non-presbyterian model of episcopacy emerged as the vortex of leadership in the church; one in which power was centralised and limited to a few privileged individuals (bishops), with very few checks and balances. A vast framework of canon laws and special responsibilities given to the *episcopi* reinforced this arrangement of church government even further.²⁶⁵ On the whole, then, a medieval bishop was essentially a legal officer²⁶⁶ who did not see much of his flock and in whose office the idea of a chief pastor and father-in-God existed largely in theory.

The English Reformers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries devoted their lives to removing the abuses inherent in monarchical episcopacy. However, on the whole, they succeeded in little more than replacing the autocracy of episcopal absolutism with an equally absolutist secular autocracy together with an oligarchy of lord bishops (episcopate). Hence, in Wedell's words, "the English settlement of the religio-political revolution characteristically combined the assertion of the monarch as the supreme governor of the church with the maintenance of the episcopal system".²⁶⁷ Arguably, it was from the late nineteenth century that the educated populace, who were better able to think for themselves and to press for a place in the decision-making organs and processes of the church, set in motion a more fundamental change in the understanding and exercise of authority. They moved from a structure that was hierarchical, paternalistic and centralised towards one which was diffused, dispersed and accountable. Any abuses, if they occurred, could be readily addressed. Turner appropriately observes that in the Church of England, changes in the understanding and use of authority became inevitable "as newly educated and literate laity began to need (and expect) to be taken into account in the structures of the church".²⁶⁸ They preferred to see in the church the presence of more than one form and voice of authority, a desire that was succinctly reiterated later in the position of Lambeth Conference of 1948 *vis-à-vis* authority:

It (authority) is distributed among Scripture, Tradition, Creeds, the Ministry of the Word and Sacrament, the witness of saints and the

²⁶⁴ W Eberhard, *The Reforms of Church Government*, London: Prism Publications, 1965, p. 1

²⁶⁵ H E Turner, *Why Bishops*, p. 32.

²⁶⁶ J R H Moorman, "The Anglican Bishop", p. 117.

²⁶⁷ W Eberhard, *The Reforms of Church Government*, p. 1

²⁶⁸ H E Turner, *Why Bishops*, pp. 33-34.

consensus fidelium, which is the continuing experience of the Holy Spirit through his faithful people in the Church. It is a dispersed rather than centralised authority having many elements which combine, interact with and check each other; these elements together contributing a process of mutual support, mutual checking and redressing of errors or exaggerations to the many sided fullness of the authority which Christ has committed to his Church. Where this authority of Christ is to be found mediated not in one mode but in several, we recognise in this multiplicity God's loving provision against the temptations to tyranny and dangers of unchecked power.²⁶⁹

This understanding of authority partly implied, during the 1960s, reducing considerably the power of the bishop, and devolving it to their respective diocesan synods, hence a synodical government,²⁷⁰ in which:

The diocesan synod would have power to consider and debate any matter concerning the Church and to make provision for it in relation to the diocese. The Bishop would no longer be a separate house whose agreement is needed for all decisions, but he would have a limited power to decide whether a question was within the powers of the synod and would be able to withdraw his personal decision on matters belonging essentially to his episcopal office or pastoral duties...²⁷¹

Nonetheless, despite the move towards a synodical government, the problem of the locus of power still persisted, as many bishops still wielded tremendous power and influence in their respective dioceses. They still exercised remarkable autonomy in all pastoral and administrative matters of the diocese. For instance, the bishops could ordain any person in the diocese, without the permission of the synod, provided they had adequate testimony to the candidate's character and learning.²⁷² Therefore, it was this rather precarious combination of a persistently monarchical episcopacy, an emerging synodical government and the nineteenth-century ideas of the superiority (in terms of intelligence, morals and organisational capacity) of White people over the non-White people that was 'exported' to places like Uganda. The Church in Uganda not only adopted this potentially authoritarian form of episcopacy, it also integrated into it (and simultaneously modelled

²⁶⁹ Report No. 4 of the Lambeth Conference of 1948, *The Anglican Communion*, pp. 84-5, quoted in S Skyes. *Unashamed Anglicanism*. London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1995, pp. 168-169.

²⁷⁰ On the discussions of the Synodical government during the 1960s see *Central Board of Finance of the Church of England, Government by Synod*. Abridged Edition, Church Information Office, September 1966; E Wedell, *Reform of Church Government; Synodical Government on the Diocese: A report of the findings of a study group of the London Branch of the William Temple Association*, No. 26. London: Prism Publications, 1964.

²⁷¹ *Central Board of Finance of the Church of England, Government by Synod*, p. 5.

²⁷² P Moore (ed.), *Ecclesiastical Law*. London: Butterworth, 1975, p. 657.

it on) the traditional forms of chieftaincy,²⁷³ characterised largely by a patron-client relationship between the incumbent 'ruler' and his subordinates.²⁷⁴ The spillover, so to speak, of traditional concepts of chieftaincy into the episcopacy was greatly helped, as Leslie Brown appositely argued, by the prior and close modelling of the Catholic and Protestant Church in Uganda, alongside the Bantu chiefly structure.²⁷⁵

So, like the traditional rulers, many bishops have tended to be despotic within their dioceses, behaving more or less like rulers rather than as servants of God's people.²⁷⁶ Also, the special roles and exclusive powers which they enjoy especially in their dioceses have made it possible for them to be dictatorial. They are constitutionally afforded the highest status in their dioceses,²⁷⁷ serving as the head of the diocese, although in some instances they have behaved as if they are, in effect, the dioceses themselves.²⁷⁸ The bishops' other functions generally accord them even more power and influence in their dioceses. These functions include giving close pastoral and administrative oversight to all the affairs of their dioceses, presiding over synods and all the other decision-making organs in dioceses, appointing or recommending diocesan staff,²⁷⁹ appointing commissaries to act in their absence, holding (as chairmen of Boards of Trustees) property on behalf of their dioceses, and setting the nature of worship.

During the second half of the last century, significant efforts were made to limit the powers and influence of the bishops in the Church of Uganda.²⁸⁰ Thanks are due to egalitarian and populist-oriented demands for the reform of the episcopacy, especially in

²⁷³ W Mande, "An Ethic of Leadership Power and the Anglican Church in Uganda...", p. 229;

²⁷⁴ For a discussion of the concepts of traditional forms of chieftaincy, refer to our discussions on the chiefs of Busoga in the second chapter (pp. 25-6) and S M S Semakula, *A History of Buganda*, p. 111-12.

²⁷⁵ Brown succinctly observed, "it seems that the church catechist corresponded closely to a parish chief, the ordained priest to a sub-county chief, the rural dean to county chief and the bishop to the kings' ministers". L Brown, "The Anglican Episcopacy in Africa", in P Moore (ed.), *Bishops But What Kind?*, p. 139.

²⁷⁶ L Brown, "The Anglican Episcopacy in Africa", p. 139.

²⁷⁷ *The Constitutional of Namirembe Diocese*, Article 4/25, b.

²⁷⁸ *Ebifa*, March 1970, p. 16.

²⁷⁹ Bishop is the chairman of synod and has a casting and deliberative vote. As chairman, a bishop can accept or reject any item on the agenda of the diocesan synod and the council. He also approves all the resolutions of the synod, lest they remain mere proposals. W Mande, "An Ethic of Leadership Power and the Anglican Church in Uganda...", p. 124.

²⁸⁰ Article 8(d), in Minute 40/61 of the PA, 17th -18th April 1961, COU PA, allowed the archbishop to preside over appeals made to the provincial authorities by the diocesan authorities against their respective bishop. The dean was allowed to preside in a diocese where the archbishop was the incumbent bishop. Furthermore, in Namirembe Diocese, the Synod succeeded in blocking the decision

the wake of the bishops' declining influence in the political arena. Nonetheless, their exclusive control and influence over their sees have persisted in many places and have remained, according to many people, a force to be reckoned with. Therefore, any one bishop could, if he so wished, establish within his diocese a Presbyterian model of episcopacy and/or an effective synodical government, with a view to ensuring unity in his diocese and an active involvement of all the people of God in the oversight of the church. But the absence of these desired models of leadership in the Church has not only become a potential recipe for the emergence and flourishing of authoritarian tendencies, it has also made it more likely for disputes and disagreements to end up as malevolent conflicts, especially in cases, such as Busoga and Mbale diocese, where bishops have been directly involved as principals in the emergent conflicts.

made by Bishop Misaeri Kawuma to appoint a co-adjutor, that is, automatic successor. W Mande, "An Ethic of Leadership Power and the Anglican Church in Uganda...", p. 122.

CHAPTER FOUR

‘LEAD US NOT INTO TEMPTATION’: THE BUSOGA CRISIS IN THE MAKING (1988 –1992)

I am, with deep regret and reluctance, relinquishing all residual control over the office of Dean back to you with effect from mid-day Sunday 30th August 1992. After four years of active service as a non-stipendiary (tent maker) priest, my conscience dictates me to stop taking charge of this office – one of great responsibility but without corresponding authority i.e., a meaningless “prestigious status”. Let this Church know what has influenced my decision. The gradual causes are legion and the immediate reason is your inexplicable refusal to see and co-operate readily in the most urgently needed exercise of raising funds in the diocese for the remedial repairs of the falling Cathedral building.¹

In this chapter, I endeavour to discuss the long-term and immediate causes of the Busoga Crisis. I plot the events which occurred between 1988 and 1992 resulting in the outbreak of the crisis. I trace the escalation of tensions in the diocese and the wasting of the opportunities which the leadership had at their disposal to solve the problems in the diocese and to avert the crisis. I investigate the nature and impact of the problems that raged in several sectors of the diocese in order to show that the crisis broke out partly as a result of several factors. These included: the disappointment which many people experienced owing to what they felt to be the irregularities and inadequacies present within the diocese; personality clashes and conflicting differences amongst senior leaders; and the frustrations and smear campaigns which some of them instigated with a view to outwit their ‘rivals’. I close the chapter with a reflection on the causes of the crisis, and also comment on the significance of Zikusoka’s ‘rebel’ tendencies and the accusations made by him and other people that Bamwoze was a bad bishop who, among other things, neglected the cathedral.

THE ESCALATION OF CONFLICTS IN BUSOGA DIOCESE

TENSIONS WITHIN THE PASTORAL SECTOR

Bamwoze’s Ordination of Relatives and Friends

In the previous chapter, I mentioned that many church workers in Busoga Diocese were generally demoralised because their living and working conditions were deplorable. Many clergy, for instance, resented the way in which Bamwoze let them live paupers’

¹ Rev Canon James Zikusoka to Bishop Cyprian Bamwoze, “Relinquishing Office of Dean, Christ’s Cathedral”, 20th August 1992, p. 1, Busoga Diocesan Archives (BDA).

lives. They hated the manner in which he rebuked some of them in public. They were also irked by his decision to ordain his friends and relatives, and to lavish on some of them positions of honour.² Most of these people, prior to being ordained, did not go through the proper procedure for ordination.³ There were, in other dioceses, incidents in which bishops who had wanted to ordain their friends and relatives, were prevented from doing so by their Christians.⁴ But in Busoga, Bamwoze ordained them despite the opposition of some Christians in his diocese. This was partly because by the time he ordained these people, Bamwoze had attained a lot of power and influence. He could do anything without having to account for it to any authority in his diocese. He had become so powerful that anyone or any group who wanted to oppose him would face great difficulty.

The most controversial of the ordinations were those of three people: Vasco da Gama Jacob Wangola, James Zikusoka and Fredrick Kibedi Nswemu, which occurred in 1988 and 1989.⁵ It is important, nevertheless, to emphasise that none of these people were strangers to the church. They were either brought up in good Christian families, or they had served in various capacities within church circles.⁶ However, they were not adequately equipped for the ordained ministry.⁷ At the time Bamwoze ordained them, most of them had not undertaken satisfactory theological and ministerial training, except

² Interviews with Revs. J K Bagenda, 8th November 1999; S Lubogo, 23rd July 1999; M K Wambuzi, 5th September 1999; J Wandera, 5th October 1999.

³ For a detailed account of the Church of Uganda's normal procedure for ordination of deacons and priests see canons 3:1-5, 3:7-12 of the *Provincial Canons of the Church of Uganda*, 1997.

⁴ Three of these incidences include: First, the unsuccessful attempts in the early 1980s by Bishop Lucas Gonahasa, the acting Bishop of Mbale, to ordain Zadoc Wettaka, who had no theological training but had contributed a great deal to the development of diocesan schools. Some people opposed this decision on the grounds that Gonahasa was motivated by a desire to get the North, from where Wettaka originated, to support his bid for Bishop of Mbale. Second, in 1986 accusations of nepotism and authoritarianism made against Misaeri Kawuma led him to abandon his decision to ordain one of his relatives and to appoint a co-adjutor. Third, some Christians in West Buganda Diocese forced Bishop Senyonjo to abandon his intention to confer upon Ezekiel Mulondo, his friend and leading Christian in his diocese, a typically non-Anglican title of *Rabbi*. S F M Nambobi, "The Schism Within the Anglican Diocese of Mbale, Church of Uganda...". BD dissertation, ATIEA, 1985, p. 24; *Weekly Topic*, 15th October 1986; W M. Mande, "An Ethic of Leadership Power and the Anglican Church in Uganda". PhD thesis, Aberdeen University, 1997, pp. 122, 172.

⁵ All these people were close friends of Bamwoze. In addition, Wangola is his brother-in-law, and Zikusoka is a distant relative. Interview with VD J Wangola, 16th September 1999.

⁶ Wangola, a son of the Rev. Canon Lazarus and Mrs Tolofaina Kidaaga, was brought up in a Christian family. Zikusoka played a significant role in the life and work of the church at provincial and diocesan levels. He mediated for a short time during the crisis which raged between the Province and two dioceses in Buganda (Namirembe and West Buganda). He also presided over the Bugembe Cathedral Building Committee. Interviews with VD J Wangola, 16th September 1999; T Tuma, 25th November 1999 and J Zikusoka, 17th December 1999.

⁷ In terms of their profession, Wangola was a health worker and an administrator, Zikusoka was a civil engineer, and Kibedi Nswemu was an administrator. In addition, Zikusoka and Kibedi Nswemu had, in the past, been active politicians. Interview with T Tuma, 25th November 1999.

for the three-week-courses they attended at Bishop Willis Teachers' Training College.⁸ Many people suspected that Bamwoze's decision to ordain these people was partly motivated by a desire to look after his own interests and those of his relatives and friends.⁹ He wanted to reward them for services they rendered to him, to help and/or save some of them in difficult situations, and to increase his own leverage.¹⁰ I proceed to explain these claims in more detail. First, several people felt that the ordination of Wangola and his appointment shortly afterwards as Diocesan Secretary¹¹ were intended to serve two purposes. One was to please Bamwoze's wife Naomi, who having been the wife of a high-ranking army officer, was adept at asking for favours for herself or on behalf of her relatives. Hence, they suspected that it was not unlikely that she asked her new husband to find a prestigious job in the church for her brother, which he did.¹²

It was claimed further that besides pleasing his wife, Bamwoze himself, in giving preferential treatment to Wangola, extended to him a token of appreciation for the role he had played in facilitating his sister Naomi's marriage to him.¹³ So, in this respect, the ordination of Wangola was regarded as a favour he did to two family members in return for their friendship and assistance. It was also claimed that in order to cover up these favours, Bamwoze also went on, at the risk of entrenching an old-boy network in the church, to ordain friends like Zikusoka and Kibedi Nswemu, who like Wangola, were theologically untrained.¹⁴

Secondly, some people viewed Bamwoze's ordination of Zikusoka as assistance he gave to a friend and past politician who had suffered from many problems and disasters such as losing his first wife, Kekulina, in an accident; failing in his bid to become a parliamentarian during the 1980 parliamentary elections; and being implicated in the

⁸ These courses were very short, even by the standards of normal special ordination courses held in the diocese. Normally special ordination courses were attended especially by qualified (three-letter) lay preachers, and lasted up to six months. Interview with H B Mugabi, 18th October 1999.

⁹ Wangola and Zikusoka refuted the claims that they were ordained by courtesy of Bamwoze. They insisted that God called them to join the ordained ministry. Interviews with VD J Wangola 16th September 1999 and J M Zikusoka, 17th December 1999.

¹⁰ Interviews with R Isabirye, 12th June 1999; J K Bagenda, 8th November 1999; H Mugabi, 10th October 1999; H Naluswa, 4th June 1999; J Wandera, 5th October 1999.

¹¹ Wangola replaced M J Ibanda, a layman who had held the office for ten years. Bamwoze to Wangola, STF. 1/2/VDGW, 3rd May 1988, BDA.

¹² Interview with H Mugabi, 18th October 1999.

¹³ Wangola wrote a letter to Archbishop Okoth, dated 26th October 1987, in which he gave away his sister in marriage to Bamwoze. Interview with Wangola, 7th September 1999.

¹⁴ Interviews with H Mugabi, 18th October 1999; J Wandera, 5th October 1999.

arrest and detention without trial, between 1982 and 1985, of Professor Yoweri Kyesimira, who defeated him during the 1980 elections. If this is true, then Bamwoze used ordination wrongfully to help or save his friend. Undoubtedly Bamwoze was obliged to support Zikusoka, in his (Bamwoze's) capacity as a friend and pastor. However, it would have been much better for the church if he had not ordained him, and had instead provided him with pastoral care and counselling, and, if asked, intervened on his behalf before his political enemies. Using ordination, as he did (it seems to me) as a remedy and as a shield against Zikusoka's foes was inappropriate. It confirmed what some of his Christians thought to be his generally low opinion of the priesthood.

Thirdly, some of my informants argued that Bamwoze sought to safeguard his exclusive claim to power and influence in the diocese by limiting the involvement of the senior clergy in the administrative affairs of the diocese and by filling the top administrative offices with close friends and relatives.¹⁵ They regarded his decision to train most of the clergy in the diocese using an informal training scheme (special ordination programme), and his failure (or was it refusal?), like that of some other bishops in the province,¹⁶ to take his clergy for further training as being intended to control his clergy closely and to make it difficult for them to oppose him.¹⁷ Their arguments were, in my opinion, justified in many respects. Like some other bishops, Bamwoze, it seems to me, feared that if he trained clergy satisfactorily, they would (after their training) become strong, bold and influential enough to contest his malpractices.¹⁸ Therefore, he decided to keep most of them untrained and largely dependent on him. Furthermore, many Christians suspected that Bamwoze groomed another close friend, Dr Tom Tuma¹⁹ to become either a co-adjutor or an assistant bishop resident in Iganga.²⁰ They feared that if Tuma became

¹⁵ Evidently, Zikusoka was the most rapidly promoted of all the clergymen in the diocese and in the province. He was ordained deacon in September 1988, priested in May 1989, and in the same year the bishop appointed him to lead a three-man committee with a duty to investigate the financial situation of the diocese. In January 1991, Bamwoze appointed him to replace him (Bamwoze) as the Dean of Christ's Cathedral, Bugembe.

¹⁶ W Mande, "The Ethic of Leadership Power in the Anglican Church of Uganda...", pp. 151-152.

¹⁷ P Gifford, *African Christianity: Its Public Role*. London: Hurst and Company, 1998, p. 138.

¹⁸ VD J Wangola, 7th September 1999; and F Mukobe, 20th October 1999.

¹⁹ T Tuma studied for an MA in Theology at Union Theological Seminary and a PhD in Church History at the University of London. Before he was ordained Tuma was a senior lecturer in the Department of Religious Studies at Makerere University, a senior staff member of All Africa Council of Churches (AACC), and Chairman of the Association of Theological Institutions in East Africa (ATIEA). Interview with T Tuma, 25th November 1999.

²⁰ Normally, a co-adjutor is elected by a diocesan synod to assist a diocesan bishop. He has right of succession. *The Provincial canons of the Church of Uganda*, p. 102.

bishop, Bamwoze would continue to influence the affairs of the Church in Busoga. Consequently, they mistrusted Tuma though not as much as they did Bamwoze.²¹

Besides serving the interests of Bamwoze and those of his friends and relatives, these ordinations also aggravated the polarisations amongst the clergy. Already there was a general tendency by the degree- and diploma-holding clergy trained at Bishop Tucker Theological College, Mukono to belittle both the certificate-holding and untrained clergy.²² The addition of a group of specially ordained professionals to the clerical order, and the special roles which Bamwoze gave to some of them, increased the tensions especially amongst the senior clergy in the diocese. Many long serving and experienced senior clergy who believed themselves as deserving enough to be appointed to senior positions like that of Diocesan Secretary, tended to see the appointment of Wangola as a slight to them, and as a result viewed him with disdain, accused him of being incompetent and of not respecting them.²³ Later in this chapter, I will discuss in more detail the tensions which occurred between Wangola and these archdeacons, showing the bickering, accusations and counter accusations that characterised these tensions.²⁴ Meanwhile I discuss the response of the laity in Walukuba towards Bamwoze's ordination of his friends and relatives.

The Walukuba Parish Revolt

In December 1989, after Bamwoze had posted Kibedi Nswemu to Walukuba Parish as Vicar,²⁵ the Christians there held a special general meeting during which they rejected Kibedi Nswemu, and asked Nathan Lubaale, their vicar, not to hand over to him. They argued that Kibedi Nswemu was not qualified to be a clergyman, and gave three reasons to justify their argument, namely that he was ordained without any prior and adequate theological and ministerial training; he was a staunch supporter of the dreaded UPC political party; and that he had, in the past, attempted to commit suicide.²⁶ Bamwoze, on being informed of their rejection, threatened to discipline them by closing St Stephen's

²¹ Interview with C B Nambago, 19th July 1999.

²² Interview with M K Wambuzi, 5th September 1999.

²³ J K Bagenda accused Wangola of being ineffective and inexperienced. He also refused to comply with his directives of filling monthly forms and returning them to him (Wangola), arguing that this was a waste of time and paper. Bagenda to Bamwoze, Con/Rev/Gen, 12th October 1989, BDA.

²⁴ Interviews with VD J Wangola, 16th September 1999 and J K Bagenda, 8th November 1999.

²⁵ Bamwoze's decision to post Kibedi Nswemu to Walukuba and to transfer Lubaale from it was mentioned in a circular letter No. 12, Ref. ADM/13/11, 12th December 1989, BDA.

²⁶ VD J Wangola, "Busoga Crisis", unpublished manuscript; Interview with J Wandera, 5th October 1999.

Parish Church. But his intimidation only served to heighten the tension. The Christians became more resolute in their rejection, and asked their Parish Council to send a memorandum to Bamwoze, through Eriasafu Mwanga, the Head of Laity in Jinja Archdeaconry, in which they reiterated their rejection of Kibedi Nswemu, accused Bamwoze of being a dictator, and barred him from visiting them.²⁷

During another meeting held in the diocesan office, attended by Bamwoze, Mwanga and Wangola, Mwanga succeeded in impressing upon Bamwoze the gravity of the Walukuba revolt. He urged him not to visit Walukuba, as he intended to do, cautioning him that if he did, he would be confronted by mob justice and would possibly not return alive.²⁸ Bamwoze heeded Mwanga's advice and decided not to visit Walukuba. He withdrew his threat to close St. Stephen's Church and also transferred Kibedi Nswemu to St. Andrew's Church, Jinja, a multi-ethnic and relatively more pro-Bamwoze congregation. However, in a series of acts which the parishioners construed as a punishment for their rejection, Bamwoze branded them as 'rebels', transferred Lubaale from Walukuba to Kaliro Parish, refused to post another clergyman to them for over a year, and left them to be cared for pastorally by the rest of the clergy in Jinja Archdeaconry. Such measures led them to intensify their opposition towards him. They also made Walukuba a fertile ground for future rebel activities in the diocese.

Why Bamwoze Decided to Ordain Theologically Untrained and/or Inadequately Trained People

Before I discuss the two other reasons that led Bamwoze to perform special ordinations, it is necessary to establish the circumstances that made these ordinations possible and necessary. First, carrying out special ordinations was not unusual in the province. In Uganda, Alfred Tucker, the first Bishop of Uganda, started the practice,²⁹ and several subsequent bishops perpetuated it. The church canons empowered them, in circumstances where dioceses suffered from a shortage of clergy, to waive the customary requirement

²⁷ Interview with VD J Wangola, 16th September 1999.

²⁸ VD J Wangola, "Busoga Crisis", unpublished manuscript.

²⁹ The practice was started in Uganda in 1893, when Bishop Tucker ordained six leaders as deacons. They were Zakariya Kisingiri, Yokana Mwira, Yonasani Kaizi, Pokino Nikodemo Sebwato, Henry Wright Dutamaguzi and Yayiro Mutakyala. He also priested some of them 1896. W Mande, "An Ethic for Leadership Power...", p. 149.

for sound theological training.³⁰ It is in that respect that Bamwoze, like other bishops, ordained people who, prior to their ordination, had not undertaken comprehensive theological and ministerial training. Furthermore, many bishops faced with a shortage of funds needed to train clergy tended to have low numbers of people whom they sent to seminaries or theological colleges. They resorted to the less expensive special ordination programme as a means of preparing and supplying the clergy needed in their dioceses.³¹ As a result, the church saw a proliferation of inadequately trained clergy and of little increase in the number of trained clergy.

The situation in Busoga Diocese by the end of 1989 is a case in point. Wangola observed that forty-nine of the sixty-seven ordained personnel in the diocese (that is, approximately 70% of the clergy) were theologically untrained and/or inadequately trained.³² In addition, Wangola stated that during that time, Busoga Diocese, which was beleaguered by financial constraints, had failed to raise money needed to train (or continue training) their prospective pastors, leading each of the two institutions which trained their students to ask Bamwoze not to return them in 1990 unless his diocese paid the money (tuition fees) it owed to them.³³ Consequently, in 1990, Bamwoze decided to withdraw them prematurely, ordain and subsequently post them to parishes, thus reducing even further the number of students in theological training.³⁴

Besides the need for more clergy, Bamwoze believed that the special ordination of theologically untrained 'secular' professionals would provide the church with workers

³⁰ W Mande, "An Ethic for Leadership Power...", p. 149; Interview with Bishop L Gonahasa, 16th November 1999.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Wangola described the shortage of ordained personnel in the diocese between October 1988 and October 1989, and the consequent need to ordain clergy, in this way: "By 1st October 1989, we had 43 pastors and 16 curates as against 48 established parishes. This means that we had five parishes without supportive staff. In December, we received two graduates from Namugongo Seminary. These were ordained on the 18th December 1988. Another six who successfully completed the Special Ordination course, were also ordained on 29th January 1989. These new deacons brought the number of ordained personnel to 67 but, since some of these were on special duties, we still have two established parishes without clergy, let alone the seven to relieve the archdeacons". Wangola to Bamwoze, "Report on Some of the Diocesan Activities for the Period Between 1st October 1989 and 31st March 1989", 27th April 1989, p. 5, BDA.

³³ By the end of 1989, the diocese owed Ushs. 986,600 and Ushs. 708,520 to BTTC, Mukono and Uganda Martyrs' Seminary, Namugongo respectively. Wangola to Bamwoze, "Report on Some of the Diocesan Activities...", pp. 5-6.

³⁴ He allowed Henry Naluswa, Moses Christopher Kisuule and Charles Irongo to continue with their training at Namugongo because they had obtained private sponsorship. Interviews with C Irongo, 8th September 1999 and H Naluswa, 4th June 1999.

needed to bridge the gap between the bulk of untrained clergy and the increasing number of literate laity. This partly explains why Bamwoze ordained people like Zikusoka, Wangola, Kibedi Nswemu and Tuma.³⁵ He wanted them to enrich the church with their experience in dealing amongst other things with administrative and development-oriented affairs. A number of succeeding events reveal that many of them utilised their skills, as Bamwoze desired, in ways that benefited several sectors of the diocese.

With these circumstances in mind, I proceed to discuss two other factors which influenced Bamwoze's decision to carry out special ordinations in his diocese, namely his praxis-oriented understanding of the mission of the church, and the unbecoming behaviour of some clergy. First, Bamwoze, driven by his rather maverick and praxis-oriented understanding of the mission of the church, sought to add to the clergy people who were skilled in 'secular' professions, in the anticipation that the church in Busoga would be better placed to achieve its holistic mission aims and objectives. He expressed his desire to involve these professionals within the ordained ministry in an invitation he sent out in 1986 to Christian professionals and educated young people within the church, urging them to join the ordained ministry. He said:

We need workers who are educated, skilled and experienced in the work that we want to accomplish. We will search jointly for these people. We will commission them without any hesitation whatsoever. We will also provide the educated and committed Christian youths with the skills needed in the work we want them to do. We ourselves will help them to be proficient.³⁶

He also questioned limiting the ordained ministry solely to the 'theologian', arguing that it was insufficient to demand that prospective pastors undertake theological training as the *sine qua non* for the ordained ministry. He felt that this requirement discouraged or delayed many people who aspired to join the ordained ministry and who were gifted in many ways, but were not, for several reasons, able to undertake comprehensive training in theology. In a speech in November 1988 during a graduation ceremony held at Mukono, Bamwoze, at the risk of provoking controversy in the church, questioned the use of theological training as the prerequisite for ordination. He challenged his friend Archbishop Okoth:

³⁵ C Bamwoze, "Communication on the Busoga Crisis to the House of Bishops, sitting at Lweza", 11th – 12th January 1994, COU PA.

³⁶ C Bamwoze, "Okwogera Kw'omulabirizi wa Busoga eri Sinodi y'obulabirizi Eyokuna, mu Lutuula Lwayo Olusooka e Kamuli nga 24-4-1986", p. 4-5, BDA (translation mine).

If I may ask, His Grace, by the way this is a question, which can only be asked by a chairman, who told you that the only way of getting ordained personnel is through a theological college? To what college did St Luke go? The Church should examine critically what St. Paul taught us about the different spiritual gifts. These gifts should be brought into the church, and be used for the building up of the Body of Christ, which is His church.³⁷

In my opinion, although it was (and it still is) necessary to bring into the ministry of the church Christians with various skills, gifts and talents in order to enhance its ministry, it was not imperative that these people be ordained as a prerequisite for service in the church. Many Christians have served effectively in the church in a lay capacity. So, while Bamwoze asked whether theological education was a *sine qua non* of ordination, his decision to ordain people on the basis of their skills, gifts and talents also provoked the question of whether ordination was a prerequisite for working in the church. Any Christian who so wished and who was given adequate facilities, could, in my view, put his or her skills and talents to the service of the church without necessarily having to be ordained, as did a group of Basoga laity known as *abaana ba' babulizi* (the children of lay preachers).³⁸ These people, like many other laity, put their skills and expertise to the service of the church in Busoga.

Secondly, Bamwoze, like many Christians, was dismayed by the immoral ways in which some clergy behaved. These included misappropriation of church funds and property, infidelity, sexual immorality, failure to control their children, and many others. As a result, Bamwoze was compelled to place the culprits under discipline, though he also let some of them off the hook in a manner that left a lot to be desired.³⁹ Generally, the immorality of these clergy led Bamwoze, like many other people,⁴⁰ to lose trust and confidence in the clergy. It also led him to believe that clergy were no better in terms of conduct than other Christians and to suspect that committed laity, despite having no or inadequate theological training, could be more effective in the pastoral sector than some

³⁷ C Bamwoze, "Address of the Chairman of Board of Governors", made on the graduation Day at Bishop Tucker Theological College, Mukono, 18th November 1988, BTTC, Mukono/ UCUA.

³⁸ This group comprised professionals like Nekemiya Mukwaya, Daudi Kazungu, Martin Balimugulira and David Wakaisuka. Interview with Nekemiya Mukwaya, 8th November 1999.

³⁹ Interview with C B Nambago, 19th June 1999; see also Balyejusa to Bamwoze, "Posting of Priests to St. James Parish Church- Jinja", ET/P42 (F), 6th April 1992, p. 3, Wangola's special collection.

⁴⁰ Many people I interviewed testified to a general decline in the conduct and commitment of the some clergy. Interviews with J Batambuze, 10th October 1999; D Kazungu, 19th November 1999; A Kisambira, 26th September 1999; C B Nambago, 19th July 1999; A T Waiswa, 11th September 1999.

trained clergy.⁴¹ Hence, he invited them to join the ordained ministry, prepared them using the special ordination course, ordained them, and commissioned them to perform various pastoral and leadership duties.

It is also important to mention here that Bamwoze's ordination of his friends and relatives revealed the extent to which he, like some other bishops in the province, exercised absolute control over the affairs of his diocese. His disregard for the complaints of some senior clergy *vis-à-vis* the ordination of theologically untrained 'secular' professionals showed that no one in his diocese could prevent him from ordaining anyone he deemed fit enough to be a clergyman. It seems to me that when Bamwoze was bent on doing anything he felt to be in his or the diocese's interest, he would go ahead and do it, despite opposition from any individual or group of people. After all, both his position as a head of an autonomous diocese and the influence he enjoyed as a bishop, effectively prevented the formation of disapproving voices into solid opposition strong enough to coax him to a humiliating climb down. Viewed in the extreme, people who disapproved of what he felt to be right or necessary could not, under normal circumstances, alter his decision to get it done, as long as he was the bishop, and, in effect, the diocese.

Conversely and in a way Bamwoze did not expect, it was the same group of people to whom Bamwoze gave preferential treatment that later turned out to constitute a power-balancing element within his diocese. Most of these people, having enjoyed positions of prestige and Bamwoze's favour, were not bound to obey him blindly as did the rest of the clergy.⁴² It seems to me that some of them therefore found it difficult to resist the temptation to look for special recognition and influence in the church. Moreover, some of them, being wealthy, skilled and self-reliant, did not depend on Bamwoze or the diocese for their financial support, thus making it possible for them to criticise Bamwoze without being terribly afraid of reprisal. When they eventually fell out with him, for several reasons discussed later in this chapter, they succeeded in helping the opposition against him so much that he *inter alia* regretted ever ordaining them.⁴³

⁴¹ C Bamwoze, "The Diocesan Bishop's Charge to the Sixth Diocesan Synod of Busoga Diocese at its First Session at St James Secondary School (sic), Jinja, April 25th 1990", p. 2, BDA.

⁴² Interview with H B Mugabi, 18th October 1999.

⁴³ Interviews with E J Batambuze, 10th October 1999; D K Kazungu, 19th November 1999; W F Wabegha, 4th November 1999.

UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPTS TO AVERT THE BUSOGA CRISIS

The 'Unmasking' of Problems in the Diocese (1988-1991)

The evidence available to me leads me to conclude that during the late 1970s and early 1980s, Busoga Diocese experienced significant growth in its work and a steady improvement in its financial position. For example, Mephiboseth Ibanda, in his booklet entitled *Ensimbi mu Kanisa ya Uganda e Busoga* (Finances in the Church of Uganda, Busoga), observed that the income of the church had increased tremendously between 1978 and 1983.⁴⁴ Also, in June 1989, Archbishop Okoth, during his pastoral tour of Busoga, commended all the Christians for their tireless efforts, which, according to him (and rightly so) led their diocese to be a model diocese in the province. Bamwoze reiterated this point of view in a charge he gave to the Diocesan Synod of 1990,

The Archbishop of Uganda declared this Diocese to be a model in Uganda. That places a special responsibility upon us all, but more on you [Synod delegates]. You owe it to the whole Church of Uganda to be that which the Archbishop says you [are]. We have no doubt that you have the capacity to excel in that matter.⁴⁵

However, from the second half of 1988 Bamwoze and several other people revealed that the financial and administrative position of the diocese was deteriorating. They observed that the diocese was experiencing many problems.⁴⁶ Consequently, between 1988 and 1990, at least nine separate efforts were made to identify the causes of these problems and to find solutions to them. These efforts were:

- A briefing of the clergy in 1988 on the financial constraints which the diocese faced;
- A meeting of the Diocesan Council⁴⁷ held at Bugembe on 14th October 1988, during which some members claimed that the diocesan secretariat was beleaguered with mal-administration, incompetence and lack of accountability;

⁴⁴ M J Ibanda, "Finances in the Church of Uganda, Busoga", 1986, BDA; Interview with M J Ibanda, 23rd September 1999.

⁴⁵ C Bamwoze, "The Diocesan Bishop's charge to the Sixth Diocesan Synod of Busoga Diocese at its First Session at St James Secondary School (sic), Jinja, April 25th 1990", p. 3, BDA. Notably, this synod was the fifth (not sixth as stated above) and was held at St James' Church, not at St James Senior Secondary School. Minute 5/90/ii, Busoga Diocesan Synod (BDS), 25th April 1990, BDA.

⁴⁶ Interviews with VD J Wangola, 16th September 1999; B Naigere, 20th July 1999.

⁴⁷ The Diocesan Council is, in effect, the standing committee of the Diocesan Synod. It is the body with the final authority on all matters of the diocese. It normally meets twice in a year in order to perform all the duties of the synod and to report to it (synod) when it meets. Generally, the synod deals with matters of policy and leaves their implementation to the DC and other specialised boards (which are normally

- A retreat for MSRDP staff, also attended by Bamwoze, Wangola and some archdeacons, held at Naminage Rural Training Centre between 12th and 16th December 1988, with the aim of addressing the problems in the programme;⁴⁸
- The acting Diocesan Secretary, Wangola's half yearly reports on the diocese;
- Wangola's special report on his and three other people's tour of the diocese;⁴⁹
- A three-person team, headed by Zikusoka, commissioned by Bamwoze to probe the financial position of the diocese;
- A three-person team from the Planning, Development and Relief (PDR) office of the Church of Uganda, invited by Bamwoze, in early 1990, to review the structure of Busoga Diocese;
- Bamwoze's charge given to the Busoga Diocesan Synod on 25th April 1990;
- The address given, on 7th July 1990, by James Balyejusa, the chairman of the Diocesan Finance Board.

Owing to the vastness of the issues raised in all these efforts, it is not possible to discuss each of them in detail. I will therefore limit my discussion to the contributions made by Wangola, Zikusoka, Bamwoze and Balyejusa and merely echo similar concerns made in the other efforts.

In August 1988, Bamwoze met with all the clergy in the diocese and briefed them on the financial constraints which the diocese was experiencing. He asked them to communicate these problems to the rest of the Christians and to urge them to contribute as much money as they could during the harvest festival in order to solve these problems.⁵⁰ But unfortunately after the festival, the diocesan treasury received far less money than it anticipated and as a result the diocese continued to experience an acute shortage of funds.⁵¹ Its finance department found itself unable to pay salaries for the church workers,

appointed by the council). Busoga Diocese (BD), "Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme...", p. 24.

⁴⁸ Wangola to Bamwoze, "Report on Some of the Diocesan Activities for the Period Between 1st October 1988 and 31st March 1989", 27th April 1989, p. 8, BDA.

⁴⁹ Wangola to Bamwoze, "Report on a Tour for Addresses to all Archdeaconries by the Diocesan Secretariat", ADM.14/1, 17th April 1989, p. 1, BDA.

⁵⁰ Meanwhile, Bamwoze secured a loan of Ushs. 1,300,000 from a commercial bank to pay the outstanding salaries of church workers and to meet some of the other running costs of the diocese. Wangola to Bamwoze, "Report on Some of the Diocesan Activities...", p. 2.

⁵¹ Wangola, in the first of his half-yearly reports, mentioned that by the end of March 1989, the parishes had sent to the treasury only 41% of its total budget. Yet it urgently needed a total of Ushs. 8,440,958 (56% of its budget) to pay for salaries of its church workers. It needed another Ushs. 4, 685,450 (31.2%)

meet the cost of training its students in BTTC Mukono and Uganda Martyrs' Seminary Namugongo, employ more staff in the secretariat, pay for the transport costs of the diocese,⁵² fund the recording and leasing of church land,⁵³ to mention but a few.

Wangola's Reports

During a Diocesan Council meeting held in October 1988, several members claimed that mal-administration, incompetence and corruption rampant in the secretariat, were the main causes of the problems which the diocese experienced. Wangola, in the first of his half-yearly reports, accepted these claims. He added that irregularities were also present at the archdeaconry and parish levels. He alleged that some leaders at these levels diverted church funds to their own pockets and observed further that often the secretariat was unfairly accused of misappropriating funds, yet most parishes failed to remit their quotas to the treasury. Furthermore, Wangola emphasised that most of the administrative and financial problems which affected the diocese were caused by "the total absence of a fully recognised administrative machinery [marked by] properly established channels of communication and chain of command". He referred to this problem as the greatest evil in the diocese and one which affected its work. He described it and its ramifications in this way:

True to say, we have village churches, sub-parishes, parishes and archdeaconries properly established by canon law, but due to lack of defined and codified policies, each Christian and clergyman goes his own way as his consciousness [sic] rules. Basically, all pretend to be loyal and answerable to the bishop but in reality and practically none is willing to accept and be obedient to him or his representatives. Hence, we have very many village and even sub-parish churches that regularly receive alms from Christians whose church workers and Christian leaders have stubbornly refused to remit such funds to higher churches. That money ends up in those leaders' personal pockets.⁵⁴

to pay off its other outstanding debts. Wangola to Bamwoze, "Report on Some of the Diocesan Activities...", pp. 10-11.

⁵² Some of the transport problems included the lack of money needed to repair the bishop's car; to buy tyres and other spare parts for the diocesan truck; and to secure means of transport for the diocesan secretary, archdeacons and the other clergy. Wangola to Bamwoze, "Report on Some of the Diocesan Activities...", p. 10.

⁵³ On the issues of church land and estates, Wangola reported that by 1967, the church had over 500 plots of land but there were title deeds for only forty-six of them. He mentioned that the number of plots without title deeds was estimated to be 700. He stated further that some of these pieces of land were occupied by unauthorised squatters, some of whom had built permanent houses on them. That is why twenty-three churches in the diocese had filed land-related cases in the courts of law. Wangola to Bamwoze, "Report on Some of the Diocesan Activities...", p. 6.

⁵⁴ Wangola to Bamwoze, "Report on Some of the Diocesan Activities...", p. 4.

He mentioned further that the head office also experienced problems in its administrative structure. He cited two examples, namely the tendency of some junior staff to by-pass their immediate ‘bosses’ by relating directly to some of the top leaders in the diocese, and the policy of the youth and women’s groups to avoid the head office *en bloc* and communicate directly with people or institutions outside the diocese. Wangola claimed that such irregularities and the others mentioned above caused a lot of chaos in the administrative and financial sectors. They also created a climate where fear and rumour mongering prevailed, evils which he duly reported to Bamwoze in this way:

There is a general fear of being mistreated, fear against hatred and apathy against carrying blame. Each individual from top to bottom is prepared to talk but not to write [emphasis in the original] and so this gives room to rumours which are unfounded, but [which] thrive through that fertile ground, and [which are also] permitted to give out springs and grand children. The Diocese therefore becomes a Diocese of unacceptable rumour mongering.⁵⁵

In my opinion, the presence of this fear within the church frustrated the efforts of a three-person team from Provincial Development and Relief (PDR) which Bamwoze had invited to review the administrative structures of the diocese. Canon Kodwo Ankrah, the head of the team,⁵⁶ in a letter to Wangola, confirmed that there were administrative problems in the diocese. He advised that these problems would be partly solved if the leaders in the diocese observed the rules and regulations embodied in the diocesan and provincial constitutions. He also noted that the efforts of his team to investigate the problems in the diocese were hindered by the presence within the diocese, of fear, which gripped the people they interviewed. He claimed that these people knew the causes of the problems in the diocese, and had come up with constructive solutions to these problems, but they were not prepared to speak to the team openly, fearing that they would be victimised by their leaders. Consequently, Ankrah recommended that it would be more advantageous if the diocese appointed an agency outside the church to evaluate its structure, one to which people would communicate their views regarding the problems in the diocese without fear of reprisal.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Ibid; Interview with VD J Wangola, 7th September 1999.

⁵⁶ The two other members of the team were Samuel Sakwa and Francis Gonahasa.

⁵⁷ Ankrah told Wangola, “Our impression was that a substantial number of the people interviewed knew what they wanted to be done, but they were not prepared to commit themselves to specific positions, or points of view. Perhaps people of the Diocese would be more forthright in their statements if the Diocese were to engage an outside body, preferably an institution or individuals not resident in Uganda. Ankrah to Wangola, “Review of the Diocesan Structure”, 6th April 1990, BDA.

This recommendation shows that Ankrah's team regarded the problems in the diocese as very serious, to the extent that the assistance of an outside agency was needed to help address them. But no such agency known to me or to any of my informants was brought in to investigate these problems. It is also important to add that the recommendation which Ankrah's team made did not rule out the possibility of problem-solving initiatives being taken by individuals or groups of people in the diocese. If these people proved to be impartial, bold and capable of treating information with the confidence it deserved, they could contribute substantially to improvements in the diocese. One such team of four people, headed by Wangola, went round the diocese, in March 1989, and successfully investigated the problems which affected it.⁵⁸

This team met with Christians, shared with them the financial and administrative problems which affected the secretariat, and simultaneously learned of the problems experienced at archdeaconry and parish levels. After their tour, Wangola submitted a report to Bamwoze, detailing the team's findings and recommendations. These covered administration of the Church, clearance of accumulated debts, disciplining Christians who stole church money, regular financial stability, strengthening the church and its members, the legal status of the land and estates of the Church, and the work and funding of MSRDP.⁵⁹ In the same report, it was stated that several Christians believed that the diocese was not properly managed, and thereby called for streamlining the diocese's administrative structures by ensuring a defined chain of command and proper channels of communication; giving job descriptions to all the staff in the secretariat; educating the clergy and laity on the administrative policy and structure of the church; putting in place a flexible, transparent and mutually interactive administrative machinery; restraining senior officials from abusing their juniors in public or before their congregations; increasing the bishop's and other officials' visits in the diocese; increasing mutual respect amongst the church workers; improving the selection and/or promotion of church officials; considering people's knowledge and experience in church affairs; discouraging

⁵⁸ Wangola to Bamwoze, "Report on a Tour for Addresses to all Archdeaconries...", pp. 1-6; Interviews with VD J Wangola, 16th September 1999; B Naigere, 20th July 1999.

⁵⁹ Wangola to Bamwoze, "Report on a Tour for Addresses to all Archdeaconries...", pp. 3-6.

favouritism or regionalism; activating church boards and committees; and ensuring smooth transfers or replacements of clergy and other church officials.⁶⁰

Concerning the financial problems in the diocese, the team reported that the people with whom they had consulted appropriately suggested the need to sensitise Christians on the question of church debts. They recommended that Christians be urged to raise the money needed to offset the church's debts and that they also be encouraged to be consistent and committed in their giving. This would, as a result, reduce the extent to which churches defaulted in sending their quotas to the diocesan treasury. They insisted that it was necessary to demand that leaders entrusted with funds and other properties of the church be good stewards. The report emphasised further that several people asked that those church leaders at all administrative levels of the church who had stolen church funds be "accused under courts of law rather than being left to go free".⁶¹ They also asked that appropriate disciplinary action be taken against leaders who intentionally avoided clearance of dues.⁶² The other recommendations which the team raised as a result of their tour included: the need to boost the morale of church workers by improving their living and working conditions and by providing them with necessary training and/or refresher courses; invigorating statutory bodies, church-related groups and all the Christians in the diocese; setting up land, estate and other stewardship committees in order to take better care of church properties; improving the management of church-sponsored schools; and providing more information to Christians concerning the work of MSRDP and its sources of funding.⁶³

In my opinion, the consultations conducted by Wangola's team created an environment in which leaders at all levels in the church came together in dialogue to learn each other's problems and difficulties. Also, the findings and recommendations that came out of these consultations provided the diocese with an opportunity to deal with the problems which affected it. Hence, from this time onwards no person or organisation in the church could pretend or claim to be ignorant of the problems experienced in the diocese. Furthermore, the fact that Bamwoze himself allowed this tour to take place and that Wangola, the

⁶⁰ Ibid, pp. 3-4.

⁶¹ Interview with VD J Wangola, 16th September 1999.

⁶² Wangola to Bamwoze, "Report on a Tour for Addresses to all Archdeaconries...", p. 4.

⁶³ Ibid, pp. 5-6.

acting Diocesan Secretary, behaved not as a chairman but as a team member who listened to what others were saying, led most of the participants to believe that the bishop and his office would not ignore these issues, but would give them the consideration they deserved. This, as a result, gave them the confidence they needed to express their views without fear of reprisal from their leaders. It also engendered in them a feeling that at last the various problems and difficulties experienced in the diocese were in the process of being addressed.⁶⁴

Furthermore, the cordial environment in which these consultations were held also revealed the presence within the church of Christians who were prepared to brave all odds in their search for an improvement in the way their diocese was led. Such people showed readiness to work with any other like-minded person without being bogged down by any past administrative or pastoral irregularities that were committed in the church. The manner in which many Christians (during these consultations) related freely to Wangola, whom, as I mentioned earlier, was regarded as having been inappropriately ordained and appointed Diocesan Secretary, is a case in point. They saw no compelling reason to hinder them from teaming up with him in their search for lasting solutions to the problems in the diocese, since he himself, after assuming office, showed great commitment to the improvement of the administrative structure and financial position of the diocese.⁶⁵

Bamwoze - "Parishes Have Become Dens of Robbers"

Wangola's reports contained several hard-hitting observations which undoubtedly made Bamwoze and some senior clergy uncomfortable. For instance, the allegations of the presence of defective administrative machinery in the diocese, the complete lack of respect for the bishop and the senior clergy, and the senior leaders' tendency to humiliate junior staff in public, did not go down well with the top leadership. Bamwoze himself must have been irked by the insinuations that he presided over a chaotic administrative structure and that many Christians in his see did not respect him. But there is no evidence to support the inference made widely⁶⁶ that he frustrated the findings and recommendations mentioned in these reports. On the contrary, there is substantial

⁶⁴ Interviews with VD J Wangola, 7th September 1999; B Naigere 20th July 1999.

⁶⁵ Interview with B Naigere, 20th July 1999.

⁶⁶ Interviews with B Naigere, 20th July 1999; C B Nambago, 19th July 1999; and N Kagoda, 3rd September 1999.

evidence to prove that he used them to invigorate his own participation in the search for solutions to problems in the diocese. For instance, he reiterated the findings and recommendations of these reports in the charge he made during the Diocesan Synod of April 1990. He castigated his Christians for being unfaithful in terms of their giving and stewardship, although the words which he used left a lot to be desired. He challenged:

The question we are interested in asking you is, how faithful are you? How faithful have you been? How faithful will you be over the next four years? The synod you succeed has left much to be desired in that respect. We promised the Diocesan Council that we would report both that Synod and its Council to you today. We are doing precisely that. They have been so unfaithful that even many parishes have become dens of robbers. It has been so difficult for them to remit their quotas that we have had to send special messengers in order to obtain any money from them. Let us name some of them. The Pastors and all the laity in those parishes have become robbers. They have not robbed the Diocese. They have robbed God and in so doing wronged him.⁶⁷

One wonders how many other topmost leaders inside and outside the church would reprimand their people in this way and get away with it. Bamwoze did, partly because his words, viewed in perspective, reflected his and other people's frustration with the persistent poor giving in the diocese and some church leaders' misappropriation of church funds. He thus addressed problems with which most of the delegates in the synod were already conversant.⁶⁸

Nevertheless, some delegates felt that the rather punitive claims which Bamwoze made were neither pastoral in approach nor justified at that. They stated that although several church leaders were accused by their Christians of misappropriating church funds, it was inappropriate for him to call people robbers and more so during the synod because technically, there was no one person on record or reported to the synod whom the church court had tried and found guilty of these irregularities. They insisted that all people were mere suspects until proven beyond doubt to be guilty. They blamed Bamwoze and his office for not taking the necessary steps to ensure that suspects were tried in church courts and disciplined if proven guilty. They also argued that, in 1988, Bamwoze commissioned a team to probe the financial position of the diocese. This team, as far as

⁶⁷ C Bamwoze, "The Diocesan Bishop's charge to the Sixth (sic) Diocesan Synod...", pp. 1-2.

⁶⁸ Minute 5/90 BDS, 25th April 1990, BDA

the synod was aware, had not yet submitted to him its findings.⁶⁹ Hence, they feared that by making such serious remarks on matters relating to the financial position of the diocese, Bamwoze, in essence, was pre-empting the team's findings. Therefore, they preferred that Bamwoze and the diocese wait patiently for an informed position from this team before making any comments on the issue.⁷⁰

Notwithstanding the fact that it was inappropriate for Bamwoze to comment on the financial position of the diocese before he received Zikusoka's Report on the Financial Position of Busoga Diocese, it was equally mistaken to suppose that Bamwoze in his capacity as the head of the diocese and a former chairman of the Diocesan Finance Board was ignorant of his diocese's financial position. It should not be forgotten that Bamwoze was as much conversant and simultaneously disturbed by the financial position of his diocese as was any other person. After all, the Zikusoka Report did not, in my view, mention anything that was completely new to Bamwoze, save for the aspect of including him and some senior clergy on the 'list' of culprits.

Zikusoka's Report on the Financial Position of Busoga Diocese

In their report, the three-person team headed by Zikusoka categorically stated that the presence of financial constraints in the diocese led many people to suspect that Bamwoze and some other senior leaders had misappropriated church funds. They also reported, for the first time, that many donors were so disturbed by the ways in which church funds and property were misappropriated that they threatened to discontinue their support unless effective measures were taken to reverse this trend. As a result, the team, in their report, asked Bamwoze and his head office to "dispel ignorance and suspicion of terms, conditions, mode and dispersement of donations [and] to place the diocesan Christians in a position of shared responsibility especially should donors withdraw their continued

⁶⁹ In his letter of resignation, Zikusoka mentions 6th November 1989 as the time when the report was completed. However the fact that it was announced, during the synod of April 1990, that the report had not been completed suggests that it had not been officially submitted to the bishop and the synod for further consideration. Zikusoka himself claimed that the report was completed and submitted on 6th November 1989 to Bamwoze, but was not made available to the synod because the bishop did not like it. Interview with J Zikusoka, 17th December 1999; Zikusoka to Bamwoze, "Relinquishing Office of Dean, Christ's Cathedral", 20th August 1992, BDA.

⁷⁰ Minute 5/90, BDS, 25th April 1990, BDA.

support”.⁷¹ They believed that such measures would, if implemented, help to improve the levels of participation, accountability and transparency in the diocese.

Furthermore, the team extended their investigations to cover the problems which led to the Christians’ decline of confidence and trust in their clergy and in the leadership of the church. They mentioned that their investigations led them to infer that many people were dismayed by the blatant irregularities in the church, which included the general decline in the moral standard of the clergy; mal-administration and corruption at all levels in the diocese; and the insurmountable quotas which the church imposed on the Christians.⁷² They reported that many Christians resented the manner in which some senior clergy humiliated junior clergy in public or before the latter’s congregations. Some of these people, the team reported further, singled out Bamwoze as the leading culprit, claiming, “Bamwoze occasionally makes critical fatherly rebuffs to pastors openly during the services, which, though well intended, excite resentment”.⁷³ It is also important to mention here that for the first time in the history of the diocese, a report officially commissioned by the bishop accused him and his office of wrongdoing. Wangola’s reports referred to earlier merely insinuated Bamwoze’s inadequacies. The Zikusoka Report expressed clearly that many Christians suspected Bamwoze of misappropriating church funds and that they also accused him of humiliating his clergy in public. This report, in effect, vilified Bamwoze by adding him to the list of culprits in the diocese, hence damaging his ability to champion the task of solving the problems affecting his diocese.

Besides the naming and shaming of Bamwoze and other senior clergy in the diocese, this report inadvertently created another problem. It diverted the top leaders’ efforts away from the task of solving the problems in the diocese and instead led them to trade accusations and counter-accusations against each other. Many senior clergy, who, like Bamwoze, were implicated in this report, accused Zikusoka as they did Wangola, of trying to cause mayhem in the diocese. Consequently, the relations between some of the senior leaders became so strained that it seemed to some people that either a *coup d’état*

⁷¹ J M Zikusoka, “Report on the Financial Position of Busoga Diocese”, BDA; Zikusoka to Bamwoze, “Relinquishing Office, of Dean, Christ’s Cathedral”, p. 4.

⁷² Interview with J M Zikusoka, 17th December 1999.

⁷³ J M Zikusoka, “Report on the Financial Position of Busoga Diocese”, BDA.

was in the offing in the church or that Zikusoka and Wangola's days in the church were numbered.⁷⁴ But instead of responding in kind, Bamwoze elevated Zikusoka even further to the status of a canon and also appointed him, in January 1991, to replace him (Bamwoze) as Dean of Christ's Cathedral, Bugembe.⁷⁵ Whether these 'promotions', perplexing as they were to some people, were yet other favours that Bamwoze bestowed on his friend, or whether they were the prelate's skilful manipulation of Zikusoka's rebel tendencies, are issues which I will return to later in this chapter. Meanwhile I proceed with discussions concerning the ways in which the diocese wasted opportunities to avert the Busoga Crisis.

The Address and Resignation of James Balyejusa

On 7th July 1990, James Balyejusa, another close friend of Bamwoze, whom he had recently appointed to replace him as the chairman of the Diocesan Finance Board, delivered a controversial address to the board. He reiterated most of the concerns raised in the previous reports. He observed that despite all the efforts which Bamwoze and other people had taken to solve the problems in the diocese, the situation had hardly changed. The diocese, he regretted, was still beleaguered by several problems, which included shortage of funds, lack of accountability and transparency, a shortage of qualified staff in the diocesan head office, and an absence of incentives for church workers. He attributed the persistence of these problems to lack of seriousness in meetings, the presence within the diocese of inoperative boards and committees, and to what he felt to be the highhanded way in which Bamwoze handled diocesan affairs.⁷⁶

Balyejusa repeated the allegations that some clergy had taken to debauchery and that some embezzled church funds. He also felt that Bamwoze did very little to address these problems, claiming that in several instances Bamwoze allowed the moral standard of many clergy to decline by not disciplining the culprits, but instead transferring them from one place to another every time they did something wrong.⁷⁷ He continued:

You will bear with me that the moral standards of our people in general and clergy in particular has greatly degenerated – possibly due to the fact

⁷⁴ Interview with B Naigere, 20th July 1999.

⁷⁵ J Kambagira, "Engineer Zikusoka Named Dean", in *New Vision*, 5th January 1991, p. 12.

⁷⁶ J Balyejusa, "Chairman's Address to Busoga Diocesan Finance Board, held on 7th July 1990 at St. James' School", pp. 2-3, BDA,

⁷⁷ J Balyejusa, "Posting of Priests to St James Parish Church- Jinja", pp. 2-3, BDA.

that Bishops while being consecrated, they are told to “Administer Discipline with Mercy”. One Clergyman misbehaves in Jinja and he is simply transferred to Kamuli, later to Kakira after misbehaving in Kamuli and to.... I do not know where! For a clergy to defile or profane God’s house of Worship and he is simply transferred passes my understanding. For a “*Musumba*” to refuse to remit money to Diocesan Headquarters and he is not reprimanded is another one impossible for me to comprehend. The Bishop in his “charge” to the recent Synod, categorically stated that “Parishes have become dens of robbers” and blamed the Laity for not being active, [but] he does not say anything about the Diocesan Headquarters’ failing to Discipline such people.⁷⁸

Balyejusa supported the suggestion made earlier that the problem of the general decline in the moral standard of the clergy would be partly solved if all culprits were duly disciplined and not allowed to go free. He went on to observe that Bamwoze and other leaders tended, during important meetings like the synods, to shirk serious issues by referring them to boards and/or committees, which existed only in name.⁷⁹ He pointed out that when delegates and/or participants raised serious concerns or possible solutions to problems in the diocese, they expected the appropriate authorities to deal with them. Instead their concerns were referred to inoperative boards and/or committees in a manner that was tantamount to evading them. This, he felt, was dreadful because it obstructed a sincere and honest search for solutions to problems. It also revealed an acute lack of seriousness on the part of the leadership to deal with the problems in the diocese.⁸⁰

He mentioned further that the inoperativeness of important organs of the church significantly contributed to the persistence of the financial constraints, which the diocese experienced. His research into the records of the Diocesan Finance Board, for instance, led him to the baffling discovery that generally the board was dormant and had *ipso facto* not “transacted any useful business in its life time”. He concluded, “given the absence of the Staff Board and hence the Disciplinary Committee and a Dormant, Finance Board, there is no way financial discipline let alone moral discipline could be enforced”.⁸¹ As a result, he urged Bamwoze to support wholeheartedly the measures which he and others felt to be the solutions to some of the problems in the diocese.⁸²

⁷⁸ J Balyejusa, “Chairman’s Address to Busoga Diocesan Finance Board...”, p. 3.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p. 4.

⁸⁰ *Ibid*.

⁸¹ *Ibid*, p. 2.

⁸² These measures included of short and long term solutions to the problems in the diocese such as improving ways of collecting church funds and of accounting for them; setting up emergency funds to help meet shortfalls experienced in the diocesan treasury; reviewing the quota system and improving its

Lastly, Balyejusa expressed his resentment over the way in which Bamwoze ignored the advice he received from church workers, preferring instead to impose his own decisions. He insisted that he himself was not prepared to have his ideas ignored as other people's ideas were. He demonstrated his indignation at what he regarded as Bamwoze's autocratic rule by resigning from the organising committee of the diocese's 18th anniversary celebrations. This was due to Bamwoze overruling (without giving any reason) the recommendation which the committee made, on 21st June 1990, that the celebrations be postponed indefinitely because the diocese was too strapped for cash to afford them.⁸³ Dismayed by what he felt to be a high-handed rejection of their recommendation and fearing that if the celebrations flopped Bamwoze would publicly rebuff them, Balyejusa decided to resign as chairman and member of the organising committee, declaring:

I am resigning from the chairmanship of the 18th Anniversary Celebrations Committee; I am resigning from the membership of the same Committee. I make the above decision because the bishop has not given any reasons for vetoing the decision of the committee. Secondly, the bishop is asking the Committee to go ahead with the arrangements knowing that there is very little time left and that we do not have the money to effect the arrangements.⁸⁴

Thus, the first major resignation occurred in the diocese, ironically at the time when every available effort was supposed to have been harnessed towards solving its problems.

Balyejusa, in his address, revealed that the problems which affected the diocese were far from being solved. He blamed the leadership of the church for not putting much effort into solving these problems and, in some instances, behaving in ways that escalated

usefulness; drawing comprehensive budgets for the diocese and trying as much as possible to stick to them; enforcing a transaction procedure especially in the diocesan headquarters in which remittances to the diocese were made in the form of cheques or bank drafts and in which all the expenditure was authorised by the board; employing an accountant, an internal auditor and other qualified staff in the treasury department; and giving the Finance Board powers to suspend or even dismiss any workers in the finance department who did not live up to the expectation of the church until such time as the bishop and the diocese appointed a fully constituted and operational staff board and disciplinary committee. J Balyejusa, "Chairman's Address to Busoga Diocesan Finance Board...", pp. 4-6.

⁸³ When Bamwoze, who was away on a working tour in Europe, he was informed of this recommendation, he overruled it without giving any reason and insisted that the celebrations be held as planned. Later, after he had returned from Europe, he also openly rebuked Dr David Kazungu when he referred Bamwoze to the committee's recommendation of postponing the celebrations. Interview with VD J Wangola, 7th September 1999.

⁸⁴ J Balyejusa, "Chairman's Address to Busoga Diocesan Finance Board...", p. 7.

them. He showed that he himself was not prepared to put up with these or any other irregularities. In resigning, he demonstrated his dissatisfaction with what he believed to be Bamwoze's authoritarian and condescending style and the poor handling of the problems in the diocese. With his resignation, Balyejusa challenged the claim which Bamwoze occasionally made that power over the diocese and its affairs lay not in the hands of the bishop, but in the synod and its constituent organs. He showed, in effect, that although in principle power and influence over the diocese lay in the synod and in its constituent organs, in reality, it lay in the hands of the incumbent bishop.

The resignation (though not desertion) of Bamwoze's friend Balyejusa was a significant incident which should have alerted Bamwoze to the existence within his diocese of an environment that was rapidly deteriorating. The fact that a close friend decided to resign from a very important appointment should have alerted Bamwoze to suspect that there were many people in his see, friends and foes who were equally disgusted with his style of leadership. Some of them were even poised to resist him. But there is no evidence available to me from which I can infer that, following the resignation of Balyejusa, Bamwoze was alarmed by the growing discontent in his diocese or that he took any substantial measure to reverse this trend. One would have expected him, for instance, to appoint an *ad hoc* and independent committee and charged it with the duty of probing the growing problems in his see. But evidently, he did not do this or take any other significant measures capable of solving problems or averting crises. Consequently, many people became disillusioned and angry, thus setting Busoga on a direct course towards a major conflict.

THE 'RISE AND FALL' OF THE MULTI-SECTORAL RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME (MSRDP)

THE OPERATIONS, IMPACT AND PROBLEMS OF MSRDP

The Achievements of MSRDP Between 1988 and 1992

In the previous chapter, I mentioned that the donors and the top leaders of Busoga Diocese decided to keep MSRDP and its infrastructure as distinct as possible from the pastoral, administrative and financial sectors of the diocese. However, at the same time they also insisted on maintaining an active and thereby mutually beneficial link between

the programme and the rest of the structures in the diocese, since the programme was⁸⁵ sponsored by the diocese and was answerable to its leadership. Owing to this link, it was impossible to prevent the problems in the church from spilling over to MSRDP. I will discuss the nature and impact of these problems shortly. But first, it is imperative to give background information on the life and work of the programme during the latter part of its second phase and first half of its third phase (1988-1992), although the vastness of its operations cannot permit here any more than a brief discussion.

In 1990, slightly over ten years after it was launched, MSRDP had grown tremendously, from a level constituting four sectors, a staff of thirty-three people and nine pilot parishes, to a level constituting seven improved sectors,⁸⁶ fifty project areas⁸⁷ and a staff totalling 302 people.⁸⁸ Hence, by the end of its second phase, the programme's secretariat celebrated "a rapid geographical expansion, rapid increase in activities and a sharp rise in personnel".⁸⁹ They attributed this growth to a number of factors, which included: the substantial and consistent donations given to the programme by foreign friends of the church;⁹⁰ dedicated staff "who worked hard and sacrificially in order to get the programme going";⁹¹ the tireless efforts of Bamwoze in seeking, within and outside Uganda, personnel, funds and other forms of support for the programme; and the church's steadfast response to communities' urgent need for social services, following the five-year civil war which culminated in the overthrow of the Milton Obote and

⁸⁵ I deliberately use the past tense to refer to MSRDP, its infrastructure and operations because most of its sectors ceased to operate by the end of 1996.

⁸⁶ Its sectors included Farming, Medical, Youth, Women, Water and Sanitation, Communication and Training, Income Generating and the Secretariat. Its farming sector was sub-divided into Afforestation and Agricultural Units, both supported by EZE, and Animal Husbandry, funded by Heifer Project International. Busoga Diocese, "Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme...", p. 5.

⁸⁷ A project area was approximately ten miles long and six miles wide and had a population of about 10,000. Busoga Diocese, "Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme...", p. 6.

⁸⁸ The programme had thirty-eight staff at the diocesan level, nine at the archdeaconry level and 255 workers (including forty-two nurses paid by communities in which they worked) at the community level. Busoga Diocese, "Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme...", p. 6.

⁸⁹ Busoga Diocese, "Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme...", p. 6.

⁹⁰ The main funding bodies of the programme, throughout its three phases, were *Evangelische Zentralstelle für Entwicklungshilfe* (EZE), Busoga Trust and Heifer Project International. Pathfinder renewed its support to the programme by giving it a grant of US\$513,021 to cover a period of two years with effect from 1986. Other bodies which supported it included CARE International and United States Aid (USAID). Busoga Diocese, "Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme..." pp. 39-40.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

General Tito Okello's governments by the National Resistance Movement/Army (NRM/A), and as a result of which the entire infrastructure was virtually destroyed.⁹²

By 1992, MSRDP's secretariat reported that the MSRDP staff had succeeded in educating the people in Busoga about the role of the programme; getting them involved in its activities; and creating a reliable leadership in the development and political domain (Resistance Councils) with the capacity to ensure security, law and order in the project areas and to create a multi-faceted and multi-sectoral development infrastructure that was, among other things, well suited to work effectively and in conjunction with other development-oriented bodies.⁹³ The secretariat also cited the activities undertaken by the constituent sectors of the programme. For instance, the women and youth sectors mobilised a group that jointly constituted 85% of the people in the region. The Women's Sector (WS) carried out several activities which included training over 2300 women leaders,⁹⁴ forming women's clubs, running seminars, courses and workshops with the aim of improving the status and roles of women in their homes, churches and communities, and providing them with income-generating projects such as baking, fruit growing and poultry farming.⁹⁵

The Youth Sector (YS) helped young people to identify their entry points into community development projects, and to participate actively in them.⁹⁶ It ran courses designed to equip, encourage, build and motivate youth workers, helped them to develop skills, increase their knowledge and learn practical approaches for the youth ministry.⁹⁷ It trained (jointly with the Youth Mission Team - YMT) over 320 youth leaders, helped young people to form up to forty-five youth groups and to establish income-generating projects like agro-forestry and cockerel cross breeding. It also sponsored youth seminars, workshops, work camps, conventions, annual sports and music competitions for the staff and youth in the region.

⁹² They also pointed out that the church was compelled to intervene, as it did, with urgency and remarkable success because the newly formed NRM/A government was not yet in a position to restore damaged social amenities and to provide new ones. Busoga Diocese, "Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme...", p. 6.

⁹³ Ibid, p. 9.

⁹⁴ D Kazungu, "Busoga Diocese: Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme Report...", p. 5.

⁹⁵ Busoga Diocese, "Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme...", p. 14.

⁹⁶ Ibid, p. 17.

⁹⁷ D Kazungu, "Busoga Diocese: Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme...", p. 2, BDA.

The Income Generating Sector (IGS), in addition to acting as a service sector to other sectors, also made a number of remarkable achievements. Its original task was to make MSRDP less dependent on donor funds by generating funds through local sources and projects. Gradually, the secretariat enlarged its duties by helping people to improve their domestic incomes. Eventually, its major objective became that of “making the home, the household in the local community of a given project area, the locus of all income generating activities”.⁹⁸ It provided farm inputs to rural farmers, launched dairy development programmes and endeavoured to improve human and animal management methods in people’s homes. But like other sectors, IGS attained its objectives with varying degrees of success, depending largely on the location and on the nature of the economic activities which the people preferred to undertake.

However, it was in three sectors, the Water and Sanitation Sector (WSS), the Medical Sector (MS) and the Farming Sector (FS) that MSRDP attained tremendous success. WSS made a major breakthrough in providing many people with safe, clean drinking water.⁹⁹ With the help of funds raised largely by Busoga Trust,¹⁰⁰ a British-based charity, WSS constructed four types of good water sources: bore holes (consallen type pumps), shallow wells,¹⁰¹ protected springs and roof rainwater catchments. By March 1997, WSS had constructed five hundred good water sources in Busoga and fifty in Luwero, a remarkable achievement, though one that was still a long way from the sector’s own target of providing one good water source to every five hundred people.¹⁰²

The staff of the Arable Farming Unit (AFU) reported success in its task of increasing and diversifying the food which many people in Busoga produced both for domestic consumption and for commercial purposes. As a result, many families were able to improve the nutritional standards of their children and to generate more income for themselves. AFU also encouraged young people and children to join the agricultural

⁹⁸ Busoga Diocese, “Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme...”, p. 22

⁹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 19.

¹⁰⁰ From 1996, Busoga Trust secured funding from Comic Relief, Overseas Development Agency (later renamed Department for International Development - DfID), and the European Union. In the same year the WSS extended its operations to the Anglican Diocesan of Luwero. *Busoga Bugle*, Busoga Trust Office, Summer 1998, p. 4; Spring 1997, pp. 1-2, 4; Spring 1997, pp. 1-4.

¹⁰¹ These wells were hand-dug, brick-laid and hand-pump driven and ranged between twenty and thirty feet deep. Busoga Diocese, “Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme...”, p. 9.

¹⁰² Richard Franks, “Busoga Trust, Busoga Diocese Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme...”, pp. 3, 9.

industry. It set up a revolving fund, which it used to help many youths to grow various types of crops. It encouraged primary schools and the children to grow fruit trees and other crops on school grounds and at their homes. Also, the Afforestation Unit (AU) of the Farming Sector succeeded in seeing “the tree take its place in the home as a tended crop”.¹⁰³ It established agro-forestry tree-nurseries in eight project areas out of which many people bought, at subsidised rates, an assortment of over 100,000 trees.¹⁰⁴ Like IGS, AU worked as a service unit of other sectors. It gave individuals and groups of people the support they needed to establish and sustain viable tree-planting projects.

Farmers benefited further from the Livestock Unit (LU). LU helped them to improve their skills in animal husbandry. It also boosted their farming capacity by providing them with better quality local and exotic animals and birds. With the funding and technical support it obtained from Heifer Project International (HPI), the unit passed a number of heifers (which were bred to in-calf stage) freely and successively from one farmer to another.¹⁰⁵ It also adopted a cluster approach in which seven or eight families living close to one another were formed into clusters in order to benefit from each other’s resources and experiences, and to make it easy for LU’s staff to visit, train and supervise them.¹⁰⁶

The Medical Sector (MS) also benefited the region a great deal. It started humbly in 1979 and, owing partly to the financial support of Care International and United States Aid (USAID), ten years later, it became one of the most effective health projects in the country.¹⁰⁷ Besides the existing Curative Unit (CU), the sector established, in 1986, two other constituent units, Community Health Services (CHS) and Family Life Education Programme (FLEP),¹⁰⁸ through which it provided curative, preventive and health

¹⁰³ Busoga Diocese, “Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme...”, p. 11.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ D Kazungu, “Busoga Diocese: Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme Report...”, p. 4.

¹⁰⁶ Busoga Diocese, “Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme...”, p. 11.

¹⁰⁷ The Medical Sector started in 1979 with a staff comprising one doctor, one medical assistant and one enrolled nurse. Ten years later, it had increased its staff to two doctors, two medical assistants, three registered nurses, forty-two enrolled nurses (who managed aid posts), two project managers, two secretaries, one accounts clerk and three drivers. Busoga Diocese, “Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme...”, p. 12.

¹⁰⁸ For a more detailed study of FLEP see E T Putnam and others (eds.), *Evaluation of the Busoga and East-Ankole Diocese Community Family Planning Projects*. Poptech Report No. 96-075-043, October 1996.

education services to many people in Busoga.¹⁰⁹ In January 1992, MS completed and opened a brand new building in Jinja, which housed the FLEP head offices, fairly well equipped medical theatres and other health-related facilities.¹¹⁰ It also helped to complete the construction and equipping of sub-dispensaries and maternity units established in several project areas. It gave them assistance like technical support, roofing materials, and medical equipment, to mention but a few.

Furthermore, MS established up to forty-five aid posts, scattered all over the diocese, and trained nurses, midwives and teams of village health workers to run them, under the watchful eye of their community health committees.¹¹¹ It continued to offer direct support to all the aid posts and their staff by visiting them regularly, running mobile preventive and healing missions,¹¹² and conducting several courses on health issues in all the project areas.¹¹³ Hence, MS, like most of the other constituent parts of the programme, made a significant contribution to the life and work both of the church and of many people in the region.

The Logistical Problems of MSRDP

The foregoing section reveals that MSRDP made a remarkable impact in Busoga. However, the programme experienced several problems such as shortages of funding, qualified personnel, tools and equipment, and a tendency by some people to manipulate the leadership, operations and resources of the programme. The vastness of all these problems makes it difficult to discuss them exhaustively. Therefore, I will mention a few examples which I believe adequately reflect the general situation in the programme. First, the programme continued to suffer, like the diocese, from insufficient funding.

¹⁰⁹ Between 1986 and 1989, CARE International and USAID supported two units in the Medical Sector, the Curative Unit and the Community Health Services (CHS). Their joint contribution of US\$ 761,900 (USAID donated US\$473,500 and CARE contributed US\$288,400) during this period helped to finance health-related intervention initiatives such as immunisation, Oral Rehydration Therapy (ORT), and providing mothers with health education (focused on Immunisation and ORT), nutrition education and growth monitoring. Busoga Diocese, "Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme...", pp. 39-40.

¹¹⁰ D Kazungu, "Busoga Diocese: Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme Report...", p. 2.

¹¹¹ Busoga Diocese, "Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme...", p. 12.

¹¹² For instance, CHS participated actively in two main interventions, namely, Immunisation Services (IS) and the Control of Diarrhoeal Diseases (CDD). Its staff participated in the task of immunising children against most of the immunisable diseases. They helped to reduce the impact of *neonatal tetanus* by covering many women of childbearing age with *tetanus toxoid*. They also increased, to over 50%, the number of households in which at least one member was capable of administering Oral Rehydration Therapy (ORT) to patients in a bid to prevent death associated with dehydrating diarrhoea. Busoga Diocese, "Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme...", p. 13.

¹¹³ Interviews with T Tuma, 25th November 1999 and D Kazungu, 19th November 1999.

Although it received a lot of financial assistance from donors like EZE, Care International, Pathfinder, USAID, Busoga Trust and several others, these funds were not enough to cater for all its activities. Furthermore, its funding was deliberately delayed between December 1991 and August 1992 by EZE, its major donor, because it (EZE) wanted the programme's secretariat to streamline its financial sector and to make a report on its operations, sources and use of the funds it received, before any more funds could be released to it.¹¹⁴ Also, other donors like USAID and Care International¹¹⁵ committed themselves to supporting specific units for short periods of time.

The acute shortage of funds meant that the programme could not buy new motor cycles and other vehicles, repair and/or service some of its old ones, purchase cameras, projectors or teaching-aids, secure more gas cylinders needed in the immunisation project of CHS, meet the costs of running Naminage Rural Training Centre and many others.¹¹⁶ Furthermore, the problem of inadequate funding made it difficult for the programme to secure qualified staff members needed to reinforce the management of some of the sectors and to boost their operations. WSS, for instance, lacked the strong professional leadership required to carry out a comprehensive survey of its activities and "to ensure effective deployment of resources in the execution of projects in the field".¹¹⁷ Also, the IGS, WS and the YS suffered from an acute shortage of skilled staff members needed to train leaders and to equip people with the necessary skills.¹¹⁸

Secondly, the declining numbers of qualified personnel also affected the success of the programme. Kazungu, in a report he submitted to the Diocesan Council in November 1992 mentioned that between 1991 and 1992, Tom Tuma,¹¹⁹ the programme's co-ordinator and sixteen other key people ceased to be employees of the programme. Two of the sixteen died, and some were dismissed on disciplinary grounds, but most of them

¹¹⁴ D Kazungu, "Busoga Diocese: Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme Report...", p. 1.

¹¹⁵ The funding of CHS by Care International wound up in September 1989. Efforts to have these donors renew their funding contracts were not successful. CHS would have closed earlier than the programme desired had it not been for additional funding which Bamwoze obtained for it from Pathfinders and USAID, though for only two years starting from November 1992. D Kazungu, "Busoga Diocese: Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme Report...", p. 2.

¹¹⁶ Busoga Diocese, "Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme...", pp. 8, 14, 18-19.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid, pp. 14-8, 22-3.

¹¹⁹ Shortly after he left the programme, Tuma worked with the Aids Commission and later became the co-ordinator of Provincial Relief and Development (PDR). Interview with T Tuma, 25th November 1999.

left to work with other non-government organisations, which paid their staff more handsomely than MSRDP.¹²⁰ The programme succeeded in replacing some personnel. But it still failed to fill important offices, such as that of Deputy Co-ordinator, Finance Officer, and the heads of four sectors namely, WSS,¹²¹ YS, WS and IGS.¹²² Consequently, the declining numbers in the programme led to a situation in which most of the programme's key sectors and units were understaffed to the extent that some of them, like WSS and AFU, were each managed by one person.¹²³

However, no other problem created such havoc in the programme as the manner in which some staff members manipulated the leadership, operations and resources of the programme. It would be a mistake to believe that it was impossible to subvert the tightly knit administrative structures of the programme. The presence within the programme of administrative and financial irregularities leads me to suggest that some leaders within the programme, at all structural and sectoral levels, 'successfully' manipulated the programme and its resources to their own advantage, so much so, that many people, including donors became alarmed.

Before I discuss these problems, it is imperative that I first describe briefly the administrative structure of the programme. Being a church-owned programme, MSRDP was answerable to the bishop (the programme's director),¹²⁴ the Diocesan Synod, the

¹²⁰ D Kazungu, "Busoga Diocese: Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme Report...", p. 1.

¹²¹ Until 1997, WSS had only one person, Richard Franks, to look after all the hand-pumps it constructed. The sector desired that the rural communities get involved as fully as possible in the running and maintenance of the sources. In the same year, it recruited trained and equipped seventeen Ugandan hand-pump mechanics and thereafter gave each of them the task of maintaining twenty to forty pumps, working under Franks as their overall maintenance supervisor. This was the first step towards ensuring that the water and sanitation projects were owned and maintained by the communities in which they were located. Also, the task of trying to provide these sources was undertaken by the Trust together with the Uganda Government Rural Water Development Department (RUWASA). *Busoga Bugle*, Busoga Trust Office, Spring 1997, pp. 1-2; Richard Franks, "Busoga Trust, Busoga Diocese Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme...", pp. 3, 9; Trust Representative, "Report of the Trustees", 1999/2000, Busoga Trust Offices; Busoga Diocese, "Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme...", p. 21.

¹²² Busoga Diocese, "Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme...", pp. 42-3.

¹²³ *Ibid*, pp. 10-18.

¹²⁴ Normally, the bishop worked closely with the co-ordinator (the chief executive officer of the programme) and he did "nothing except through and in the company of the co-ordinator". Other members of staff in the programme included the personnel in the programme's secretariat, heads of sectors, unit managers, programme executives, programme assistants and community field staff. Busoga Diocese, "Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme...", pp. 29-33.

Diocesan Council and the Board of Planned Development (BPD).¹²⁵ In addition, each sector usually had its own advisory committee (SAC) in which its staff members discussed all the technical matters, experiences and activities of their sectors. It was at this level that people who were well versed in the activities of their respective sectors dealt with issues and concerns of all the sectors. Then, if necessary, they forwarded them to the programme's secretariat and other concerned organs for further consideration. Lastly, at project area levels, were development committees and between five and seven sub-committees named after the sectors of the programme. The development committees comprised up to fifteen members, appointed by people in the communities. The responsibilities of these committees included serving as a link between the programme and the communities; involving people in the activities of the programme; and hiring, sacking and rewarding community field staff.¹²⁶

With such a tightly knit administrative structure, it would seem very difficult for any person to manipulate the leadership, operations or resources of the programme. However, a close scrutiny of this structure reveals loopholes that made it possible for administrative and financial irregularities to occur. For instance, there was a loose connection between the diocesan and project area levels, which made it very hard for development committees and the programme's secretariat to work together effectively and as a team.¹²⁷ This lack of integration between these two levels caused two more problems for the programme. First, the secretariat found it difficult to get involved when

¹²⁵ Being a development-oriented programme, MSRDP fell under the Board of Planned Development (BPD), whose duty was *vis-à-vis* to report to the Diocesan Council all matters relating to the programme. Within BPD was (and still is) the Program Committee (PC) one of the few committees in the board, whose powers equalled those of BPD. It carried out its duties and approved new ventures without first having to report to the board and/or to seek fresh mandate. It was its responsibility to discuss and to report periodically to the board all the affairs of MSRDP, which it, in turn, received from the Finance and Personnel Committee (FPC), one of its sub-committees. Normally, FPC received reports on the progress of MSRDP from Sectoral Advisory Committees (SAC), via the secretariat of MSRDP. In addition to reporting to the Programme Committee all matters relating to the finance and personnel of MSRDP, FPC regulated the operations of MSRDP in order to ensure that it maintained a balance between its activities and the resources it had at its disposal. Busoga Diocese, "Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme...", pp. 24 - 26.

¹²⁶ In some communities, the new development committees appointed their chairpersons, secretaries and treasurers, and the rest of the members were appointed by sub-committees of the development committees. Busoga Diocese, "Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme...", p. 26-28.

¹²⁷ Although the programme's secretariat gave a group of sectoral staff, known as the programme executives, the duty of bridging the gap between the diocesan and project area levels by relating directly with project areas, their roles were largely limited to informing and empowering the development committees and the people in the project areas. They did not have the mandate to interfere with the administrative affairs of the development committees. Busoga Diocese, "Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme...", p. 28.

some members of the development committees were appointed largely on the basis of age, sex, kinship and friendship ties. They were hindered by the fact that constitutionally, these committees were mandated to carry out their business with limited interference from the secretariat. Hence, they intervened largely by offering advice to affected committees on how to deal with these irregularities.¹²⁸ Secondly, some people at the project area level felt that the secretariat did not make much effort to inform them about the programme's financial position and its activities. They felt that this information was given only at diocesan level, yet they regarded themselves appropriately, in my view, as the locus of the programme's work.

They did not realise that even at the diocesan level, very little effort was made, before 1990, to compile and forward comprehensive reports to the donors and the administrative organs of the church. Some people, including donors,¹²⁹ interpreted the secretariat's failure to produce reports as a cover-up of irregularities within the programme. These included misappropriating the funds and other items of the programme, Bamwoze's wrongful appointing of his relatives and friends to key posts in the programme, and his tendency to treat the programme like a personal venture, hence jeopardising its survival. They demanded that the programme pursue a strict policy of accountability and transparency and also suggested that Bamwoze cease to be directly involved in the leadership of the programme because he, like some other bishops, had acted in ways that led them to conclude that he was authoritarian in style and corrupt in stance. This suggestion was succinctly expressed in a letter written to him by Jane Harriet Namwebya, who worked for the programme for seven years in various capacities, including that of an acting co-ordinator:

I wish to advise that, in pursuance of a growing and sustainable development programme, you reconsider your role as Director. Bishops are not very easy people to work with. They cannot be challenged: may be cannot be advised. Yet the position of a Managing Director should be different. As Director, your decisions may be challenged, or checked, you may be advised, discussion can be held in a free atmosphere without someone fearing your scathing attacks.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ VD J Wangola, during an interview I held with him on 16th September 1999, showed me two letters written to Bamwoze by a German Judge who was also one of the trustees of EZE. In these letters, this judge (whose name is withheld on request) warned Bamwoze that MSRDP faced the danger of losing the support it received from EZE because of the financial and administrative irregularities in the programme.

¹³⁰ H Namwebya to Bamwoze, 4th June 1992, p. 2, Wangola's special collection.

This comment and others, which are similar to it¹³¹ lead me to conclude that although overall and in principle the co-ordinator was the chief executive officer of the programme, there were several instances in which Bamwoze behaved and acted like the ultimate and sole person in command. He manipulated its administrative structure by disregarding the fact that he could make decisions on matters affecting the programme only “through and in the company of the co-ordinator”,¹³² hence prompting the demand of Namwebya and other people that he cease to be the director of the programme.

MSRDP- “THE DARLING OF THE DIOCESE”

The Role of the Programme’s Problems in the Making of the Busoga Crisis

One ramification of the problems in the diocese was the extent to which the Christians were divided, more on the basis of their support for Bamwoze, the people and the things closely associated with him, than on the basis of *sazaism* and consanguinity. It is in this respect that I proceed to discuss the contribution of the problems in the programme to the making of the Busoga crisis. First, it should not be forgotten that MSRDP owed its origin to Bamwoze, hence his contribution to the aspect of development was not negligible. He committed himself greatly to the cause of MSRDP, incessantly sought support for its work and, as a result, helped it to become one of the most successful development programmes in the country. Many people in Busoga benefited immensely from its activities, and as a result, became attached to it and to him. Bamwoze’s contribution to the development of Busoga through MSRDP was not only enormous, it was also one that many people, including his opponents, did (and still do) acknowledge.

Consequently, the groups that resented Bamwoze found it very difficult to convince these people that overall, Bamwoze was not fit to be a bishop.¹³³ These people could not understand how a man who, unlike their politicians, made it possible for them to have access to clean water and to bring medical and other facilities close enough to them, could be, on the whole, a bad bishop. Although they were both aware of and disturbed by the fact that he had accumulated a lot of wealth and that he was generally proud and arrogant, they could not think of any other person in Busoga, within or outside the

¹³¹ Interviews with C B Nambago, 19th July 1999 and B Naigere, 20th July 1999.

¹³² Busoga Diocese, “Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme...”, p. 29.

¹³³ Interviews with A T Waiswa, 11th September 1999 and S Ndekera, 5th October 1999.

church, who was without fault or who had helped them as Bamwoze had. Therefore, most of them continued to support him despite the accusations levied against him.¹³⁴

His foes were not discouraged. They continued their anti-Bamwoze campaign, hoping that people in Busoga would rally behind them and cast a vote of no confidence in him. They alluded to cases of wrongdoing within the programme in which Bamwoze was directly implicated, in order to show that although Bamwoze was the principal architect and fundraiser of the programme, he also contributed to its downfall by appropriating to himself and to his close friends some of the resources intended to support its work.¹³⁵ They also accused him of giving a lot of attention to MSRDP, so much so that it became, in Zikusoka's words, "the darling of the diocese"; diverting the programme's resources to Naminage Rural Training Centre¹³⁶ and other locations near his home area; employing staff in the programme who were not properly married in church; and filling the key jobs of the programme with incompetent people, non-Anglicans, youths and Bagabula.¹³⁷

In response Bamwoze, dismissed most of these allegations, claiming that his accusers were driven by selfish motives. He denied any wrongdoing on his part, and challenged those who accused him to prove their case in public. He insisted that these people criticised him and the programme because they were ignorant of its objectives, structure and operations. Bamwoze, like the *Busoga Bugle*, the magazine of Busoga Trust,¹³⁸ accused his opponents of seeking a substantial portion of the items, which were not earmarked for them. He insisted that the tools, equipment, drugs and several others were not intended to be distributed to a few individuals, but were designated to specific places and for special purposes. He also stated that the programme was not limited to employing and serving Anglicans only, but was intended, as it did, to serve the entire region and to employ competent people who were appointed on merit, irrespective of their age, sex or religious affiliation.¹³⁹

¹³⁴ Interview with H Mugabi, 18th October 1999.

¹³⁵ Interview with M Wambuzi, 5th September 1999.

¹³⁶ According to Fred Mukobe, taking the programme's items to Naminage made it convenient for Bamwoze to siphon them to his own home. Interview, 20th October 1999.

¹³⁷ VD J Wangola, "Busoga Crisis", unpublished manuscript; interview with F Mukobe, 20th October 1999.

¹³⁸ *Busoga Bugle*, Summer 1998.

¹³⁹ Interview with D Kazungu, 18th November 1999.

Notably, Bamwoze took into consideration some of the criticisms made by these people. For instance, he dismissed, in his capacity as the director of MSRDP, some of the staff members in the secretariat who had been repeatedly accused of mal-administration and incompetence. He also dismissed all the senior staff of the programme whose marital relationships were not officially blessed in the church, and later re-employed those people, like Mr Kitamirike, a member of the Roman Catholic Church, who eventually had their marriages blessed in church. Others, like Namwebya, who failed to have their marriages blessed in church, were very disappointed. Namwebya herself expressed her dismay concerning the way in which the bishop had bowed to pressure and dismissed people because of their marital status.¹⁴⁰

I deliberately do not probe in great detail Namwebya's accusations of Bamwoze's decision to employ and dismiss people on the basis of their marital status, largely because they are outside the scope of this study. It is, nonetheless, sufficient to say that these accusations, notwithstanding their significance, should be viewed more appropriately within the context of the tensions that raged in the diocese. Although, staff members of the programme were employed initially on a professional basis, and not because their beliefs and practices conformed to the moral standards of the church, the time came when Bamwoze and the secretariat came under tremendous pressure, from some people in the diocese, to employ only those who reflected and adhered to the church's moral standards. Bamwoze's decision to sack people on the grounds of marital status showed that he eventually bowed to this pressure. But it did not imply, as some of his critics suggested, that he eventually came round to upholding the church's moral standards, after having previously disregarded them.¹⁴¹

There was, however, one serious error of omission that Bamwoze and the secretariat made. They did not make much effort to keep donors and people in the diocese informed about the operations of the programme and its financial position, leading many people especially within the diocese to suspect that Bamwoze and some staff diverted to

¹⁴⁰ Namwebya to Bamwoze, 4th June 1992, p. 1.

¹⁴¹ Kazungu, in defending Bamwoze's decision to sack Namwebya and others, claimed that Bamwoze and the secretariat, on several occasions, urged the staff members in the programme whose marriages were not blessed in church, to do so as soon as possible. The programme wanted to employ staff, single or married, who were both qualified and who, at the same time, met the moral (and not just marital) standards of the church. Interview with D Kazungu, 19th November 1999

themselves some of the resources of the programme. A concerted effort aimed at informing people about the position, activities and funding of the programme would not only have helped to clear the suspicions of these people, but would also have informed them about some of the problems which the programme faced. For instance, people who believed that the programme was paying its staff a lot of money would have learnt that, compared to other NGOs, MSRDP paid smaller salaries to its staff, and as a result some of them left to work with other programmes like PDR¹⁴² which paid workers more handsomely than MSRDP.

Also, people who complained that the programme was greatly endowed and its staff was adequately facilitated, would, on being informed about its true position, have been amazed by the fact that the programme suffered an acute shortage of funds and that it did not have sufficient means of transport. In my opinion, if all this information had been available to people it would have painted a true picture of the programme, and thereby minimised the suspicions which some of the people had developed. But because it was not readily and effectively available to them, many people believed that the programme had a lot of funds and that Bamwoze and some of the programme's senior staff members were misappropriating them.¹⁴³

It is necessary to mention here that those who accused Bamwoze and some of his staff of misappropriating church funds were not far from the truth. However they did not have at their disposal the details of funds which they claimed that Bamwoze and some members of his staff had taken. This was partly because of the manner in which gifts were (and still are) given to individuals who received them on behalf of the people at the grassroots level. Given the fact that the funds donated especially by individuals and relatively small funding bodies were usually not closely monitored like those of the well-established funding agencies like EZE and USAID, it was possible to divert them to sources other than those for which they were intended. It would have been more appropriate, especially for purposes of increasing accountability and transparency, if gifts of money had been remitted in the forms of cheques, which are not easily transferable or convertible into cash, then sent directly to bodies (like the diocesan treasury) which are normally obliged,

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Interviews with M K Wambuzi, 5th September 1999 and B Naigere, 20th July 1999.

as a matter of courtesy, to acknowledge gifts received and to mention how they are being (or would be) utilised.

It is appropriate to make two observations here concerning the presence within the diocese of people who criticised Bamwoze. First, by pointing out the presence of people who alluded to the ‘funny goings on’ in the programme in a bid to disparage Bamwoze, I do not in any way imply that everyone who criticised Bamwoze did so with ill intentions. On the contrary, many people both inside and outside the diocese criticised him and the secretariat with good intentions, that is, because they wanted to see an end to the bad practice that threatened the continued success of the programme. I mentioned earlier, for example, that James Balyejusa, a close friend of Bamwoze, criticised the bishop’s style of administration not to disparage him, but because he wanted to see an end to the irregularities in the diocese.

Secondly, at least two significant incidents lead me to agree with accusations that Bamwoze diverted to himself some of the funds and items of the programme. These are Bamwoze’s act of transferring a herd of ninety-six cattle from Bugembe Diocesan Farm to his own farm in Nakimegere, and the purchasing in his name, using church funds, of farm land at Nakabango covering seventeen acres with a double-storeyed house built on it.¹⁴⁴ I am also aware that some of the allegations of corruption levied against him especially by people who plotted his downfall were fabricated and merely intended to disparage him. The allegations made by some of his rivals that he falsified the records of clergy salaries (by stating that he gave them more money than he had received from friends of the church) are a case in point.¹⁴⁵ However, the presence within the diocese of people who abhorred him so much that they used every means at their disposal to try to oppose him, suggests the growing and active presence within his diocese of an anti-Bamwoze faction. These people sought continually to frustrate all his plans, to disparage him and to try to make his position as bishop untenable. It is partly in the light of these emergent pro- and anti-Bamwoze factions that the conflict which raged in St James’ Parish Church, Jinja, should be viewed.

¹⁴⁴ Interview with VD J Wangola, 16th September 1999; “Busoga Crisis”, unpublished manuscript.

¹⁴⁵ The records available to me both in the diocese and from other unofficial sources do not support this allegation. Interview with J Wandera, 5th October 1999.

THE CRISIS IN ST JAMES' PARISH CHURCH, JINJA

ANOTHER VOTE OF NO CONFIDENCE IN JOHN KALIMUNGABO BAGENDA

A combination of events contributed to the emergence of conflicts in the St James' Parish Church, Jinja. They included: the strained relations between two canons, James Kitamirike and John Kalimungabo Bagenda, following the replacement of the former by the latter as Archdeacon of Jinja and vicar of St James' Church; the circumstances that surrounded the first failed ordination of Rev John Charles Irongo; and the refusal by Bamwoze to transfer Bagenda from St James' Church after the Christians had cast a vote of no confidence in him. I proceed to examine these issues in detail. First, in order to understand the causes of the conflicts which raged between Kitamirike and Bagenda, it is necessary to understand that St James' Parish Church, Jinja, enjoyed special status in terms of influence and wealth.¹⁴⁶ It was one of the congregations in the diocese that wielded a lot of political influence, the kind that would suit a clergyman who lobbied, among other things, for recognition and/or access to the echelons of power in the diocese.¹⁴⁷ Hence, it was not unusual that postings from or to this church could, as they did in the cases of Kitamirike and Bagenda, result in envy and suspicion on the part of the pastors who were removed from it and transferred to it.

Kitamirike dreaded being removed from Jinja Archdeaconry,¹⁴⁸ while Bagenda, though pleased to be posted to Jinja as the archdeacon and vicar of St James' Church, was suspicious that Kitamirike nursed plans of frustrating his work in St James's Church in order to be re-posted to it. In fact Bagenda was so paranoid that he suspected Kitamirike of using witchcraft against him and his family through Charles Irongo, a member of the choir and student at Namugongo Seminary, whom Kitamirike had left behind in the servants quarters of the manse. As a result of this strife, the relationship between Kitamirike and Bagenda, and between Bagenda's family and Irongo's family soured.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶ St James' Parish Church is situated in the heart of Jinja town. It has several rich and influential people and has more money than any other church in the diocese. F J Baalwa, "The Causes and Development of Busoga Crisis (1992-3)". BD dissertation, Makerere University, Kampala, 1996, p. 14.

¹⁴⁷ Interviews with J Kafuko, 22nd July 1999; J K Bagenda, 8th November 1999 and J Wandera, 5th October 1999.

¹⁴⁸ Kitamirike was transferred to Kiyunga Archdeaconry. Interview with C Irongo, 8th September 1999.

¹⁴⁹ Bagenda, probably in a bid to limit any link between his family and that of Irongo, stopped the Irongos from drawing water from a tap which was close to the main house, resulting in the Irongos collecting their water from a soldier's home in the neighbourhood. Interviews with C Irongo, 8th September 1999; H Naluswa, 4th June 1999.

These conflicts not only dismayed the congregation of St James' church, they also aggravated the growing resentment of many members of the congregation towards Bagenda. The people who were sympathetic to the Iganga affair which I discussed earlier still viewed him with disdain because of the role he played in his capacity as the archdeacon of Iganga, and as a result of which the Iganga Diocesan Steering Committee (IDSC) cast a vote of no confidence in him. Worse still, the allegations he made that a fellow clergyman was bewitching him became too difficult for some of his Christians to bear.¹⁵⁰ They found it hard to trust a clergyman who believed that he could be threatened by witchcraft. They wondered how such a person would pastor them, given the hatred he openly showed towards another clergyman and given his fear of witchcraft.¹⁵¹

In addition, three other factors led Christians in St James' Parish Church to resent Bagenda and to cast another vote of no confidence in him. They were: the uneasiness of many people with Bagenda's style of administration and stewardship; their perception that he was closely associated with Bamwoze; and their suspicion that Bamwoze was grooming him for special responsibilities in the diocese. These factors also deserve further comment here. First, in most of the places where he had worked, Bagenda had shown himself to be a strict administrator. He was also said by many of his Christians to be a leader who rigidly and meticulously monitored the use and keeping of church funds.¹⁵² It did not take the leadership of St James' Church long before they had a taste of Bagenda's rigid style of administration and could prove for themselves what other people felt to be his neurotic obsession for accountability.¹⁵³

Their first clash with him came when he openly disapproved of what he felt to be the rather extravagant manner in which the local leaders used church funds. One aspect that particularly irked Bagenda and which he was determined to rectify was the huge amounts of money the leadership in St James' Church spent on the choir. He felt justifiably that these people were misusing church funds by paying for unnecessary expenses such as

¹⁵⁰ FJ Baalwa, "The Causes and Development of Busoga Crisis (1992-3)", p. 14.

¹⁵¹ Interviews with J Kafuko, 22nd July 1999; J Wandera, 5th October 1999.

¹⁵² Interview with H Mugabi, 18th October 1999.

¹⁵³ Interview with J Kafuko, 22nd July 1999.

preparing meals for choir members when they met twice a week for choir practice and by giving them money to cover their transport costs. Some of these singers commuted from as far as Kamuli, a distance of over fifty kilometres from Jinja.¹⁵⁴ Bagenda showed determination to reduce this expenditure to a bare minimum. He preferred that the choir members be given tea instead of a meal, and that singers who came from distant places be encouraged either to contribute towards their transport expenses or to join choirs in churches which were close to their homes.¹⁵⁵

Bagenda also instituted several changes in the daily routine of the church and in its entire administrative structure. He ensured that he himself presided over all the executive meetings of the church. Furthermore, he transferred and employed lay readers without consulting with the local leaders. All these changes were, according to him, intended to streamline the administrative structure of the church and to reduce the exclusive control over its funds and administrative affairs by what he perceived to be “a clique of laity”.¹⁵⁶ But the leaders and several other members of the congregation did not like these changes. They interpreted them as efforts on the part of Bagenda to impose on the church a dictatorial and clerical-dominated form of administration.¹⁵⁷ Hence, they resolved to reject his changes and to request Bamwoze to transfer him to another place.

They were aware that the task of getting Bamwoze to remove Bagenda from St James’ Church would not be an easy one. They viewed Bagenda as a close friend of Bamwoze and one whom, they suspected, he was grooming to be an assistant bishop. They alluded to three factors which, in their view, suggested the intention on the part of Bamwoze to appoint Bagenda as an assistant bishop. These were: the departure of Dr Tom Tuma (who, as I mentioned earlier, was thought to be Bamwoze’s choice of assistant bishop) to Kampala to work with the AIDS Commission and later with PDR, hence giving Bamwoze the task of replacing him; Bagenda’s own privileged status as a friend of Bamwoze and as one of the few well trained senior clergy in the diocese;¹⁵⁸ and Bamwoze’s decision to post Bagenda to Jinja Archdeaconry and St James’ Church, with

¹⁵⁴ Interviews with J K Bagenda, 8th November 1999; C Irongo, 8th September 1999 and H Mugabi, 18th October 1999.

¹⁵⁵ Interview with J K Bagenda, 8th November 1999.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Interview with H Mugabi, 18th October 1999.

¹⁵⁸ During this period, Bagenda was the only archdeacon who had a degree (Bachelor of Divinity) in theology. Interview with H Mugabi, 18th October 1999.

a view, according to many people, of introducing him to the influential people and leaders of the diocese.¹⁵⁹ The third factor particularly led many people to suspect that Bamwoze was poised to appoint Bagenda as an assistant bishop. Consequently, they feared that it would not be easy to convince Bamwoze to take him elsewhere, given his close association with him and the plan he had in mind for him. This did not lessen their resolve to fight against Bagenda. In fact his close association with Bamwoze, whom some of them equally dreaded, gave them another reason to oppose him (Bagenda).¹⁶⁰

An opportunity to disparage Bagenda and to get rid of him arose in June 1991, following the events surrounding Bamwoze's decision not to ordain Charles Irongo. On Sunday 9th June, Bagenda announced for the first time, before all the Christians in church that Irongo (a man whose education at Namugongo was largely paid for by the Christians of St James Church) would be ordained deacon on 30th June. Naturally, this announcement excited all the Christians because Irongo was "a man they had known for quite some time and they knew how he had struggled through his studies".¹⁶¹ Meanwhile, on 11th June, Irongo and Bagenda had an audience with Bamwoze and on 13th June, Irongo and two other ordinands¹⁶² were jointly addressed by Bamwoze.¹⁶³ During the first of these two meetings, Irongo, when asked about his marital status, initially responded, "*nabaiza*" (I eloped) instead of saying *nagaita* (I wedded). Afterwards, he clarified that this was a slip of the tongue. He explained further that he had been properly wedded in church and that Bagenda himself had presided over their wedding ceremony.¹⁶⁴ But in spite of this clarification, Bamwoze concluded that Irongo needed more training and supervision, particularly in his use of *kisoga* words, before he could ordain him as a deacon.¹⁶⁵ Hence,

¹⁵⁹ Interview with H Mugabi, 18th October 1999.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ P Muwema and others to Bamwoze, "Staffing Circular of 27th November 1991", 13th December 1991, p. 2, BDA.

¹⁶² These were Moses Christopher Kisuule and Henry Naluswa. Interview with C Irongo, 8th September 1999.

¹⁶³ Wangola to Irongo, Ref MSN. 23/1, "Audience with the Diocesan Bishop", 6th June 1991, BDA.

¹⁶⁴ Interview with C Irongo, 8th September 1999.

¹⁶⁵ Bagenda suspected that Bamwoze refused to ordain Irongo as a punishment for sitting in a comfortable seat instead of offering it to Naomi Bamwoze when she visited St James' Church. Interview with J K Bagenda, 8th November 1999.

he posted him to Kibaale Parish to work as a lay reader, under the supervision of Rev Samuel Magulu.¹⁶⁶

The following Sunday, 16th June, Bagenda informed the Christians of Bamwoze's decision not to ordain Irongo. For purposes of confidentiality, he merely mentioned that Irongo had failed his interview with Bamwoze. He rejected the Christians' request to explain to them, in detail, how and why Irongo's interview with Bamwoze was not successful. He repeated the same announcement, during a special meeting arranged by Christians on Friday 21st June 1991. He also refused to appeal to Bamwoze on behalf of Irongo and the Christians, stating, "once Bishop Bamwoze had decided on something, whether good or bad, that was final".¹⁶⁷ He rubbished the claims they put to him that Irongo's ordination was cancelled because of his strained relations with him (Bagenda).¹⁶⁸

Bagenda infuriated his Christians even further by failing to show up on Sunday 23rd June to lead the service and to address the Christians in respect to the events that transpired during the week of the failed ordination of Irongo. Instead, he asked his friend Edward Tamale, who, according to many Christians, was an unqualified lay reader, to be in charge of the three services.¹⁶⁹ Allegedly, Tamale during all these services, openly admonished the local leaders for seeking to tarnish the image of Bagenda and for turning the congregation against him. He also rebuked the Christians for allowing themselves to be misled by these people.¹⁷⁰

These developments dismayed many Christians so much that some of them on the same day drafted a memorandum¹⁷¹ asking that the Parish Council dismiss Tamale with

¹⁶⁶ Irongo served as a lay reader for another seven months before he was ordained as a deacon. Interview with C Irongo, 8th September 1999; Wangola to Irongo, Ref ADM 13/1, "Posting for Practical Training", 24th June 1991, BDA; Bamwoze to Kitakule, 29th Feb 1992, BDA.

¹⁶⁷ P Muwema and others to Bamwoze, "Staffing Circular of 27th November 1991", p. 2.

¹⁶⁸ J Balyejusa to Bamwoze, ET/P42 (F), "Posting of Priests to St James Parish Church – Jinja", 6th April 1992, p. 1.

¹⁶⁹ Bagenda informed me that he had commitments elsewhere in the archdeaconry. Rev Paul Naimanyhe, the curate, was off sick. As a result, he asked Tamale to take the services. He also disputed the claims that Tamale was not qualified, arguing that Tamale had adequate training and experience needed by a lay reader anywhere in the diocese. He claimed that he was not liked especially by the leadership of the church because he, like Bagenda, openly spoke boldly against the wrongdoing on their part. Interview with J K Bagenda, 8th November 1999.

¹⁷⁰ P Muwema and others to Bamwoze, "Staffing Circular of 27th November 1991", p. 3.

¹⁷¹ J Kafuko, "St James' Church, Jinja, Memoranda (sic), Document Number 1", 29th June 1991, Wangola's special collection.

immediate effect, on the grounds that “St James, being one of the senior churches in Busoga needs a more competent man”. They stated further that Tamale’s performance “during the service on June 23, 1991 was far below the expected standard and that it demoralised the Christians so much that they nearly walked out in protest”.¹⁷² They also cast a vote of no confidence in Bagenda because of what they felt to be the unbecoming ways in which he conducted himself as the vicar of St James’ Church. They forwarded this memorandum, on 24th June, to the church’s executive committee for further action during the Parish Council of 29th June 1991. Bagenda, in his role as chairman of the Parish Council, did not reject this memorandum. He adopted it as an agenda item to be discussed in the forthcoming Parish Council. However, convinced that the intention to get rid of him and Tamale was engineered by a small group of people he referred to as *abayaaye* (hooligans), Bagenda invited all Christians of the Parish to attend a general meeting, on 8th July, in St James’ church, in order to tell them his side of the story.¹⁷³

During this meeting, at which the church was filled to capacity, Christians listened attentively as Bagenda, in the chair, explained in detail his own perspective of the problems in St James’ Church. In his address, Bagenda insisted that he was not guilty of any wrongdoing. He reiterated the accusations of financial and administrative irregularities against the church’s executive committee. He also repeated the allegations of witchcraft he made against Irongo and Kitamirike. But before he completed his address Bagenda was interrupted by one of the Christians, who ordered him to stop addressing the gathering and accused him of “not being fully called to serve God”.¹⁷⁴ Bagenda was then removed from the chair and a layman, Mr Mawerere, was appointed to take over as the chairman of the meeting. Shortly afterwards the meeting decided to adopt the vote of no confidence in Bagenda, which some of the Christians had taken on 23rd June 1991. At the closure of the meeting the Christians refused to allow Bagenda to lead the closing prayer. Instead Abraham Kayongo, the Head of Christians of Kimaka

¹⁷² G Mwesigwa, “Christians Reject Priest”, *New Vision*, 8th July 1991, p. 3.

¹⁷³ Bagenda to all the Christians of St James’ Church, “A Special General Meeting”, 7th July 1991; P Muwema and others to Bamwoze, “Staffing Circular of 27th November 1991”, p. 3. This meeting followed a meeting that was held in the diocesan offices. It was attended by the DS, Bagenda, Naimanyhe, Irongo and their respective wives. But the meeting was not conclusive because Bagenda repeated the allegations of witchcraft he had made against Irongo earlier. Bagenda to Irongo, 3rd July 1991, Irongo’s special collection; Interview with C Irongo, 8th September 1999.

¹⁷⁴ P Muwema and others to Bamwoze, “Staffing Circular of 27th November 1991”, p. 4.

Church, was asked to pray.¹⁷⁵ Geoffrey Mwesigwa, a *New Vision* reporter, succinctly described the events of this meeting and the memorandum, which detailed the reasons that prompted the Christians to cast a vote of no confidence in Bagenda, in this way:

The Christians of St James Parish in Jinja have passed a vote of no confidence in their priest Canon John Kalimungabo Bagenda with effect from July 3. According to the memorandum, a copy of which was available to *New Vision*, the Christians are accusing the priest of lacking respect, slow approach towards the problems of the church and failing to work hand in hand with the church executive on several issues. The clergyman is also accused of being a dictator, for changing church routines and making unnecessary dismissals, recruitments and transfers of lay readers without consulting the appropriate authorities. The memorandum signed by the Head of the Christians in the parish, Mr Joel Kafuko, also accuses the priest of making unreliable statements. The memorandum further says that considering the above claims the Christians of St James Church who congregated on Sunday June 23, 1991 resolved to recommend that all financial privileges given by St James to Canon J K Bagenda be suspended with effect from June 1991, until further notice.¹⁷⁶

BAMWOZE'S REFUSAL TO REMOVE BAGENDA FROM ST JAMES' CHURCH

One month later, on 7th August, the executive committee of St James' Church met with the Diocesan Secretary in order officially to hand over Bagenda to the diocesan head office.¹⁷⁷ Nonetheless, several efforts were made before the end of the year to find a lasting solution to the crisis in St James' Church, but none were to any avail.¹⁷⁸ In most of these efforts, Bagenda refused to apologise and as a result, the executive committee of St James' Church refused to accept him as their vicar. However, on 1st December, the congregation was surprised to learn that Bamwoze had re-posted Bagenda to them as

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ G Mwesigwa, "Christians Reject Priest", in *New Vision*, 8th July 1991, p. 3.

¹⁷⁷ Also present at the meeting were Eriakesi Balyejisagha, the Diocesan Estates officer who acted as the secretary to this meeting, Bagenda and Rev Paul Naimanyhe, a curate at St James' Church. P Muwema and others to Bamwoze, "Staffing Circular of 27th November 1991", p. 5.

¹⁷⁸ One of these attempts was a meeting held on 5th September 1991, between a team from Jinja Archdeaconry, headed by Martin Kirube, the head of laity of the archdeaconry, and the executive committee of St James' Church. Other members of the archdeaconry team who attended the meeting included, Rev Charles Wamukolo, who acted as the Secretary, and Canon Ham Halongo Kyeyune. During this meeting, chaired by Martin Kirube, Bagenda insisted that he did not commit anything wrong that necessitated an apology on his part. He even added that, on the contrary, it was he himself that was wronged and humiliated in public, and therefore it was to him that the church executive, Kitamirike and Irongo had to apologise. P Muwema and others to Bamwoze, "Staffing Circular of 27th November 1991", p. 5.

their vicar, transferred Naimanyhe to Bugaya Parish and replaced him with Rev Moses Kisuule as their new curate.

The following day, they held another special general meeting. During this meeting, chaired by Kafuko, many Christians expressed their disappointment concerning the way in which the bishop had disregarded their opinion. They were disturbed that Bamwoze was imposing on them a person whom they rejected, yet he removed clergy who were not wanted in places like Walukuba and Magamaga. Some Christians even threatened to abandon the church if the bishop insisted on imposing Bagenda on them. After a lengthy discussion, most of the Christians present re-affirmed their decision to reject Bagenda. They decided not to accept Kisuule on the grounds that, being a newly ordained deacon, Kisuule could not work effectively in St James' Church without the supervision of a senior clergyman. They also appointed an *ad hoc* committee and entrusted it with the task of writing a letter to Bamwoze, detailing all the events which transpired in St James' Church, asking him to re-consider, for the sake of the church, his posting of Bagenda and Kisuule to them, and inviting him to "address the Christians of St James' Church, in order to end the crisis".¹⁷⁹

Bamwoze promised to visit the Christians to listen to their views. He also promised to send them Canon Paul Kitakule, the Archdeacon of Namutumba, to help forge reconciliation between them and Bagenda and to resolve the dispute amicably, but none of these things happened. The bishop himself and Kitakule failed to show up.¹⁸⁰ Also, Bagenda did not make any effort, known to me or to my informants, to indicate that he was interested in resolving the disputes between himself and the congregation of St James Church. Balyejusa succinctly reported Bagenda's failure to Bamwoze:

Right at the height of the problems, Canon Bagenda was advised to apologise to the congregation for the wrongs he committed but he refused. Since he was reposted back and rejected again, he has not approached anybody with a view to initiating the process of reconciliation.¹⁸¹

Meanwhile, from the beginning of 1992, St James Church, like Walukuba Parish Church, was left without a pastor. The local executive committee asked a Rev John Wandera, a clergyman whom Bamwoze had placed under discipline, to become the church's visiting

¹⁷⁹ P Muwema and others to Bamwoze, "Staffing Circular of 27th November 1991", p. 6.

¹⁸⁰ Balyejusa to Bamwoze, "Posting of Priests to St. James Parish Church- Jinja", p. 1.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid*, p. 3.

preacher. This he did, and also served in a manner similar to that of a substantive vicar. This did not go down well with Bamwoze, and frustrated the prospect of his intervention in their problems. Bamwoze failed to intervene within two weeks (as required by the diocesan constitution¹⁸²) when the Parish Council reported to him Bagenda's wrongdoing. He refused to heed the calls to transfer Bagenda from St James' Church, and he did not accept Wandera's pastoral role in the church.¹⁸³ Consequently, the relations between Bamwoze and the Christians of St James Church became even more strained. Many Christians accused Bamwoze of belittling them. They barred him from visiting them and in April 1992, they came close to casting a vote of no confidence in him. This partly explains why it was in St James Church that the first group of up to 1500 Christians from all over the diocese converged, on 22nd September 1992, to cast a vote of no confidence in Bamwoze.

Bamwoze's refusal to remove Bagenda from St James' Church despite the constant calls by the Christians to have him transferred elsewhere deserves to be commented on further here. Although Bamwoze bowed to demands of other congregations, like Walukuba and Magamaga, to post to other places clergy whom they did not want, the case of St James was different. The transfer of Bagenda from St James on the basis of the vote of no confidence would, if implemented, have had devastating implications for Bagenda, Bamwoze and the entire church. I mentioned earlier that some people in St James Church who, for one reason or another, disliked Bamwoze, viewed Bagenda as Bamwoze's man, one whom he was grooming for a special responsibility. Hence, they rejected him partly because of this association.¹⁸⁴ Therefore, if Bamwoze had accepted the vote of no confidence in Bagenda and removed him from St James and Jinja Archdeaconry, he would, not only have let down Bagenda, he himself would also have conceded defeat in the face of his 'opponents', a thing that he did not dare to contemplate.

Also, removing Bagenda from St James' Church would have meant setting a precedent as a result of which a senior leader in the church could be transferred or even removed from office in a manner that was contrary to the diocesan and provincial constitutions. Constitutionally, the powers of a Parish Council were limited to requesting, under the

¹⁸² *The Constitution of Busoga Diocese*; Functions of Parish Councils, 7, (vi), p. 16, BDA.

¹⁸³ Interviews with J Kafuko, 22nd July 1999; J Wandera, 5th October 1999.

¹⁸⁴ Interview with H Mugabi, 18th October 1999.

chairmanship of a vicar or an archdeacon, the bishop or his assistant to 'interdict' a church worker and/or to intervene in a fracas within a period of two weeks. It did not have the powers to bar a cleric from performing his or her duties. Such a move was unconstitutional, and would, if Bamwoze allowed it, jeopardise the normal process of dealing with a cleric whose conduct was thought to be inappropriate.¹⁸⁵ Furthermore, if Bamwoze had decided to remove Bagenda from St James' Church on the basis of the church's vote of no confidence, it would have been difficult for him to disregard the votes of no confidence of some of his own Christians during the latter part of 1992.

So, Bamwoze's apparently negative response to the Christians' rejection of Bagenda was not, in my opinion, intended to demean them, but it was largely aimed at frustrating the tendency of some of them to pursue unconstitutional ways of solving problems in the church. He preferred that people who had grievances with leaders in the church deal with them using the proper procedures stipulated in the constitution. He discouraged any attempts on the part of individuals or groups of Christians to usurp his own prerogative of making final decisions on what they thought to be inappropriate conduct of a clergyman, since doing so not only jeopardised the constitutional problem-solving process, but would also, if allowed, make it possible for these very people to use the same processes against him. The extent to which he succeeded in getting his Christians to pursue the constitutional process of solving problems in the diocese is a matter that I will address in more detail in the next chapter. Meanwhile, I proceed to discuss the immediate factors which sparked the Busoga Crisis.

THE IMMEDIATE CAUSES OF THE CRISIS

THE INCREASING RIFTS WITHIN THE LEADERSHIP OF THE DIOCESE

Buddies-Turned-Rivals

The events which I have discussed beforehand lead me to conclude that increasingly and for various reasons, pro- and anti-Bamwoze factions solidified within the diocese, throughout all its structural and administrative levels. During the early 1990s, the diocese became increasingly inundated with generally non-violent disagreements between individuals and groups of Christians. In my opinion, the most damaging of these clashes

¹⁸⁵ Law eleven, *The Constitution of Busoga Diocese*, 1973 (Re-approved in 1994), English version, pp. 15-6.

were those which occurred between the senior leaders. There was during this period a disturbing tendency amongst some leaders who, though known to be relatives and/or close friends, acted overtly in ways that revealed the presence of discord amongst them. Furthermore these leaders also behaved in a manner which was aimed at deliberately frustrating each other's prospects.

Two cases in point were, first, the claims made by Wangola that Bamwoze tried to sabotage a seminar of church workers on HIV/AIDS, which was sponsored by Aids Information Centre (AIC) and organised by Tom Tuma. Tuma, a clergyman whose relations with Bamwoze had deteriorated¹⁸⁶ was dismayed by the fact that such an important and heavily advertised seminar was poorly attended especially by the clergy. This was allegedly because Bamwoze instructed his archdeacons to ask clergy not to attend it.¹⁸⁷ If this accusation is true, then it is plausible to suggest, as some do, that he wanted the seminar to fail in order to discredit Tuma, and that he also wanted his Christians to believe that anything which Bamwoze did not initiate was bound to fail.¹⁸⁸ But if it is not true, then it is an example of the way in which he was held responsible for every problem or failure that occurred in his diocese.¹⁸⁹ In my opinion it is likely that Bamwoze and his supporters, though aware of the significance of a seminar on HIV/AIDS asked clergy not to attend because its success enhanced the influence of Tuma. It seems to me that they would have done the same with any other seminar organised by their 'opponents'.

Secondly, Bamwoze himself also suffered disruption engineered by some of his 'opponents'. On several occasions, some people publicly discredited his suggestions as being unrealistic. Once, for instance, Wangola openly disputed Bamwoze's intention to increase the stipend of the clergy, claiming that such a suggestion was ridiculous because the diocese did not have the money needed to do so.¹⁹⁰ Also, during a meeting of all the clergy in the diocese, held in St James Church, in which Bamwoze asked the clergy to

¹⁸⁶ Bagenda told me that at one time Bamwoze had expressed a desire to appoint Tuma and Bagenda as assistant bishops. But when Bamwoze prematurely terminated Tuma's duties as co-ordinator of MSRDP, asking him to re-apply, he decided to seek employment elsewhere. Interview with J K Bagenda, 8th November 1999.

¹⁸⁷ Interviews with T Tuma, 20th October 1999; VD J Wangola, 16th September 1999.

¹⁸⁸ Interviews with T Tuma, 20th October 1999; F Mukobe, 20th October 1999.

¹⁸⁹ Interviews with N Mukwaya, 8th November 1999; J Tirusoniwa, 26th October 1999.

¹⁹⁰ Interview with H Mugabi, 18th October 1999.

support a youth census scheduled to be carried out by the youth sector of MSRDP, between November 1991 and January 1992, Zikusoka responded by insisting that holding a census was a waste of money, since the church or the donors could readily attain free statistical details of youths in the region from the Population Department in Entebbe.¹⁹¹ Bamwoze, though embarrassed by this attack, preferred not to retaliate. Instead he left the meeting earlier than he had planned. This incident, like those mentioned above, led many people in the diocese to suspect that Bamwoze, Zikusoka, Wangola and Tuma were no longer the best of 'buddies' as they used to be in the past and that their friendship had soured so much that a major confrontation was in the offing.¹⁹²

Wangola Versus Bamwoze and the 'House of Archdeacons'

Some senior clergy, as I mentioned earlier, viewed Wangola's entry into the ordained ministry and his appointment to the prestigious office of Diocesan Secretary as irregular partly because he was, according to them, new and ill-equipped to perform pastoral and administrative affairs in the church. They regarded him as a novice who had assumed an office which some of them desperately coveted. They also tended not to support him in implementing the reforms which he introduced in the administrative and financial sectors. Furthermore, his repeated demands for an improvement in his own working conditions, such as having his own secretary and a vehicle, did very little to improve his relations with the other equally under-resourced senior clergy.¹⁹³ It was probably the rapidly deteriorating relations between Wangola and Bamwoze and the tendency of Bamwoze to relate more closely to archdeacons than to Wangola, which led Bamwoze, Wangola and the archdeacons to become embroiled in a fracas.

Most people in the diocese expected the working relationship between Bamwoze and Wangola to be cordial, given their association.¹⁹⁴ It is also likely that Bamwoze and Wangola hoped to exploit this association in order to further their own interests. The barrage of accusations they later made against each other, in my view, suggests the possibility of unfulfilled expectations. For instance, Bamwoze and his friends accused

¹⁹¹ However, the last national census in Uganda was carried out in 1980, and it was highly unlikely that these records were updated and therefore reliable. Minute 9.7, BDC, 6th November 1992, BDA; Interview with H Mugabi, 18th October 1999.

¹⁹² Interviews with H Mugabi, 18th October 1999; N Mukwaya, 8th November 1999.

¹⁹³ Interview with VD J Wangola, 16th September 1999.

¹⁹⁴ Interviews with H Mugabi, 18th October 1999 and N Mukwaya, 8th November 1999.

Wangola of making unrealistic demands and trying to impose his influence over other church workers by virtue of being Bamwoze's brother-in-law. Wangola accused Bamwoze of limiting his relationship with him to that of an in-law, hence failing to give him the respect, co-operation and openness he deserved in his capacity as the Diocesan Secretary.¹⁹⁵

These accusations not only suggest that this association failed to meet its desired expectations, but also partly explain why Bamwoze and Wangola sought elsewhere for relatively more secure and reliable associations. For example, Wangola increasingly became closely involved with anti-Bamwoze Christians, leading Bamwoze and some of his friends to believe that he was conniving with them¹⁹⁶ and to suspect that he was revealing to them confidential or official documents kept in the secretariat. Bamwoze, on the other hand, worked closely with archdeacons and on several occasions sidelined Wangola. He held special meetings with them on official matters of the diocese in a way that made it appear as if he and the archdeacons constituted, according to Wangola, 'a house of archdeacons'.¹⁹⁷

Furthermore, on several occasions Bamwoze ignored Wangola and communicated directly with the archdeacons on official issues, involving Wangola only when it was absolutely necessary. The decision Bamwoze made, on 29th February 1992, to send a hand-written letter directly to Venerable Paul Kitakule and a copy of the same letter to Wangola, informing them of his intention to ordain Charles Irongo, is a case in point.¹⁹⁸ In normal circumstances, Bamwoze would have instructed Wangola to write to Kitakule informing him of this development and then asked him to team up with Kitakule to make the necessary arrangements for the ordination. The fact that Bamwoze wrote directly to Kitakule and merely sent a copy of the letter to Wangola asking him to make necessary arrangements for such an important function reveals the presence of strain in the working relationship between them. Under such conditions, it became difficult for them to work

¹⁹⁵ Interview with VD J Wangola, 16th September 1999.

¹⁹⁶ Minute 9.7, BDC, 6th November 1992, BDA.

¹⁹⁷ Interview with VD J Wangola, 7th September 1999.

¹⁹⁸ Bamwoze wrote, "It has seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us that Charles Irongo should be ordained deacon on Sunday March 15th 1992 at Buwongo. Please arrange to get in touch with us for details. By copy of this letter, we are asking the Diocesan Secretary to get in touch with our Rev Dr Tom Tuma to request him to take the retreat and preach at that service. We are also requesting him to

together, so much so that towards the end of year Wangola resigned from his post of Diocesan Secretary, as I will mention in more detail in the next chapter.

THE EVENTS WHICH SPARKED THE BUSOGA CRISIS

Bamwoze's Appointment of Zikusoka as the Dean of the Cathedral, Bugembe

Before I discuss the factors which led Zikusoka and the Planning and Development Committee of the cathedral to resign, it is necessary first to return to the question which I mentioned briefly earlier, that is, whether Bamwoze's appointment of Zikusoka as dean of the cathedral, in January 1991, could be interpreted as a favour or a challenge following his repeated criticisms of Bamwoze's style of administration. Moreover, to understand Zikusoka's resignation as Dean of Christ's Cathedral Bugembe, it is imperative to carry out a prior examination of the factors which motivated Bamwoze to appoint him as dean.

First, it should not be forgotten that Zikusoka's appointment came thirteen months after he had submitted to Bamwoze a report on the financial position of the diocese. Bamwoze's failure, according to Zikusoka,¹⁹⁹ to appreciate or acknowledge this report, led Zikusoka to assume that Bamwoze was not happy with some of its contents. Besides, Zikusoka's criticism of Bamwoze's abandonment of his official residence at Bugembe and his reluctance to repair the cathedral after it was struck twice by storms, did very little to improve their relationship. Consequently, many of Bamwoze's friends concluded that it was unlikely that Bamwoze would extend any more favours to him. On the contrary, towards the end of 1990, Bamwoze informed Zikusoka that he planned to relinquish to him his own responsibilities as dean of the cathedral. Zikusoka was excited about this development. Nevertheless, he and his friends could not help wondering whether Bamwoze this time gave him, not another favour or prestigious honour (as James Karibwije, the Deputy Provincial Secretary COU, presumed²⁰⁰), but a challenge to prove that he could perform administratively better than he (Bamwoze) did.

make such other arrangements as are the duty of this office to do". Bamwoze to Rev Canon Paul Kitakule, Archdeacon of Namutumba, 29th February 1992, BDA.

¹⁹⁹ Interview with J Zikusoka, 17th December 1999.

²⁰⁰ J Kambagira, "Eng. Zikusoka named Dean", in *New Vision*, 3rd January 1991, p. 12,

Three major factors lead me to infer that by appointing Zikusoka as dean, Bamwoze was presenting him with a challenge rather than a favour. They are: Zikusoka's age at the time he was appointed dean; his increasing disappointment with the conditions in which he worked; and the changes which Bamwoze made in Christ's Cathedral Bugembe after appointing him as the dean. I proceed to examine them in detail. First, Zikusoka was sixty-four years old at the time he was made dean. This meant that technically, he had only one year left to serve as a priest, since the retirement age of priests in Church of Uganda was (and still is) sixty-five. Even if the church did not pay him for his services as a minister (a tent-maker priest, as he called himself) it nonetheless seemed pointless for Bamwoze to appoint to a special and demanding office a person who had only one year left until retirement unless he wanted to teach him a lesson that administrative duties, especially at the cathedral, were not as simple as he thought.

Secondly, Zikusoka, on being informed (by Bamwoze) of the plan to be made dean started, despite his suspicions mentioned earlier, to acquaint himself with the work of a dean. He did not consult with Bamwoze (in his capacity as the former dean of the cathedral) or with the deans of other dioceses in Uganda, but instead travelled to the United Kingdom, visited and consulted with several deans, seeking to learn from them the responsibilities of a dean of a cathedral in the Anglican tradition. One noticeable problem with Zikusoka's decision to consult with deans abroad is that he acquired a foreign, hence non-contextualised perspective of the office of dean, which was conceptually and practically different particularly from that of Bamwoze.

It is, in this respect, hardly surprising to me that soon after Zikusoka became dean, he made repeated demands for improvement in the working conditions of the cathedral staff. These included requests for transport facilities for himself and for the clergy who worked with him.²⁰¹ He also asked that the dean and the Cathedral Chapter²⁰² be given more leverage in the process of making decisions on the affairs of the cathedral. However, the bishop and the Diocesan Council turned down most of these demands, arguing that they were unrealistic and superfluous. Consequently, Zikusoka felt that Bamwoze was deliberately frustrating him. He also doubted the validity of the post he had been given,

²⁰¹ Interview with E J Nyende, 4^h November 1999.

²⁰² A Chapter is the governing council of the cathedral. *The Provincial Canons of the Church of Uganda*, 1997, p. 103.

claiming that Bamwoze had given him a “glorified inflated status...without corresponding authority that is, a meaningless prestigious status in matters pertaining to or devolving upon his office”.²⁰³ He complained:

The Dean is treated more as a token, than someone who is well equipped to give the necessary lead. His loyalty too, is not reciprocated with confidence by the Diocesan Bishop, so that the congregation can also be stimulated, re-activated, and get fully involved in the running of the Cathedral. *A would-be most senior Canon ranking next to the Bishop* (emphasis not in the original), possessing responsibility and authority to run, manage and maintain the duties and affairs of the Cathedral is unfortunately denied the right to; administer the body of clergy which serves the Cathedral; control the finances of the Cathedral and plan and develop the Cathedral, and the authority to streamline the liturgical department.²⁰⁴

He came, justifiably, in my opinion, to the conclusion that Bamwoze had given him a ‘hot-air’ status so as to make him look incompetent and, as a result, affect his ability to challenge Bamwoze’s administrative style and effectiveness.²⁰⁵

Thirdly, when Zikusoka returned to work in December 1991 after his wedding, he found out that Bamwoze had transferred two of the clergy²⁰⁶ working in various capacities in Bugembe Parish, hence leaving, beside himself, only one other clergyman, Ezekiel Joshua Nyende, who was Vicar of the Cathedral Parish. The two other clergy who were attached to the diocese, namely Tom Tuma and Vasco da Gama Wangola, were too busy with other duties to commit themselves substantially to the ministry of the cathedral. Furthermore, the financial assistance which the Diocesan Council promised to give the cathedral in order to help maintain and repair it was not forthcoming. As a result, the cathedral became understaffed, strapped for cash and fell into a state of disrepair.²⁰⁷ Worse still, Zikusoka’s efforts to get Bamwoze and the Diocesan Council to increase the staff of the cathedral and to provide its Chapter with funds and/or with permission to raise the funds it needed were fruitless.

²⁰³ Interview with J Zikusoka, 17th December 1999; Zikusoka to Bamwoze, “Relinquishing Office of Dean, Christ’s Cathedral”, pp. 1-2.

²⁰⁴ Ibid (emphasis mine).

²⁰⁵ Interview with J Zikusoka, 17th December 1999.

²⁰⁶ These clergy were Revs. Luliro and Mubiru. Interview with E J Nyende, 4th November 1999.

²⁰⁷ See Appendix I, pp. 320-1.

Zikusoka felt that Bamwoze deliberately refused to address the problems in the cathedral. He also claimed that on several occasions Bamwoze avoided meetings with him and the Chapter which were intended to discuss these problems. As a result, the rift between Zikusoka and Bamwoze continued to widen. Attempts made by influential Christians within the diocese such as David J K Nabeta and Ezekiel Kate, to reconcile them were generally unsuccessful. Eventually, their differences escalated so much that Bamwoze resorted to isolating Zikusoka in order to prevent him from criticising him during church functions, retreats, official meetings and other church ceremonies. Zikusoka, for his part, used every opportunity he got, within and outside church, to tarnish the image of Bamwoze and to try to make his position as bishop untenable.

The Resignation of the Planning and Development Committee of the Cathedral Chapter

In another concurrent development, the Planning and Development Committee of the Chapter²⁰⁸ chaired by Ezekiel Kate successfully sought a meeting with Bamwoze, on 29th April 1992, during which they discussed the staffing and financial problems in the cathedral and its dilapidated state.²⁰⁹ Again Bamwoze reiterated that he did not have any solution to the staffing problem and stated further that it was a problem that affected the entire diocese. During the same meeting, he granted Kate and his committee permission to raise money within the diocese to renovate the cathedral. The committee submitted the proceedings of their meeting with Bamwoze to the Chapter on 23rd May 1992, and thereafter went round the diocese raising money to repair the cathedral.

On 15th July the committee submitted a report of their mission to the Chapter. They stated in this report that many Christians whom they had visited were disappointed with the way in which Bamwoze had neglected the cathedral and abandoned his residence. They reported that they had raised pledges from some Christians of up to eight million (Uganda) shillings. They had also received a donation of bricks from Engineer Bakibinga to be used in the construction of the vicar's manse. During the same meeting the committee was asked to hold another meeting, on 8th August 1992, in order to brief Bamwoze on their progress and to consult with him on other methods of raising funds.

²⁰⁸ A chapter is the governing body of a cathedral.

²⁰⁹ The appalling state of the cathedral is described in detail in *New Century*, November 1993.

Four days prior to this meeting, Zikusoka, after failing to meet with Bamwoze, left behind a note inviting him to the meeting.²¹⁰ In his reply, Bamwoze wrote to Wangola, underneath Zikusoka's note, stating that it would not be possible for him to attend the said meeting, but would wait in his office, to be briefed about its progress. He ended his note by asking Wangola to remind the committee that their decisions were subject to "the jurisdiction of the Cathedral Chapter [and] the authority of the Diocesan Council".²¹¹ The committee interpreted this to mean that their decisions could be implemented only after Bamwoze and the Diocesan Council approved them, leading them to conclude that they were wasting their time. Furthermore, the committee members were infuriated when they learnt that Bamwoze rejected the pledges they had received from some of the Christians, claiming that they were not donations but loans with high interest rates.²¹² Dismayed by what they believed to be Bamwoze's frustrating behaviour, the committee, which had postponed its meeting from 8th to 27th August because of Kate's sickness, submitted a letter of resignation to Zikusoka, dated 18th August 1992.²¹³ They also sent copies of the same letter to Bamwoze and Wangola, who were away attending the Provincial Assembly at Bishop Tucker Theological College, Mukono.

The Resignation of Canon James Zikusoka

Two days later, on 20th August 1992, Zikusoka also completed a five-page letter of resignation to Bamwoze. In this letter, copies of which were sent to several other people,²¹⁴ Zikusoka listed eight reasons that led him to resign. The first three illustrated Bamwoze's failure to give proper recognition to his status as the dean, his disregard of the Chapter, his failure to respect the special place and ministry of the cathedral; his ignoring of the dean, the Cathedral Chapter and their rights and responsibilities, and the

²¹⁰ Zikusoka to Bamwoze, 4th August 1992, Wangola's special collection.

²¹¹ Bamwoze to Wangola, 5th August 1992, Wangola's special collection.

²¹² The Christians of Christ's Cathedral, Bugembe, in their open letter to Bamwoze, stated that Bamwoze opposed and frustrated seven members of the church who intended to contribute one million shillings each, towards the renovation of the cathedral, leading these people to withdraw their pledges. The Christians of Christ's Cathedral, Bugembe to Bamwoze, entitled "Vote of No Confidence", 6th September 1992, p. 1, Kagoda's special collection.

²¹³ E Kate and others to Zikusoka, "Resignation of the Planning and Development Committee", 18th August 1992, Kagoda's special collection.

²¹⁴ People who received copies of this letter were the Archbishop of Uganda; Yona Okoth, the Diocesan Chancellor; Justice Wako Wambuza, Diocesan Secretary; VD J Wangola, Chairman House of Clergy Busoga; All the Archdeacons, members of the Chapter and leader of the laity, in Christ's Cathedral, Bugembe. Zikusoka to Bamwoze, "Relinquishing Office of Dean, Christ's Cathedral", p. 5.

appalling state of the cathedral building, which Bamwoze not only did nothing to repair, but also frustrated some of his Christians' efforts to have it repaired.²¹⁵

The rest of the reasons reiterated the problems in the diocese, which he and other people believed to have arisen partly as a result of Bamwoze's mismanagement of the pastoral, leadership, finance and development sectors of the diocese. These included accusations of Bamwoze's letting the clergy live paupers' lives; the existence in the diocese of an appalling relationship between Bamwoze and his Christians (a problem which, according to Zikusoka, led to the mushrooming of splinter groups); the abandoning of diocesan projects which he himself helped to start;²¹⁶ Bamwoze's neglect of some parts of his diocese, including Sigulu Islands, which he had not visited in the twenty years since he had become bishop of Busoga; his failure to share with his Christians the long term plan for the diocese, that is, in Zikusoka's view, if such a plan existed at all; the acute lack of accountability, transparency and proper management of church funds and properties by Bamwoze and some of his close friends; the manner in which Bamwoze held to himself, his relatives and close friends the running of MSRDP so much so that transparency, accountability and shared responsibility were markedly absent; and the ways in which Bamwoze allowed MSRDP to become more important and better funded than the diocese itself, hence creating double standards, dissatisfaction and disillusionment amongst church workers.²¹⁷

Zikusoka wrote this letter on 20th August. However, it was not until Sunday 30th August that he made his intention to resign known publicly and in a dramatic manner.²¹⁸ On this day, Zikusoka decided not to attend a thanksgiving service for his friend Kibedi Nswemu.²¹⁹ Instead, he remained in the cathedral and asked Wangola, with whom he was scheduled to travel, to carry his apology to Kibedi Nswemu.²²⁰ Towards the end of the service, Zikusoka sat in the official seat of the dean, read his letter out to his congregation, vacated his seat and then joined the congregation, a sign that marked the

²¹⁵ Ibid, pp. 1-2.

²¹⁶ Zikusoka cited projects like Bishop Hannington Memorial Theological College, Busoga University College, Busoga Education Development Project and Lusoga Liturgy Translation. Zikusoka to Bamwoze, "Relinquishing Office of Dean, Christ's Cathedral", p. 5.

²¹⁷ Ibid, pp. 2-5.

²¹⁸ D Othin, "Zikusoka Resigns", in *New Vision*, 1st September 1992, pp. 1, 20.

²¹⁹ Interview with Zikusoka, 17th December 1999.

²²⁰ Interview with VD J Wangola, 16th September 1999.

end of his ministry in the cathedral.²²¹ In my opinion, Zikusoka could not have chosen a better time to announce his resignation. It came shortly and strategically after that of the Planning and the Development Committee who, in their resignation, narrowed the ineffectiveness of Bamwoze to what they believed to be his disrespect for the cathedral by failing to renovate it or to co-operate with Zikusoka and the Chapter in the efforts to repair it. Worse still, two comments which Bamwoze made when he was still the dean, even though stated jokingly that the broken windows and holes in the cathedral were the avenues through which the Holy Spirit entered the cathedral and that “*ffe aba UPC twaakolako kye twaakola, kati aba DP n’abalala nabo bakole ebyononese*”,²²² served to underscore his Christians’ perception of his inadequate stewardship of the cathedral. Hence, they vilified Bamwoze, singling him out as the person who failed miserably to take care of an extraordinary building in his diocese, indeed the very building which housed his own throne.

Consequently, the dilapidated state of the cathedral became, partly as a result of the committee’s resignation, a symbol epitomising Bamwoze’s failure in his role as a father-in-God, *episcopos*, chief pastor, teacher, steward and administrator of Busoga Diocese. Zikusoka, in his resignation, endorsed the cathedral’s representation of Bamwoze’s failure and went on to elaborate how Bamwoze had failed him and the entire diocese. Although he recognised Bamwoze’s contribution to the development of Busoga, he insisted, nevertheless, that, on the whole, Bamwoze failed in his duties as a bishop, so much so that Zikusoka himself felt that he could not continue to serve under him. Hence, he resigned as the dean of the cathedral. Moreover, he also turned his resignation into a springboard that spread the problems in the diocese as far as they could possibly go both within and outside the diocese, and as a result sparked what came to be widely known as the Busoga Crisis.

²²¹ F J Baalwa, “The Causes and Development of Busoga Crisis (1992-3)”, p. 17.

²²² We, the supporters of UPC did what we could to build the cathedral; it is now up to the supporters of DP and other political groups to repair it (translation mine). B Naigere, Chairman Bugembe Christ’s Cathedral Rescue Committee (BCCRC) to Bamwoze, entitled “*Obukulembeze bwo nga Omulabirizi was Busoga Diocese*”, 8th September 1992, Kagoda’s special collection.

REFLECTION

In the previous chapter, I mentioned that several dissident groups emerged in Busoga Diocese, following the opposition to what some people perceived as the inadequacies of Bamwoze and his close friends. Gradually, these groups solidified into an anti-Bamwoze faction, which, as I have shown in this chapter, developed even further, thanks to the failure (and in some instances, refusal) of the leadership to address the problems affecting the diocese and/or to implement the solutions suggested by the people within and outside it. The main accusations made against Bamwoze, included: his preferential treatment of his friends and relatives,²²³ some of whom nevertheless later turned against him; his and other senior clergy's rebuking of junior clergy in public or before their own congregations; mal-administration and misappropriation of church funds and properties in his diocese; his failure to develop some of the diocesan projects; his ignoring of the rights and responsibilities of the dean and the Cathedral Chapter; his failure to take good care of the clergy and other church workers in the pastoral sector; and his allowing the cathedral and his own official residence to deteriorate. Bamwoze's 'buddies-turned-antagonists' turned the dilapidated state of the cathedral building into a symbol of his overall failure. They also used it as a means through which they tried to make his position as bishop untenable.

It must be emphasised that, like the Iganga Diocesan Crisis, the Busoga Crisis was not caused by a single event. Nor did it occur unexpectedly, but as a result of several isolated irregularities, tensions and disagreements, which the anti-Bamwoze faction grouped into three categories, namely, 'spiritual bankruptcy', lack of development, and maladministration. The anti-Bamwoze faction held the bishop entirely responsible for these faults, communicated them as far as possible to the Christians in the diocese, and ensured that they were given wide coverage in the media. There were, however, several accusations which they withheld from the public in order to protect the image of the church, as Rev Sam Tumwesigire, a lecturer at Makerere University, succinctly reported in his article published in *New Century*:

Talking to the Christians of Busoga Diocese in private one learns that there is much more these Christians hold against their shepherd which they have

²²³ Two of these included Bamwoze's appointing of Vasco da Gama Wangola, his brother-in-law, as a Diocesan Secretary and Keziah Bamwoze Mwete, his daughter, as the financial controller of MSRDP. *New Vision*, 15th September 1992; 21st September 1992.

withheld from the public especially from the press but which according to one prominent university don from Busoga 'are known even by every Musoga child'. They withhold the complaints because religious ethics requires that at least they give some respect to their bishop as well as protect the image of their church and its leadership in general. The stories about their bishop's life and conduct are some of the most staggering in our time... Just give an audience to anyone from Jinja, Iganga or Kamuli, and what you hear will stagger you to the hilt.²²⁴

In the next chapter I show how these accusations were developed even further, as several individuals and groups of people listed and substantiated them. I also discuss how particularly the accusations of corruption and bad administration became the motif of the anti-Bamwoze struggle, in which, among other things, Bamwoze's wrongdoing was publicised and his removal demanded. However, the important fact here, as Paul Gifford also suggests, is not whether the accusations against Bamwoze were true or false, but that most of them were believed, and believed widely enough to be viable ammunition that could be used to try to make Bamwoze's position as bishop untenable.²²⁵

The 'rebel' tendencies of Zikusoka and, in particular, the accusations made by him and others that Bamwoze neglected the cathedral building, deserve two other comments. First, the evidence available to me leads me to infer that Zikusoka was the most significant of all the senior clergy, few as they were, who openly and daringly criticised Bamwoze for being an incompetent bishop. Being a senior leader in the church, Zikusoka helped a great deal to validate and re-inforce the anti-Bamwoze stance by bringing it right up to the top administrative levels of the church and by extending it as far as possible within and outside the diocese. His privileged status gave him a vantage point from which he exposed what he felt to be the irregular goings on in Bamwoze's episcopacy. It was difficult for Bamwoze and the church to ignore his grievances, as they did those of the people who agitated for the creation of a separate diocese of Iganga. Therefore, it is appropriate to argue, as others have done,²²⁶ that Zikusoka's resignation publicised the problems and grievances in the diocese, as well as sparking a major revolt.

Secondly, I mentioned in the previous chapter that the cathedral would not have been completed on time, had it not been for the financial support given to the diocese by

²²⁴ *New Century*, March 1993, p. 3.

²²⁵ P Gifford, *African Christianity: Its Public Role*, p. 131.

²²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 125.

President Milton Obote and his UPC government. Moreover, the building committee of the cathedral, chaired by Zikusoka, sanctioned several adjustments to the building in order to have it completed on time and with the limited funds at their disposal. However, in the midst of this rush, and faced with financial constraints, hardly any effort was made to ensure that this building, constructed on top of a hill overlooking Lake Victoria and with no windbreaks whatsoever, was capable of withstanding strong winds and storms.²²⁷ Consequently, Bugembe Cathedral, glamorous and strong as it looked, faced the danger of having its stained glass windows blown out, as they were on two occasions by storms in 1988 and 1989.²²⁸ Worse still, no funds in the diocese were designated for the task of renovating the cathedral when the need to do so arose. In addition, the fact that the diocese was strapped for cash made it difficult for Bamwoze and the Finance Board to find the funds needed to repair it. Many Christians accepted the circumstances in which the cathedral was constructed and the fact that the diocese was not capable financially of renovating it.

However what disturbed some of them was Bamwoze's lack of interest in (and in some instances his frustration of) the efforts intended to raise funds to renovate it. They were dismayed that he showed no interest in renovating the mother church of the diocese, a place which in essence provided the spiritual focus and heart of the praying life of his diocese and one in which his teaching chair, the *cathedra*, lay.²²⁹ The alleged refusal of the contribution of the funds and other items donated by some of the Christians in the diocese led some of them to suspect even further that he preferred a cathedral in disrepair to one that was repaired by his opponents. They also suspected that a dilapidated cathedral was 'bait' to raise money from donors on the grounds that his diocese was too poor even to renovate the cathedral. Accepting the donation of the Christians in his diocese, they felt, would jeopardise his prospects of raising funds from donors, if the donors learnt that some Christians were capable, when effectively mobilised, of raising money to meet the cost of running and developing the diocese. However, on the whole, Bamwoze's failure to look after the cathedral epitomised, according to them, his overall

²²⁷ For a detailed description of the state of the cathedral see "Busoga Cathedral in a sorry state" in *New Century*, November 1993, pp. 1-2.

²²⁸ Interview with C B Nambago, 19th July 1999.

²²⁹ David Stancliffe, "The Bishop in his Cathedral" in Colin Buchanan (ed.), *The Bishop in Liturgy: An Anglican Symposium on the Role and Task of the Bishop in the Field of Liturgy*. Bramcote: Grove Books, 1988, p. 33.

failure to take care of the entire diocese. So, when Kate's Committee and Zikusoka accused Bamwoze of neglecting the cathedral, and used its appalling state, together with other problems in the diocese, to show his overall failure, they, in effect, echoed and confirmed the feelings of many Christians that Bamwoze was not fit or worthy to be the bishop of Busoga; and this, in turn, led to (and allowed) the occurrence of the Busoga Crisis.²³⁰

One issue that deserves to be addressed concerns the role of Bamwoze in causing and/or fuelling mayhem in his diocese. The events discussed in this and the previous chapter lead me to conclude that overall Bamwoze behaved in ways that fell far short of what people expected from him as a diocesan bishop. The accusations of misrule, corruption, arrogance, contravening constitutional and canonical procedures, failing to resolve grievances and conflicts in a constructive and amicable manner, and failing to take good care of his clergy, to mention but a few, seriously damaged his ability to provide pastoral and administrative services to his Christians, and led to their loss of confidence in him. Besides, just as the dilapidated state of the cathedral symbolised the sad state of affairs in the diocese, Bamwoze's 'sins' embodied the weaknesses and failures in his diocese and, as succeeding events reveal, in the province. Therefore most Christians who accused Bamwoze of wrongdoing and/or demanded his removal did not do it simply because they wanted to overthrow him, but because they wanted to rid the church at all levels of the bad church system over which he presided, and which he represented.

This study does not lead me to suggest that Bamwoze was altogether a bad bishop, or that his 'opponents' were blameless. His contribution particularly to the development of Busoga was not negligible.²³¹ It is also possible that some of his 'opponents' were driven by selfish motives, like the envy of his achievements in the development sector; the desire to replace him in the prestigious office of bishop; and the failure to receive a share of the donations brought into the diocese. On the whole, however, Bamwoze's wrongdoings overshadowed both his successes, and the weaknesses and failures of his

²³⁰ P Gifford, *African Christianity: Its Public Role*, p. 132.

²³¹ Some of these developments included: the work of MSRDP between 1978 and 1995; establishment of a Church Leadership Training Centre at Naminage in Kamuli; erection of MSRDP offices at Baxi Road in Jinja Municipality; the establishment of St James Senior Secondary School in Jinja; and the creation of employment opportunities for many people in MSRDP. W Kivebusoga, "Busoga Diocese Crisis – The Bishop's Findings", p. 6, BDA.

'opponents'. Also, Christians judged his overall success as a bishop, not only on the basis of his contribution to the development of Busoga, but largely and appropriately, in my view, on the basis of the manner in which he lived and worked as a chief priest, father-in-God and presiding officer of Busoga Diocese. This partly explains why many Christians lost confidence in him after realising that he did not meet their overall expectations. Moreover, Bamwoze's failure to consider seriously the advice or interventions of people inside and outside his diocese concerning the problems in it increased the resentment of many Christians towards him. It also contributed a great deal to the solidifying of their demand for his removal, a demand which, as I discuss in more detail in the next chapter, was generally carried out in ways that were coercive and contrary to the 'proper' procedure of dealing with accusations against an incumbent diocesan bishop.

CHAPTER FIVE

‘DELIVER US FROM EVIL’: THE OUTBREAK AND ESCALATION OF THE BUSOGA CRISIS (1992-1999)

He [Bamwoze] is the chief cause of the sorry state [of Busoga] in addition to the impact of the colonial legacy, which has obstructed modernity and transparency... Be it reiterated here that we are just church reformists, and we hanker for an acceptable church system that marches abreast of democratic governance, transparency and modernity. We are not anti-Bamwoze per se, nor are we anti-people, but we are anti-bad system, anti-poor leadership and anti-dictatorship. In short we are opposed to a bad church system¹

In this chapter, I discuss the outbreak, course, impact and implications of the Busoga Crisis. I show how internal and external factors and interventions influenced it. I examine the desire of most Christians in the Church of Uganda to have it resolved, and the delay in resolution partly because of the church's lack of effective skills and machinery for dealing particularly with accusations made against a serving bishop. I investigate how the pro- and anti-Bamwoze Christians resorted largely to coercive measures to outwit each other and/or to get the provincial and government authorities to respond to their demands. I also show how the use of these measures generally failed to resolve the conflict, but instead deepened and widened it even further.

I show that the crisis in Busoga would not have widened, deepened and lasted so long, had it not been for the conflicting differences between the pro- and anti-Bamwoze Christians and the general mismanagement of the conflict by the parties involved. I elucidate how accusations and counter-accusations made by both pro- and anti-Bamwoze factions, the power struggles that rocked the Church of Uganda at diocesan and provincial levels, and the church's lack of conflict-management skills and machinery made it practically difficult to resolve the conflict, which lasted over seven years (September 1992 – January 2000). I discuss how it was finally settled, that is, following Bamwoze's eventual retirement and his being replaced by Rev Dr Michael Kyomya, a clergyman from Bugabula whom Bamwoze had ordained during the conflict. As a result of his appointment as bishop-elect, a group of anti-Bamwoze Christians abandoned the Church of Uganda and joined the Charismatic Episcopal Church, Uganda. I end this chapter with a general reflection on the causes, course and impact of this conflict

¹ Busoga Diocesan Steering Committee (BDSC), "Busoga Crisis: A Feature on One Year of Active Engagement", Ref. OC/068/093, 9th October 1993, p. 3, Vasco da Gama Wangola's special collection.

THE OUTBREAK AND DEEPENING OF THE BUSOGA CRISIS

FROM CHRIST'S CATHEDRAL, BUGEMBE TO ST JAMES' CHURCH, JINJA

The Christians of Christ's Cathedral Bugembe Disown Bamwoze

After Bamwoze received Zikusoka's letter of resignation, he decided not to reply to it, claiming, "He did not expect me to reply to it".² Instead he sent two letters, one to all the archdeacons³ and another to all the members of the Cathedral Chapter⁴ inviting them to meet with him on 5th and 12th September 1992 respectively to discuss Zikusoka's resignation and the renovation of the cathedral. In these letters, Bamwoze refuted the allegations that he was not concerned about the cathedral, insisting that he was more concerned about it than any other person.

During his meeting with the archdeacons, which turned out to be a briefing by Bamwoze on Zikusoka's resignation, Bamwoze informed the archdeacons that he had assumed the responsibilities of the dean of the cathedral. He claimed that Zikusoka had resigned because "he failed to cope with the pace at which the diocese was moving".⁵ He also told the archdeacons that he was scheduled to travel to Britain on 15th September for six weeks and resisted the plea made by Canon John Kalimungabo Bagenda to postpone his journey until after the situation in the diocese had normalised.⁶

On 6th September the Christians of Christ's Cathedral Bugembe held a special meeting on the resignation of Zikusoka. They unanimously endorsed Zikusoka's complaints,⁷ and wrote a letter to Bamwoze, signed by one hundred and fifty people, in which they cast a vote of no confidence in him. In this letter, copied to Okoth and Wangola, the congregation accused Bamwoze of several irregularities such as neglecting the cathedral

² *New Century*, November 1992, pp. 1, 8.

³ Bamwoze to all the archdeacons, Ref: 19/ 1, 2nd September 1992, BDA.

⁴ This meeting was held as scheduled, though Zikusoka and several other members of the chapter did not attend it. During this meeting, Bamwoze reiterated the briefing he gave to the archdeacons with whom he met on 5th September 1992. *New Century*, November 1992, pp. 1, 8; Interviews with E Nyende, 4th November 1999 and B Naigere, 20th July 1999.

⁵ F J Baalwa, "The Causes and Development of Busoga Crisis (1992-3)". BD dissertation, Makerere University, Kampala, 1996, p. 30; *New Vision*, 21st September 1992, p. 1, 2.

⁶ Bagenda feared that Bamwoze's leaving the diocese would be interpreted (as it was) as an act of fleeing from the fire in it. But Bamwoze insisted that he would travel as planned and that nothing would stop him from performing his duties as the substantive Bishop of Busoga. Interview with J Bagenda, 8th November 1999; F J Baalwa, "The Causes and Development of Busoga Crisis (1992-3)", p. 30.

⁷ Interview with P Katawera, 31st October 1999.

building and frustrating efforts aimed at renovating it; creating antagonistic relationships between himself and some of the Christians in his diocese; abandoning the cathedral and his official residence at Bugembe and opting to reside in Nakimegere in Kamuli; abandoning his own children “without shelter and food”, thereby letting them live appalling paupers’ lives, in a way that contradicted the scriptures (I Tim. 3: 1-7 and Titus 1: 5-9); using the funds of the Multi Sectoral Rural Development Programme (MSRDP) to acquire personal property such as a mansion and a seventeen-acre piece of land at Nakabango worth seventy-five million Uganda Shillings; transferring a herd of ninety-six head of cattle from Bugembe dairy farm to his own farm in Nakimegere; and failing to address the grievances of his Christians in St Stephen’s Church Walukuba and in St James’ Church, Jinja.⁸ During the same meeting the Christians also appointed a committee of twenty people, named them the Bugembe Christ’s Cathedral Rescue Committee (BCCRC), and gave them the duty of handling, on behalf of the congregation, the process of getting rid of Bamwoze as the Bishop of Busoga. On 13th September, the committee, headed by David Kisadha Nabeta,⁹ wrote an open letter to all the Christians of the diocese inviting them to attend a general meeting on Tuesday 22nd September at St James’ Church, Jinja, during which they planned to share with them the reasons for the vote of no confidence in Bamwoze.¹⁰

Meanwhile, on 21st September, Wangola replied to his copy of the letter from the Christians in Bugembe addressed to Bamwoze. He told them that the approach they had taken was unconstitutional, and therefore, like Rev James Karibwije, the Provincial Secretary (PS),¹¹ he advised them to channel their grievances properly through the church councils and the synod.¹² But the Christians did not follow this advice, preferring to carry

⁸ Christians of Christ’s Cathedral Bugembe to Bamwoze, “Vote of No Confidence”, 6th September 1992, BDA; B Naigere to Bamwoze, “*Obukulembezebwo nga Omulabirizi wa Busoga, C/U*”, 8th September 1992, Wangola’s special collection.

⁹ Nabeta served, in the past, in many distinguished capacities. Before he took on the responsibility as the leader of the anti-Bamwoze group, Nabeta had worked, in the foreign affairs office, as Uganda’s ambassador to Germany, India, Libya and several other countries. Interview with F Mukobe, 20th October 1999.

¹⁰ D J K Nabeta to all the Christians in Busoga Diocese, entitled “*Ebizibu Ebiguddewo mu Bulabirizi bwe Busoga*”, 13th September 1992, Wangola’s special collection; Naigere was the first person to be appointed as chairman of BCCRC. This role was later given to D J K Nabeta, an influential person in Busoga, in order to boost the anti-Bamwoze struggle. Interview with C B Nambago, 19th July 1999.

¹¹ *New Vision*, 21st September 1992, p. 2.

¹² Wangola to Naigere, the Chairman, Christ’s Cathedral, Bugembe, Ref. PAR. 19, entitled, “Christian’s Vote of No Confidence in the Rt. Rev. Cyprian K. Bamwoze”, 21st September 1992, Kagoda’s special collection.

on with their plans. In writing this letter, Wangola was compelled by several reasons besides wanting to give advice on the proper way to deal with their grievances. This partly explains why the Christians in Bugembe did not follow his advice. One reason was his desire officially and openly to disassociate himself from the intentions of these Christians, given that he was attached, for his pastoral duties, to Bugembe Cathedral Parish and had in the past been critical of what he believed to be Bamwoze's unacceptable form of governance. Therefore, it appears to me that with this letter Wangola was more interested in openly disassociating himself from some of the Christians' 'illegitimate' plans to unseat Bamwoze than in pleading with them to abandon these plans. Moreover, when they decided not to follow his advice, he did not, as far as I am aware, make any effort to urge the Christians to reconsider their approach. This allowed them to carry on their struggle against Bamwoze without serious intervention from him or other senior officials in the diocese.

Bamwoze Rejected at St James' Church: The Birth of Busoga Diocesan Steering Committee

On 22nd September a group of over one thousand five hundred people drawn from all over the region met at St James' Church to discuss the developments in Bugembe. During this meeting, chaired by Joel Kafuko, Mayor of Jinja and Head of Laity of St James' Church, the members present discussed and unanimously upheld the vote of no confidence in Bamwoze passed by the Christians in Bugembe. They criticised the manner in which the clergy and the bishops limited to themselves the running of the church and called on the Church of Uganda to reform its constitutions to make it possible for Christians to have more say in the running of their church. As a result, they cast a vote of no confidence in Bamwoze; resolved to step up the struggle to remove him; booed Mr Kapiriri, from Kamuli district, who tried to defend him; and asked all parishes to join in the struggle by paralysing the operations of the diocese through acts like refusing to send their quotas to the diocesan treasury. The meeting appointed a twenty-person committee, headed by Nabeta, named it Busoga Diocesan Rescue Committee (later renamed Busoga Diocesan Steering Committee - BDSC), and entrusted it with the task of spearheading the struggle.¹³

¹³ *New Vision*, 21st September 1992, p. 1, 2; 23rd September 1992, p. 1, 2.

On 1st October BDSC wrote a letter to Bamwoze, signed by Nabeta, informing him that Christians in his diocese had cast a vote of no confidence in him. In this letter, copied to Okoth and others¹⁴ and sent to Bamwoze's office while he and his wife were away in Britain, BDSC wrote:

On 22nd September 1992, a meeting held at St. James' Church, Jinja, of over 1500 Christians of the Church of Uganda from all the Seven Archdeaconries of Busoga Diocese, resolved on a Vote of No Confidence in you as Bishop of Busoga with immediate effect. This resolution was arrived at after realising that you had lost the qualifications and qualities of a Spiritual Leader like a Bishop. Any attempt to officiate at any religious function purporting as Bishop of Busoga, shall [be] tantamount to trespassing and done at your risk. You are duly informed and warned.¹⁵

They also sent a memorandum to Archbishop Yona Okoth dated 1st October 1992, in which they told him that their diocese did not have a diocesan constitution, a chancellor, or a proper or constitutional avenue for dealing with their complaints, and that they were, therefore, forced to address them through unconstitutional means. They appealed to him to intervene by officially informing Bamwoze that his Christians had rejected him and by appointing a caretaker bishop of the diocese during an interim period in which the problems in the diocese could be properly addressed, before another bishop was appointed to replace Bamwoze. They pleaded with him to give their memorandum the urgency and seriousness it deserved, a plea that was reiterated by a fifteen-person delegation, headed by Joel Kafuko, which met with Okoth and other provincial officials¹⁶ on 12th October at the Provincial Headquarters in Namirembe.¹⁷

In another letter, also dated 1st October 1992, sent to all the parishes in the diocese and copied to civil leaders, BDSC explained why some of the Christians in the diocese had cast a vote of no confidence in Bamwoze. The letter also urged their support in the effort to get rid of him. They listed the accusations some Christians had made against

¹⁴ Other people who received copies of this letter were: The Diocesan Secretary of Busoga Diocese, Chairman, House of Bishops, all the archdeacons in Busoga Diocese, the Chairman, House of Clergy, Busoga Diocese, and several police, security and civic leaders in Jinja, Iganga and Kamuli districts. D J K Nabeta to Bamwoze, Ref. No. 3, "Loss of Confidence", 1st October 1992, Wangola's special collection.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ This meeting was also attended by Mr. Zadoc Ekirapa, the Chancellor of Church of Uganda; Rev James Karibwije, the Provincial Secretary, and Rev Charles Ordukami, the Archbishop's Chaplain. *New Vision*, 13th October 1992. Interview with J Kafuko, 10th September 1999.

¹⁷ Okoth informed the delegation that he would wait to hear from Bamwoze, who was out of the country, before making a decision. He also promised to handle their complaints as best as he possibly could. *New Vision*, 13th October 1992.

Bamwoze during the twenty years of his episcopacy, accusations which led BDSC and their sympathisers to believe that Bamwoze was not fit or worthy to be a bishop. These accusations ranged from ridiculous ones, like his drinking a bottle of whisky after ordaining priests at Bugembe in 1988, to gruesome ones, like his being implicated in the deaths of several people, including his first wife, Beatrice. With all these accusations BDSC sought to disparage Bamwoze and to turn the Christians in Busoga away from him, as they succinctly appealed in the concluding part of their letter:

We have no room for the filth and trash when in fact it should be swept far away from our reach. Hence, the Rt. Rev. Bamwoze should go with this wind of change. Reject him, as already resolved, should he purport to officiate at any function as the Bishop of Busoga Diocese.¹⁸

Though appealing directly to civic and church leaders and to the Christians in the diocese, BDSC were not oblivious to the fact that in the Church of Uganda accusations like these were normally channelled through church councils and the synod. However they felt that the channels that were constitutionally regarded as the proper means of addressing problems in the diocese were absent in Busoga, and/or, if present, had loopholes that seriously damaged their credibility. The group gave two reasons explaining why they had decided to act unconstitutionally. First they argued that given the absence of a diocesan constitution and the unconstitutionality of decision-making bodies like the Busoga Diocesan Council (BDC), there were simply no proper channels for dealing with complaints in the diocese.¹⁹ Secondly they claimed that the constitutions of the Church of Uganda lacked the capacity to deal effectively with the complaints made against an incumbent diocesan bishop. As a case in point they referred to sections included in the constitution of Namirembe, Busoga's mother diocese. These gave a bishop exclusive control over the decision-making bodies of the diocese.²⁰ They also engendered patron-client relationships within the leadership structure of the diocese that made effective investigation of a bishop's conduct difficult.²¹ BDSC concluded that the

¹⁸ Nabeta to Okoth, "Memorandum from Busoga Diocesan Christians Requesting for a care-caker Bishop", pp. 5-6.

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 1; C B Nambago, "Bishop can't boot himself", *New Vision*, 30th September 1992, p. 5.

²⁰ *The Constitution of Namirembe Diocese*, Article VI 25(I) (b); Interviews with C B Nambago, 19th July 1999 and B Naigere, 20th July 1999. For a detailed study on the powers which diocesan constitutions give to bishops, see W M Mande, "An Ethic of Leadership Power and the Anglican Church in Uganda". PhD thesis, Aberdeen University, 1997, pp. 121-9.

²¹ Interview with C B Nambago, 19th July 1999.

decision-making bodies and tribunals of the church were unreliable and in dire need of reform²² and therefore they decided to by-pass them.

Consequently, BDSC decided to appeal directly to civil authorities and to the Christians at the grassroots level, in order to establish firmly on the ground and in 'influential' circles what they, appropriately, in my view, regarded as their revolution. They believed that the success of their struggle relied heavily on the support of the masses and of civil authorities. They were convinced that their concerns would surely resonate with most of the people who in the past had abhorred and/or fought against dictatorial and corrupt tendencies in the political domain. After all the accusations of corruption and misrule which BDSC made against Bamwoze were similar to those cited against fallen leaders like Milton Obote, Bamwoze's close friend. Therefore, in appealing to civil authorities and to the general public, and by equating the accusations made against Bamwoze with those made against Obote and his fallen Uganda Peoples' Congress (UPC) government, BDSC sought to broaden their level of support from the public and to increase resentment towards Bamwoze.

BDSC also called upon all the people in Busoga and beyond to join in the struggle to root out dictatorship and corruption in the diocese and in the entire church of Uganda. They viewed themselves as champions of reform in the church and saw themselves performing in the church the role that Museveni and his National Resistance Army/Movement (NRM/A) government played in politics. Isabirye Mula, the main author of BDSC's early documents aptly wrote:

Museveni took to the jungle [and] fought for our liberty for five years. A lot of anomalies have been put right in the political, economic and social sector. Ugandans are aware to some extent now, under the able leadership of President Museveni, and we cannot afford to continue operating under church systems which are suppressive, with untouchable leadership.²³

Later in this chapter, I discuss in more detail how BDSC stepped up and widened their struggle, not only against Bamwoze, but against what they regarded as a system of government in the Church of Uganda, which was unaccountable, self-serving and lacking in transparency. Meanwhile, I turn to the discussion on how conflicts deepened in

²² *New Vision*, 30th September 1992, p. 5.

²³ "Busoga Crisis: Feature on One Year of Active Engagement", a document prepared for the Busoga Diocesan Steering Committee, dated 9th October 1993, Wangola's special collection.

Busoga Diocese. I examine the reasons and implications of the decision made, in October 1992, by some of the Christians in Kamuli Archdeaconry Council to denounce BDSC and to express their unwavering support for Bamwoze, a decision that seemed to jeopardise BDSC's efforts to oust Bamwoze.

REGIONALISM AS A FACTOR IN THE BUSOGA CRISIS

The Bugabula Factor in the Busoga Diocesan Conflict

There is a general tendency to attribute group conflicts, especially in developing countries, merely to ethnic or cultural pride and prejudice, hence regarding them largely as ethnic conflicts. This generalisation, as Kumar Rupesinghe also succinctly observes,²⁴ is limited, particularly in the case of conflicts whose contributory factors are multi-dimensional and complex, or which, like the conflicts in Busoga, have raged in an area dominated by a single ethnic group. The contributory factors of such conflicts are not merely (in some cases not at all) ethnic or cultural in character; they also include class conflicts, caste and group conflicts, occupational conflicts, religious conflicts, and regional antagonisms.²⁵ In the case of the Busoga conflict, besides the ethnocentric factor (which I discuss in more detail later in this chapter), several other factors played a significant role in causing and fuelling this conflict. One was the varied attitudes Christians had towards Bamwoze; the other involved the accusations some of them made against him, such as favouring his friends, relatives, Bugabula county and his fellow Bugabula. This section indirectly addresses the last accusation, that Bamwoze favoured his home county and its people over others. It also examines the extent to which this accusation of regionalism (or *sazaism*, as I prefer to call it) and its effects, helped to cause and fuel the conflict.

On several occasions, Bamwoze's opponents accused him of filling key jobs in the secretariat and MSRDP with his relatives and/or people from his home county. They also accused him of establishing more health and development-oriented projects in Naminage and elsewhere in Bugabula than in other areas in the diocese, and of transferring his official residence and church property to his home in Nakimegere, also in Bugabula. Strong and indisputable evidence justifies these accusations. However, the accusation

²⁴ "Internal Conflicts and their Resolution: The Case of Uganda" in K Rupesinghe (ed.) *Conflict Resolution in Uganda*. Oslo: International Peace Research Institute, 1989, p. 2.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

that Bamwoze established more projects in Bugabula than in other areas deserves to be commented on further, because some of Bamwoze's opponents then unjustifiably concluded that this imbalance led to the emergence of an economic disparity between Bugabula and other places in Busoga. This conclusion is inaccurate for the following reasons. First, development and health-related projects were not limited to Kamuli Archdeaconry, the archdeaconry in which Bugabula was located. They were also widely established in other archdeaconries, though it is true that on the whole, Kamuli had more projects than each of the other archdeaconries.

Second, although Bugabula was the home of Naminage Training Centre and although, on balance, it had more projects than each of the other counties, these ventures still did not satisfy the basic needs of the Christians in Bugabula or create an economic disparity between Bugabula and other places. In fact by the time the conflict erupted, most places in Bugabula, despite these projects, were, like other areas in Busoga, still in desperate need of health and development projects. Third, a farm and training centre were established at Naminage not because it was situated in Bugabula, or because it was the most ideal location, but because it happened to be a disused railway station which could be inexpensively turned into a training and development centre. After it was established, Naminage, true to its original objectives, benefited the entire diocese and not just Bugabula and the Bagabula. For instance, it provided a wide range of training services to church leaders from all over the diocese. Therefore, the number of projects in Kamuli did not create an economic disparity that was disturbing enough to cause tensions in the diocese.

Nonetheless, the favour that Bamwoze gave to his home county and some of his fellow Bagabula alarmed his opponents. In my opinion, this favouritism, together with two other factors, contributed a great deal to causing and fuelling the conflict: First, some non-Bagabula and/or anti-Bamwoze Christians feared that Bamwoze was trying to 'resurrect', this time within the church, the Bagabula dominance and hegemony that had characterised the political scene in Busoga Kingdom between 1949 and 1967. Second, most Bagabula gave Bamwoze unwavering support. Indeed, it is partly in the light of these two factors that certain events should be understood and interpreted: the support which Mr Kapiriri attempted, without much success, to give Bamwoze during the

meeting held at St James' Church, Jinja on 22nd September 1992; the letter refuting the allegations of BDSC, which Martin Balimugulira and several other Christians from Kamuli Archdeaconry presented to Okoth in October 1992; and the anti-Bamwoze Christians' overall suspicion towards the Bagabula.

The Meeting Between Archbishop Okoth and a Delegation from Kamuli Archdeaconry

Following the litany of accusations BDSC made against Bamwoze, a group of Christians in Kamuli Archdeaconry held a meeting in October at All Saints Church, Kamuli,²⁶ in which they condemned what they believed to be the misguided and sinister intentions of BDSC and their sympathisers. They mandated Balimugulira, their head of laity, and a few other Christians to express their concerns to Okoth and other church leaders. Subsequently, Balimugulira and others wrote a letter to Okoth dated 17th October 1992 informing him that the members of BDSC were driven by personal motives and did not have the interest of the church at heart.²⁷ In their letter signed by Balimugulira and copied to several church leaders²⁸ the group refuted the accusations which Zikusoka made in his letter of resignation. They claimed that Zikusoka opposed Bamwoze out of malice and that he resigned publicly after failing in his plans to attain more power and influence in the church. They observed further that his accusations against Bamwoze showed his failure to cope with his responsibilities in the church and his ignorance and immaturity as far as the church and its ministry were concerned.²⁹ Balimugulira and others observed that BDSC conducted themselves and their affairs in ways that fell far short of the ethical and constitutional standards of the church. They told Okoth that it was ridiculous for these people, few and illegally constituted as they were, to take it upon themselves to get rid of a constitutionally appointed diocesan bishop.³⁰ They also alerted him to the intentions of the group to disrupt the diocese and to inflict bodily harm on Bamwoze and his supporters.³¹

²⁶ Interview with M Balimugulira, 18th November 1999.

²⁷ Balimugulira and others to Okoth, "Cyprian Bamwoze Still Bishop of Busoga", 17th December 1992, p. 1, BDA.

²⁸ The House of Bishops, Bishop Bamwoze, Diocesan Secretary, all the archdeacons, the chairman House of Laity-Busoga Diocese, D J K Nabeta and J Kafuko. Balimugulira to Okoth, "Bishop Cyprian Bamwoze Still Bishop of Busoga Diocese", 17th October 1992, Church of Uganda Provincial Archives (COU PA).

²⁹ Balimugulira to Okoth, "Cyprian Bamwoze Still Bishop of Busoga", pp. 1-2.

³⁰ Interview with M Balimugulira 18th November 1999.

³¹ Balimugulira to Okoth, "Cyprian Bamwoze Still Bishop of Busoga", p. 7.

Moreover, Balimugulira and others disputed BDSC's accusations against Bamwoze, regarding them as false and/or unjustifiable. They argued, for instance, that accusing Bamwoze of not repairing the cathedral and of abandoning his residence was unfortunate, since it was the duty of all the Christians in the diocese to renovate the cathedral and to provide their bishops with decent accommodation. That he was forced to abandon his residence warranted not criticism, but an apology to Bamwoze for letting him down. They dismissed the accusations that Bamwoze had embezzled church funds as false and malicious. Concerning the accusations that Bamwoze had failed to train his clergy and to groom his successor/s, they named Rev Dr Tom Tuma and Rev John Magumba, who were highly qualified in academic and leadership skills, and who were capable of succeeding Bamwoze as bishop of Busoga.³² However, they did not go so far as to add that Tuma had started to work for the church after completing his training, and that Magumba, like most of the other degree-holding clergy had struggled to find his own sponsors, without Bamwoze's blessing and/or support.

In the same letter, Balimugulira and others deplored the anti-Bamwoze group's tactics of character assassination. They abhorred leaders compiling lists of what they claimed to be the shortcomings and mal-practices of Bamwoze and circulating them amongst government officials, church leaders and Christians in the diocese. They accepted that Bamwoze experienced problems in his family, just as some of his opponents did. They added that as a matter of fact Bamwoze had helped some of these people to find solutions to their own domestic problems,³³ only to be rewarded by their turning against him, claiming that he was unfit to be a bishop, partly on the basis of family problems. They believed, justifiably in my view, that this accusation was unfair and unrealistic.

In concluding, the group reiterated their rejection of all the accusations of BDSC and their sympathisers, claiming that the members of BDSC were a minority group of self-appointed and misguided people. Such people, they argued, who were ignorant of the

³² At the time this letter was written, Rev Dr Tom Tuma held, among others, a PhD in Church History, while Magumba held a Masters in Divinity. Balimugulira to Okoth, "Cyprian Bamwoze Still Bishop of Busoga", p. 5.

³³ For instance, after the hitherto unexplained disappearance of Nabeta's first wife, Bamwoze daringly (and to some other people, inappropriately) agreed to wed Nabeta and his second wife, against the wishes of

constitutional position of the diocese and who were deliberately blinded to the development that took place in all sectors and at all levels of the church, were not qualified to determine the diocese's course of action. Hence, they requested Okoth to disregard their demands and to ask them to channel their complaints through lawful and constitutional procedures, where they would, if the church deemed it necessary, be dealt with properly.³⁴

The unwavering support which Bamwoze received from three groups namely, the group that wrote this letter, most Christians in Kamuli, and their historical allies in Bugiri,³⁵ and the opposition towards him by most Christians in the rest of the archdeaconries, led some people to conclude rather inadequately that the Busoga Christians' support or rejection of Bamwoze was mainly based on *sazaism*. However interpreting the support or rejection of Christians solely along these lines failed to recognise the rather ubiquitous spread of pro- and anti-Bamwoze factions. It also failed to appreciate the capacity of many people to transcend regional prejudices and antagonisms. Notwithstanding the role which *sazaism* played in influencing some Christians' decision to support or reject Bamwoze, it is imperative to emphasise here that other factors also led the Christians to join the pro- or anti-Bamwoze camps. These included the perception of individuals or groups of Christians of the life and work of Bamwoze, the efforts of influential people inside and outside Busoga to persuade ordinary Christians to support or oppose Bamwoze, and the smear campaigns mounted by both pro-and anti-Bamwoze group leaders partly in order to get Christians to join their camp.

Moreover, it is imperative to understand that some Christians in Kamuli supported Bamwoze not merely because he was their fellow Mugabula, or because they disagreed with all his opponents' accusations. In fact, some of them were, like Bamwoze's opponents, disturbed by what they felt to be Bamwoze's arrogant style.³⁶ But they supported him because they feared that the people who opposed him jeopardised the autonomy, ethical standards and constitutional establishment of the church, factors which they regarded to be extremely important in delineating the core identity of the Church of

some of his close family members. Interviews with D Kazungu, 19th November 1999 and VD G Wangola, 16th September 1999.

³⁴ Balimugulira to Okoth, "Cyprian Bamwoze Still Bishop of Busoga", p. 7.

³⁵ Refer to relations between counties in Busoga discussed in the second chapter of this study, pp. 55-9.

³⁶ Interview with D Kazungu, 19th November 1999.

Uganda.³⁷ They resisted what they viewed as BDSC's unlawful and unconstitutional attempts to remove Bamwoze. They used their support for Bamwoze to show symbolically that they were pro-constitutionalism and pro-principles and asked BDSC and their sympathisers to concentrate more on issues of principle than on personality differences; to stop involving civil authorities in church affairs; to deal with problems in their church through constitutional, ethical and ecclesiastical avenues; and to deal with loopholes in the constitution and the system of church governance more effectively through the available church channels, not outside them.³⁸ Whether BDSC heeded these demands, and the extent to which the Christians in Kamuli themselves handled the conflict in a proper and constitutional manner are some of the issues that I consider indirectly in the subsequent sections of this chapter.

The Response of BDSC to the "Reactionarists of Kamuli Archdeaconry"

After receiving a copy of the letter from Balimugulira and others, BDSC replied to it with their own dated 4th December 1992. In this letter, addressed to Okoth, signed by Nabeta and copied to Balimugulira and others,³⁹ BDSC claimed that the letter from Kamuli was written by some of the staff of MSRDP and others who had received special favours from Bamwoze. These people, they alleged, had enjoyed many privileges such as "free self-driven transport, free housing and entertainment (and had received) a big share in the disbursement of diocesan assets like exotic heifers, free drugs, bore-holes within their home areas, to mention but a few".⁴⁰

Concerning the Christians' in Kamuli's refutation, BDSC retorted that if their accusations were false Bamwoze would not have panicked, as they thought he did, by increasing the salaries of all the clergy and by providing the archdeacons with motorcycles and some of the clergy with bicycles.⁴¹ They wondered "how the diocese had grown rich overnight to be able to extend lavishly some of these amenities". They

³⁷ Interviews with M Balimugulira 18th November 1999 and P Tirusoniwa, 26th October 1999.

³⁸ Balimugulira to Okoth, "Cyprian Bamwoze Still Bishop of Busoga", 17th October 1992, BDA; Interviews with D Kazungu 19th November 1999 and M Balimugulira, 18th November 1999.

³⁹ The House of Bishops, Bishop Bamwoze, the archdeacons in Busoga Diocese and the Diocesan Secretary. Nabeta to Okoth, Ref. Docriment (sic) No. 5, "Rt. Reverend C. K. Bamwoze: A Response to the Reactionalists (sic) of Kamuli Archdeaconry", 4th December 1992, p. 7, Kagoda's special collection.

⁴⁰ Nabeta to Okoth, "Rt. Reverend C. K. Bamwoze: A Response to the Reactionalists (sic) of Kamuli Archdeaconry", p. 1.

⁴¹ For more details on the increase of clergy's salaries, and the four motorcycles and thirty-five bicycles given to some of them, see Busoga Diocese, Church of Uganda: Diocesan Estimates for 1992/1993, p. 1, BDA.

interpreted these acts as fear on the part of Bamwoze that many clergy were poised to 'defect' to BDSC, hence bribery with gifts of money, motorcycles, and bicycles. They emphasised that such acts underpinned what they viewed as acts of corruption and mismanagement of Bamwoze and as a consequence warned, "Should the time come, we shall not leave any stone unturned in auditing their books of account".⁴²

In the same letter, BDSC observed that their decision to give civil authorities copies of their documents was merely a matter of courtesy. They rejected the claim that they were plotting to murder Bamwoze and to impose their will over the diocese, and insisted that the people who made these allegations were scare-mongering. They affirmed their support for Zikusoka, Wangola and Kafuko, insisting that they were not troublemakers, as Balimugulira and others claimed, but "frank people [whose] vast experience in areas of management led them to decide that they could not render decent service [in church] under an incorrigible tyrant [meaning Bamwoze]". They concluded their letter by reiterating their determination to remove Bamwoze and to put things right in the diocese, and by urging Okoth to intervene in order to save their diocese from the chaotic situation that had gripped it.⁴³

It is sufficient to say that this letter, like the one written by Balimugulira and his colleagues, did not help in addressing the conflict between the pro-Bamwoze and anti-Bamwoze Christians. Instead, it aggravated the tensions between the two conflicting groups. As a result, the rift between them widened further as each of them resorted to outwitting the other by visiting congregations with a view to soliciting their support; by holding mobilisation and planning meetings; and by spreading their cause through letters, memoranda and local newspapers. The most prominent of these strategies were the mobilisation meetings both groups held towards the end of 1992. Like BDSC, the supporters of Bamwoze held several meetings on the crisis, though they did not distribute as many documents, during and after these meetings, as did their opponents.⁴⁴ The

⁴² Nabeta to Okoth, "Rt. Reverend C. K. Bamwoze: A Response to the Reactionists (sic) of Kamuli Archdeaconry", p. 2.

⁴³ Ibid, p. 7.

⁴⁴ Nabeta to all the Christians of Busoga Diocese, Ref. 11/92, "*Olukiiko lw'abakristayo nga 13/12/92 mu Christ's Cathedral*", 3rd December 1992, Wangola's special collection; D J K Nabeta, Ref. 15/92, "*Aide Memoire on Rt. Rev. C. K. Bamwoze and the Diocese of Busoga*", 16th December 1992, Kagoda's special collection.

proceeding section is devoted largely to a discussion of the nature and impact of these meetings.

THE DEEPENING OF THE CRISIS BETWEEN OCTOBER AND DECEMBER 1992

The Diocesan Council and Synod Meetings Held Between October and December 1992

Bamwoze returned from Britain at the end of October 1992 to a divided diocese.⁴⁵ He found a firm groundwork already laid by his supporters and partly because of their efforts he was able to resist his opponents' efforts to remove him as Bishop of Busoga.⁴⁶ On 31st October, a group of up to fifty people welcomed him and his wife at Entebbe Airport from their six-week working visit in Britain. From Entebbe, the convoy drove amidst jubilation to Bugembe. Failing to hold a thanksgiving service inside the cathedral because the anti-Bamwoze group had securely locked it, they held one outside it. During this service, Bamwoze told those present that he came back with the confidence of Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego in order to withstand and extinguish the fires which his opponents had lit. He mentioned that nothing done unconstitutionally would stop him from doing his work, a point he demonstrated practically the following day by laying a foundation stone at Busota Parish Church in Kamuli Archdeaconry.⁴⁷

Furthermore, on 6th November, Bamwoze chaired a diocesan council meeting at St Andrew's Church, Jinja. Most of the issues discussed in this meeting were centred on the conflict. Bamwoze briefed the members concerning his tour and the gifts of money he had received to support the work of the diocese.⁴⁸ On the crisis, Bamwoze urged the council to denounce the 'rebels', and their divisive and disruptive acts, which they did by resolving:

We members of Busoga Diocesan Council gathered here today the 6th of November 1992 at St. Andrew's Church in Jinja, under the Chairmanship of His Lordship the Bishop of Busoga – The Rt. Rev. C. K. Bamwoze, do hereby unanimously resolve to denounce in the strongest terms possible and disassociate ourselves and the Christians of this Diocese herein fully and duly represented: with all the forces preaching the gospel of hatred

⁴⁵ *New Century*, November 1992, pp. 1, 8.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ One of these gifts was a donation of £25,000 from boys of a school in Uppingham to help construct a library and water system at Pilkington College in Muguluka. Minute 9/92 (9.5) of Busoga Diocesan Council (BDC), 6th November 1992, BDA.

and division among the innocent flock by various bodies unauthorised and uncanonically so established. We fully defend the sovereignty and integrity of our Diocese in its efforts to propagate the Gospel of Love and Reconciliation as provided for in the faith of the Anglican Communion of the Church of Uganda, under the able leadership of our maiden and current Bishop.⁴⁹

The members requested Bamwoze to write a pastoral letter to all the Christians in the diocese. They also set up two *ad hoc* committees, one chaired by James Balyejusa,⁵⁰ responsible for repairing the cathedral and the bishop's residence at Bugembe; and the other, chaired by James Kayingo,⁵¹ responsible for investigating the accusations that Bamwoze used church funds to purchase a house and farm at Nakabango and that he transferred cattle from the diocesan farm at Bugembe to his own farm in Nakimegere.⁵² Undoubtedly, these two committees were set up largely to address the accusations made against Bamwoze, to try to correct any errors which he or the diocesan staff might have committed, hence rendering the claims of the anti-Bamwoze Christians inadmissible.

During the same meeting, Wangola bitterly complained about his mistreatment by Bamwoze and several other senior leaders in the church. He blamed Bamwoze for "allowing himself to operate on rumours" circulated allegedly by the archdeacons. Evidently, this was the only incident after the outbreak of the crisis in which complaints were made against Bamwoze within the established church structure. However, these complaints covered mainly Wangola's alleged mistreatment of himself. They did not include other complaints made against Bamwoze by BDSC. Bamwoze apologised to him for the "wrong that might have been done to him" and thanked him for "being frank in giving his complaints".⁵³ But his apology was not enough for Wangola. Wangola, like

⁴⁹ Minute 9/92 (9.6) of BDC, 6th November 1992, BDA.

⁵⁰ The rest of the members on this committee were Engineer J Balyejusa, M Balimugulira, N Mukwaya, S Nantamu, R Talenga, D Balyejusa and P Kafuko. Minute 9/92 (9.8) of BDC, 6th November 1992, BDA

⁵¹ The other members of this committee were M Kirube, Kibikyo and P Gwayaka. Minute 9/92 (9.8) of BDC, 6th November 1992, BDA

⁵² After carrying out its investigations, this committee reported that the house and land in Nakabango were bought for the church and that arrangements were underway to secure a title for this property in the names of the church. They also reported that Bamwoze ordered the transfer of 96 cows from Bugembe to the farm at Naminage owned by St Andrew's church because Dr Dhalwa the farm manager and Kagoda failed to take good care of them. Church of Uganda, *Report of the House of Bishops' Special Committee on Busoga Diocese Conflict*, pp. 15, 51; Minute 9/92 (9.8) of BDC, 6th November 1992, BDA

⁵³ Ibid.

several other people Bamwoze had openly apologised to,⁵⁴ felt Bamwoze's apology was not genuine and on 11th November 1992, resigned from the office of Diocesan Secretary.⁵⁵

As I mentioned in the previous chapter, Wangola's resignation was, in my opinion, technically the most devastating blow that Bamwoze suffered shortly after the outbreak of the conflict. It was, in effect, a resignation not merely of a brother-in-law, but of the principal executive officer in the diocese. I am therefore inclined to believe that the resignation of Wangola, and the accusations which he and other people in the diocese made against Bamwoze, compelled him to summon the synod to meet at Iganga from 15th to 18th December 1992, three weeks earlier than scheduled.⁵⁶ To give this synod credibility, Bamwoze invited Okoth to open it on 16th December, but Okoth declined the invitation.⁵⁷

The synod met as planned under the chairmanship of Bamwoze. He delivered a charge which, compared to those he had delivered before, was the most meticulously prepared, convincing and 'theologically packed'. In my opinion, Bamwoze sought to use this charge to impress upon his Christians that he was worthy and fit to be (and to remain) their bishop. The first part of his charge, written in Luganda and intended for the delegates in the synod, detailed his perspective on the crisis that had erupted in his diocese. Bamwoze, like the Christians in Kamuli Archdeaconry, claimed that his opponents were so evil that they sought, among other things, to inflict bodily harm on him. He told the delegates, "*tutambula nga tumanyi nti tuyinza okufa ekiseera kyonna, era twebaka nga ekyo tukimanyi bwetutyo*".⁵⁸ In the second part of his charge, written in English, probably intended for a much wider audience, Bamwoze challenged the synod to either refute the accusations made against him or to ratify and substantiate them. He also asked that the synod take a stand on Zikusoka and other people who were

⁵⁴ *The Involvement Magazine*, 2/5, October/December 1995; Nabeta to Nkoyooyo, "Bishop Bamwoze's Lies and Hypocrisy", 22nd January 1996.

⁵⁵ Wangola to Bamwoze, Ref. REV/BD/113, "Resignation from the Office of Diocesan Secretary", 11th November 1992, BDA.

⁵⁶ Minute 9/92 (9.10) of BDC, 6th November 1992, BDA; Bamwoze to Okoth, 25th November 1992, p. 2, COU PA.

⁵⁷ W Mande, "The Ethic of Leadership Power in the Anglican Church of Uganda...", p. 131.

⁵⁸ "We live day and night, aware that any time we might die" (translation mine). C K Bamwoze, "The Bishop's Charge to the Fifth Diocesan Synod of the Diocese of Busoga, at its Second Sitting, at Iganga, December 16th–18th 1992", p. 2, BDA.

responsible for causing chaos in the diocese. He added that he himself was willing to accept any decision taken by the synod concerning the crisis, including resigning, if they deemed it as the necessary and proper option.⁵⁹

In his concluding remarks, written in Luganda, Bamwoze shared with the synod his tour of Britain and his vision for the diocese. He told them that he had made many friends for the diocese, most of whom had committed themselves to supporting the work of the diocese by giving their time, money and other material items. Plans were underway, he said, to improve the living and working conditions of church workers in the diocese, to facilitate sustainable development at parish levels, and to improve the moral and leadership capacities of the church workers. This information was evidently aimed partly at impressing upon the delegates that the diocese had a promising future and that it would be futile to allow the ‘rebels’ to assume control over it.

After Bamwoze’s charge, and having listened to the report of the six-person committee⁶⁰ appointed by the Busoga Diocesan Council (BDC) to investigate the allegations made by BDSC and their sympathisers against Bamwoze, the delegates denounced BDSC and deplored their actions. They accused Zikusoka of behaving inadequately by delving into issues that fell outside the purview of his responsibilities as dean of the cathedral; by viewing himself as “Dean of Busoga Diocese rather than the Dean of the Cathedral”,⁶¹ and by resigning ‘theatrically’ and in a way which misled a small group of Christians into thinking that they had the powers to speak on behalf of other Christians and get rid of Bamwoze. The delegates noted with regret the chaos created by some of these people by: interfering with the management of the cathedral; ‘overrunning’ several churches; embarking on a slanderous campaign by writing and circulating numerous inflammatory, divisive and false documents; and enlisting the support of some government officials in order to destabilise the diocese. They also unanimously and wholeheartedly affirmed their support and loyalty to Bamwoze; applauded the manner in which he had conducted himself in the face of “primitive provocation”; resolved that the Busoga Diocesan

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ This Committee was set up comprising of Canon J Kitamirike, Dr D Kazungu, M Kirube, Mr Batabaire, J Batambuze and Rev Kibedi Nsweemu. Busoga Diocese, “Report of the Diocesan Council to the Diocesan Synod of the Activities Transacted between 25th April 1990”, and the 6th January 1993, BDA

⁶¹ Church of Uganda, “Report of the House of Bishops’ Special Committee on Busoga Diocese Conflict”, p. 10, COU PA; *New Century*, February 1993, p. 59.

Council make the necessary steps to regain the cathedral and other churches taken over by the 'rebels' and to ensure that all the people who infringed the law of the church and the land should be prosecuted; affirmed that the diocese had a constitution, enacted during the synod which sat in May 1973;⁶² and recommended that Zikusoka and the other clergy who had defied Bamwoze be defrocked.⁶³

Meanwhile, on the 16th December BDSC held a meeting at Bugembe in which they denounced the synod,⁶⁴ re-affirmed the reasons that led them to mount their struggle, and devised new strategies for removing Bamwoze. Following this meeting, they produced a document, signed by Nabeta, in which they reiterated their determination to unseat Bamwoze.⁶⁵ They pointed out that in the light of the accusations made against Bamwoze, it was inappropriate for him to convene the synod or any other meeting in the church, and maintained that the decisions made during the 5th synod were null and void. They threatened to overrun all church property and to freeze all contacts with the Church of Uganda for three years if the church failed to deal with their grievances with the seriousness and urgency they deserved.⁶⁶ On 17th December, Nabeta wrote to the Vice-President and Minister of Internal Affairs, requesting permission and police assistance to impound all the diocesan assets. But these requests were refused on the grounds that it was the government's policy not to involve itself in the internal affairs of religious groups. Undiscouraged by this response, BDSC resorted to overrunning more churches in the diocese and stepping up their smear campaign against Bamwoze.⁶⁷

⁶² Minute 10/73 of Busoga Diocesan Synod shows that a proposal to enact the constitution was made by Rev. Enos Wakabi and seconded by Rev. Boaz Waimaga. It also shows that shortly afterwards the synod adopted the constitution. But the available minutes of this synod were not signed and there is no trace of any signed records in the diocese or the Provincial offices, hence the suspicion that available minutes of this synod were tampered with. Canon James Kitamirike, who succeeded Wangola as DS, believes that these records were signed and suspected that Wangola maliciously removed the signed copies from the diocesan office. Church of Uganda, "Report of the House of Bishops' Special Committee on Busoga Diocese Conflict", 13th July 1993, p. 9, COU PA.

⁶³ Other clergy included V D J Wangola, P Naimanye and J Wandera. W Mande, "The Ethic of Leadership Power in the Anglican Church of Uganda...", pp. 131-2; Church of Uganda, "Report of the House of Bishops' Special Committee on Busoga Diocese Conflict", p. 10; *New Century*, February 1993, pp. 5, 6.

⁶⁴ Also, during this meeting BDSC had been mistakenly informed that Okoth would meet with them before proceeding to open the synod at Iganga. M Isabirye, Doc. 52/93, "Welcome Address to the House of Bishops' Special Committee on Busoga Situation at St James' Church, Jinja", 14th June 1993, p. 2, COU PA.

⁶⁵ Nabeta, "Aide Memoire of Rt. Rev. C. K. Bamwoze and the Busoga Diocese", p. 2.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, p. 3.

⁶⁷ Church of Uganda, "Report of the House of Bishops' Special Committee on Busoga Diocese Conflict", p. 10; *New Century*, February 1993, p. 8.

Consequently, the decisions of both groups during their respective meetings in 1992 generally exacerbated the conflict and made resolution more difficult. Both factions intensified their determination to vilify and isolate each other, resorted to competitive and coercive measures to force each other to surrender, and failed to initiate any useful negotiatory and reconciliatory measures. The delegates of the synod, for instance, showed bias towards Bamwoze by not exploiting the leeway he himself gave them to investigate the accusations. They failed to deal with the grievances of the Christians in a spirit of humility, impartiality and reconciliation. Instead, they expressed unequivocal support for him, dismissed the allegations as false and malicious, and condemned and disciplined the people whom they regarded as the ringleaders of the revolt. The anti-Bamwoze Christians intensified their struggle against Bamwoze. They barred Bamwoze from visiting their churches, stopped sending money to the diocesan office, and closed their churches to clergy and laity whom they regarded as pro-Bamwoze.⁶⁸

It is sufficient to add here that the rather destructive ways in which the synod in particular dealt with complaints of the anti-Bamwoze Christians revealed the bias of the church leaders in Busoga and, as subsequent events show, in the province towards the *status quo* and the tendency to settle problems in the church using coercive, authoritarian and legalistic means, making it difficult to resolve conflicts constructively. It also allowed conflicting parties to resort to aggressive ways of dealing with and/or expressing the conflict. Succeeding events of this study clarify this point even further. Later in this chapter, I discuss in more detail the extent to which the crisis devastated the diocese and spread to other parts of it. Meanwhile I now turn to the response of the provincial authorities to the conflict shortly after it had erupted.

THE BUSOGA CRISIS DURING THE PERIOD BETWEEN 1993 AND 1994

THE HOUSE OF BISHOPS' SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE BUSOGA CONFLICT

The Bishops' Initial Attempt to Resolve the Conflict

The deterioration of the situation in Busoga Diocese alarmed and embarrassed the Church of Uganda a great deal. As a result, Archbishop Yona Okoth and his office, recognising that they could not steer clear of this conflict as they did with the Iganga

⁶⁸ Sam Tumwesigire, "Who will redeem Busoga Diocese" in *New Century*, March 1993, p. 3.

crisis, decided to intervene with the intention of seeing a resolution. On 25th January 1993, Rev James Karibwije, the Provincial Secretary of the Church of Uganda, wrote to both parties, asking them to respond within one week to sixteen questions concerning the conflict.⁶⁹ Both parties duly responded, and Karibwije forwarded the responses he received to the House of Bishops for further action.

On 5th February 1993, the House of Bishops meeting at Lweza re-confirmed the appointment of a special committee, the House of Bishops Special Committee on the Busoga Conflict (HBSCBC) comprising five bishops,⁷⁰ and asked them to investigate the crisis and report their findings and recommendations to the bishops for further action. Moreover, the house circulated a statement on the crisis in which they deplored the growing division and disruption in the diocese; upheld Bamwoze as the rightful bishop of Busoga; criticised the anti-Bamwoze group for using unconstitutional means to deal with their grievances; stressed that the conflicts in the church, when they occurred, be settled through established bodies of the church; and appealed to all the Christians in Busoga to exercise restraint even when provoked. Bamwoze and his supporters welcomed this statement because it showed the bishops' support for Bamwoze and their stringent attack on his opponents. But the anti-Bamwoze Christians did not like it because the bishops condemned them before hearing their complaints. As a result they became (and remained) suspicious of them and their special committee on the crisis (HBSCBC),⁷¹ doubting their capacity to be impartial in dealing with the conflict.

Meanwhile, HBSCBC embarked on an investigation of the conflict. They collected and analysed documents on the conflict written by people in both parties and by the press;

⁶⁹ The steering Committee replied to his letter, on 4th February, answering and substantiating most of the questions he asked. They dismissed as irrelevant two of these questions: whether Bamwoze was the only signatory to the church account and whether the diocese should be divided into two or three parts. Canon James Kitamirike, the Diocesan Secretary also responded verbally and in writing by reiterating the position of the synod concerning the conflict. Karibwije to Bamwoze, "Allegations Made Against the Lord Bishop of Busoga Diocese", 25th January 1993; Nabeta to Karibwije, Document 30/93, 4th February 1993; Kitamirike to Karibwije, 11th February 1993, COU PA.

⁷⁰ These bishops were Dr. Eustace Kamanyire (chairman), Wilson Mutebi (Secretary), Misaeri Kawuma (member), Yoramu Bamunoba (member) and Dr Nicodemus Okille (who, for unknown reasons, was not able to serve). They were first appointed during the House of Bishop's meeting, which met at Lweza on 5th December 1992. Church of Uganda, "Report of the House of Bishops' Special Committee on Busoga Diocese Conflict", p. 10; *New Century*, February 1993, pp. 1, 6.

⁷¹ W Kasango to Nabeta, "Crisis in Busoga Diocese", 5th March 1993, Wangola's special collection; P N Muwema, on behalf of all Christians of St James Parish Church, Jinja, "Memorandum to the House of Bishops' Special Committee on Monday 14th June 1993", p. 4, Kagoda's special collection.

studied relevant articles of the Provincial Constitution and of the (disputed) Constitution of Busoga Diocese; studied responses to copies of a letter and questionnaire they sent, on 21st April 1993,⁷² to all the parishes in Busoga; held separate meetings with leaders of both factions; met with diocesan officials,⁷³ political and cultural leaders, and representatives of Busoga Christians and friends living in Kampala; visited, between 14th and 16th June 1993, several places in Busoga Diocese,⁷⁴ and watched a video recording of a confirmation service officiated by Bamwoze on 3rd January 1993 at St Andrew's Church, in which they watched Bamwoze refer to Okoth and other bishops as cowards.⁷⁵

After gathering the necessary information, the committee compiled a report listing the accusations and counter-accusations of both factions, along with the suggestions which both groups gave as possible ways of resolving the conflict, two of which included removing Bamwoze and dividing the diocese into two or three smaller ones. A notable omission in this report was Bamwoze's own perspective of the conflict, particularly his response to the accusations which his opponents made against him. This was largely because he declined to defend himself, merely stating, as he did in his letter to Okoth:

⁷² Forty-eight out of sixty-three parishes answered and sent back to the committee the two questions they were asked: 1. What do you see is the root cause of conflicts in Busoga Diocese? 2. How can this conflict be resolved? Thirty-three out of the forty-eight parishes (52%) suggested that the crisis was caused by Bishop Bamwoze's personality, conduct, leadership and management styles. W Kivebusoga, "Busoga Diocese Crisis – The Bishop's Findings", pp. 2-3, Wangola's special collection.

⁷³ For instance, On 20th April 1993, four diocesan officials met with the committee at Namirembe Guest House. They were Canon James Kitamirike (Diocesan Secretary), Canon Daniel Kizza (Jinja Archdeaconry, Head of Laity), Canon James Nsajuli (Kamuli Archdeaconry) and Rev Salmon Wegulo Egesa (Mission Co-ordination). Church of Uganda, "Report of the House of Bishops' Special Committee on Busoga Diocese Conflict", p. 10; *New Century*, February 1993, p. 49.

⁷⁴ During this tour and in meetings held with the anti-Bamwoze Christians, the bishops listened to and received memoranda written by groups of Christians in Busoga, detailing their own complaints against Bamwoze. Some of these memoranda were: B Naigere, For and on behalf of the Laity of Christ's Cathedral Bugembe, Doc. 53/93, "Memorandum to the House of Bishops Special Committee on Busoga Conflict at Bugembe Cathedral on 15th June 1993", Naigere's special collection; S Y S Byasi, Chairman of Laity Kaliro Parish, "Memorandum from Kaliro C/U Parish Bulamogi – Busoga Diocese", 15th June 1993, Kagoda's special collection; S Ndekeru, BDSC Bugiri Archdeaconry, "Bishop C K Bamwoze", 15th June 1993, Kagoda's special collection; S J Waiswa and others (Namutumba Archdeaconry Submission), "The House of Bishops' Special Committee's Visit to Busoga Diocese", 15th June 1993, Kagoda's special collection; A Kisambira and others, Iganga Archdeaconry Steering Committee, "Ebyavaako Okuboola Bishop Bamwoze", 14th June 1993, Kisambira's special collection; P N Muwema, on behalf of all Christians of St James Parish Church, Jinja, "Memorandum to the House of Bishops' Special Committee on Monday 14th June 1993", Kagoda's special collection; and M Isabirye, Co-ordinator BDSC, Document 52/93, "Welcome Address to the House of Bishops' Special Committee on Busoga Situation at St James' Church, Jinja", 14th June 1993, COU PA.

⁷⁵ Bamwoze compared his fellow bishops to banana fibre balls, which when exposed to the sun, stretch out, dry and crack. He said, "We hear that there are some people who have bishops and Archbishop made of banana fibres. I am not like the Archbishop and other bishops made of banana fibres, otherwise I would not have come here". VD G Wangola, "Busoga Crisis", unpublished manuscript; Interviews with F Mukobe, 20th October 1999.

The people of Busoga in general, the Diocese's established Synod, Council and above all, God, know me and what I stand for... There is someone who pleads for us when things have gone adversely wrong, and that is Jesus Christ. We have no need to plead against clear lies... In all the things that have been said publicly against us in our life in this ministry, we have always sought to know the truth, so that where we are wrong we may repent and take comfort where we have no feelings of guilt.⁷⁶

This response was appropriate inasmuch as it showed a humble and non-retaliating attitude of a bishop. However given the scathing accusations made against him, such a response did very little to reveal Bamwoze's side of the story, to repair his image, or to restore some of his Christians' lack of confidence in him. In fact these Christians regarded his response as unsatisfactory, and interpreted it as failure to defend himself against the accusations,⁷⁷ an interpretation that was, in my view, justified.

The Recommendations of HBSCBC

The bishops completed their work and submitted it, on 13th July 1993, to the Archbishop. The part in this seventy-page report which interested many people was the section covering HBSCBC's own recommendations. Three of these were directed towards the entire province;⁷⁸ the rest were concerned directly with the conflict in Busoga. These included: dividing the diocese into three smaller dioceses of Jinja, Iganga and Kamuli and giving Bamwoze the option of either becoming a bishop of one of these dioceses⁷⁹ or retiring within one year of the acceptance of the report; turning MSRDP into a fully-fledged NGO jointly owned by the three dioceses; ensuring that each of these dioceses had a constitution ratified by the Province within two years of their existence; providing the bishop with accommodation that was suitable and close to the diocesan office; urging BDSC to disband and hand over all church property in their possession to the diocesan

⁷⁶ Bamwoze to Okoth, 25th November 1992, quoted in Church of Uganda, "Report of the House of Bishops' Special Committee on Busoga Diocese Conflict", pp. 55-7.

⁷⁷ Interview with F Mukobe, 20th October 1999.

⁷⁸ These included: having all the dioceses in the province ratify their constitutions and depositing copies of them in Provincial offices of the Church of Uganda within two years of the approval of the amended (1994) Provincial Constitution (This recommendation was made following the bishop's realisations that Busoga and several other diocese had not bothered to send copies of their constitutions to the Provincial Headquarters, hence, the minutes of the Provincial Assembly (PA) were silent about them); establishing a code of conduct and conditions of service at the provincial level for all church workers; and that bishops, though having the right to discipline clergy in their dioceses, could decide to defrock or de-canonicalise them only as a last resort and after consulting with the House of Bishops. Church of Uganda, "Report of the House of Bishops' Special Committee on Busoga Diocese Conflict", pp. 10, 66-69; *New Century*, February 1993.

⁷⁹ This recommendation was made in the hope that Kamuli, which was viewed as pro-Bamwoze, would ask him to be their bishop.

authorities; reversing the decision taken during the Busoga diocesan synod of December 1992 to defrock Zikusoka and other clergy who had joined the anti-Bamwoze group; and facilitating a spirit and attitude of reconciliation and forgiveness in the diocese.

Several comments deserve to be made. First, both warring factions rejected most of these recommendations, insisting that the committee had failed to address the most important issues in the conflict. BDSC argued that the committee had failed to rule on the accusations made against Bamwoze. No mention was made of removing Bamwoze and appointing a caretaker bishop - issues which according to them were non-negotiable. They reiterated that the division of the diocese, though necessary in the future, was at present, secondary to the task of removing Bamwoze, reconciling the Christians and solving the other problems in the diocese.⁸⁰

The pro-Bamwoze Christians gave two reasons for rejecting the suggestion of dividing the diocese into three and of turning MSRDP into an NGO jointly owned by them. First, they noted that Busoga Diocese comprised seven archdeaconries. Therefore, dividing the diocese into three, contravened the provincial requirement that a region seeking to be made a diocese should constitute at least four archdeaconries. They also doubted the sincerity of this suggestion, wondering how a region that was struggling with little success to meet the administrative costs of one diocese would succeed in meeting the cost of three.⁸¹ Secondly, they claimed that the idea of making structural changes in the diocese was 'sold' to the committee by Basoga Christians living in Kampala, who, according to them, were out of touch with the reality in Busoga.⁸² Some of them, they alleged further, plotted Bamwoze's downfall by supporting the anti-Bamwoze group. They suspected that these people's demands were motivated largely by self-centred anti-Bamwoze feelings and so rejected them.

The evidence available to me leads me to infer that Bamwoze was on the whole not happy with the HBSCBC's recommendations. Although the bishops did not categorically accuse him of any wrongdoing or even ask him to resign for the sake of restoring peace in his diocese, their failure in their report, to unequivocally castigate his opponents,

⁸⁰ *New Vision*, 21st September 1993.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² Rev. Daniel Kizza, Head of Laity Busoga Diocese to HBSCBC, 22nd June 1993, COU PA.

coupled with the way in which they recommended that the provincial authorities come up with a code of conduct for church workers, led Bamwoze to believe that they had betrayed him and covertly found him guilty.⁸³ Moreover, the video clip, in which they saw and heard him call them cowards most likely led the bishops to turn their backs on Bamwoze, leading them to find it unnecessary to meet with his supporters in Kamuli and to insinuate in the opening remarks of their report that he was guilty:

We believe the conflict in Busoga is an eye-opener to all the Dioceses of the Province of the Church of Uganda, to re-examine our way of ministering to the people of God, in light of Christ's Gospel and respond positively to legitimate [emphasis in original] demands of the people committed to our charge...Our recommendations concerning the Diocese of Busoga and the Church of the Province of Uganda as a whole are meant to make us more accountable, transparent and more effective servants and faithful stewards.⁸⁴

If it is true that the bishops implicitly condemned and betrayed Bamwoze, then this partly explains the strained relations between him and other bishops, as proceeding events reveal. Furthermore, notwithstanding the hint in the above quotation that Bamwoze was guilty of wrongdoing, it seems to me that by remaining disturbingly silent concerning the accusations made against him and by failing to recommend, for instance, that a provincial tribunal try Bamwoze, the bishops committed a serious disservice to the process of resolving the conflict. They denied the church an official position on the accusations, a position that would ultimately have contributed a great deal to ending the conflict sooner, either by exonerating Bamwoze of all wrongdoing or by asking him to resign as bishop.

One reason for the bishops' failure to rule on the allegations against Bamwoze was their fear that doing so would jeopardise the episcopacy not only of Bamwoze, but also of several other bishops. In several dioceses in the province, Christians had accused their bishops of being authoritarian in stance and of behaving and conducting church affairs in ways that fell far short of the requirements of a bishop. In particular, two of the bishops on the special committee, namely Eustus Kamanyire and Misaeri Kawuma, had been repeatedly and publicly accused of unbecoming personal conduct, misrule and corruption, to mention but a few.⁸⁵ In a letter dated 26th June 1993, Mula Isabirye, the

⁸³ Interviews with E J Batambuze, 10th October 1999 and N Mukwaya, 8th November 1999.

⁸⁴ Church of Uganda, "Report of the House of Bishops' Special Committee on Busoga Diocese Conflict", p. 65.

⁸⁵ *New Vision*, 22nd October 1992; 24th February 1993; *Uganda Confidential*, 16th -23rd May 1994, June 1994; P Gifford, *African Christianity: Its Public Role*, pp. 140-1.

coordinator of BDSC, sarcastically informed Kamanyire, the chairman of HBSCBC, “we would like to praise our fellow laity in Rwenzori Diocese for putting up with you for the 12 years and continue to hold you in such high esteem yet you are no less a replica of Bamwoze in the Rwenzoris...”⁸⁶

Furthermore, these bishops knew very well that the crisis in Busoga was not merely an internal affair, but was part and parcel of the crisis of credibility and accountability in the entire province of the Church of Uganda. They were aware, as BDSC repeatedly emphasised, that the conflict in Busoga was not merely a struggle against Bamwoze, but it was, in a wider perspective, a revolution aimed at stamping out unacceptable and outmoded leadership in the Church of Uganda. Hence, they feared that asking Bamwoze to resign would be tantamount to condemning themselves. It would result in a situation in which Christians in other dioceses who also viewed their own bishops as unaccountable, dictatorial and autocratic, would seek to have them thrown out.⁸⁷ Therefore, unlike the three-person committee in the Roman Catholic Church, which, after its investigations on the conflicts in Kabale Diocese, recommended the resignation of Bishop Halem’Imana,⁸⁸ HBSCBC declined to recommend Bamwoze’s resignation, partly in order to save Bamwoze and themselves.

It is also imperative to make two brief comments on the composition of HBSCBC and the compilation of their report. First, the parties in the conflict involved Bamwoze, clergy and the laity. A committee comprising only bishops was likely to be biased towards Bamwoze, their fellow bishop. It would therefore have been more appropriate for the House of Bishops to appoint a committee which represented the vested interests of all parties involved in the conflict, like the one they appointed earlier in 1983 to investigate the crisis in Mbale Diocese.⁸⁹ Such a committee, if allowed to operate freely and in fairness, would most likely have been more credible, representative and effective than a committee comprising only bishops.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ M Isabirye to Kamanyire, DOC/054/093, “Composed Statement Unfair”, 26th June 1993, p. 3, COU PA.

⁸⁷ *New Vision*, 20th August 1992, p. 1, 20; *Sunday Vision*, 29th May 1994; *Uganda Confidential*, 16th - 23rd May 1994.

⁸⁸ P Gifford, *African Christianity: Its Public Role*, p. 124.

⁸⁹ Minute 5/83 of PASC, 20th May 1983, COU PA.

⁹⁰ S Tumwesigire, “Who will redeem Busoga Diocese”, *New Century*, March 1993, p. 3.

Secondly, one does not need special editorial skills to realise that the bishops' report was compiled largely by summarising randomly selected documents written by individuals and groups within and outside Busoga. The committee hardly made any attempt to investigate in detail the accusations and counter-accusations contained in these documents. Nowhere in their report was a section devoted particularly to their own point of view concerning the allegations made by both warring factions. After putting the summaries of these documents together in a non-conspicuous order, they went on to make recommendations which, as I mentioned before, did not include the major concerns of either faction. Kivebusoga also identified this anomaly in his reflection on HBSCBC's report:

In spite [of] having been urged by the various respondents not to "leave any stone unturned" in their search for the root-cause of the crisis, and possible solutions to it, the Bishops simply claimed that they had done their best, given the time limits and conditions in which they were working. They just summarised the contents of the memoranda they received from various Christians and went on to make some recommendations which are unlikely to be implemented. They further admitted that "many stones remained concealed and (could therefore) not be turned", but at the time hoped that "the Lord will do it", i.e. unturn the stones later!⁹¹

In my opinion, HBSCBC's main contribution was to compile, in one document, a list of the accusations of each of the warring factions. They succeeded in listing the causes of the conflict, but failed to investigate these causes and to suggest ways to resolve the conflict effectively, peacefully and amicably. They also failed to win the trust of BDSC and their sympathisers, to the extent that BDSC accused them of being, like the 5th synod of Busoga Diocese, biased towards Bamwoze, disregarding BDSC's demands and seeking to resolve the crisis through the (disputed) arms and organs of the Church.⁹² These failures and omissions lead me to contend that overall the HBSCBC damaged the effort of resolving the crisis. They also underscored the acute absence of machinery within the Church of Uganda to deal effectively with internal conflicts, particularly those arising from the unbecoming conduct of bishops and other senior church leaders.

⁹¹ W Kivebusoga, "Busoga Diocese Crisis – The Bishop's Findings", p. 3, BDA.

⁹² The Secretariat of BDSC, BDA/7/93, "Causes of, Actions to and Extent of the Eventful Crisis of Busoga Diocese – Outlined", 15th September 1993, pp. 4-6, Wangola's special collection; S Tumwesigire, "Who will redeem Busoga Diocese", *New Century*, March 1993, p. 3.

This is therefore, partly why BDSC dismissed the recommendations of HBSCBC and regarded them as an insult to their call for organisational changes in the diocese and in the entire Church of Uganda.⁹³ They repeated the ultimatum they made in March 1993 that if the province did not remove Bamwoze by the end of November, they themselves would remove him and appoint a person whom Okoth would consecrate and enthrone as bishop. They threatened that if Okoth refused to do so, they would “declare Busoga Diocese a separate entity from the province of the Church of Uganda (though remaining) in the same Anglican community and fellowship”.⁹⁴ On 27th July the anti-Bamwoze Christians demonstrated their seriousness by forming themselves into a synod, consisting initially of one hundred and fifty ‘delegates’ drawn from the churches they had overrun.⁹⁵

THE ESCALATION OF PHYSICAL VIOLENCE

The Assaulting of Okoth, Bamwoze and Other Christians in the Diocese

After BDSC rejected the recommendations of HBSCBC, Okoth went to Jinja on 10th August 1993, and invited BDSC to meet with him at the Crested Crane Hotel. BDSC refused, but instead asked him to speak to them and their supporters at Bugembe Cathedral, a request he should have turned down, on the technical grounds that he could not enter the cathedral without the presence and/or consent of the incumbent bishop.⁹⁶ He went to Bugembe, but refused to speak to the Christians inside the cathedral. He offered to speak to them on the condition that they assemble outside it. The anti-Bamwoze Christians interpreted his refusal to enter the cathedral as recognition that Bamwoze, whom they had rejected, was still the substantive Bishop of Busoga. They refused to accept his option of addressing them outside the cathedral, resorting to physically assaulting him and his driver and dragging Okoth into the cathedral. With considerable difficulty Okoth and his driver reached their car and drove off (without being seriously wounded) in their car (Pajero Mitsubishi) whose rear window was smashed by stones thrown by the wild crowd.⁹⁷

⁹³ F J Baalwa, “The Causes and Development of Busoga Crisis (1992-3)”, p. 53.

⁹⁴ Nabeta to Okoth, DOC/38/93, “Control Measures in Busoga Diocese”, 29th March 1993.

⁹⁵ A Kisambira to all the heads of laity in Iganga Archdeaconry, “Okulonda Ababaka ba Sinodi y’Obulabirizi bwe Busoga”, 9th July 1993, A Kisambira’s special collection.

⁹⁶ Canon IV 16(d), The Canons of the Church of Uganda, 1973, COU PA; Article 9 (d) of the Provincial Constitution of the Church of Uganda, 1972, p. 14, COU PA.

⁹⁷ *New Vision*, 12th August 1993; *New Century*, September 1993, pp. 1, 8; Two of my informants told me that the window was smashed not by stones but by a pistol (gun) taken from Okoth’s driver and thrown back into the car as it was speeding away. Interviews with B Naigere, 20th July 1999 and C B Nambago, 19th July 1999.

On 29th August 1993, Bamwoze was subjected to similar assault by a mob which broke his spectacles and his staff, damaged his vehicle and tried without success to undress him.⁹⁸ BDSC, who generally condemned the use of violence, condoned its use on this occasion, arguing that it was exceptional and symbolic. They stated that the assault on Bamwoze reminded him in no uncertain terms that he had lost the confidence of his flock.⁹⁹ Some people believed this incident marked the peak of the conflict and that Bamwoze was on the way down.¹⁰⁰ On the contrary, Bamwoze showed no signs of bowing to the pressure mounted by his opponents. Instead, he reiterated his determination not to resign, emphasising, “I will not relinquish the responsibility committed to me openly, publicly and solemnly... and I will not leave this responsibility into the hands of people that are openly irresponsible...”¹⁰¹ The assaults on Okoth and Bamwoze led many people inside and outside Busoga to realise that the crisis had reached alarming levels. It also alerted them to the increasing tendency of both factions to use aggressive measures to outwit each other. For example, the pro-Bamwoze Christians used the police to terrorise anti-Bamwoze supporters by arresting them arbitrarily, detaining them without trial, and torturing them.¹⁰² They formed some diocesan youth, staff and hired gangsters into a militia-like force and used them, together with armed policemen, to protect Bamwoze wherever he went in the diocese and to disrupt meetings of anti-Bamwoze Christians.¹⁰³ They also expelled some children of anti-Bamwoze supporters from church-run schools.¹⁰⁴

However, the anti-Bamwoze group, on balance, committed more acts of violence than did the pro-Bamwoze Christians. Their use of violence occasionally incited potentially anarchic onlookers (who had nothing to do with the conflict) to join in the commotion just for the fun of it. Besides assaulting Okoth and Bamwoze, anti-Bamwoze Christians

⁹⁸ *New Vision*, 30th August 1993.

⁹⁹ BDSC, “A Report by the Executive Steering Committee”, Ref. 06/068/093, 9th October 1993.

¹⁰⁰ *New Vision*, 30th August 1993.

¹⁰¹ *The Involvement Magazine*, October/ December 1995, Issue 2, Vol. 5, p. 16.

¹⁰² D J K Nabeta, Press Release, “Statement on the Current State of Affairs in Busoga Diocese”, 21st March 1994, Kagoda’s special collection.

¹⁰³ Nabeta to Inspector General of Police, Ref. DOC/031/1994, “Armed Police to Bp. C.K Bamwoze – A Threat”, 14th August 1994, Wangola’s special collection; VD G Wangola, “Busoga Crisis”, unpublished manuscript.

¹⁰⁴ T W Epudu, ACE/ District Education Officer, Jinja district to all Head Teachers, Ref. ED/JD/543, “Neutrality in Religious Conflicts”, 30th January 1995; E Swaga to Epudu, “Neutrality of Religious Conflicts”, 6th March 1995, BDA.

committed many other acts of violence, such as closing churches to Bamwoze and some of the clergy;¹⁰⁵ disrupting some church services conducted by Bamwoze;¹⁰⁶ destroying by fire grass-thatched church buildings of pro-Bamwoze Christians; sending hate mail to people who invited Bamwoze to preside over church meetings;¹⁰⁷ assaulting clergy and forceably evicting some from their homes;¹⁰⁸ and forcing some pro-Bamwoze supporters in places like Bugembe, Iganga and Naibiri to abandon church buildings and resort to worshipping in schools and in their own homes.¹⁰⁹

When these coercive acts failed to make their opponents surrender, both factions increased their determination to out-compete each other, hence widening the rift between them. Furthermore, conflicts in the church affected relationships in several families and communities, leading to the emergence (and in some cases resurgence) of clashes, feuds and hatred. Most church workers found it increasingly difficult to execute their duties in a divided church. Several clergy and pro-Bamwoze parish councils were left with no option but to expel anti-Bamwoze supporters or to take them to courts of law. Between 1992 and 1994, clashes and/or legal suits raged in Jinja, Bugembe, Iganga, Bugiri, Nsoola, Kyemeire, Ivukula, Bulyansime, Budondo, Kyando, Nawansega, Batambogwe, Kiringa, Nasuti, Naibiri to mention but a few.¹¹⁰ However, it was in All Saints' Church, Iganga that physical violence occurred and escalated to an extent that had never been experienced in the Church of Uganda. To understand the nature and impact of the conflict, I will discuss the clashes that raged in Iganga in more detail.

¹⁰⁵ *New Century*, February 1993, pp. 5, 6; E Kalange, Head of Christians Busesa Parish to Rev G Byasi, "Tolina Buyinza Kuyita oba Kutuuza Lukiiko mu Busumba Muno", 6th May 1993, N Kagoda's special collection.

¹⁰⁶ Attempts of anti-Bamwoze elements to disrupt services conducted by Bamwoze like the one held on 3rd January 1993, at St Andrew's Church, Jinja were effectively foiled by armed policemen and Bamwoze's supporters. Interview with F Mukobe, 20th October 1999; *New Vision*, 5th January 1993.

¹⁰⁷ Nabeta to W. Kiwagama MP, DOC/25/93, "Opening Bufulubi Church", 20th January 1993, BDA.

¹⁰⁸ The clergy who were assaulted by the anti-Bamwoze group include Canon Wilson Kulata, John Mugabi, Ezekiel Nyende and Salmon Egesa. Rev E Nyende was one of the clergy who was forcefully evicted from his home, on 18th November 1992, using armed gangsters. Interviews with E Nyende, 4th November 1999 and J Mugabi, 18th October 1999; Church of Uganda, "Report of the House of Bishops' Special Committee on Busoga Diocese Conflict", p. 60.

¹⁰⁹ Interview G Kamanya, 18th October 1999.

¹¹⁰ VD G Wangola, "Busoga Crisis", unpublished manuscript.

All Saints Church, Iganga Thrown into Pandemonium

Having lost Bugembe to the anti-Bamwoze group, and on learning that the same group was plotting to take over All Saints' Church, Iganga,¹¹¹ the pro-Bamwoze group worked very hard to retain Iganga. At the same time, BDSC intensified their plans to overrun it. Partly in an effort to forestall the plans of BDSC, Canon Wilson Kulata, the Archdeacon of Iganga, invited Bamwoze, on 20th December 1992, to confirm Christians whom, according to Wangola, he had hastily prepared.¹¹² Kulata, suspecting that the anti-Bamwoze Christians were poised to disrupt this service, arranged ahead of the service for armed policemen to come to the church to maintain security. They also confined the key anti-Bamwoze supporters like Eliakesi Waiswa, Amulaferi Kisambira, Yeseri Nsajju and their families, to their homes, so that they could not interfere with the progress of the function.¹¹³

Many Christians who had come for the service were scared by the presence of armed policemen outside and around the church, and returned to their homes before the service started. Others stayed and waited for the service to take place. Amidst the security precautions, Bamwoze managed to preside over the service without any commotion. Hence, he and his supporters succeeded in establishing their hold over this church. This incident led many Christians to worry about the insecurity of their church. Some of them decided to stop attending services, and to return to church when the situation normalised. Others attended, hoping that the conflicts would be resolved soon.¹¹⁴ But to their dismay the situation only got worse. The level of security in their church worsened so much that on Christmas Day and during subsequent Sunday services, Kulata had plainclothes policemen in the church to guard him, the clergy¹¹⁵ and their supporters from a possible 'invasion' of anti-Bamwoze Christians.

Nothing could have prepared the Christians of All Saints Church, Iganga for the state of anarchy that gripped their church in January 1993. The pro-Bamwoze Christians, on

¹¹¹ All Saints Church was, in order of significance, second to Bugembe. It also had a potential of falling, as it did, into the hands of the 'rebels' since, as I mentioned before, it was from this place that the first major dissident and secessionist group was established. Interviews with A Waiswa, 11th September 1999 and A Kisambira, 26th September 1999.

¹¹² VD G Wangola, "Busoga Crisis", unpublished manuscript.

¹¹³ Interviews with A Waiswa, 11th September 1999 and A Kisambira, 26th September 1999.

¹¹⁴ VD G Wangola, "Busoga Crisis", unpublished manuscript.

¹¹⁵ These clergy were Henry Bateega-Mugabi, Josia Kefa Ddembe, Zeblon Jesse, and Paul Mubi Menhya. Interview with H Mugabi, 10th October 1999.

learning that their opponents were poised to take over the church by hosting Nabeta on Sunday 10th January, and by electing, the following Sunday, representatives of BDSC, set out to foil their plans. They sent a team of people round the diocese, using MSRDP vehicles and funds, to collect youths and gangsters, then took them to the Youth Mission Team (YMT) base at Iganga and instructed them to do everything possible to frustrate the plans of the anti-Bamwoze Christians.¹¹⁶ When Nabeta, accompanied by a group of Christians from Jinja and Bugembe,¹¹⁷ arrived at All Saints' Church that day he found the church packed to capacity. Nabeta, after being alerted of the presence in the church of a pro-Bamwoze 'fighting unit', and being refused permission by Kulata to address the congregation after the service, decided to speak to them outside the church, under a mango tree.

Shortly afterwards a scuffle ensued, in which both groups hurled insults at each other. On this occasion there were no cases of physical violence. The situation normalised as the Christians in both groups dispersed. Again, during the two consecutive Sundays and on Saturday 30th January, the church saw even worse fighting, which erupted inside and outside it as a result of repeated and unsuccessful attempts by the anti-Bamwoze Christians to appoint representatives of BDSC. Sadly, the church was reduced to a fighting ground as Christians and gangsters hired by both groups¹¹⁸ exchanged blows, and threw stones, chairs and benches at each other. Many Christians were wounded during these skirmishes.¹¹⁹ As a result, the image of the clergy and elders who participated in the fighting became tainted. The rift between the Christians widened even further, leading Mr Obarim, the Resident District Administrator, Iganga District, to instruct them to worship in different places. The anti-Bamwoze group remained in the church, while

¹¹⁶ My informants in the pro- and anti-Bamwoze factions told me that MSRDP vehicles ferried youths to Iganga from Namungalwe, Mwendanfuko, Nabukone, Kigandalo, Namayingo, Budumbuli, Kamuli, Namutumba, Ivukula, Kiyunga, Bulyansime and Lwangoshia, took them to the YMT base at Iganga, close enough to All Saint's Church, Iganga. Interviews with G Kalinaki, 15th October 1999; P Napeera, 15th October 1999 and H Magumba, 6th September 1999.

¹¹⁷ Interview H Magumba, 6th September 1999.

¹¹⁸ It is alleged that the anti-Bamwoze group brought in mercenaries from Iganga and that pro-Bamwoze supporters brought in youths and gangsters from various parts of Busoga. Two of my informants told me that they were part of the team of youths who were taken to Iganga, using MSRDP vehicles, to fight on the side of Bamwoze. Interviews with H Mugabi, 10th October 1999; H Magumba; VD G Wangola, 7th September 1999; G Kalinaki, 15th October 1999 and P Napeera, 15th October 1999.

¹¹⁹ Three of the victims included: Alex Kyabawampi (allegedly the leader of the pro-Bamwoze fighting group) who was struck on the head on 24th January; Eliakesi Waiswa (a staunch anti-Bamwoze supporter and influential person in the region) who, on 30th January, was assaulted and detained by the

Kulata, the clergy and all the pro-Bamwoze supporters transferred to a classroom in the School for the Blind, adjacent to the church.¹²⁰

The Desecration of a Holy Communion Service

Despite this separation, both groups still occasionally antagonised each other. One of these incidents happened on 21st February 1993 when Kulata attempted unsuccessfully to prevent Wangola from preaching in the church.¹²¹ Another which, in my opinion, turned out to be the most gruesome act of violence and desecration committed during the entire conflict, was the raid on a Holy Communion service, undertaken in early 1994 by four youths from the anti-Bamwoze group.¹²² These youths invaded a Holy Communion service of the pro-Bamwoze faction, assaulted the priests who were officiating at service, snatched the chalice and table cloth and took them to their church to have a Holy Communion service of their own.¹²³ This and other acts of physical violence lead me to conclude that both factions utilised coercive measures mainly to outmanoeuvre each other, and in a manner that was blind to the sanctity of the sanctuary, the ethical standards of the church and the unity of the Body of Christ.

I cannot emphasise strongly enough the inappropriateness of physical violence as a means of resolving conflicts, not least in the church. The cases of physical violence mentioned above underscore the inadequacy of force as a means of resolving conflicts like those in Busoga Diocese. They show that far from resolving these conflicts, coercion, divides warring factions even further and increases each faction's determination to out-manoeuvre its opponents. For a group of Anglican Christians worthy of the name to fight tooth and nail inside a sanctuary and/or to desecrate the sacrament of Holy Communion by 'stealing' a chalice and a tablecloth from another

police; and John Sebuliba, one of the anti-Bamwoze youth, who, on 30th January, was shot in the leg by one of the policemen.

¹²⁰ Interview with H Magumba, 6th September 1999; VD G Wangola, "Busoga Crisis", unpublished manuscript.

¹²¹ VD G Wangola had been invited by E Waiswa to preach in All Saints Church. On this day Christians from all the parishes in the archdeaconry under the control of BDSC had been invited to attend this service and to elect, after the service, representatives of the diocese at the archdeaconry level. The service was eventually held as planned after Kulata's 'invasion' was 'foiled'. VD G Wangola, "Busoga Crisis", unpublished manuscript; Interview with H Magumba, 6th September 1999; A Kisambira to the head of Christians, Busesa Church of Uganda, "*Okulonda Akakiiko k'Obwasabadikoni bwe Iganga (Archdeaconry Steering Committee) nga 21/2/93*", Kisambira's special collection.

¹²² The four youths were H Magumba, J Kafambe, P Badube and D Baligeaya. Interview with H Magumba, 6th September 1999.

¹²³ Interview with H Magumba, 6th September 1999.

gathered congregation in order to have their own 'Holy Communion service', is unacceptable, to say the least. Such an act reveals the absolute determination of these groups to stop at nothing in a bid to defeat their opponents.

Although the leaders of both groups occasionally and publicly rejected the use of violence,¹²⁴ their behaviour encouraged, facilitated and sponsored it. The diverting of MSRDP's staff, vehicles and other resources to ferry youths and gangsters from around the diocese to All Saints Church, Iganga between the 10th and 31st January 1993, to fight anti-Bamwoze supporters is a case in point. Furthermore, BDSC's report mentioned earlier which condoned the physical attack on Bamwoze also revealed BDSC's willingness to use coercive measures and sanction them when they deemed it necessary, hence the spiralling of violence. This partly explains why the crisis dragged on for so long; why Bamwoze and the HBSCBC had armed police escorts wherever they went in the diocese; and, as I discuss in more detail in the next section, why Okoth decided to have the crisis dealt with, from September 1993, by the Christians in Busoga.

UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPTS TO HAVE THE CRISIS RESOLVED IN BUSOGA

The Election and Meeting of the 6th Synod of Busoga Diocese

Archbishop Okoth, after being assaulted at Bugembe in August 1993, scaled down his direct involvement in resolving the conflict, resorting to have it resolved mainly by the Christians in Busoga. He totally agreed with the suggestion made by President Yoweri Museveni on 16th August 1993 in a meeting he held with Okoth and Bamwoze at the International Conference Centre in Kampala concerning the conflict, that the crisis be resolved locally and through means that were acceptable to all parties involved.¹²⁵ During the same meeting, 12th September 1993 was agreed upon as the date for holding elections for the synod delegates.¹²⁶ This date was particularly acceptable to Bamwoze because it

¹²⁴ M Isabirye to Kamanyire, DOC/054/093, "Composed Statement Unfair", 26th June 1993, COU PA; BDSC, "A Report by the Executive Steering Committee", Ref. 06/068/093, 9th October 1993.

¹²⁵ During this meeting Museveni suggested the need to conduct fresh elections in the diocese right from the parish level. He emphasised the necessity and urgency of convening a synod that was representative, democratically constituted and capable of dealing with the problems in Busoga without being biased towards any of the warring parties. He also categorically denied that his government was involved in the efforts aimed at getting rid of Bamwoze. He told Bamwoze that the politicians at all levels in the movement who spoke out publically against Bamwoze did not represent the views of his government, but did so on their own account. *New Vision*, 17th August 1993.

¹²⁶ This date was confirmed during a meeting held on 26th August between Okoth and Bamwoze. During this meeting Bamwoze gave Okoth a copy of the circular sent to all the archdeacons and the clergy,

was close enough to the end of the four-year term of office of the serving delegates of the synod.¹²⁷

Shortly afterwards Bamwoze and his supporters became entangled in a disagreement with Okoth, when the latter changed the date of the elections to 26th September, allegedly without consulting Bamwoze but on the basis that he had carried out “extensive consultations with all concerned”.¹²⁸ Bamwoze, suspecting that Okoth changed the date after consulting with BDSC, wrote to Okoth accusing him of inconsistency.¹²⁹ Kitamirike, the DS of Busoga Diocese, went even further, challenging Okoth to quote the parts of the diocesan and provincial constitutions which allowed him to interfere with the internal affairs of Busoga Diocese. Later, Bamwoze decided to drop the matter and to accept the date of 26th September,¹³⁰ probably in order not to jeopardise his friendship with Okoth. He also agreed that observers from the province should come in to monitor the elections,¹³¹ hence calling off the short-lived standoff between Okoth and the pro-Bamwoze Christians.

BDSC, though accepting that the idea of electing a synod was a democratic right for Christians, insisted that the presence of Bamwoze as the bishop of the diocese and the conflicts raging in the diocese completely prohibited the holding of these elections in a free and fair manner. Consequently, BDSC decided to boycott the elections, agreeing to participate in them only after these two obstacles were removed.¹³² Irrespective of this boycott, Bamwoze and his supporters held the elections as planned and went on to convene the 6th synod of Busoga Diocese at Kiyunga between 5th and 6th November 1993.¹³³

detailing the programme of the proposed Synod elections. Bamwoze to Okoth, Ref. ADM. 5/2/11, “Synod Elections in Busoga Diocese”, 8th September 1993, BDA.

¹²⁷ Busoga Diocese, Church of Uganda, *Amateeka n'Ebiragiro by' Obulabirizi bwe Busoga*, undated, Etteeka II, 5, BDA.

¹²⁸ Bamwoze to Okoth, Ref. ADM. 5/2/11, “Synod Elections in Busoga Diocese”, 8th September 1993, BDA.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*; BDSC, Ref. BDA/9/93, “A Short Press Release”, 17th September 1992, p. 2, Wangola's special collection.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ F J Baalwa, “The Causes and Development of Busoga Crisis (1992-3)”, pp. 61-2.

From Busoga Diocese to 'the Anglican Church of Busoga'

During this 6th synod Bamwoze urged the delegates to be humble, repentant and forgiving. He also stated categorically that he intended to continue as bishop of Busoga until 1999, when he would be sixty-five. This decision did not go down well with BDSC, who had previously, on 3rd November 1993, given Okoth an ultimatum threatening to break away from the Church of Uganda and form themselves in a separate province with effect from 28th November 1993, if Bamwoze was at that time still the bishop of Busoga.¹³⁴ On 28th November Nabeta circulated another letter in which he criticised the provincial authorities for failing to intervene in the conflict. He attributed this failure to the limited power of the archbishop which meant that he could not intervene in the affairs of a diocese other than his own. He claimed that this limitation was compounded by Okoth's desire to protect his close friend Bamwoze at the expense of an amicable resolution to the conflict, forcing the anti-Bamwoze Christians to find their own solution to the problems. Nabeta continued:

And so, as from Mid-Night this Sunday 28th November 1993, if nothing changes the course or option, then tomorrow, on Monday 29th November 1993 or immediately thereafter, the procedure for cessation (sic) shall be made immediately and later followed by detailed declaration whose date shall be decided by the BDSC at its Tuesday meeting – 30th November 1993.¹³⁵

Consequently, from 30th November 1993 BDSC embarked on the process of seceding from the Church of Uganda, a process which the *New Vision* misinterpreted as an actual breakaway from the diocese with effect from 1st December 1993.¹³⁶ Several pro-Bamwoze Christians welcomed their opponents' intention to secede from the church, seeing it as good riddance, provided they left the property of Busoga Diocese and acquired their own.¹³⁷ However, in a sudden turn of events, the anti-Bamwoze synod, during their meeting held at Bugembe on 9th December 1993, decided to delay their intention to secede until the House of Bishops ruled on Bamwoze in their meeting of 11th and 12th January 1994.¹³⁸ Meanwhile BDSC set up a training centre for their workers at

¹³⁴ Nabeta to Okoth, BDSC/RES/MIN.199/93, "Notice of Intention to Declare Cessation (sic) from Church of Uganda, its Provincial Administrations and its Episcopal Authority", 3rd November 1993, COU PA.

¹³⁵ D J K Nabeta, BDSC/29/93, "As Cessation (sic) Deadline Closes in, on 28th November 1993", p. 4, 28th November 1993, Kagoda's special collection.

¹³⁶ *New Vision*, 1st December 1993.

¹³⁷ *New Century*, December 1993, pp. 1-2.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

Bugembe,¹³⁹ created more archdeaconries,¹⁴⁰ and asked Christians to send 30% of their offerings to Bugembe to help meet the running costs of BDSC.¹⁴¹ So 1993 ended without any successful solution to the conflict. The four major efforts undertaken that year, that is, the work of the House of Bishops Special Committee on the Busoga Conflict, the visit of Okoth and the meetings of the pro- and anti-Bamwoze groups, had all failed to come up with any substantial results.¹⁴² Okoth and the other bishops could only re-commit themselves to resolving the conflict in 1994.

The House of Bishops, at their meeting of 11th and 12th January 1994, noted with concern that efforts to elect a synod in which all parties in Busoga were duly represented had been unsuccessful. They also noted that Bamwoze's decision to retire in 1999, made during 6th synod of the diocese, contravened the recommendations made by the HBSCBC.¹⁴³ Consequently, they dissolved the synod and ordered that the election of members to the synod take place once again on 10th April 1994. They also asked Bamwoze to go on sabbatical leave for one year beginning in April 1994 and to hand over the control of the diocese to Okoth, who, in Bamwoze's absence, would serve as the caretaker bishop and also help to resolve the conflict in the diocese.¹⁴⁴ These decisions dismayed both factions. The pro-Bamwoze group again accused Okoth and the House of Bishops of contravening, like the anti-Bamwoze group, the constitutional process of the Church of Uganda. They also accused them of wasting the time of peace-loving people in Busoga by asking them to re-run the synod elections.¹⁴⁵

BDSC, in their letter to Okoth dated 14th February 1994, rejected the proposal to hold the elections on 10th April, insisting that the province had still failed to deliver on the three issues which they considered non-negotiable: the complete removal of Bamwoze as a bishop of Busoga; preparing and enacting a constitution for the diocese; and appointing a diocesan chancellor.¹⁴⁶ They also sent two other letters to Okoth in March. One, dated 24th March 1994, stated that the presence of Bamwoze in the diocese and the continued

¹³⁹ Interview with M Wambuzi, 5th September 1999; *New Century*, December 1993, p. 2.

¹⁴⁰ Nabeta to all Church leaders, KA/1/93, "Creation of Kamuli Archdeaconry", 27th October 1993.

¹⁴¹ F Mukobe "Eri Abakulu b'Obusumba Mvenna - Omutemwa 30% Okuguwereza ku Kitebe Ekikulu e Bugembe", Ref. DOC/48/93-A, undated, Kagoda's special collection.

¹⁴² W Mande, "The Ethic of Leadership Power in the Anglican Church of Uganda...", p. 136.

¹⁴³ *New Vision*, 14th January 1994.

¹⁴⁴ *New Vision*, 17th January 1994; 12th February 1997, p. 17.

¹⁴⁵ Interviews with D Kazungu 19th November 1999 and N Mukwaya, 8th November 1999.

¹⁴⁶ *New Century*, February 1994, p. 3.

terrorising of some of his opponents jeopardised the prospects of free and fair elections. They suggested a three-year period of reconciliation before electing a new synod.¹⁴⁷ In their second letter, dated 29th March, BDSC introduced to Okoth the Rev. Canon Samuel Kamanya Lubogo¹⁴⁸ as the person they had chosen to be the bishop-elect of Busoga. They told him that they intended to introduce Lubogo to the Christians in Busoga on 10th April 1994, and therefore asked him to cancel the synod elections scheduled to be held that day.¹⁴⁹ Attempts by Lubogo to seek the blessing of Okoth¹⁵⁰ and those of Okoth to talk Lubogo out of accepting BDSC's offer to be their bishop-elect¹⁵¹ were unsuccessful.

On 25th March Bamwoze handed the diocese over to Okoth and prepared to go on leave.¹⁵² Okoth refused to accept the calls to postpone the elections, announced that the elections would be held as scheduled and asked Rev Canon James Ndyabahika, the General Secretary of Uganda Joint Christian Council (UJCC), to preside over them.¹⁵³ BDSC boycotted the elections, rejected Okoth as the caretaker bishop and accused him of bias towards Bamwoze and his supporters.¹⁵⁴ The elections were attended mostly by pro-Bamwoze Christians, hence the re-instatement of delegates of the 6th synod. This partly explains why the 7th synod of Busoga Diocese, chaired by Okoth during its session of 7th May 1994 unanimously 're-approved' the draft of the Busoga Diocesan Constitution,¹⁵⁵ appointed Justice Egonda Ntende, a pro-Bamwoze supporter, as the Diocesan

¹⁴⁷ Nabeta to Okoth, "Holding of April 10, Synod Elections: Objections", 24th March 1994, COU PA.

¹⁴⁸ Lubogo, a priest from Busoga holds a Master of Arts degree in Theology from the University of Michigan. A group of BDSC members led by Joel Kafuko visited Lubogo, who was working as a prison chaplain and persuaded him to become 'bishop-elect' of Busoga Diocese. Interviews with S Lubogo, 23rd July 1999 and J Kafuko, 22nd July 1999.

¹⁴⁹ Nabeta to Okoth, BE/1/94, "Election of New Bishop (Elect) of Busoga Diocese", 29th March 1994, COU PA.

¹⁵⁰ Lubogo to Okoth, Ref. AP/3/94, 6th April 1994, COU PA.

¹⁵¹ Okoth to Lubogo, "Rendering the Lord's Service in the troubled Diocese of Busoga", 8th April 1994, COU PA.

¹⁵² On this day, Bamwoze handed over (during a short service held at St Andrews' Church, Jinja) to Okoth all the clergy licensed to practice in the church. He also introduced to him a five-person management team comprising Canon J M Kitamirike, the Diocesan Secretary, Dr D Kazungu the Co-ordinator MSRDP, and three senior clergy (Canon J K Bagenda of Bugiri Archdeaconry, Canon Daniel Kizza of Jinja Archdeaconry and Rev Paul Kitakule of Kamuli Archdeaconry) he had appointed as his commissaries. Busoga Diocese, Church of Uganda, "Report on Busoga Diocese by the Archbishop and Caretaker Bishop, Presented to the House of Bishops on 21st – 24th June 1994", pp. 1-2, COU PA.

¹⁵³ Busoga Diocese, Church of Uganda, "Report on Busoga Diocese by the Archbishop and Caretaker Bishop, Presented to the House of Bishops on 21st – 24th June 1994", p. 2, COU PA.

¹⁵⁴ Nabeta to Okoth, 3rd April 1994; 10th April 1994, Wangola's special collection; *New Vision*, 5th April 1994, p. 28; *New Century*, February 1994, p. 3.

¹⁵⁵ Minute 11/94 of BDS, 7th May 1994, BDA.

Chancellor,¹⁵⁶ and resolved that Bamwoze cut short his sabbatical leave and resume his duties as the bishop of Busoga beginning 1st June 1994.¹⁵⁷

Meanwhile, on 10th April 1994, in an outright act of defiance to Okoth and the leadership of the Church of Uganda, Nabeta, on behalf of BDSC, introduced Lubogo to a crowd of people gathered at Christ's Cathedral Bugembe.¹⁵⁸ He told them that Lubogo was the people's bishop-elect poised to replace Bamwoze as the Bishop of Busoga.¹⁵⁹ On 22nd April, Lubogo moved to Bugembe, occupied the bishop's residence there, which Bamwoze had abandoned in 1989,¹⁶⁰ and took up his role as bishop-elect, a role which included providing pastoral oversight to the places under the control of the steering committee¹⁶¹ and of supervising, among others, the fifty-four deacons trained in Bugembe and commissioned by Nabeta.¹⁶² All these developments left Okoth with no other option but to defrock Lubogo and to revoke his status as a canon of All Saints Church Cathedral, Nakasero. Lubogo and the anti-Bamwoze group ignored these decisions and carried on with their work.¹⁶³

Okoth and Bamwoze tried to evict the anti-Bamwoze group from the cathedral and the bishop's residence through the high court, by filing title deeds to the land. They suffered great humiliation when Jonathan Tibisaasa, the acting Commissioner of Land Registration, ruled their title deed as invalid.¹⁶⁴ BDSC exploited this setback by accusing Bamwoze and Okoth of trying to submit a forged document in court. They argued that the absence of a title deed for Bugembe underscored Bamwoze's failure to regularise land titles, leaving the diocese without proper title deeds or an inventory of all the land it

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Minute 6/94 – IV of BDS, 7th May 1994, BDA; *New Vision*, 9th May 1994.

¹⁵⁸ See Appendix II, p. 322.

¹⁵⁹ *Daily Topic*, 11th April 1994, pp. 1, 2, 15, 16; see Appendix II – Busoga Crisis (*New Vision* File Photographs, p. 322).

¹⁶⁰ By the time Lubogo occupied this residence, it had still not been renovated. Later efforts to have it renovated were, on the whole, unsuccessful. Nabeta to Kagoda, DOC/016/094, "Appeal for Funds/ Material Assistance", 20th April 1994, Kagoda's special collection.

¹⁶¹ F J Baalwa, "The Causes and Development of Busoga Crisis (1992-3)", pp. 67-8.

¹⁶² Ibid, p. 67.

¹⁶³ Okoth to Lubogo, Ref. STA/4, 26th April 1994, COU PA; *New Vision*, 24th May 1994, p. 28. This position was reversed by Nkoyooyo after Lubogo appealed to him and promised to be obedient and cooperative, and confessed his past misdeeds. Nkoyooyo to Lubogo, Ref. B/12/14, "Evacuation of Church Premises at Bugembe", 28th September 1997, COU PA.

¹⁶⁴ Tibisaasa to the Registered Trustees of the Church of Uganda, Provincial Headquarters, Ref. LRV.2235/4, "Plot No. 76 Butembe Block 3 at Bugembe, Jinja. Leasehold Register Volume 2235 Folio 4", 19th May 1994, COU PA.

owned.¹⁶⁵ Strengthened by the failure of the plans to evict them, BDSC wrote to Dr George Carey, the Archbishop of Canterbury, on 13th June 1994, requesting him to send a mediator to resolve the conflict in Busoga.¹⁶⁶ They also wrote to the House of Bishops urging them to find a lasting solution to the crisis.

In their letter to the House of Bishops, dated 20th June 1994, BDSC reiterated the reasons that led them to reject Bamwoze. They also accused the bishops of failing to handle the conflict in Busoga. They warned that if their demands were ignored, they themselves would consecrate their bishop-elect on 2nd October 1994, and then secede from the Church of Uganda.¹⁶⁷ They singled out Okoth as being responsible for the failure to resolve the conflict. They accused him of trying to impose Bamwoze on the Christians in Busoga and interpreted the decision to cancel Bamwoze's sabbatical leave as tantamount to disrespecting his colleagues. They regarded him as incompetent, expressed relief that he was retiring, and urged that when the time came he be replaced¹⁶⁸ by a bishop who, unlike him, had the interest of the church at heart and who would not allow his fellow bishops to "turn into crooks under the cover of the canon laws".¹⁶⁹

The bishops did not respond to BDSC's letter, since BDSC had in the past disregarded most of their directives on the conflict. Rev Andrew Deuchar, the Secretary for Anglican Communion Affairs in the Archdiocese of Canterbury replied to their letter on behalf of Carey, regretting the conflict which had gripped their diocese. He reminded them that technically, Carey could not intervene in their conflict unless Okoth requested him to do so. Nonetheless, he pleaded with them to postpone the consecration of Lubogo "in order to allow for further conversations to take place",¹⁷⁰ which they did.¹⁷¹ Evidently, the

¹⁶⁵ *New Vision*, 1st June 1994, p. 18; *Daily Topic*, 25th May 1994, p. 5. Later, the two bishops (in their capacity as trustees of the Church of Uganda) succeeded in applying for and securing a leasehold title deed (LM/50773) for the church land at Bugembe. Busoga Diocese, Church of Uganda, "Report on Busoga Diocese by the Archbishop and Care-taker Bishop of Busoga Diocese (Yona Okoth) presented to the House of Bishops on 21st June 1994, COU PA, p. 11.

¹⁶⁶ P Gifford, *African Christianity: Its Public Role*, p. 128.

¹⁶⁷ Nabeta to the Chairman, House of Bishops, Ref. DOC/025/094, "Busoga Crisis", 20th June 1994, Kagoda's special collection.

¹⁶⁸ The election of the new archbishop originally scheduled to take place in June 1994 was postponed to 4th December 1994, after the Bishop of Madi and West Nile was killed in a car accident on his way to attend the House of Bishops. *Uganda Church Association*, November 1994.

¹⁶⁹ Nabeta to the Chairman, House of Bishops, DOC/025/094, "Busoga Crisis", 20th June 1994, BDA.

¹⁷⁰ Rev Andrew Deuchar to Nabeta, 23rd September 1994, Kagoda's special collection. Copies of this letter were sent to Okoth and Canon Sam van Culin, the Secretary-General, The Anglican Communion.

¹⁷¹ It is also not unlikely that the application for an injunction undertaken by Canon Kitamirike and others to stop this occasion from taking place also contributed a great deal to BDSC's decision to postpone the

response from Canterbury did not please BDSC since it did not support their cause or show any intention by Carey to intervene. Nevertheless, it confirmed to them and their supporters that their campaign had spread outside the jurisdiction of Okoth, as far as the office of Carey.

The last avenue that BDSC tried to exploit in 1994 was the 12th Provincial Assembly, which took place at Bishop Tucker Theological College, Mukono between 23rd and 24th August 1994. A delegation of one hundred and fifty anti-Bamwoze Christians went to Mukono uninvited and asked to address the Assembly. But their request was rejected on the grounds that they were not delegates or invited guests of the Assembly. Instead Bishop Yustasi Ruhindi of North Kigezi Diocese was appointed to speak to them and then send them away. But they refused to leave, instead camping in the compound of the college, speaking to the press and distributing copies of the address they had intended to present to the assembly.¹⁷² The delegates were not agreed on whether the police should be called in to evict the group from the grounds of the college. Bishop Livingstone Mpalanyi Nkoyooyo¹⁷³ of Mukono Diocese was one of the people who successfully opposed the decision to have them evicted. He also arranged to have food brought to them because sadly, the group, unlike the rest of the people, had not been given any food for the whole day they had stayed at Mukono.¹⁷⁴

The Assembly did not give the group a chance to speak. It failed to come up with a conclusive solution to the conflict in Busoga, save for re-affirming Bamwoze as the bishop of Busoga, deploring the high-handed tactics, particularly of the ‘dissidents’, and regretting the violence that marked the conflict. It also reiterated the traditional position

occasion indefinitely. D J K Nabeta *eri Abakubiriza ba Bakristayo Mwenna*, 28th September 1994, Kagoda’s special collection. Sebalu and Lule Advocates to M/S Byenkya, Kihika and Co. Advocates, Ref. SL\2391\16757, “Civil Suit No. 387/94 – Canon James Kitamirike and Others vs. Canon Sam Lubogo and others”, 26th September 1994, BDA; Byenkya, Kihika and Co. Advocates to M/S Sebalu and Lule Advocates, Ref. BK/CV/105/94, “H.C.C.S. No. 387/94”, Canon James Kitamirike and Others vs. Canon Sam Lubogo and Others”, 27th September 1994, BDA.

¹⁷² In this document, signed by Nabeta, BDSC again detailed the reasons for rejecting Bamwoze. They went on to criticise Okoth and the House of Bishops for failing to resolve the conflict and warned that if the Provincial Assembly did not take appropriate action, the Christians in Busoga would “become a separate entity (independent of) of the Church Uganda (but) within the Anglican Communion.” D J K Nabeta, “Address to the 12th Provincial Assembly Church of Uganda on the 23rd August, 1994 at Mukono About the Busoga Crisis by the Busoga Diocesan Steering Committee”, 21st August 1994, Kagoda’s special collection.

¹⁷³ The name Nkoyooyo is also spelt elsewhere as Nkoyoyo and Nkoyōyo. I prefer, in the study, to use Nkoyooyo, though I will retain the spelling used in any quotation in which the name is mentioned.

¹⁷⁴ *Ngabo*, 25th August 1994, pp. 1, 2, 12.

of the church that grievances, if they arise, should be channelled through the established bodies of the church. As a result, BDSC and their supporters could only wait for Okoth's retirement, and hope that his successor would give priority to resolving the conflict. The group became even more determined to wait when it became increasingly clear to them that Nkoyooyo, who had showed concern and care for them during the 12th Provincial Assembly and whom Bamwoze had suspected of being behind the 'rebel activities' in Busoga Diocese, was the most likely successor to Okoth.

Before I discuss the manner in which Okoth's successor handled the conflict in Busoga, it is necessary to discuss briefly the developments and implications that arose as a result of the revolutionary stance of the anti-Bamwoze group during the latter part of Okoth's reign (September 1993- December 1994). First, Bamwoze and his supporters referred to their opponents as hooligans and misguided people. Most of these people had been generally influenced by the wind of change that had swept the political arena of Uganda in the 1970s and 80s, which had resulted in the defeat of the despotic, autocratic and unaccountable rule of both General Idi Amin and Milton Obote. They viewed bishops like Okoth and Bamwoze as sympathetic to Obote and his UPC government and/or perpetuating leadership systems that were, like these fallen tyrannies, lacking in accountability, transparency and democracy. Hence, they regarded their struggle not merely as an anti-Bamwoze campaign, but as a revolution aimed at reforming what they viewed as unacceptable church governance.¹⁷⁵

Furthermore, having been involved in these political struggles and being active members in the church, several anti-Bamwoze Christians believed that it was inevitable for this wind of change to affect what they viewed as bad, colonial and archaic governance in religious institutions.¹⁷⁶ Mula Isabirye, BDSC's secretary, succinctly observed:

Museveni took to the jungle and fought for our liberty for five years. A lot of anomalies have been put right in the political, economic and social sectors. Ugandans are aware to some extent now, under the able leadership of President Museveni, and we cannot afford to continue operating under church systems, which are suppressive, with untouchable leadership. [We must have] a new chapter in the church governance with genuine machinery to solve conflicts when they arise... Days are gone

¹⁷⁵ P Gifford, *African Christianity: Its Public Role*, pp. 130, 133.

¹⁷⁶ *New Vision*, 2nd June 1994, p. 5.

when bishops were unquestionably held as sacred, untouchable, incorruptible, above open criticism.¹⁷⁷

Consequently, the anti-Bamwoze Christians refused to channel their grievances through what they saw as an undemocratically constituted, colonial, autocratic and dictatorial church administrative system. They called for a reform of church government to one which discouraged authoritarianism and enhanced shared, accountable and transparent leadership.¹⁷⁸ Undoubtedly this revolutionary position of the anti-Bamwoze Christians met with stiff opposition from top diocesan and provincial leaders. However, these leaders accorded serious consideration to some of the issues raised by the anti-Bamwoze Christians. For instance, Okoth, during his charge to the 12th Provincial Assembly of August 1994, emphasised the need to provide for participatory leadership and accountability within the church's administrative structure. He charged:

While the church has a good structure from the parish level to the Provincial Assembly, it is increasingly being felt mostly by the laity that these organs as avenues of communication don't serve them well. In fact the current conflict in several Christian communities is evidence of that. We need to be attentioned to the fact that administrative structures to be of value and to facilitate harmony, must enable maximum participation in decision making of those concerned and provide for accountability at all levels.¹⁷⁹

Moreover, concerns of the anti-Bamwoze Christians compelled the Provincial Assembly to deliberate, among other things, the marked 'powerlessness' of the archbishop in dealing with bad bishops. They amended the authority of the archbishop in such a way that it was possible for him to "exercise a general pastoral care, leadership, supervision and *discipline* over the whole Province",¹⁸⁰ in accordance with the constitution and canons of the Church of Uganda. The Assembly also amended the Provincial Constitution so as to make it possible for the archbishop, "after consultation with, and approval of a two-thirds majority of the House of Bishops, (to) *remove a Diocesan Bishop from his see* if so requested by a two-thirds majority decision of all the members of the Diocesan Synod concerned".¹⁸¹ Although these amendments did not remove, in

¹⁷⁷ "Busoga Crisis: Feature of One Year of Active Engagement", Wangola's special collection.

¹⁷⁸ P Gifford, *African Christianity: Its Public Role*, p. 130.

¹⁷⁹ Y Okoth, "Archbishop's Charge at the Provincial Assembly Held at Bishop Tucker Theological College, Mukono from August 23 – 24, 1994", pp. 5-6, COU PA.

¹⁸⁰ Church of Uganda, "Amendment act to Article 9(a) of the Provincial Constitution", 1994, COU PA (emphasis mine)

¹⁸¹ Church of Uganda, "Amendment act to Article 13(e) of the Provincial Constitution", 1994, COU PA (emphasis mine)

Mande's words, the "episcopacy as the vortex of leadership power in the diocese",¹⁸² they nonetheless built into the power structure of the church a 'balancing power' and an 'external court of appeal' which would, if effectively utilised, check the authoritarian tendencies of some bishops and also make them more accountable to the archbishop and to the Christians in their sees.

**ARCHBISHOP LIVINGSTONE MPALANYI
NKOYOYO AND THE BUSOGA CRISIS
'NKOYOYO – AN NRM AND BDSC'S MAN'?**

The Making of the First Muganda Archbishop

To understand the role which Nkoyooyo played in helping to resolve the conflict in Busoga, a brief exploration is necessary of the circumstances surrounding his rise to the primacy, particularly those which are related to the conflict in Busoga. It is widely believed that had it not been for the conflicts in Busoga, Bamwoze, being, after Okoth, the most senior cleric in the province, would have succeeded Okoth as the Archbishop of the Church of Uganda.¹⁸³ Bamwoze and his supporters openly accused Museveni and his National Resistance Movement (NRM) government, Nkoyooyo, and other bishops in Buganda not only of making it difficult for Bamwoze to succeed Okoth, but also of canvassing for Nkoyooyo in ways that engineered and fuelled the conflict in Busoga. They alleged that, as in the past when most African archbishops of the Church of Uganda were elected largely because of their special relationship to the political system in power,¹⁸⁴ Museveni and his NRM government also influenced the House of Bishops to elect Nkoyooyo, a bishop who was (and still is) widely believed to be pro-NRM, as the fifth African Archbishop of the Church of Uganda. They alleged further that the election of Nkoyooyo as archbishop, given partly his relatively low academic qualifications compared with other 'contenders',¹⁸⁵ was made possible following a smear campaign

¹⁸² W Mande, "The Ethic of Leadership Power in the Anglican Church of Uganda...", pp. 139-140.

¹⁸³ On 6th August 1972, Okoth, Bamwoze and Ruhindi were consecrated bishops at Namirembe Cathedral. Okoth was enthroned as Bishop of Bukedi on 1st October, Bamwoze as Bishop of Busoga on 12th October and Ruhindi as Bishop of Bunyoro-Kitara on 28th October 1972.

¹⁸⁴ For a detailed discussion on this issue see K Ward, "The Church of Uganda amidst Conflict: The Interplay between Church and Politics in Uganda since 1962" in H B Hansen and M Twaddle (eds.) *Religion and Politics in East Africa*. London: James Currey, 1995, pp. 86-7.

¹⁸⁵ Evidently, Nkoyooyo, before he was elected Archbishop, did not hold any qualifications equivalent (or above) a bachelor's degree in theology. However, since becoming Archbishop, Nkoyooyo has been offered an honorary doctoral degree in divinity by an American University in recognition of his work in Uganda. Interviews with L Gonahasa, 16th November 1999; and N Mukwaya, 8th November 1999.

mounted against Bamwoze, sponsored by Nkoyooyo, the NRM government, and anti-Bamwoze elements inside and outside Busoga.¹⁸⁶

On the role of Nkoyooyo and the Baganda bishops, Bamwoze and his supporters also claimed that these people, again desiring that a Muganda bishop succeed Okoth as archbishop,¹⁸⁷ and fearing that Bamwoze was the leading threat to their bid, sponsored dissident factions in Busoga Diocese to tarnish his image and thereby frustrate his bid for the primacy. In fact, Bamwoze himself claimed that the conflict in the diocese was planned during a series of meetings in Buganda, at All Saints Cathedral, Nakasero.¹⁸⁸ He accused some Baganda bishops of visiting his diocese without his permission, seeking to stir up tensions in his diocese.¹⁸⁹ Moreover, he singled out Nkoyooyo as the leading culprit. During a meeting in 1992, at the Family Life Education Programme (FLEP) offices in Jinja, attended by Nkoyooyo and all the clergy in Busoga Diocese, Bamwoze openly accused Nkoyooyo of being the key person behind the conflict. Nkoyooyo insisted that this was not true.¹⁹⁰ Bamwoze was unconvinced by Nkoyooyo's defence and later, after Nkoyooyo had become the Archbishop,¹⁹¹ Bamwoze repeated this accusation. He claimed that the problems in his diocese, which were, according to him, erroneously called the Busoga Crisis, were caused "purely as a result of the succession struggle to the office of the Archbishop [and that Nkoyooyo was] a serious participant in the struggle".¹⁹²

Later on in this chapter, I argue in more detail that Nkoyooyo and others did not cause the conflict, but they manipulated it in their favour. The allegations which Bamwoze and some of his supporters made show that the pro-Bamwoze Christians viewed him with

¹⁸⁶ Gifford claims that Okoth was one of the people who canvassed for Nkoyooyo. But the evidence available to me suggests that Okoth had wanted Bamwoze to replace him. After realising that the Busoga crisis had seriously affected the prospects of Bamwoze to become archbishop, he resorted to canvassing for Dr Nicodemus Okille, the Bishop of Bukedi. P Gifford, *African Christianity: Its Public Role*, p, 140. Z K Tumusiime, "How to Elect the Next COU Archbishop" in *Uganda Confidential*, 29th August – 5th September 1994.

¹⁸⁷ *New Vision*, 9th May 1995, p. 2.

¹⁸⁸ *The Monitor*, 3rd – 6th November 1995.

¹⁸⁹ Bishop Wilson Mutebi of Mityana Diocese and retired Bishop Yokana Mukasa visited Busoga Diocese on separate days in April 1993 and urged Christians to be reconciled with one another. However, they went to Busoga without the permission or blessing of Bamwoze. *New Century*, May 1993.

¹⁹⁰ Interview with H Mugabi, 18th October 1999.

¹⁹¹ Nkoyooyo was elected Archbishop of the Church of Uganda on 4th December 1994 and enthroned on 29th January 1995. *New Vision*, 30th January 1995, pp. 1, 2; *New Century*, February 1995, pp. 1, 8.

¹⁹² Bamwoze to Nkoyooyo, Ref. ADM. 5/2/11, "Our Open letter to you as Archbishop", 5th October 1995, p. 1, COU PA.

suspicion. Conversely Nkoyooyo was generally accepted by anti-Bamwoze Christians.¹⁹³ This partly explains the content of the letter dated 5th January 1995, which BDSC sent to Nkoyooyo after he was elected archbishop. In this letter, BDSC congratulated him upon being elected and appreciated the pledge he made during his first interview with the press. This was that his first duty would be to help resolve the conflict in Busoga. They urged him to avoid the “past mistakes and political gimmicks” which had damaged Okoth and Bamwoze. They also requested him to respect the wishes of the Christians in Busoga by not associating with the pro-Bamwoze group; by removing Bamwoze; and by consecrating and enthroning Lubogo as Bishop of Busoga.¹⁹⁴

Such demands, which BDSC made in this letter and in several other documents,¹⁹⁵ lead me to two conclusions. First, that BDSC wanted (and expected) Nkoyooyo to take sides with them, just as Okoth had evidently tended to support Bamwoze and the pro-Bamwoze group. Secondly, although BDSC initially and generally viewed Nkoyooyo as their man, they nonetheless took no chances. Being a member of the House of Bishops who had in the past tried to coerce them into submission, Nkoyooyo was, in their view, likely to carry on the bishops’ propensity to frustrate the cause of the anti-Bamwoze group. Hence, they gave him a blueprint, so to speak, of his operations in Busoga, clearly defining their expectation of his working relationship with them. These conditions, it seems to me, gave Nkoyooyo no room to explore other options of dealing with the conflict. Besides, some of them were virtually impossible for him to implement. For instance, asking him to remove Bamwoze and replace him with Lubogo, whom Okoth had defrocked, was unrealistic, to say the least. Like Okoth, Nkoyooyo simply did not have the power to remove Bamwoze from his seat¹⁹⁶ and he could not, under any circumstances, make Lubogo a bishop in contravention of the constitutions and canons of the church. Therefore, with their first letter to Nkoyooyo, BDSC were making his work difficult, even before he was enthroned Archbishop.

¹⁹³ Nabeta to Nkoyooyo, “Letter of Congratulations and Ray of Hope”, 5th January 1995, COU PA.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Nabeta to Nkoyooyo, “Letter of Protest”, 19th June 1995, COU PA; *New Vision*, 20th June 1995, p. 2; 22nd June 1995, p. 10; Nabeta to Nkoyooyo, “Busoga (Diocese) Conflict – Church of Uganda a Church on Trial”, 11th October 1995, COU PA.

¹⁹⁶ J N Mukasa, “COU Constitution could do with an amendment” in *Sunday Vision*, 25th February 1995.

Nkoyooyo Intervenes in the Busoga Crisis

Undeterred by BDSC's letter and by the lack of trust of Bamwoze and his supporters, Nkoyooyo embarked, from February 1995, on the task of intervening in the conflict. His work was greatly helped when, on 22nd February, at his request, Justice Constance Byamugisha adjourned indefinitely the civil suit filed in the High Court on the Busoga dispute,¹⁹⁷ to give Nkoyooyo and the House of Bishops another chance to intervene in the conflict. Subsequently, Nkoyooyo held separate meetings with representatives of both groups. As a result of these meetings and following the advice of the Provincial Assembly Standing Committee (PASC) and the House of Bishops,¹⁹⁸ he convened, on 19th July 1995 at BTTC Mukono, a joint meeting (called the Special Reconciliatory Committee) on the Busoga Crisis, attended by three representatives of the House of Bishops and two delegations from the conflicting parties, one led by Bamwoze and the other by Nabeta. This meeting was historically the first of its kind organised by the provincial authorities, attended jointly by both warring factions. In spite of the fears of many people, this meeting did not turn out to be rowdy.¹⁹⁹ Its mood was cordial and the deliberations made during it were fruitful. At the end of the meeting, the participants embraced each other and had lunch together.²⁰⁰ The following day a statement signed by Nkoyooyo was published in *New Vision*, stating the five issues which were unanimously agreed upon during the meeting, namely:

- To reconcile together and to promote this reconciliation in the entire diocese of Busoga and to work together in a godly spirit in the promotion of God's Kingdom in Busoga Diocese.
- The Bishop of Busoga the Rt. Rev. Cyprian Bamwoze is to go on a one-year sabbatical leave not later than 1st October 1995.
- While Bishop C. Bamwoze is on his sabbatical leave, the Archbishop of the Church of Uganda, His Grace Livingstone Mpalanyi Nkoyooyo will take care of the diocese, and continue to do such things necessary in the reconciliation and administration of the diocese and other related technicalities.
- From now onwards, the Christ's Cathedral at Bugembe, the Bishop's house and other properties of the diocese of Busoga, will be in the hands of the Archbishop of the Church of Uganda.

¹⁹⁷ Sebalu and Lule Advocates to Nkoyooyo Ref. SL/2391/17478, "High Court Civil Suit No. 387/94 Canon James Kitamirike and Others versus Canon Sam Lubogo and Others", 18th January 1995, BDA; *New Vision*, 23rd February 1995, pp. 1, 2.

¹⁹⁸ The House of Bishops met during 20th –22nd June 1995.

¹⁹⁹ Interviews with Bishop L Gonahasa, 16th November 1999; N Mukwaya, 8th November 1999.

²⁰⁰ Nabeta to Nkoyooyo, "Bishop Bamwoze's Lies and Hypocrisy", 22nd January 1996, p. 1, COU PA.

- The committee calls on all Christians and God loving people to thank God for the achievements of this reconciliation.²⁰¹

Most of the people who read this statement believed that at last a significant breakthrough had been attained through which the conflict in Busoga would be amicably resolved.²⁰² But alas, to their dismay, on 21st July, Kitamirike issued a statement in *New Vision*, on behalf of the pro-Bamwoze group, refuting most of the contents in Nkoyooyo's statement, arguing that it misrepresented the issues discussed that day. He claimed that Nkoyooyo's statement had created the false impression that Bamwoze had been forced to go on leave, and insisted that Bamwoze decided to go on leave on his own accord. Moreover, Kitamirike rejected Nkoyooyo as the caretaker bishop, mentioning the earlier recommendation of Busoga Diocesan Council that two suffragan bishops be appointed, one based in Kamuli and another in Bugiri. These two bishops, he emphasised, would work jointly as caretaker bishops until Bamwoze returned to continue his responsibilities as bishop.²⁰³ Evidently, Kitamirike's statement showed a clear change of mind on the issues discussed earlier, a climbdown that would probably not have been possible if Nkoyooyo had made sure that before the meeting closed, a statement was made and endorsed by all the participants who attended it.

It seems to me that this change of mind by the pro-Bamwoze Christians was brought on by the stark realisation that on the 19th July the delegation led by Bamwoze had virtually turned over to Nkoyooyo the running of the diocese. With the diocese firmly placed in his hands from 1st October, Nkoyooyo, it was feared, would remove the pro-Bamwoze supporters from the diocesan office; replace them with anti-Bamwoze supporters, and prevent Bamwoze, after his leave, from returning as Bishop of Busoga. Consequently, Bamwoze and his group did everything possible to prevent Nkoyooyo from taking over the diocese. They tried to make sure that if Bamwoze went on sabbatical leave, the diocese would remain safe and secure in the hands of his supporters. Bamwoze, though insisting that the sabbatical leave was his own idea, and not forced on him by Nkoyooyo as some people claimed,²⁰⁴ argued that taking it was dependent upon two conditions,

²⁰¹ L M Nkoyooyo, "The Statement of a Special Reconciliation Committee on Busoga Diocese Conflict Convened by His Grace Archbishop Livingstone Mpalanyi Nkoyoyo which met at Bishop Tucker Theological College – Mukono, Wednesday 19-07-95", COU PA.

²⁰² *New Vision*, 20th July 1995, pp. 1, 2; 21st July 1995, p. 5.

²⁰³ *New Vision*, 21st July 1995, pp. 1, 2.

²⁰⁴ *New Vision*, 26th July 1995, p. 1.

namely, the archbishop's raising £10,000 (Ushs 15 million) needed to cover his living costs while in Britain²⁰⁵ and the House of Bishops' appointment of two suffragan bishops to take care of the diocese during his absence. Undoubtedly, these conditions were tactics intended to make it impossible for Bamwoze to leave by 1st October, to give him more time to strengthen his hold on the diocese and to ensure that, if he went he could return and resume his duties as bishop without any difficulty.²⁰⁶

The decision to send Bamwoze on sabbatical leave renewed tensions in the diocese. A cartoon published in *New Vision* of 21st July 1995, showing Nkoyooyo giving Bamwoze a red card,²⁰⁷ reinforced the unhelpful impression that Nkoyooyo was tactfully removing Bamwoze by asking him to go on leave. Also, several anti-Bamwoze Christians regarded Bamwoze's being sent on leave as a significant milestone in their struggle against him and his supporters, thereby provoking retaliation from the pro-Bamwoze camp.²⁰⁸ It is not surprising, then, that during the synod of 24th August at Kamuli Primary Boarding School, the delegates unanimously disassociated themselves from the five issues agreed upon during the reconciliatory meeting of 19th July. They rejected the suggestion of having Nkoyooyo as the caretaker bishop of Busoga, and instead announced plans to appoint two suffragan bishops who would take care of the diocese during Bamwoze's absence, hence making it difficult for Nkoyooyo to intervene in the conflict. Also, the already precarious relationship between him and the pro-Bamwoze group became further strained to the extent that a wrangle between Bamwoze and Nkoyooyo ensued and spread into the public domain. Nkoyooyo accused Bamwoze of being a stumbling block to the efforts of resolving the conflict, while Bamwoze shunned meetings on the conflict convened by Nkoyooyo²⁰⁹ and also wrote an open letter to him, castigating him for being responsible for the chaos in his diocese.

²⁰⁵ In a letter to Nkoyooyo dated 25th September 1995, Bamwoze stated that he needed a minimum of £10,000 (Ushs 15,000,000) to cover the expenses of his one-year sabbatical leave. Bamwoze to Nkoyooyo, ADM. 5/11, "Meeting of Tuesday 26th September 1995", 25th September 1995, COU PA.

²⁰⁶ Bamwoze did not go on leave from 1st October, thanks partly to the conditions he put in place. It was not possible for Nkoyooyo to find £10,000 which Bamwoze needed for his leave expenses by the end of September 1995. Also, he had to wait for the results of the bishops' meeting of 21st October concerning the issue of the suffragan bishops for Busoga Diocese. When the bishops met, they threw this issue back to the Christians in Busoga, hence delaying Bamwoze's going on leave even further. *The Monitor*, 3rd – 6th November 1995, p. 10.

²⁰⁷ See Appendix III, p. 324.

²⁰⁸ Interview with F Mukobe, 20th October 1999.

²⁰⁹ Bamwoze to Nkoyooyo, ADM. 5/11, "Meeting of Tuesday 26th September 1995", 25th September 1995, COU PA.

In this letter, dated 5th October, Bamwoze claimed that Nkoyooyo and some of the bishops in Buganda had made Busoga the locus of the power struggle, a struggle, he alleged, that they started in 1992, to prevent him from being the next archbishop and renewed in 1995 to prevent him from becoming the next dean of the Church of Uganda.²¹⁰ Bamwoze pleaded with Nkoyooyo to leave Busoga alone. He relinquished his constitutional right as the clergyman second to Nkoyooyo in terms of seniority to be the dean of the Church of Uganda, hoping that Nkoyooyo would cease to antagonise the Church in Busoga.²¹¹ Nkoyooyo in his response, dismissed the claims of Bamwoze, accusing him of playing a ‘tribal’ card in order to solicit support from the Christians in Busoga and to try and divert them from the issues at stake in the diocese. He insisted that he would not be frustrated by Bamwoze’s sinister actions and reiterated his commitment to seeing the conflict resolved as soon as possible.²¹²

NKOYOoyo VERSUS BAMWOZE AND HIS SUPPORTERS

Bamwoze Sent on Leave Again

The House of Bishops, during their meeting of 27th January 1996 held at Immanuel Cathedral Kinyansano in Rukungiri, re-affirmed the statement of 19th July 1995 and again ordered Bamwoze to go on a one-year sabbatical leave from 1st February 1996.²¹³ They rejected the idea of appointing suffragan bishops and decided that during Bamwoze’s absence, Nkoyooyo would take care of the diocese and also continue the process of reconciliation.²¹⁴ Following this meeting, Nkoyooyo together with other

²¹⁰ According to Canon 1:6 of the *Provincial Canons of the Church of Uganda*, 1997, “the most senior Bishop, according to the date of consecration as bishop or ordination as priest [is appointed] Dean of the Province. The Dean, in the absence of the Archbishop [exercises] the functions and duties of the Archbishop as provided under the constitution [and] when the office of Archbishop falls vacant due to retirement or death, or incapacity, the Dean [acts] as the Archbishop until the appointment of the new Archbishop”.

²¹¹ Bamwoze to Nkoyooyo, Ref. ADM. 5/2/11, “Our Open letter to you as Archbishop”, 5th October 1995, COU PA.

²¹² Interview with L Gonahasa, 16th November 1999.

²¹³ *Anglican Communion News Service (ACNS)*, 3rd April 1996, Anglican Communion Office, London, UK.

²¹⁴ The members of the Busoga Diocesan Council who met on 31st January 1996, at St Andrews’ Church, Jinja, rejected these decisions. L M Nkoyooyo, “A Pastoral Letter from Archbishop Livingstone Mpalanyi Nkoyooyo Current Care-Taker Bishop of Busoga Diocese, to all Christians in the Diocese of Busoga 18/02/1996”, p. 2, BDA; COU, “A Joint Pastoral Letter from the House of Bishops, Church of Uganda”, 1.7. p. 8, BDA; *Ngabo*, 1st February 1996, p. 5.

members of the reconciliation committee²¹⁵ embarked, in February 1996, on the task of resolving the conflicts by holding reconciliatory talks and prayers with both groups.²¹⁶ They went to Jinja on 2nd February to meet with the Busoga Diocesan Council in order to pave the way for Nkoyooyo to take over as the caretaker bishop of Busoga. But on learning that Bamwoze had boycotted the meeting, they declined to meet with the council.²¹⁷ Instead they met with selected officials of the diocese, at Family Life Education Programme offices, went back to Kampala and returned the following day to conduct a reconciliatory service at Christ's Cathedral Bugembe.²¹⁸

This service was attended mostly by anti-Bamwoze Christians. None of the clergy or officials of the diocese attended it since the Busoga Diocesan Council had resolved the previous day to boycott the service.²¹⁹ During this service Nkoyooyo urged the Christians to forgive, unite and love each other, since these were the only means through which they would be reconciled. He told them, "if the problem is Bamwoze, he is now on leave... so unite and rebuild the church".²²⁰ Meanwhile, in an act of defiance, the following day Bamwoze presided over two services at St Andrews' Church, Jinja and Waitambogwe²²¹ in Iganga, during which he confirmed a total of three hundred Christians. He urged the Christians at St Andrews' Church "not to be fooled by clever fools who know the truth and cannot take action". But he did not name the 'fools'.

On 14th February Nkoyooyo and his entourage²²² returned to Busoga Diocese and held separate meetings with the clergy from both groups.²²³ The meeting with the pro-Bamwoze clergy, chaired by Nkoyooyo and attended by Bamwoze, ended in a deadlock. In his address, Bamwoze praised the clergy in the diocese for persevering and resisting the torment of the 'evil one'. He urged leaders of the church to 'walk in the light' and to

²¹⁵ These included the Dr C Senyonjo, Dean of the Province and Bishop of West Buganda, Dr M Senyimbe, Bishop of Mukono, L Gonahasa, Assistant Bishop of Kampala and Canon W Magambo, the Provincial Secretary. *New Vision*, 3rd February 1996, pp. 1, 2.

²¹⁶ *New Vision*, 2nd February 1996, p. 1.

²¹⁷ *New Vision*, 3rd February 1996, pp. 1, 2.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 2

²²¹ This name is used interchangeably with Batambogwe.

²²² This time Nkoyooyo came with the Dean of the Province and the Provincial Secretary. *New Vision*, 15th February 1996.

²²³ They met with the clergy on Bamwoze's side at St Andrews' Church, and met in the afternoon with the clergy in the anti-Bamwoze group at Christ's Cathedral Bugembe. Magambo to Nabeta, B/12, "Information about the Clergy", 21st February 1996, COU PA; *New Vision*, 15th February 1996, pp. 1, 2.

avoid craving for the perishable things of this world.²²⁴ He also agreed to go on leave as ordered by the House of Bishops.²²⁵ Nevertheless, the clergy re-affirmed Busoga Diocesan Council's rejection of the sabbatical leave imposed on Bamwoze by the House of Bishops. They also ruled out working together with the anti-Bamwoze group. At the close of the meeting, most of the clergy declined to join in the Holy Communion service conducted jointly by Nkoyooyo and Bamwoze, arguing that they had ill feeling toward Nkoyooyo, and therefore could not share with him in Holy Communion.

Bamwoze's agreement to go on leave relieved Nkoyooyo of his presence in the diocese. However for two reasons it did not lead to the pro-Bamwoze Christians accepting Nkoyooyo, as he desired. First, their resentment towards him persisted since they agreed that he was behind the conflict in their diocese. Secondly, they refused to accept Nkoyooyo as caretaker bishop and thereby continued to regard Bamwoze, though away in Britain on leave, as the substantive bishop of Busoga, occasionally consulting with him on a wide range of issues concerning the diocese and the conflict. Consequently, the situation remained tense despite Bamwoze's absence. The initiatives made towards reconciling the Christians in Busoga were generally unsuccessful. Both factions continued to operate in separate places, under their respective leaders, clashing occasionally,²²⁶ but on the whole steering clear of each other. Hence, the church in Busoga remained divided. The temporary removal of Bamwoze did not provide the desired effect. This led Nkoyooyo and other members of the reconciliation committee to resort to getting rid of Bamwoze and Lubogo outright, hoping that with these two people out of the way, the process of reconciliation could proceed, without their interference. But far from being helpful, this option instead threw the region into more chaos and frustrated the process of reconciliation even further.

Meanwhile, on 9th June 1996 the anti-Bamwoze group suffered a serious blow. David J K Nabeta died at the age of seventy-six. In the past, the group had lost active members like Isabirye Mula (BDSC's secretary and the leading author of its early documents), but the death of Nabeta was disastrous. At the time of his death, Nabeta had led the anti-

²²⁴ C K Bamwoze, "*Okwogera kw'Omulabirizi wa Busoga Eri Abawule Bonna ku Kukyala kwa Ssababirizi wa Uganda* The Most Rev. Livingstone Mpalanyi Nkooyooyo mu St Andrew's Church, Jinja nga 14th February 1996", BDA.

²²⁵ *New Vision*, 15th February 1996, pp. 1, 2.

²²⁶ A Waiswa, Chairperson All Saints Church, Iganga to Rev Canon Kulata, "*Okwogera ku Baluwa Ezakuwandikirwa Nga Zikugoba mu Kifo Kino*", 13th September 1996, ASCIA.

Bamwoze faction for almost four years. He had succeeded in uniting and representing people with different interests and grievances in the single cause of getting rid of Bamwoze and reforming governance in the church of Uganda, an activity that earned him as many friends as it did enemies. In addition, his fame and influence on local, national and international levels gave the anti-Bamwoze struggle credibility, earned it the attention it desperately needed, and helped it to attain and celebrate its successes. With Nabeta, the group remained united and focused, but without him, or at least without a person of his calibre, BDSC occasionally disagreed and split into several factions, all of which eventually disintegrated by the end of 1999.

Bamwoze and His Supporters' 'Rebel' Tendencies

On 13th July, the House of Bishops sent Bamwoze on early retirement three years before he had reached sixty-five.²²⁷ The bishops, during their meeting held at Luwero, also asked Lubogo to leave Christ's Cathedral Bugembe and return to Kampala. They ordered everyone commissioned by Nabeta to stop wearing clerical collars and priestly uniforms, and to cease baptising and working as deacons "until an alternative arrangement [was] put in place".²²⁸ Nkoyooyo duly communicated these decisions to Bamwoze and the other people concerned. In the letter dated 15th July, which he sent to Bamwoze and copied to Paul Bakibinga, the Diocesan Chancellor, Nkoyooyo informed Bamwoze that the House of Bishops had decided to send him on early retirement for several reasons. These included Bamwoze's failure to hand over the running of the diocese to Nkoyooyo; appointing, on 1st February, commissaries to take care of the diocese during his absence, even though he was aware that the House of Bishops had entrusted this responsibility to Nkoyooyo; "making a veiled threat and provocative message" on 14th February, when Nkoyooyo and Senyonjo met with the clergy of Busoga Diocese; and usurping the powers of Nkoyooyo by acting as if he were in-charge of the affairs of the Busoga Diocese.²²⁹

On 12th August, Lubogo vacated the bishop's residence and returned with his family to Kampala as instructed by Nkoyooyo, hence paving the way for the induction of Rev Dr

²²⁷ This is the official retirement age of the clergy of the Church of Uganda. Canon 1.3.8, *The Provincial Canons of the Church of Uganda*, 1997, p. 3.

²²⁸ *New Vision*, 1st August 1996, pp. 1, 2.

²²⁹ *Africa Press Service (APS)*, No. 43, 26th August 1996; *ACNS*, 2nd September 1996; Bakibinga to Nkoyooyo, "Early Retirement of his Lordship, Cyprian Bamwoze, Bishop of Busoga Diocese", 12th August 1996, pp. 2-3, BDA.

Chris George Palacas,²³⁰ on the 14th August as the Interim Vicar of Bugembe Cathedral and Nkoyooyo's appointed co-ordinator of reconciliation in the diocese.²³¹ However, on 8th August a group of Christians referring to themselves as Busoga Diocese House of Laity circulated a declaration in which they rejected the decision to get rid of Bamwoze, interpreting it as showing "nothing more than a manifestation of the power struggles and confusion reigning at the centre of the Church of Uganda, with Busoga Diocese being used as the sacrificial lamb with the assistance of a few greedy, self appointed persons and their imported cohorts acting outside the confines of both ecclesiastical and secular law".²³²

In their declaration, signed by the chairmen of the houses of laity of all the archdeaconries in the diocese, the group accused Nkoyooyo of sponsoring an anti-Bamwoze campaign and of misleading the House of Bishops and the general public with "a campaign of deliberate lies"; going round the diocese confirming and administering Holy Communion with people who were not qualified to do so;²³³ referring derogatorily to the synod and Council "elected under the auspices of the Archbishop of Uganda (Okoth) as the "Bamwoze group"; and nursing a plan of destroying Bamwoze and the church in Busoga, to mention but a few. As a result, they threatened to secede from the diocese if the bishops did not reverse their decision to retire Bamwoze prematurely.²³⁴

In the same declaration, the group resolved to institute legal proceedings against Nkoyooyo and the anti-Bamwoze group and to initiate an indefinite policy of non-cooperation against the province. They urged all the Christians to support their stand against the people they regarded as a "lawless clique whose conduct resembles that of the Mafia godfathers".²³⁵ They duly received this support from a group of women and youth

²³⁰ Palacas is an American national and medical doctor. He arrived in Uganda in 1991, worked for the Church of Uganda for five years in the Community Health Project. He trained together with his wife Jane for the ordained ministry at BTTC Mukono and was ordained deacon on 22nd September 1995. Interview with C G Palacas, 2nd November 1999; *New Vision*, 14th August 1996, p. 2.

²³¹ This service was attended by clergy and laity in both camps. Canon Kitamirike led Palacas to his seat After he (Palacas) was appointed as vicar of cathedral and co-ordinator of the reconciliation in the diocese. Also, during the same service, Also, Fred Mukobe and Martin Kirube, the leaders of laity in both camps hugged each other as a sign of forgiveness. *New Vision*, 14th August 1996, pp. 1, 2; 15th August 1996; pp. 1, 2.

²³² The Busoga Diocese Declaration, August 1996, BDA.

²³³ Canon 2.8.1 of the Provincial Canons of the Church of Uganda, 1997, p. 21.

²³⁴ Busoga Diocese, "The Busoga Diocese Declaration", August 1996, BDA.

²³⁵ Ibid.

leaders during their meeting of 15th September. These leaders re-affirmed the stand of the heads of laity and accused Nkoyooyo of siding with the anti-Bamwoze group. They insisted that Nkoyooyo's appointment of Palacas, a deacon and a non-Musoga, as a vicar of the cathedral and coordinator of reconciliation was tantamount to his belittling of the Christians in Busoga. Hence, they asked him to remove Palacas and to apologise to the Christians.²³⁶ But he did not respond to them or comply with their demand.

In another development, on 12th August, after consulting with the House of Laity and the Diocesan Secretary, Paul Bakibinga wrote to Nkoyooyo and the House of Bishops, requesting them to suspend their decision of retiring Bamwoze prematurely on two grounds, namely, procedural irregularities and unsubstantiated allegations against Bamwoze. Concerning the former, Bakibinga argued that the circumstance and issues surrounding the act of retiring Bamwoze were not clear. Bakibinga observed that if Bamwoze was retired because of the accusations Nkoyooyo mentioned in his letter to Bamwoze dated 15th July, then the bishops had committed two main procedural irregularities. First, Bamwoze was condemned unheard. He was not given any hearing on the allegations made against him as required by the ecclesiastical and secular laws.²³⁷ Secondly Nkoyooyo's letter did not clarify the nature of the offences or the jurisdiction which had tried him in absentia.

He argued that if, for instance, the alleged offences were not of an ecclesiastical nature, then constitutionally, no tribunal within the church circles was qualified to try him.²³⁸ But if he were tried for ecclesiastical offences,²³⁹ then, a provincial tribunal consisting of the House of Bishops and, in attendance, the provincial and diocesan chancellors, would have been required to hear and determine the allegations. Hence, he concluded that Bamwoze's early retirement was unconstitutional due to the following factors: lack of clarity surrounding the unsubstantiated allegations; failure to hear Bamwoze's response; and absence from the provincial tribunal of the provincial and Busoga diocesan chancellors. This conclusion was, in my view, justified. Secondly, Bakibinga defended

²³⁶ *New Vision*, 16th September 1996, p. 40.

²³⁷ Article 28(1) of the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, 1995; Article 17 of the Provincial Constitution of the Church of Uganda as amended in 1994; Canon 3:25 and 3:27 of the Provincial Canons of the Church of Uganda, 1997, pp. 79-81, 85-86.

²³⁸ Article 16 (b) of the Provincial Constitution of the Church of Uganda as amended in 1994.

²³⁹ Ecclesiastical offences are listed in Canon 3:23(d) and 3:24 (a) of the *Canons of the Church of Uganda*, 1994.

Bamwoze concerning the accusations that he had lashed out at Nkoyooyo and Senyonjo in the presence of the clergy of Busoga Diocese and that he had usurped the authority of the caretaker bishop. He argued that Bamwoze's speech on 14th February was, according to him, capable of several interpretations. He added that evidently, Bamwoze had notified Nkoyooyo of everything he had done prior to going on leave. He alluded to the letter dated 5th March 1996, which Bamwoze sent to Nkoyooyo as a case in point. Bakibinga ended his letter by advising the bishops to follow the process of the law before a taking a final decision on Bamwoze's retirement.²⁴⁰

Following Nkoyooyo's delay in responding to the declaration of the laity and to Bakibinga's letter,²⁴¹ a group of laity in Kamuli Archdeaconry declared, on 18th August, that they had seceded from the Church of Uganda and formed themselves into North Busoga Diocese. The group, headed by Martin Balimugulira, made this announcement after their meeting held at St Paul's Church, Bukwenge. They also announced several other decisions taken during the same meeting. These included: appointing Balimugulira as the Head of Laity of the new diocese; creating five new archdeaconries in Kamuli,²⁴² withholding the remittance of funds to the province and instead using them to pay their staff and to build the headquarters of their new diocese; utilising services of a visiting bishop until such time as they were able to maintain their own bishop; and encouraging likeminded Christians in Bugiri and Kyando to form themselves into East Busoga and South Busoga dioceses respectively.²⁴³ Balimugulira observed that their decision to secede from the Province was provoked by an acute lack of constitutionalism in the Church of Uganda. He alluded to three general accusations which the pro-Bamwoze Christians had made against Nkoyooyo and his 'agents', namely: inciting and colluding with the anti-Bamwoze group; retiring Bamwoze prematurely in violation of the

²⁴⁰ Bakibinga to Nkoyooyo, "Early Retirement of his Lordship, Cyprian Bamwoze, Bishop of Busoga Diocese", 12th August 1996, pp. 3-4, BDA.

²⁴¹ Nkoyooyo sent a reply to Bakibinga's letter, dated 10th September 1996, in which he made two arguments. First, that the decision to retire Bamwoze was made in respect to the wrongs he had committed against the archbishop, hence requiring that he be dealt with using Article 13(d) of the Provincial Constitution. Secondly, Bamwoze was expected to obey the House of Bishops because of the oath he had taken when he was consecrated, which stipulates that a decision supported by a two-thirds majority of the bishops must be obeyed. *New Vision*, 26th September 1996.

²⁴² The new archdeaconries were Bupadhengo, Naminage, Namulikya, Kamuli Urban and Cathedral archdeaconries.

²⁴³ *New Vision*, 19th August 1996, p. 48; Interview with M Balimugulira, 18th November 1999.

constitutions of the church; and imposing himself and Palacas on the people of Busoga “without consulting with the legitimate organs of the diocese”.²⁴⁴

The Busoga Diocesan Council overwhelmingly supported the decision of the Christians in Kamuli to secede from the province. They also asked Bakibinga to engage church lawyers to seek a court injunction barring the bishops from retiring Bamwoze and stopping Nkoyooyo from “further interference in the diocese”, which he did.²⁴⁵ As a result, Nkoyooyo’s association with the Diocese was restricted to the anti-Bamwoze group.²⁴⁶ The Busoga Diocesan Council meeting he tried to chair on 26th September at St Andrew’s Church ended in disarray after the councillors unanimously rejected his address and asked him to leave their meeting because they did not recognise him as the caretaker bishop of Busoga Diocese.²⁴⁷ Nkoyooyo left as requested, and after his departure the council continued its meeting under the chairmanship of Canon Daniel Kizza, the Archdeacon of Jinja.²⁴⁸ In another meeting, held at St Andrew’s Church on 16th January 1997, two days ahead of the House of Bishops’ meeting, the Busoga Diocesan Council endorsed a civil suit filed in the High Court against Nkoyooyo. During this meeting, chaired by Canon John Bagenda, one of Bamwoze’s commissaries, the councillors resolved that Bamwoze resume his duties with immediate effect. They also suspended all relations and dealings with the provincial administration and/or its organs, until the bishops rescinded Bamwoze’s retirement and restored constitutionalism in the church.²⁴⁹ In spite of these efforts, the bishops, in their meeting of 18th - 20th January 1997 at St Peter’s Cathedral Bweranyangi, upheld their decision that the embattled

²⁴⁴ Interview with M Balimugulira, 18th November 1999.

²⁴⁵ *New Vision*, 22nd August 1996, p. 3; 26th September 1996, pp. 1, 2; 8th November 1996, p. 40

²⁴⁶ B M Naigere, Chairman BDSC, “Brief Report to the Archbishop of the Church of Uganda on his visit to Christ’s Cathedral, Bugembe, on 10th September 1996, to Meet the Clergy and Laity”, Wangola’s special collection.

²⁴⁷ Busoga Diocese, Minute 17/96 of BDC, 26th September 1996, BDA. It seems to me that partly as a result of this incident the Provincial Assembly Standing Committee (PASC) revised the provincial canons to allow the archbishop to take over the control of a diocese “in the event of a vacancy in a Diocese as a result of death or illness or *other incapacity* of this diocesan bishop...” (emphasis mine) Canon 1.3.8 of the Provincial Canons of the Church of Uganda, 1997, p. 3.

²⁴⁸ During this meeting the council, among others: re-affirmed their decision to reject Nkoyooyo and Palacas; resolved to request the House of Bishops to reverse their decision to send Bamwoze on early retirement; re-affirmed the recognition of the commissaries of the Bishop of Busoga; relieved Martin Kirube of his responsibilities as Chairman of the House of Laity, Busoga Diocese (accusing him of making unacceptable remarks during the Provincial Assembly of August 1996); and elected Nehemia Mukwaya to serve as the acting Chairman of the House of Laity. Minute 18 of BDC, 26th September 1996, BDA.

²⁴⁹ Busoga Diocese, Special BDC, 16th January 1997, pp. 1-2; *New Vision*, 16th January 1997, p.3; 17th January 1997, pp. 1, 2; 29th January 1997, p. 18.

Bamwoze retire at the end of his sabbatical leave.²⁵⁰ True to the fear of many people, Bamwoze defied the bishops' directive. He announced on 31st January, the day before he was supposed to retire, that he would resume his duties with effect from 1st February as the Bishop of Busoga. He also endorsed the decision of Busoga Diocesan Council to freeze Busoga Diocese's relations with the Church of Uganda.

Before discussing this shift in the conflict in more detail, three general comments are necessary concerning the situation in Busoga during the first two years of Nkoyooyo's primacy. The first concerns the accusations made by Bamwoze and his supporters that Nkoyooyo and other church and civic leaders inside and outside the diocese were behind the conflict. In the previous two chapters of this study I have shown that the immediate causes of the conflict were as old as the diocese itself. For a long time some Christians in Busoga had struggled with little success against Bamwoze's misrule and other wrongdoings. By 1992, there was already in Busoga deep and wide discontent with Bamwoze and some of the leaders in the diocese. Several lay and ordained church leaders in Busoga were behind this conflict. But to claim that Nkoyooyo and others outside Busoga engineered it is in my view inaccurate. Its historical causes predate both Nkoyooyo's bid and canvassing for the office of Archbishop. Therefore, Nkoyooyo and others did not cause this conflict, but they manipulated it (after it erupted) by colluding with Bamwoze's opponents. Moreover, Museveni and his NRM government, using the excuse that the government was obliged not to interfere in the internal affairs of religious groups, failed to intervene to rescue Bamwoze from his enemies. By leaving Bamwoze, a UPC stalwart, to roast in the fire of his own Christians²⁵¹ (something they did not do with Halem'Imana, the equally embattled pro-NRM Roman Catholic Bishop), Museveni and his government helped to tarnish Bamwoze's image, and by so doing increased the prospect of their man, Nkoyooyo, becoming archbishop.

Secondly, the tendency of some people in Busoga, including Bamwoze, to defy the directives of the Archbishop and the House of Bishops suggests the presence of loopholes in the administrative structures and constitutions of the Church of Uganda. It

²⁵⁰ Canon G Katwesigye, the Provincial Secretary to Bamwoze, 21st January 1997, COU PA; Katwesigye to the Resident District Commissioners of Jinja, Kamuli and Iganga districts, 30th January 1997, COU PA; *New Vision*, 20th January 1997, p. 1; 29th January 1997, p. 19.

²⁵¹ *New Vision*, 2nd February 1997, p. 5.

appears to me that the amendments made by the Provincial Assembly of 1994 to give the archbishop and the provincial administration more powers still did not give him sufficient power to penetrate the autonomous diocesan structures and, if necessary, to discipline bishops or other church leaders who behaved in unacceptable and insubordinate ways. More changes were needed in the canons and constitutions of the church of Uganda in order to ensure the presence of a balancing power which was not merely a paper tiger, and to enhance the levels of transparency, accountability, democracy and collegiality within the Church. This need was also emphasised in a report on the personal practices, financial resources and structures of the Church of Uganda, commissioned by Nkoyooyo and made by Aclaim Africa Limited, a firm that specialises in, among other things, appraising NGOs and enhancing their organisational capacities.²⁵² A detailed examination of this report lies outside the scope of this study.

Thirdly, pro-Bamwoze Christians rejected the decision made by Nkoyooyo and the House of Bishops to remove Bamwoze. They argued that Article 13(e) of the Provincial Constitution empowered Nkoyooyo to remove a bishop, only after consulting with the relevant authorities in the diocese. But they failed to do this, hence being accused by the pro-Bamwoze group of retiring Bamwoze by unconstitutional means. Katwesigye, in defending the bishops' decision, argued that the bishops accused Bamwoze of insubordination, not of misrule or unbecoming behaviour. He argued that the bishops did not send Bamwoze on early retirement on the basis of Article 13(e) of the Provincial Constitution which relates to circumstances where the reasons for his removal originate from the diocese. Rather they retired him in accordance with Article 13(d), which empowers the House of Bishops to remove a bishop believed to have contravened the oath and declaration he signed before he was consecrated, that is, that he would "pay true and canonical obedience to the Archbishop of the Church of the Province of Uganda in all things lawful and honest" and that he would offer his resignation to him "if requested to do so by a two-thirds (2/3) majority of the Diocesan Bishops".²⁵³ Therefore, Katwesigye emphasised that acting in this way did not contravene Article 13(e) of the

²⁵² G Carr and Others (Aclaim Africa Ltd), "Renewing the Church of Uganda for Effective Mission: A Review Report on Personnel Practices, Financial Resources and the Structures of the Church of Uganda". June 1997, pp, 41-5, COU PA.

²⁵³ Canon 3.12.2 a, of the Canons of the Church of the Province of Uganda, 1994, COU PA.

Provincial Constitution or necessitate the bishops to refer this matter to the lesser body, the synod.²⁵⁴

In my opinion, the bishops' decision to retire Bamwoze on the basis of disobedience towards Nkoyooyo, and not because of the accusations of some of his Christians should not be interpreted, as some pro-Bamwoze Christians have done,²⁵⁵ as merely power bickering at the provincial level. There is no evidence known to me suggesting any divisions amongst the bishops on this issue at the time of making this decision. It should be viewed more appropriately as a unanimous and strategic determination of the bishops to remove a colleague who had embarrassed and burdened them so much that it became futile to defend him as they had done in the past. Although allowing him to remain a bishop was as bad for them as asking him to retire, they sent him on early retirement to hasten the process of reconciliation in his troubled diocese and to salvage their own image. Convinced that they could not get the largely pro-Bamwoze synod to ask Nkoyooyo to remove Bamwoze, the bishops resorted to removing him on the basis of his disobedience to Nkoyooyo. Thus they still failed to rule on the accusations made against Bamwoze, thereby confirming one of the arguments repeatedly and appropriately made by the anti-Bamwoze Christians that the constitutions and administrative organs of the Church of Uganda were (and still are) ill-equipped for dealing with accusations of misrule and unbecoming behaviour against a serving bishop.

A Determined Nkoyooyo and Defiant Bamwoze

On 1st February 1997, Bamwoze resumed his duties as the bishop of Busoga. He rejected the pleas of many people inside and outside his diocese to resign on compassionate grounds in order to bring an end to the conflict in his diocese.²⁵⁶ He vowed to continue serving as the bishop of Busoga until the end of 1999.²⁵⁷ Meanwhile, Nkoyooyo, determined to thwart Bamwoze's defiance, asked Katwesigye to write to the civil authorities in Busoga informing them that Bamwoze was not the Bishop of Busoga.²⁵⁸ Nkoyooyo himself also wrote a pastoral letter to all the Christians in the diocese dated

²⁵⁴ *New Vision*, 29th January 1997, p. 19; 12th February 1997; p. 17.

²⁵⁵ Interviews with N Mukwaya, 8th November 1999; J Mugaya, 10th October 1999 and J Batambuze, 10th October 1999.

²⁵⁶ *New Vision*, 29th January 1997, p. 19

²⁵⁷ Interview with N Mukwaya, 8th November 1999; *New Vision*, 4th February 1997, p. 36.

²⁵⁸ Katwesigye to the Resident District Commissioners of Jinja, Iganga and Kamuli Districts, 30th January 1997.

18th February 1997, in which he castigated Bamwoze for defying the House of Bishops' decision to send him on retirement.²⁵⁹ In this letter, written in English and Luganda,²⁶⁰ Nkoyooyo, in his capacity as the caretaker bishop of Busoga Diocese, dissolved the 7th synod. He told them that because reconciliation had not taken effect, it was not possible to hold elections for a new synod at that time. Consequently, he appointed a twenty-five-person Reconciliation Committee,²⁶¹ under his chairmanship, to do the reconciliatory and administrative work in the diocese until elections of the synod and the appointment of other decision-making bodies could take place. He asked both groups to hand over all assets and property of the diocese to the committee, and announced that all accounts of the diocese would have newly elected signatories. He also urged all Christians to return to united worship and fellowship, charging, "As mature Christians we must lay down our differences and pride and put on love and humility as we seek to reach out to those who have wounded and hurt us".²⁶²

These measures were intended to re-activate the process of reconciliation in the diocese. But they were stalled after lawyers acting on behalf of the pro-Bamwoze group wrote to Nkoyooyo, rejecting his claim to be the caretaker bishop and accusing him of interfering in the affairs of the diocese and in the ongoing civil suit on the conflict. They rejected all the decisions he made in his pastoral letter and asked all the people he appointed to the Reconciliation Committee to disregard their appointments, lest they be held personally liable for interfering in the affairs of the diocese and in the civil suit.²⁶³ Also, Bamwoze and his supporters rejected the Reconciliation Committee, and those members in the group who had been appointed to it turned down the invitation to join it.²⁶⁴ Moreover, Bamwoze himself, in defiance, continued to operate, as the bishop of Busoga Diocese, performing his pastoral and administrative duties such as confirming Christians and

²⁵⁹ L M Nkoyooyo, "A Pastoral Letter from Archbishop Livingstone Mpalanyi Nkoyoyo Current Caretaker Bishop of Busoga Diocese to All Clergy and Christians in the Diocese of Busoga", 18th February 1997, pp. 1-2, BDA.

²⁶⁰ L M Nkoyooyo, "Ebbaluwa y'Obusumba Okuva eri Ssabalabirizi, The Most Rev. Livingstone Mpalanyi Nkoyoyo, Alabirira Obulabirizi bw'e Busoga eri Abawule n'Abakristaayo Bonna mu Bulabirizi bw'e Busoga nga 18/2/1997", BDA.

²⁶¹ This committee consisted of officials in the Provincial Headquarters, all the archdeacons in Busoga Diocese, laity in both factions, Canon Kitamirike, Palacas and his wife Jane.

²⁶² L M Nkoyooyo, "A Pastoral Letter from Archbishop Livingstone Mpalanyi Nkoyoyo Current Caretaker Bishop of Busoga Diocese to All Clergy and Christians in the Diocese of Busoga", 18th February 1997, pp. 1-2, BDA.

²⁶³ Byenkya, Kihika and Co. Advocates, Ref. BK/CV/530/96, "Your Pastoral Letter to the Clergy and Christians of Busoga", 25th February 1997, BDA; *New Vision*, 22nd February 1997, p. 3.

²⁶⁴ Interview with N Mukwaya, 8th November 1999; *Bukedde*, 1st April 1997, p. 4.

visiting congregations that supported him.²⁶⁵ He urged his supporters to reject Nkoyooyo, Palacas “and a clique of Baganda who sought to dominate the Basoga and to cause chaos in the diocese”.²⁶⁶ He also directed the clergy in the diocese to preach using Lusoga not Luganda, leading some people within and outside the diocese to accuse him of encouraging the use of Lusoga in the church for the wrong (sectarian) reasons and of doing hardly anything during his twenty-five-year reign as bishop of Busoga to encourage the development of a Lusoga liturgy and the translation of the Bible into Lusoga.²⁶⁷

Therefore the strained relations between Nkoyooyo and the pro-Bamwoze group affected Nkoyooyo’s reconciliatory efforts. But this does not necessarily imply that the relationship between Nkoyooyo and the anti-Bamwoze camp was cordial and fruitful, as some people have claimed.²⁶⁸ The relationship between Nkoyooyo and most of the anti-Bamwoze Christians was generally amiable. The latter regarded the former as their ally in their struggle against Bamwoze. However, over time some leaders in the anti-Bamwoze camp became increasingly despondent towards Nkoyooyo because he failed to fulfil their expectations mentioned earlier and because they feared that he was using them merely as a means of getting rid of Bamwoze, planning to dispense with them afterwards. They interpreted his decision to appoint Gonahasa and Palacas, two non-Basoga clergymen, to assist him in the pastoral and reconciliation work as part of his long-term plan to sideline BDSC. They doubted whether Nkoyooyo could, under similar circumstances, have appointed Palacas, a non-Musoga and, in particular, a recently ordained clergyman, as vicar of any cathedral in Buganda. They regarded this act as tantamount to Nkoyooyo’s belittling the Basoga, as his fellow Baganda had done in the past.²⁶⁹ Consequently, like the pro-Bamwoze Christians,²⁷⁰ some anti-Bamwoze

²⁶⁵ *Sunday Vision*, 13th April 1997, p. 5; *New Vision*, 7th May 1997, p. 3.

²⁶⁶ D Kamaali “God not Muganda-Bamwoze” in *New Vision*, 1st April 1997.

²⁶⁷ B Naigere, “Open Letter to Bamwoze”, in *New Vision*, 11th April 1997; *New Vision*, 8th April 1997, p. 4.

²⁶⁸ Interviews E J Batambuze, 10th October 1999 and J Mugaya 10th October 1999.

²⁶⁹ Nambago to Katwesigye, “Your letter of 1/9/97 to Rev S K Lubogo Refers”, 14th September 1997, COU PA; Interviews with F Mukobe, 20th October 1999 and C B Nambago, 19th July 1999.

²⁷⁰ On one occasion Palacas and his wife were prevented by the pro-Bamwoze Christians at Namalembe in Kamuli from taking part in a funeral service of the mother of Martin Kirube, a former diocesan Head of Laity. B Naigere, “Reactions to Patrick Luganda’s Survey in *Sunday Vision* of 13/4/97”, 29th April 1997, p. 2; *Sunday Vision* 13th April 1997, p. 5.

Christians opposed Palacas, tried to frustrate his work, and asked Nkoyooyo to withdraw him.²⁷¹

To understand the circumstances surrounding Nkoyooyo's appointment of Bishop Gonahasa and Palacas to work in Busoga, the following comments are necessary. Nkoyooyo, owing to his many commitments as Archbishop and Bishop of Kampala, justifiably found it necessary to appoint people to assist him in his pastoral, administrative and reconciliatory work in Busoga. However, finding a person that was acceptable to both groups was not easy and was bound to exacerbate the conflict, as it did. Before appointing these people Nkoyooyo was perfectly aware that the pro-Bamwoze group were inclined to reject the people he appointed outside their own camp and that the anti-Bamwoze Christians were not willing to accept pro-Bamwoze clergy, on the basis that they were cowards and traitors to the group's struggle against Bamwoze. This, however, was no excuse for him to appoint, as he did, people he wanted without prior consideration of the past and ongoing tensions in Busoga. His choice of Gonahasa and Palacas, though well intentioned, created many problems for him and for the beleaguered diocese. Asking a bishop (Gonahasa) and a recently ordained clergyman (Palacas) to assist him relieved him of some of his episcopal duties, but overall it was bad for the reconciliatory process. Notably, appointing Gonahasa as Nkoyooyo's assistant introduced another bishop in Busoga, breaking the *de facto* Bishop Bamwoze's monopoly to provide episcopal services, hence decreasing even further the prospects of reconciliation between Bamwoze and his opponents.

Furthermore, Nkoyooyo's appointing of Palacas, a foreigner (an American national) and close friend who had worked in the church of Uganda for a long time led many Christians to suspect that he was preparing him to replace Bamwoze.²⁷² One reason Nkoyooyo appointed Palacas as a vicar and coordinator for reconciliation was that Palacas, like his wife Jane, was (and still is) a committed Christian with a lot of experience in church work and with the capacity to raise funds from foreign sources to help renovate the dilapidated Bugembe Cathedral. However, his recent ordination made

²⁷¹ C B Nambago to Palacas, "Spreading Wrong Information About Me", 24th April 1997; C B Nambago to Nkoyooyo, Ref. CRC/001/97, "The Immediate Withdrawal of Palacas from Busoga", 13th June 1997, BDA; B M Naigere, "Rev Dr. C Palacas – Our Reactions", 20th July 1997, BDA.

²⁷² Some of the Christians were not bothered about having a Muzungu (White person) as their bishop. Interview with B Naigere, 20th July 1999.

it hard for some Christians to accept him as vicar of an institution as important as the cathedral. Besides, some anti-Bamwoze leaders also based at Bugembe saw him as threat to their hold on power,²⁷³ hence their not being keen on him. A serving bishop and a vicar were not the best people to assist Nkoyooyo in his reconciliatory work. Nkoyooyo should have appointed assistants who did not have special responsibilities in the church, who could not be regarded as biased or interested in and/or capable of succeeding Bamwoze. Senior laymen or retired senior clergy would most likely have been more suited for the task of assisting Nkoyooyo, particularly in his mediatory and reconciliatory work, than those he appointed.

Deepening Cracks Within the Anti-Bamwoze Camp

After the death of Nabeta, the level of unity and focus of purpose within the group gradually declined. Some of the anti-Bamwoze Christians lost interest in carrying on with the endless struggle, while others who felt that their demands had hitherto not been fully met and/or who had various vested interests in the conflict were reluctant to bring it to a close, true to the observation of Morton Deutsch, a professor of cooperation and conflict resolution:

Parties to a conflict also frequently get committed to perpetuating the conflict by the investment they have made in conducting the conflict; also, those who have acquired special power, profit, prestige, jobs, knowledge, or skills during the course of the conflict may feel threatened by the diminution or ending of conflict.²⁷⁴

Conflicting interests within the anti-Bamwoze group were appropriately manifested in the members' various responses to the calls made within the group to wind up the operations of BDSC and to hand over the property to Nkoyooyo. For instance, in May 1997, William Kyeyamwa, a leading member of the anti-Bamwoze group, and several other members called for the scrapping of BDSC on the grounds that the committee had ceased to have a viable *raison d'être*, since the House of Bishops had finally removed Bamwoze and replaced him with Nkoyooyo.²⁷⁵ They argued that the group's financial constraints,²⁷⁶ coupled with Nkoyooyo's call to hand over the running of the church,

²⁷³ Interview with B Naigere, 20th July 1999 and J Kafuko, 22nd July 1999.

²⁷⁴ M Deutsch, "Constructive Conflict Resolution: Principles, Training and Research" in the *Journal of Social Issues*, 50/1, 1994, p. 18.

²⁷⁵ *The Monitor*, 21st May 1997, p. 9.

²⁷⁶ C B Nambago, Ref. CM/1/1997, "Obwetaavu Obwamangu Ennyo", 18th June 1997, Wangola's special collection.

necessitated the committee to terminate its operations. They felt that the increasing tensions within the group would lead to splits and render the anti-Bamwoze cause despicable.²⁷⁷ So they asked that BDSC to wind up their operation forthwith in order to forestall a disastrous end to their struggle.

But those who were reluctant to wind up BDSC's operations immediately urged the group to move cautiously and not to trust Nkoyooyo wholeheartedly.²⁷⁸ They argued that Nkoyooyo had not committed himself fully to dealing with the concerns of the anti-Bamwoze group. They pointed to Nkoyooyo's failure to take a clear and sympathetic stand on the deacons (commissioned by Nabeta) in charge of the churches under the control of BDSC. They thought that his decision to ask them to remove their clerical collars and to stop wearing clerical uniforms, to repent and to submit to his authority was not good at all, particularly for people who had taken care of most of the churches in Busoga for over four years. As a result, on 13th May 1997, the members decided not to terminate the operations of BDSC but to scale them down. They changed the name of the committee from BDSC to Busoga Diocesan Christian Reconciliation Committee (BDCRC), in order to bring it in line with the reconciliation efforts of Nkoyooyo.²⁷⁹ Later, on 1st August 1997, they dissolved BDCRC in order to speed up the process of reconciliation and to make it possible for the Christians in Busoga to celebrate the silver jubilee of the diocese, on 13th August 1997, as one united diocese. But owing to their reluctance to trust Nkoyooyo unreservedly, they formed themselves, as a precautionary measure, into an interim House of Laity for Busoga Diocese, under the chairmanship of the anti-Bamwoze stalwart, Christopher Brown Nambago.²⁸⁰

Nambago and his colleagues should be forgiven for thinking that the resolution of the conflict would come that easily, by changing the name of BDSC to BDCRC, then terminating the operations of the latter. Though these were positive and commendable

²⁷⁷ One of these cracks included the vote of no confidence BDSC passed (on 13th May 1997) in Naigere, the successor to Nabeta, on the grounds that he was ineffective and colluded with the pro-Bamwoze group. Consequently, Naigere was relieved of his responsibilities and replaced with Christopher Brown Nambago. Interviews with B Naigere 20th July 1999 and C B Nambago, 19th July 1999; *The Monitor*, 21st May 1997, p. 9.

²⁷⁸ Interviews with C B Nambago, 19th July 1999; N Kagoda, 3rd September 1999.

²⁷⁹ C B Nambago to Nkoyooyo, Ref. CRC/001/97, "Special Busoga Diocesan Christian Reconciliation Committee Meeting on 13th May 1997", 21st May 1997, Wangola's special collection.

²⁸⁰ Interview with C B Nambago, 19th July 1999 and F Mukobe, 20th October 1999; *New Vision*, 5th August 1997, p. 8.

gestures, it nevertheless required a long and meticulously planned process to reconcile the two warring groups. It is hardly surprising that despite the gestures made by the anti-Bamwoze Christians, the two groups celebrated the silver jubilee anniversary, on 17th August 1997, in separate venues. The pro-Bamwoze group held their main celebrations at St Paul's Church in Kamuli, presided over by Bamwoze, while the anti-Bamwoze group held theirs at Bugembe, conducted by their own clergy after Nkoyooyo turned down the invitation to attend them.²⁸¹ In addition, on the same day, fighting erupted in St Stephen's Church Namutumba in Iganga district as a result of the unsuccessful attempt by the pro-Bamwoze group to repossess the church. Several Christians were seriously injured during the scuffle, and the police were called in to intervene and restore order.²⁸²

Moreover, during this period, the embattled diocese was not helped by Nkoyooyo's reposting of Lubogo back to Busoga. Nkoyooyo wrote Lubogo a letter, dated 21st August 1997, sending him back to Busoga Diocese to work as a parish priest.²⁸³ He made this decision after failing to find work for him in Kampala Diocese and after all the parishes where he posted him rejected him. Besides, Nkoyooyo found it increasingly difficult to find money to support him and his family while staying in Kampala. Efforts to get the Steering Committee to contribute towards his upkeep were unsuccessful.²⁸⁴ After all, they themselves were struggling unsuccessfully to find the funds they needed to meet their own pastoral and administrative costs.²⁸⁵ Nkoyooyo had no other option but to send Lubogo back to Busoga. But prior to that Nkoyooyo and Katwesigye held several meetings with him and asked him not to return to Bugembe because this would jeopardise the process of reconciliation. They made him declare, in writing, that he was going to Iganga.²⁸⁶ But, as with the meeting of 19th July 1995, Nkoyooyo committed another blunder. He wrote Lubogo a letter dated 21st August authorising him "to go back to Busoga Diocese and work as a Parish Priest". In my opinion Nkoyooyo, in his capacity as the caretaker bishop of Busoga, should have posted Lubogo to a specified

²⁸¹ F Mukobe to all the Christians in Busoga Diocese, Ref. CM/1/97, "Circular Letter Eri Abantu Bonna", 4th August 1997, BDA; *New Vision*, 16th August 1997, pp. 1, 2; 18th August 1997, pp. 1, 2.

²⁸² *New Vision*, 18th August 1997, pp. 1, 2.

²⁸³ Nkoyooyo to Lubogo, Ref. wks/B12/ 3, "Sent to Work in a Parish Within Busoga Diocese", 21st August 1997, COU PA.

²⁸⁴ Interview with L Gonahasa, 16th November 1999.

²⁸⁵ Interview with F Mukobe, 20th October 1999.

²⁸⁶ Katwesigye to Lubogo, 1st September 1997, COU PA. In this declaration, Lubogo wrote in his own handwriting, "I have taken 400,000/= four hundred thousand only. Transport for my properties to Iganga Parish". Rev S K Lubogo, 27th August 1997, COU PA.

parish in the diocese. He knew very well that many people still regarded Lubogo as the *de facto* bishop-elect, a fact that necessitated Nkoyooyo doing everything possible to prevent him from returning to Bugembe. But the letter he gave him, posting him to Busoga Diocese, made it possible for him to go wherever he wanted in Busoga.

However this does not exonerate Lubogo. Lubogo, knowing the staffing and posting procedure of his church, should have gone to Iganga as he promised in the declaration. But instead he reported to Nambago and others whose relations with provincial authorities had become strained.²⁸⁷ On 26th August 1997, Nambago and others posted Lubogo to Bugembe as a parish priest. They also authorised him to reside in the manse (bishop's residence) at Bugembe,²⁸⁸ defying the directive not to return to Bugembe and/or to occupy the bishop's residence. Repeated efforts made by Nkoyooyo and his office in 1997 asking him to leave Bugembe were unsuccessful.²⁸⁹ They also increased the tensions between 'Nambago's group' and the provincial authorities, and resulted in the group reversing their decision to hand over the property and running of the churches to Nkoyooyo, to reject Bishop Lucas Gonahasa, whom Nkoyooyo had appointed as the assistant caretaker bishop of Busoga, to refuse to co-operate with the team Nkoyooyo had appointed to be in charge of the reconciliatory process, and to resume plans to have Lubogo consecrated and enthroned as the Bishop of Busoga.²⁹⁰

Bamwoze Retires While the Anti-Bamwoze Group Disintegrates

Interestingly, towards the end of 1998, as the relations between Nkoyooyo and some of the anti-Bamwoze Christians deteriorated, those between Nkoyooyo, Bamwoze and his supporters improved steadily, thanks to the resumption of talks between them.²⁹¹ The decision by Bamwoze to retire on 31st December 1998,²⁹² the gradual restoration of

²⁸⁷ As a result, Palacas, Nkoyooyo's representative, was forced to abandon his responsibilities at Bugembe and to transfer to St James's Church, Jinja. Interview with C Palacas, 2nd November 1999.

²⁸⁸ Nambago to Lubogo, Ref. CM/1/97, "Posting of Rev. Canon S K Lubogo", 27th August 1997, Kagoda's special collection.

²⁸⁹ Katwesigye to Lubogo, 1st September 1997, COU PA.

²⁹⁰ Nkoyooyo to Nambago and others, 6th June 1998; Nambago to Nkoyooyo, Ref. CM/1/1998, "Withdrawal of Our Memo of the 6th May 1998", 19th August 1998; Nambago to Museveni, 19th August 1998; Nambago to Carey, 19th August 1998, Kagoda's special collection.

²⁹¹ See Appendix II, p. 322.

²⁹² W Kiwagama, Chairman Bishop Bamwoze's Retirement Committee, "Bishop Bamwoze's Retirement and how the Diocese should Prepare for it", undated; 8/98 of BDC, 11th August 1998, BDA.

relations between Nkoyooyo and Bamwoze,²⁹³ and between the provincial administration and the pro-Bamwoze Christians²⁹⁴ made the provincial authorities more favourable to them and more determined to evict Lubogo, Nambago and others from Bugembe. They wanted them to leave Bugembe in order to prepare it for the retirement ceremony of Bamwoze and for the consecration and installation of a new bishop.²⁹⁵ However getting them to vacate Bugembe premises proved to be an uphill task. Lubogo and his supporters refused to leave, and also disregarded the decisions made by Nkoyooyo such as the defrocking of Lubogo.²⁹⁶ In October and November the province made several efforts to evict them from Bugembe, but none were successful.²⁹⁷ It was not until 25th November 1998, that Lubogo and others were finally evicted with the help of court officials and armed policemen, and after a group of anti-Bamwoze Christians in the cathedral resolved to reject him.²⁹⁸ Lubogo transferred his family and property to his partially-built house in Namulesa, Jinja district. He left a sad, distraught man, having been let down by the Christians who had persuaded him to abandon his chaplaincy work in Kampala to join them in their struggle against Bamwoze.²⁹⁹ With Lubogo and others out of the way, preparations for Bamwoze's retirement on 31st December 1998³⁰⁰ and his handing over of

²⁹³ S Kaheru, "Nkoyooyo, Bamwoze reconcile", in *New Vision*, 28th October 1998, p. 3; Sewanyo Kiganda, "Busoga backs talks", in *New Vision*, 7th November 1998, p. 6.

²⁹⁴ N Mukwaya to Nkoyooyo, MSN.4/1, "Request to Meet You", 24th August 1998"; Tibeessigwa to Mukwaya, Ref. b/12/11, "Meeting with the Archbishop of the Church of Uganda", 14th September 1998, COU PA; Sebalu and Lule Advocates to Nkoyooyo, SL/2391/28289, "Acceptance of Archbishop Nkoyooyo as Caretaker Bishop of Busoga Diocese", 16th November 1998, COU PA.

²⁹⁵ Tibeessigwa, Provincial Secretary to Nambago, Ref. b/12/13, "Evacuation of Church Premises at Bugembe", 28th September 1998, COU PA.

²⁹⁶ Nkoyooyo to Lubogo, Ref. B/12/14, "Evacuation of Church Premises at Bugembe", 28th September 1998, COU PA.

²⁹⁷ These included: the order which Nkoyooyo gave Lubogo, Nambago and others to vacate Bugembe by 7th October and to hand over the running of the churches in their control to Gonahasa on 19th October; the attempts made on 19th October by Gonahasa and Canon Charles Ordukami, Nkoyooyo's chaplain, to evict Lubogo with the help of the police. This attempt was abandoned because Lubogo and his supporters had camped in front of the cathedral armed with stones and sticks, ready to do battle; giving Lubogo Ushs 800,000 on 4th November, to transport his family and his property and to get him to declare that he would vacate the premises at Bugembe by 7th November; and the unsuccessful visit of Christ's Cathedral Bugembe, on 16th November, by Palacas, his wife Jane and Rev Dr Jackson Turyagenda, the Provincial Communications Secretary to lead a reconciliatory service and to talk to the anti-Bamwoze Christians. This visit ended in a disaster after the team was molested, forced into their car (which some people in the group had damaged) and sent away. Nkoyooyo to Lubogo, Ref. b/12/14, "Evacuation of Church Premises at Bugembe", 28th September 1998; Tibeessigwa to Nambago, Ref. B/12/18, "Evacuation of Church Premises at Bugembe", 28th September 1998; Nkoyooyo to Nambago, Ref. B/12/18, 15th October 1998, COU PA; COU, "Undertaking by Rev Samuel Lubogo- Bugembe", 4th November 1998, Kagoda's special collection.

²⁹⁸ *New Vision*, 23rd November 1998, p. 5.

²⁹⁹ Interview with S Lubogo, 23rd July 1999.

³⁰⁰ Bamwoze declared his retirement at St Paul's Church, Bugulumbya, in Kamuli, where he bade farewell to the Christians, confirmed 225 Christians and commissioned the church building. *New Vision*, 2nd January 1999, p. 3; 4th January 1999, pp. 4, 5.

the diocese to Nkoyooyo on 10th January 1999, proceeded as planned.³⁰¹ Bamwoze conducted a historical service at Bugembe Cathedral on 17th January, during which he bade farewell to all the Christians in the diocese, hence, ending his reign as the Bishop of Busoga.³⁰²

From February 1999 Nkoyooyo intensified the efforts to bring unity and order to the diocese. These efforts included: terminating the operations of the committee he had appointed to oversee the work of reconciliation in the diocese; appointing Palacas as a rehabilitation officer; organising a retreat for all the clergy; asking all the non-canonical deacons who were operating under Lubogo and BDSC to cease wearing clerical uniforms and to submit to the authority of the church so that those with the required qualifications could be trained and properly ordained; and writing a pastoral letter to the Christians in Busoga urging them to reconcile with one another; and ordering the election of new parish, archdeaconry and diocesan leaders.³⁰³ Nkoyooyo's efforts bore fruit, such as the positive response of several anti-Bamwoze Christians to abandon their struggle and return, as it were, to the fold; the decision of fifteen of the non-canonical priests to terminate their operations, cease wearing clerical uniforms and submit to his authority;³⁰⁴ and the decision by Christians in Iganga³⁰⁵ and several other places in the diocese to settle their differences and resume worshipping together.

However, a group of Christians led by Socipeter Ndekera (who replaced Nambago as the chairman of the Interim Diocesan Council) opposed these efforts. They made several accusations against Nkoyooyo including: rushing the process of reconciliation by calling for elections prior to ensuring that effective reconciliation had taken place; failing to appreciate the efforts of their deacons by calling them *bicupuli* (fake) priests and by not inviting them to attend the ministers' retreats; humiliating His Highness Henry Muloki,

³⁰¹ *New Vision*, 19th January 1999, p. 11; 21st January 1999, p. 7.

³⁰² See Appendix II, p. 322.

³⁰³ L M Nkoyooyo *eri Abawule n'Abakristayo Bonna mu Bulabirizi bw'e Busoga*, 3rd February 1999, BDA; Tirusoniwa to all the Archdeacons and Parish Priests, Busoga Diocese, "Election of Church Councils and Synods", 23rd February 1999, BDA.

³⁰⁴ COU, "Message of His Grace the Most Rev. Livingstone Mpalanyi Nkoyooyo Archbishop of the Church of Uganda and Caretaker Bishop of Busoga Diocese to the Non-Canonical Priests on 27th May 1999, at St James' Church", COU PA.

³⁰⁵ The Christians of All Saints Church, Iganga carried out a reconciliatory meeting, ahead of Nkoyooyo's visit. This meeting was presided over by Twaha Kibirige, Muslim civic leader (LC3 Chairman) and Rev Father Kamaanya, the priest in charge of the Kigulu Roman Catholic Parish. Interview with H Magumba, 6th September 1999; *New Vision*, 9th March 1999, p. 5.

the *Kyabazinga* (King of Busoga) by ridiculing his reconciliatory efforts; abandoning a promise he made in March 1999 to station temporarily the new Bishop of Busoga and diocesan headquarters in Iganga while arrangements were made to renovate Bugembe Cathedral and the diocesan offices;³⁰⁶ and using armed policemen to evict Lubogo, his family and helpers from Bugembe.³⁰⁷

Later, the same group criticised the manner in which the election of the church councils was carried out, claiming that anti-Bamwoze Christians were deliberately excluded from the leadership positions so that the 8th synod comprised mostly Bamwoze's supporters. They also opposed the appointing of Rev. Dr Michael Kyomya in August as the bishop-elect of Busoga, arguing that he was an inexperienced Mugabula clergyman whom Bamwoze had hurriedly ordained in order to succeed him as Bishop of Busoga.³⁰⁸ Failing to reverse Kyomya's appointment as bishop-elect of Busoga, and given the lack of support from the Christians, including those who had, in the past opposed Bamwoze,³⁰⁹ Ndeker's group left the Church of Uganda and joined the Charismatic Episcopal Church, Uganda, headed by Bishop Dr John Obokech.³¹⁰ Their departure allowed the consecration and enthronement of Kyomya as Bishop of Busoga to proceed as planned without any opposition. Therefore, on 23rd January 2000, Kyomya, a clergyman unsullied by the crisis, yet a 'child' of it in the sense that he joined the ordained ministry of the

³⁰⁶ *New Vision*, 9th March 1999, p. 5.

³⁰⁷ Ndeker to Nkoyooyo, "A Request for the Postponement of the Church Councils' Election in the Diocese so as to Allow all the Three Interested Parties in the Diocese to be Fully Involved/ Consulted and to Agree on the Work-Plan of the Reconciliation Process, Re-organisation of the Church Leadership and Composition of the Renovation Committee of the Cathedral", 15th March 1999, Kagoda's special collection.

³⁰⁸ Kyomya was born and brought up as a member of the Church of Uganda. He holds, among other qualifications, a doctoral degree in theology. Prior to joining the church in Busoga, Kyomya worked mainly as a lecturer in the Nairobi International School of Theology which is largely sponsored by Baptists (hence the claim that he was a Baptist). Bamwoze ordained him a deacon in 1995 at St Paul's Church Kamuli and priested him in 1997 at St Andrew's Church Naminage. S Musuubo and others to Nkoyooyo, "Appointment of Busoga Diocesan Bishop", 8th August 1999, COU PA.

³⁰⁹ J W Kalulu, Head of Laity, Christ's Cathedral Bugembe, "The Appointment of the Rev. Dr Michael Kyomya as Bishop-Elect of Busoga Diocese", 18th August 1999, BDA.

³¹⁰ Dr Obokech's last responsibility in the Church of Uganda was Provost of All Saints Cathedral, Kampala. He left the Church of Uganda in December 1995, following a dispute between him and Nkoyooyo. He founded a new Church, the Charismatic Episcopal Church, Uganda. Ndeker and others to Nkoyooyo, Ref. IBDC/001, "Declaration on the Cessation [sic] from the Church of Uganda Leadership", 29th August 1999, Kagoda's special collection; Ndeker and others to Obokech, "Declaration on the Cessation [sic] from the Church of Uganda to the Charismatic Episcopal of Church, Uganda", 29th August 1999, Kagoda's special collection; *New Vision*, 12th December 1995, p. 3.

Church of Uganda while it was raging, became the second Bishop of Busoga,³¹¹ hence, ending an era in the history of the Church of Uganda, namely the Busoga Crisis.

REFLECTION

The Trouble-Torn Diocese of Busoga

The foregoing study leads me to deduce that the conflict which rocked Busoga Diocese for over seven years was intractable, largely destructive and generally aggressive in its stance. During this conflict, the pro- and anti-Bamwoze Christians sought to outmanoeuvre each other using largely competitive³¹² and destructive conflict management strategies. Overall, they employed coercive measures and tactics, differed starkly in their communication and influence processes, and exhibited long-simmering antagonisms towards each other. They were reluctant to capitulate or make concessions, fearing that this would be construed as a sign of defeat or weakness. They also lacked trust, interdependence and other requisites for a peaceful and amicable resolution of the conflict.

Again, I employ the principles of constructive conflict management to reflect on the development, course and impact of this conflict. Like other religio-social conflicts, this conflict created deep-seated differences marked by continuing hostility and sporadic outbreaks of violence, and resulted in the frustration of basic human needs for security, recognition, distributive justice, reconciliation and peaceful coexistence.³¹³ It also damaged the ability of the church to witness effectively to the point that it failed to respond unequivocally, for instance, to another conflict that raged in the same region over the succession of the office of the *Kyabazinga*.³¹⁴ It was not possible for the conflict-

³¹¹ *The Monitor*, 24th January 2000, p. 1; *New Vision*, 24th January 2000, p. 3.

³¹² Morton Deutsch describes a competitive motivational orientation as an interest on the part of each of the warring parties to "do better than the other as well as doing as well as it can for itself". "Constructive Conflict Resolution: Principles, Training, and Research" in the *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 50. No. 1, 1994, p. 14.

³¹³ R J Fisher, "Generic Principles for Resolving Inter-group Conflict" in the *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 50. No. 1, 1994, p. 48. For a detailed study of protracted social conflicts and the necessity of reconciliation and peaceful coexistence see E E Azar, *The Management of Protracted Social Conflict*. Aldershot: Dartmouth, 1990; L Kriesberg, "Coexistence and the Reconciliation of Communal Conflicts", in E Weiner, *The Handbook of Interethnic Coexistence*, New York: The Abraham Fund, 1998, pp. 182-198.

³¹⁴ *New Vision*, 18th August 1992, p. 5.

ridden diocese or its embattled bishop to preach unity, forgiveness and reconciliation to the warring clan leaders of Busoga Kingdom, simply because such an act, if undertaken, would have been self-defeating.

The Busoga Crisis, as it came to be called, started as an exclusively Busoga affair and gradually spread devastatingly like a malignant tumour, so that barely three months after its outbreak, the entire church in Uganda had begun to feel its effects. It affected the life and work of the church in Busoga, partly by dividing most youth, men, women and *balokole* ('revivalists') in the diocese along pro- and anti-Bamwoze lines, although some of them, as I argue subsequently, preferred not to be enmeshed in it. The positions of both camps were entrenched deeply and widely throughout the diocese, hence the difficulty of Christians individually and as groups to resolve the conflict constructively and amicably.

The pro-Bamwoze faction held on to the diocesan headquarters and strongly resisted all their opponents' attempts to overrun them. They retained control over the diocesan accounts and other assets, MSRDP projects and vehicles, congregations and land holdings in Kamuli and Bugiri archdeaconries, Bufulubi COU in Bunha county, St Andrew's Church, Jinja and many other places. The anti-Bamwoze group controlled Bugembe Cathedral, five of the seven archdeaconry headquarters and most of the congregations and land holdings in these archdeaconries. On balance, the anti-Bamwoze group controlled more churches and archdeaconries than the pro-Bamwoze faction. However, this does not necessarily mean that this group had more influence in the region than the pro-Bamwoze group because, as Jonathan Angura, the *New Vision* bureau chief in the eastern region succinctly observed, as the crisis escalated, many Christians at the grassroots level became involved passively in it, leaving it to progress more actively at an elitist level.³¹⁵

Moreover, some Christians and/or congregations joined the pro- or anti-Bamwoze camp not on the basis of informed opinion on any accusations made, but because they were influenced by several other reasons, two of which deserve to be mentioned here. First, some merely adopted the position taken by prominent people in their area. For instance,

³¹⁵ J Angura quoted in M Sentongo, "The crisis in Busoga Diocese threatens the entire Church of Uganda", in *Sunday Vision*, 2nd February 1997, p. 5.

the openly anti-Bamwoze stand of Patrick Bageya, the Local Council Five (LC5) chairman of Iganga district, contributed a great deal to the decision of many Christians in Naibiri, Bageya's home area, to join the anti-Bamwoze group.³¹⁶ Conversely, Bufulubi church remained under Bamwoze largely because John Wilberforce Kiwagama, a former member of the National Resistance Council (NRC), who had built this church on his own land, was a staunch supporter of Bamwoze.³¹⁷

Secondly, most of the non-Basoga Christians living in Busoga and worshipping in multi-ethnic congregations did not involve themselves actively in what they generally regarded as an internal conflict of the Basoga Christians. Some of them believed, appropriately in my view, that regionalism (*sazaism*) played a significant role in influencing some of the Basoga Christians' decisions to support or reject Bamwoze. Three instances are BDSC's tendency to stereotype the Christians in Kamuli Archdeaconry as "reactionarists", the support Bamwoze received from most of his fellow Bagabula Christians, and his rejection by most of the Christians in Kaliro (the Balamogi/old time rivals of the Bagabula). Therefore, owing to this evidently in-group bias, many non-Basoga Christians, for example in St Andrew's Church, Jinja (one of the multi-ethnic congregations in the diocese) decided to support Bamwoze merely as the constitutionally appointed Bishop of Busoga, but not because they were active members of the pro-Bamwoze camp. As a result, several anti-Bamwoze Christians left this congregation and joined St James' Church, in Jinja or others which were openly opposed to Bamwoze and his supporters.³¹⁸

The reluctance of some Christians to be actively involved in the conflict was also reflected in congregations like Kakira Church of Uganda Parish and St Stephen's Church, Walukuba which, like St Andrew's Church, had a substantial presence of non-Basoga Christians. At Kakira, located in the jurisdiction of the Madhvani Industrial Complex, both pro- and anti-Bamwoze Christians worshipped together in the same sanctuary, with their differences controlled so well that they successfully avoided clashing violently with one another. St Stephen's church, Walukuba, located in one of the

³¹⁶ Interview with G Kamanya, 18th October 1999.

³¹⁷ M Sentongo, "The crisis in Busoga Diocese threatens the entire Church of Uganda", in *Sunday Vision*, 2nd February 1997, p. 5.

³¹⁸ Fred Mukobe, a leading member of the anti-Bamwoze group was of the Christians who left St Andrews Church and joined St James Church, Jinja. Interview with F Mukobe, 20th October 1999.

biggest housing estates in Uganda, chose to remain neutral despite their past clash with Bamwoze following his attempt to impose on them a clergyman they did not like. They ‘waved olive branches’ at any person or delegation which visited them.³¹⁹ Congregations like these, in my view, should have championed the necessity to deal with problems in the diocese in a peaceful, orderly and respectful manner. But they did not do so, partly because they were very few and generally not actively involved in the conflict.

The conflict affected Christians individually and as groups. It consternated and demoralised them, led some to stop going to church or to join other Christian denominations. It divided families, communities, and villages, and left many ashamed of themselves and of their church. One group of Christians that was greatly devastated by this conflict was the clergy, most of whom remained loyal to Bamwoze and to the church. The assaults on some of these clergy and the repeated threats of the anti-Bamwoze Christians led them to feel insecure. It forced them to stop visiting anti-Bamwoze Christians, to steer clear of the churches which they had overrun, and to resort to conducting worship meetings in church-run schools or in homes of like-minded Christians. Furthermore, during the conflict, the church saw an overall decline in the giving of the Christians and in an increase in the squandering of the collected meagre funds, thanks partly to the inability of the diocesan staff who were entangled in the struggle to monitor closely financial affairs. This acute shortage of funds made it difficult for the church to support the clergy, leaving them to work unpaid for several years and to live in appalling conditions. The threadbare clerical shirts which most of them wore (or continued to wear) partly and symbolically revealed the plight of these clergy.

Given the destructive nature of this conflict, one wonders why it was allowed to drag on for so long and to be accorded such wide publicity. To understand this, it is imperative to reflect briefly on two factors, namely, the strategies and tactics unleashed during the process of dealing with the issues involved in the conflict, and the efforts undertaken within and outside Busoga to resolve it. First, from the onset, the conflict showed signs of becoming aggressive, destructive and competitive, owing partly to the contentiousness of the issues involved such, as the use (or is it misuse?) of power and other resources, the alleged decline of the moral and ethical standards of some of the senior leaders, the

³¹⁹ M Sentongo, “The crisis in Busoga Diocese threatens the entire Church of Uganda”, in *Sunday Vision*,

precarious nature of working relationships amongst church workers, and the claims that the constitutional organs and administrative structures of the church were limited, particularly in their ability to address accusations made against a serving bishop.

In my opinion, such issues urgently necessitated the leadership of the church at the provincial and diocesan levels to put in place measures which would prevent or minimise competitive and destructive expressions of the conflict, and to encourage interdependence, collaboration, trust, flexibility and other requisites of constructive conflict management.³²⁰ Sadly, this was not done, hence both groups were allowed to unleash coercive and competitive measures which induced (or which were induced by) tactics of coercion, hostility, suspicion, threats, deception, misrepresentation, character assassination, poor communication, rigid or non-negotiable demands, and increased sensitivity to differences at the expense of unity, similar values, shared culture, to mention but a few. The anti-Bamwoze group did everything humanly possible to try to defeat Bamwoze and his supporters. They overran churches, assaulted clergy, raided a Holy Communion service, and used the local newspapers intensively to put their case to the public. The pro-Bamwoze group, believing that they had been attacked, retaliated, seeking to force their opponents to surrender and/or to deter them from making more attacks in the future. Like most other parties who regard themselves as having been attacked, they viewed retaliation as an act of justice and self-defence.³²¹ Evidently, all these tactics and strategies, far from helping to resolve the conflict, merely exacerbated it by increasing its size, publicising it, and increasing its likelihood of becoming destructive, as it did.

Secondly, the third party interventions of the bishops of the Church of Uganda (the House of Bishops and the two archbishops, Yona Okoth and Livingstone Mpalanyi Nkoyooyo) were generally inadequate, and thereby unsuccessful. Yet several factors made their intervention the only remaining option of resolving this conflict. Three of these were: the general absence of the conflicting parties' initiatives geared towards a

2nd February 1997, p. 5.

³²⁰ For more details of ways and requisites of constructive conflict management (negotiation and third-party intervention) see J Z Rubin, "Models of Conflict Management", in the *Journal of Social Issues* 50/1, 1994, pp. 33-45; D G Pruitt, *Negotiation Behaviour*. New York: Academic Press, 1981; and D M Kolb, *When Talk Works: Profiles of Working Mediators*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1994.

³²¹ R B Felson and J T Tedeschi (eds.) *Aggression and Violence: Social Interactionist Perspectives*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 1993, pp. 3, 8.

peaceful and amicable settlement of the conflict; Bamwoze's repeated refusal to heed calls to resign on compassionate grounds arguably to enhance the prospects of resolving the conflict; and the increasing state of anarchy that gripped the diocese. Undoubtedly, the bishops were hindered in their efforts by the extent to which the conflict deepened and widened; by the rigid, aggressive and uncooperative stance of the disputants; by their own limited constitutional power to become actively involved in the internal affairs of Busoga Diocese; and by the shortage of funds needed to pay for their interventional and reconciliatory ventures. Nonetheless, this study specifically reveals a disturbing inability (and sometimes, unwillingness) of these bishops to move the disputants jointly, skilfully and effectively towards resolution, leading to the conclusion that overall their intervention in the conflict was inadequate, unskilled and unsuccessful to the extent that, in my view, it could be likened to those third-party interventions which take an already bad situation and render it even worse.³²²

Evidently, the bishops' overall mismanagement of the conflict was caused by several factors, such as the personal and in-group agenda of some bishops (an agenda which conflicted with the interests of the conflicting parties); the ways in which they were legalistic in stance and arbitrational (top-down) in approach; their desire for a quick solution to a protracted and embarrassing conflict; their occasional insensitivity to historical ethnic tensions; and their use of whatever leverage they could muster to resolve the conflict. Fives cases aptly underscore the bishops' inadequate handling of the conflict: their repeated insistence that the conflicting parties' grievances be resolved through the church's established constitutional organs and administrative structures, in spite of these parties' uncertainties *vis-à-vis* the constitutional and decision-making organs of the church; the failure by the HBSCBC, shortly after the conflict had erupted, to probe painstakingly the causes of the conflict, and to include in their recommendations, their unequivocal position on the allegations made against Bamwoze, (fearing that doing so might jeopardise the episcopacy of some of the bishops who had suffered from similar accusations); accepting the suggestion made by some people inside and outside Busoga to divide the diocese into three or four parts, as one of the ways to resolve the conflict;³²³ the tendency, particularly of Okoth, to favour Bamwoze and his

³²² J Z Rubin, "Models of Conflict Management", p. 42.

³²³ Later this suggestion was abandoned in favour of a strategy aimed first and foremost, at uniting and reconciling the Christians in Busoga, then dividing the diocese in not more than three parts and at an

supporters, for instance, by cancelling Bamwoze's sabbatical leave which the House of Bishops had recommended, in the hope that during his absence, an amicable settlement would be found; and Nkoyooyo's imposition on the Christians in Busoga of Rev Dr Chris Palacas and Bishop Lucas Gonahasa, and his alleged reference to BDSC's deacons as *bicupuli* (fake) clergy (which seemed to some Christians in Busoga that he, like many Baganda past and present, tended to belittle the Basoga and other ethnic groups).³²⁴ These examples confirm the inadequacy of the bishops and of the entire Church of Uganda to handle protracted social, religious and ethnic conflicts within its borders. They also justify the suggestion widely and repeatedly made that the church must by all means re-equip itself in terms of its ability to deal with conflicts in a manner which is gentle, mediatory (not giving directives to conflicting parties, but suggesting possible courses of action), reconciliatory, amicable and skilled.

Before intervening in this conflict, the bishops should have attained considerable substantial knowledge of the historical and immediate issues surrounding it, to assess the situation more realistically and to delineate possible solutions. They would also have been more successful in their intervention efforts if they had first established an effective working relationship with each of the two conflicting parties and facilitated a conducive environment for resolving the conflict, one that was marked by the willingness of all parties to trust, forgive, and accommodate their opponents, and to be fully reconciled with them.³²⁵ Such measures, if undertaken, would have led the conflicting parties to trust the House of bishops and the two archbishops, hence preventing the clashes between on the one hand, the anti-Bamwoze Christians and on the other Okoth and the House of Bishops, and between the pro-Bamwoze Christians and Nkoyooyo. They would have ensured a conflict-resolving atmosphere characterised by free communication amongst all parties. They would have encouraged the conflicting parties, in Morton Deutsch's words, "to look at their conflict from an outside perspective so that they do not get

appropriate time. Interviews with L Gonahasa, 16th November 1999 and H Mukwaya, 8th November 1999.

³²⁴ Interviews with C B Nambago, 19th July 1999; H Mukwaya, 8th November 1999.

³²⁵ For a more detailed study of objectives and skills of third parties see Folberg J and A Taylor, *Mediation: A comprehensive guide to resolving conflicts without litigation*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1984; Kresel K and Pruitt D G, "Themes in the mediation of Social Conflict" in the *Journal of Social Issues*, 41(2), 1985, pp. 179-198; *Mediation Research: The Process and Effectiveness of Third Party Intervention*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1989.

ensnared in the many unproductive or destructive traps that abound in conflicts”.³²⁶ They would also have shown the bishops’ willingness to resolve the conflict with an objective and cooperative problem-solving attitude, and in an orderly, peaceful and amicable manner.

Lastly, in this reflection I have dwelt a great deal more on the negative aspects of the conflict than on the positive, simply because the conflict and the various ways in which it was managed were generally destructive, to say the least. Nonetheless, it would be inappropriate not to mention the positive outcomes of this conflict. One was that anti-Bamwoze Christians shook their leaders out of the complacent attitudes by challenging them to be more accountable to their Christians, to be responsive to the plight of church workers, and to be cognisant of the urgent need to bring the church, its constitutional organs and administrative structures into line with democratic leadership and other contemporary trends and issues of good governance. Arguably, this rather revolutionary stance in the conflict resulted in positive changes, such as Bamwoze’s increase of the salaries of his clergy shortly after the outbreak of the conflict (though the shortage of funds affected its implementation); the recommendation made by HBSCBC that the provincial authorities draw up an ethic of leadership or a code of practice for all senior leaders in the church; Okoth’s charge to the 12th Provincial Assembly of August 1994, urging delegates to increase the level of participatory leadership and accountability within the church’s administrative structure; and the constitutional amendments made by the same assembly to make it more constitutionally possible for the archbishop to discipline or remove bishops whose behaviours were unacceptable.

Moreover, as a result of this conflict, the church leadership learned the futility of using quick-fix solutions to settle problems in the church. For instance, after wide and detailed consultations, Nkoyooyo and church leaders in Busoga postponed indefinitely the suggestion of dividing the diocese into smaller ones, and decided, after the resignation of Bamwoze, to appoint a new bishop, hoping that this bishop would take as his priority, the task of uniting the Christians in the diocese, then divide the diocese into smaller and more manageable ones. But whether Rev Dr Michael Kyomya, the clergyman who replaced Bamwoze, was the best person for this job, and whether the choice of him

³²⁶ Morton Deutsch, “Constructive Conflict Resolution: Principles, Training, and Research”, p. 24.

reflected the church's ability to learn lessons from its conflict-riddled past, is an issue that deserves further comment. Kyomya, prior to his being appointed bishop-elect, had served as a vicar of St Andrew's Church and in various teaching and leadership positions outside the Church of Uganda, hence was an unquestionably capable leader. But the question at stake was whether he was readily acceptable to most of the Basoga Christians, given that he was, like Bamwoze, a Mugabula, and that he was recently ordained, hence largely unknown, particularly in the leadership circles of the diocese. Therefore, it seems to me that by appointing Kyomya, a Mugabula and a newcomer, to succeed Bamwoze at a time when tensions in the church had not been fully resolved, the church was taking a risk, hoping that most of the Christians had matured enough as a result of the conflict to accept him as their bishop. It also banked not on Kyomya's track record in the Church of Uganda, but rather on his academic and professional achievements outside it, and on the fact that, unlike some of the other clergy tipped to succeed Bamwoze,³²⁷ he was not a key player in the politics and conflicts in the diocese. This factor arguably made him well suited for the task of reconciling the Christians in the diocese.

However, by mentioning these contributions and lessons which the church learned, I do not in any way suggest that eventually the bishops learned from the past and adopted a strategy which helped them to resolve the conflict constructively. Far from it; this conflict came to a close after Bamwoze, on the verge of retirement, realised that it was futile to retire as a 'rebel'. Consequently Bamwoze and his supporters succeeded in settling for a comeback, in which Bamwoze reconciled with Nkoyooyo, retired peacefully and had a person of his choice succeed him as bishop. Hence, the conflict ended with a settlement rather than with an amicable resolution. Furthermore, I do not imply that all the concerns of the anti-Bamwoze Christians were duly addressed. On the contrary, some of their demands were ignored, while others were not addressed to their satisfaction. For instance, serious loopholes still existed in the constitutional and decision-making organs of the church, so much so that any bishop and his close allies, if they wished, could prevent the provincial authorities from being actively involved in the affairs of their dioceses. Two cases show that constitutional loopholes have not been effectively addressed. The first is the decision of the House of Bishops to remove

³²⁷ These included Dr Tom Tuma, Canon John Bagenda Kalimungabo, John Magumba and Charles

Bamwoze on the basis of his alleged disobedience towards Nkoyooyo, rather than because of the accusations of some of his Christians. The second is Busoga Diocesan Council's barring Nkoyooyo from presiding over their meeting, and preventing him, by using the court of law, from serving as the caretaker bishop of Busoga on the grounds that the provincial and diocesan constitutions were silent about his active involvement in Busoga Diocese.

One way of dealing with this problem would be to reform the constitutional position of the diocese and *ipso facto* of the Church of Uganda by either reducing its evidently loosely-connected provincial and diocesan constitutions into a single COU provincial/diocesan constitution, or by developing the ethic of leadership enshrined in both constitutions, so as to foster the active presence in the church of a balance of power, checks and balances, and good governance. However, such reforms together with any other problem-avoiding or problem-solving efforts would be to no avail if, in the case of Busoga Diocese, Kyomya and his Christians failed to learn lessons from the history of their embattled diocese. It is partly through this learning process that they will successfully ensure lasting reconciliation in their diocese, re-write their history, revitalize their church workers and re-activate their life and work, hence making it very difficult for Busoga Diocese to suffer from another destructive conflict.

Wamukolo. Interviews with H Mukwaya, 8th November 1999 and J Mugaya, 10th October 1999.

CHAPTER SIX

GENERAL REFLECTIONS

From the inception, the Church of Christ has been intended to be one unified of Christ. Because of human sin and selfish desires, there have been schisms and separations that have divided the Church affecting the unity and witness of the Gospel, it is the obligation of the Bishops, Clergy and Laity to do all they can by God's Grace to avoid occasions of difference, disagreement but seek in penitence and brotherly, sisterly love reconciliation and heal such divisions¹

A REGION AND CHURCH AFFECTED BY CONFLICTS

The Factors and Circumstances which Caused and/ or Fuelled the Conflicts

In the foregoing chapters of this study, I have discussed the disasters and conflicts which affected the region of Busoga, and in particular, the church in Busoga. I have shown that, as in other parts of Uganda, the Anglican Church in Busoga was affected by many conflicts caused, influenced or expressed by:

- Historical and immediate in-group proclivities inside and outside Busoga;
- A missionary policy which was less than adequate (though not necessarily bad);
- The tendency of missionary and colonial policies to aggravate divisions;
- The fragmentary politics which deeply and widely marked the socio-political structure in Uganda;
- A bad system of church government (which allowed domination of foreigners and clergy over church affairs, which gave the bishop exclusive control over the administrative and decision-making organs and processes, and which was marked by favouritism, malice, envy, power/succession struggles, and lack of effective representation, accountability and transparency);
- An increasing inclination of many people to contest what they viewed as marginalising and dictatorial tendencies of their civic and church leaders;
- A general decline in the pastoral, moral and ethical standards of church leaders;
- The failure of Bamwoze and the Christians in Busoga to take good care of the clergy, leaving them to live paupers' lives;
- The tendency of Bamwoze, like many civic, church and cultural leaders, to give preferential treatment to his home county, friends and relatives;
- Bamwoze's neglect of the Cathedral and his official residence;

¹ Canon 1:17 of the *Provincial Canons of the Church of Uganda*, 1997, p. 14.

- The general failure of conflicting and third parties to manage disputes and conflicts constructively.

I have shown how some of the factors mentioned above constituted the litany of accusations made against Cyprian Bamwoze, and discussed how these accusations overshadowed those made against his ‘opponents’, such as their envy of his achievements in the development sector and their being influenced by parochial socio-political prejudices like *sazaism*. Bamwoze’s neglect of the Cathedral resulted in its becoming a symbol of the sorry state of affairs in the diocese. Moreover, his alleged wrongdoings epitomised not only the wrongdoings inside his diocese, but also those outside it. That is why the group which opposed him demanded not merely his removal, but also that of other bishops who were generally believed to be inadequate. This group also agitated for the reform of the system of church government, which, amongst other things, limited the involvement of the laity in the affairs of the church, made it possible for bishops, if they wanted, to become dictators, and allowed them to remain in office despite the accusations of their Christians. Isabirye Mula, BDSC’s Secretary succinctly expressed this reformist agenda in these words:

Be it reiterated here that we are just church reformists, and we hanker for an acceptable church system that marches abreast of democratic governance, transparency and modernity. We are not anti-Bamwoze *per se*, nor are we anti-people, but we are anti-bad system, anti-poor leadership and anti-dictatorship. In short we are opposed to a bad church system.²

I have discussed the two main crises that rocked Busoga Diocese, namely the Iganga Diocesan Crisis (1984-1987) and the Busoga Crisis (1992-1999). I have shown that, unlike most of the other conflicts, these conflicts were not motivated by ethnic differences simply because they occurred in Busoga, an area occupied largely by a single ethnic group. I have also emphasised that these conflicts were caused by a combination of several historical and immediate factors. In my opinion, a detailed study, such as the present thesis, of all these factors is the best way to understand these conflicts. However some leaders and ‘established’ bodies in the church have tended to draw conclusions with respect to these conflicts after considering only a few factors. Their comments, though not entirely inaccurate, do not, in my view, provide a full and satisfactory

² “Busoga Crisis: A Feature on One Year of Active Engagement”, Ref. OC/068/093, 9th October 1993, p. 3, Busoga Diocesan Archives (BDA).

explanation. For instance, Busoga Trust attributed the origin of the Busoga Crisis to a small group of 'envious' and 'opportunistic' people who sought unsuccessfully to control the relief aid coming into the diocese. In the trust's publication, circulated in summer 1998, ahead of the visit of Bamwoze and his wife to the United Kingdom in October 1998, it was claimed:

It was during the darkest days of Uganda's twenty-year nightmare that Bishop Cyprian lit a candle of hope for his people. It was a self-help development programme to enable the poor rural people of Busoga to obtain the most basic necessities of life: clean water, sanitation, medical care, health and family education, [and] agriculture. When Uganda was collapsing and Amin was committing his atrocities Bishop Cyprian was building a future for his people... in 1979 he set up an ambitious development programme with help from Germany and the United States, and after 1983 [the programme received] further support from Britain through the Busoga Trust. *This is the context in which to see the sad and pitiful attempt by a small, self-appointed group of influential people to remove Bishop Cyprian and take over the resources coming to the Diocese for development since 1992.* Their campaign, which has failed, has served to strengthen Bishop Cyprian's place in the affections of his own people. The Diocesan Synod, re-elected in 1994 under the chairmanship of the then Archbishop Jonah Okoth, has given Bishop Cyprian whole-hearted and unanimous support.³

Although it would have been ridiculous for the trust to circulate an article that was critical of Bamwoze, especially ahead of his visit, it was equally inappropriate to publish one that was wholly biased towards him and which did not take into serious consideration other issues and circumstances concerning this crisis. As in other 'official' documents, the trust based the arguments in its report solely on the progress of the development sector, in which Bamwoze had performed remarkably well. But it failed to show that the opposition towards him predated and transcended his development programmes. The dispute which occurred in the early 1970s between Bamwoze and the Christians of Christ's Cathedral, Bugembe following his intention to close their school, as he later did, without consulting with them, is a case in point. It shows that there were groups of Christians who came into conflict with Bamwoze prior to his establishment of the development programmes. It also reveals that Bamwoze was rejected by many people (including those at the grassroots levels) who felt that he had conducted himself in ways that made him unfit and unworthy as a bishop.

³ *Busoga Bugle*, Summer 1998, p. 1, (emphasis mine).

Moreover, the trust did not clarify that the synod which was re-elected in April 1994 had, in December 1992, given unequivocal support to Bamwoze and condemned his 'opponents', hence declaring itself to be pro-Bamwoze. The trust also failed to mention that Okoth, the primate who chaired this synod in May 1994, was a close friend and fellow partisan of Bamwoze, and had, together with this synod, 're-approved' the controversial draft of the Busoga Diocesan Constitution,⁴ appointed Justice Egonda Ntende, a pro-Bamwoze supporter, as the Diocesan Chancellor,⁵ and reversed the recommendation made by the House of Bishops in January 1994 by asking Bamwoze to cut short his one-year sabbatical leave and resume his duties as the bishop of Busoga beginning 1st June 1994.⁶

Therefore, to understand better the context of the Busoga Crisis and the other conflicts that affected the church in Busoga, it was imperative for Busoga Trust, other concerned individuals and bodies in the church to examine analytically and with considerable detail, as I have endeavoured to do in this study, all the relevant historical and immediate factors which played a significant role in causing, influencing and expressing the grievances and conflicts. Such an examination necessitates a wide and detailed study of the issues, events, meetings and documents. It does not merely seek to expose or exonerate the parties in the conflict, but more intrinsically to identify the factors and circumstances inside and outside the church which made it possible for conflicts to occur and escalate in the ways they did. This partly explains why I have devoted in this study a great deal of attention to detail, discussing the issues, documents, events, accusations and counter-accusations, showing the ways in which grievances and conflicts were handled or mishandled, mentioning the missed opportunities of the church to prevent and/or resolve the conflicts that affected it, and emphasising in no uncertain terms that a detailed analysis of events, issues and circumstances involved in these and other conflicts is an indispensable prerequisite in the ongoing task of understanding, addressing and resolving them.

I have also shown that overall, the conflicts in Busoga, as those in several other dioceses in the province, did not arise because some Christians regarded the Anglican beliefs and

⁴ Minute 11/94 Busoga Diocesan Synod (BDS), 7th May 1994, BDA.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Minute 6/94 – IV of BDS, 7th May 1994, BDA; *New Vision*, 9th May 1994.

practices as profoundly inadequate. These Christians contested what they believed to be the general reluctance of the leadership of the Church of Uganda to engage seriously with the challenges, renewal and transformations which the Anglican tradition had experienced locally and globally, and which had resulted in its becoming contemporary, global, democratic, effective and indispensable. They believed strongly and appropriately, in my view, that the understanding and practice of leadership in the Church of Uganda was in dire need of reform in order to bring it into line with those of most Anglican provinces. They argued that reforms, when implemented, would contribute immensely towards the task of making the church more contextualised and effective than it was. The church would also benefit greatly from the fellowship, ministry and impact of Anglicanism.⁷

This explains why the anti-Bamwoze Christians did not wish to secede from the Anglican tradition. They generally felt at home in it, but were disturbed by the failure of their own church in Uganda to keep abreast of the changing image of Anglicanism. They viewed their struggle as being one attempting to get their ‘rivals’ and the leadership to bring the Church of Uganda in line with the *esse* of Anglicanism, namely the emphasis of the participation of bishops, clergy and laity in the governance of the church.⁸ They occasionally appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury to intervene, partly in order to emphasise that their contention was not with the Anglican tradition *per se*, but with what they felt to be a defective system of governance in the Church of Uganda. Moreover, when some of them eventually left the Church of Uganda, in 1999, accusing it of being archaic and rigid, they joined another newly formed Anglican church, the Episcopal Church of Uganda. They were convinced that this new church (whose leader, Rev Dr John Obokech had also left the Church of Uganda) was Anglican, in the real sense of the word.

⁷ For a detailed study of the global fellowship, ministry and impact of Anglicanism see A Wingate, K Ward and others, *Anglicanism: A Global Communion*. New York: New York Church Publishing Inc., 1998; and W Sachs, *The Transformation of Anglicanism: From State Church to Global Communion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

⁸ D Pattinson, “Church government and administration: idol – or tool?” in J Greenhalgh and E Russell (eds.), *Building in Love: The Vocation of the Church*. London: St Mary’s Bourne Street, 1990, p.117.

The Five Major Causal and/or Fuelling Factors

Notwithstanding the fact that the conflicts in Busoga were caused by a combination of many factors, five factors, in my opinion, played a predominant role. These are:

- The inward-looking proclivities which seriously affected the church and politics inside and outside Busoga;
- The exclusive powers which the diocesan and provincial constitutions gave diocesan bishops;
- The alleged wrongdoings of Bamwoze;
- The increasing determination of many lay Christians to contest the marginalising, dictatorial and autocratic tendencies of their civic and church leaders;
- The overall mishandling of the conflicts by both the conflicting and third parties.

I proceed to discuss these factors in more detail. First, the Church of Uganda, like other religious groups, was seriously affected by inward-looking proclivities, leading some of the Christians to put the interests of their ethnic or regional groups before those of the province. In Busoga, as in other regions, inward looking inclinations affected most Christians so much that they demanded their own diocese and bishop. As a result, Cyprian Bamwoze, a Musoga clergyman and relative of *Kyabazinga* William Wilberforce Nadiope, was made bishop. He did not have satisfactory pastoral and administrative experience, and being thirty-eight years old, he was not old enough to qualify for the office of bishop.⁹ He became the maiden bishop of Busoga in 1972 at a time when the Basoga needed a Musoga to be (or to act as) a cultural leader, after the former President Milton Obote had banned all cultural institutions. However, he also became a bishop at the time when many Basoga still regarded the Bagabula with a lot of suspicion, following Nadiope and a hegemony comprising largely Bagabula who held to themselves, between 1949 and 1967, the control of the decision making organs of Busoga kingdom. This is why the Basoga Christians' initial response towards Bamwoze was (and remained) mixed. Some Christians were attached to him closely and regarded him both as their bishop and *Kyabazinga* (or at least as one who represented him), whilst others regarded him with suspicion because he was a Mugabula, and a clergyman about whom they knew very little.

⁹ Normally, a candidate for the office of bishop had to be between forty-five and sixty years old.

Furthermore, as in many other dioceses, some Christians in Iganga and Namutumba archdeaconries were driven by inward looking proclivities to demand to be removed from Busoga Diocese and formed into a separate diocese of Iganga. The justification of their demand, namely that Iganga was too important historically not to be the headquarters of the church, underscored their own and other Christians' regional tendencies. However, it was during (and as a result of) the Busoga Crisis that these inclinations became more destructive than ever before in the history of the diocese. The accusations that Bamwoze favoured Bugabula and the Bagabula, the unwavering support most Bagabula gave him, and the indignation he aroused amongst some of the non-Bagabula as a result of the fear that he wanted to revive, this time within the church, the Bagabula hegemony, are some of the examples showing the role which regionalism played in causing and fuelling the conflicts in Busoga.

Second, the diocesan and provincial canons and constitutions gave bishops so much power and control over the affairs of their dioceses that they could, if they wanted, use their powers to do anything they deemed to be in their interest as well as in that of the diocese, without first obtaining permission from (and without being answerable to) the synod, the diocesan council and other decision-making organs. They could, as Bamwoze and others did, ordain anyone whom they considered fit enough to be a cleric, without taking him or her through the normal church procedure for ordination.¹⁰ They used their prerogative to appoint or dismiss most senior officials in the diocese. They, in effect, enjoyed (and still do) much power and exclusive control over the affairs of their dioceses, leading to the occurrence and solidification of patron-client relations between them and their juniors, and making it difficult for the latter (most of whom they had ordained, appointed or influenced their appointments) to criticise or oppose them without suffering reprisal.

Moreover, it was very difficult for the archbishop and other provincial authorities to intervene in the internal affairs of a diocese, given its semi-autonomous position. It was possible for the archbishop to intervene at the invitation of a diocesan bishop or "if so

¹⁰ It is important to mention that Canon 3:2 of the *Provincial Canons of the Church of Uganda (1997)* advised diocesan bishops to set up a commission on ministry comprising of clergy and laity. However, the role of this commission was "to assist [emphasis not in original] the Bishop in matters relating to the selection, examination, interviewing and screening of applicants for admission as candidates for the ordained ministry".

requested by a two-thirds majority decision of all the members of the diocesan synod concerned”, and with the consent of two-thirds majority of the House of Bishops. This partly explains why some bishops remained in office despite the accusations of their Christians, with the archbishop and other bishops, though embarrassed and disapproving of their actions, being constitutionally unable to intervene and left to wait for the formal invitation from the diocese concerned. This limitation was compounded, as in Busoga, by the presence of a pro-bishop synod, most of whose members, whilst aware of their bishop’s wrongdoings, were, for several reasons, unwilling to demand his removal.

That is why the anti-Bamwoze Christians took it upon themselves to do everything within their power to get rid of Bamwoze. Also, the House of Bishops, ashamed and worried by the increasing state of anarchy in Busoga, and after a series of unsuccessful interventions and constitutional reforms, eventually decided to send Bamwoze on early retirement in order to get rid of him. Their decision to remove him was based not on the accusations of his Christians, since this would have necessitated a prior decision to this effect by the synod of Busoga Diocese, but on the grounds of what they claimed to be his disobedience to Archbishop Livingstone Mpalanyi Nkoyoyo. In this way they were able to bypass the diocesan synod.

Third, the alleged wrongdoings of Bamwoze, despite not being duly investigated by the relevant civic and church organs, contributed a great deal to the loss of confidence in him on the part of some of his Christians. The issue at stake was not whether these accusations were true or false, but the fact that many Christians believed them, to such an extent that they wavered in their trust in him. They recognised his remarkable contribution to the development of the region, but felt that overall he had failed to live up to the qualities expected of a father-in-God, chief priest and presiding officer of the diocese. Therefore they supported or demanded his removal.

In my opinion, Bamwoze should have heeded the repeated calls of his Christians to step down, partly in order to save his diocese from disintegrating into a state of anarchy, and to save himself from further humiliation. He should have realised that any leader facing growing and stiff opposition, as he did, either resigned or put in place fundamental changes and reforms. But Bamwoze did not do any of these things. He remained in office

claiming, "I will not relinquish the responsibility committed to me openly, publicly and solemnly... and I will not leave this responsibility into the hands of people that are openly irresponsible".¹¹ He refused to go, leaving many Christians dismayed and determined to intensify their struggle to remove him. They barred him from visiting their churches and threatened to assault him physically if he did visit them. Some actually did engage in physical assault.

Fourth, the long drawn-out struggles for political independence of Uganda and the subsequent protests unleashed against the tyrannical governments of Milton Obote and General Idi Amin all fine-tuned the capacity of many ordinary people to contest the wrongdoings of their civic and church leaders. Several lay Christians in Busoga, for example, regarded it as unacceptable to be under a church system which was suppressive and oppressive, and whose leadership was untouchable. As a result, they called upon the rest of the Christians to join them in the struggle to change it. The fact, therefore, that such a scenario was happening in the church should have alerted Bamwoze and other bishops to the signs of the times. The bishops should have realised that gone were the days when leaders in the church could behave repressively without open opposition especially from the laity, who, unlike the clergy, were not under oath to obey them.

Retrospectively it was imperative for the bishops to take cognisance of reformist voices within their jurisdictions lest they face resentment and opposition. They could only ignore these voices at their peril since, as events in Busoga show, ordinary Christians were poised to do everything humanly possible in a bid to see the removal of bad bishops and the reform of church governance at all its levels, in ways that firmly entrenched in it representative and participatory democracy, modernisation, transparency, accountability, and active involvement of all the Christians in the running of the church.

It is important to add that some anti-Bamwoze Christians viewed their struggle in a broader sense, as part of the challenge which was widely and repeatedly put to the church through its leadership to express clearly its regret for the wrongdoings committed in the past in its name. They viewed their struggle as being aimed not only at getting rid of bad bishops, reforming the church's system of governance, and improving the capacity of the

¹¹ *The Involvement Magazine*, October/ December 1995, Issue 2, Vol. 5, p. 16.

church to manage conflicts constructively, but also at seeing the Church of Uganda disentangle itself from past inadequacies, and re-invent itself by showing unmistakable determination to modernise, by having a relevant and contextualised ministry, by contesting injustices inside and outside its borders, by showing that the church was free of a burgeoning bureaucracy, by emphasising the participation of bishops with clergy and laity in the governing of the church, and by demonstrating in no uncertain terms that it (the church) was not in alliance with the systems of marginalisation, oppression, exploitation and dehumanisation.

Fifth, the conflicting and third parties generally failed to manage the disputes in a constitutional and reconciliatory manner, thus resulting in escalating and prolonging them. This failure is generally attributed to three factors. These are:

- The absence of people at the diocesan and provincial levels of the church skilled enough to manage internal church conflicts constructively;
- The initial reluctance of the House of Bishops (which is also the Provincial Tribunal) to reprimand Bamwoze or to ask for his removal, fearing that doing so would set a precedent for Christians to demand the removal of other bishops who, like Bamwoze, were also accused of wrongdoing;
- The insufficient power of the archbishop to deal with bad bishops.

Consequently, the anti-Bamwoze Christians advocated changes and reforms in the system of church governance in order to make it possible for three things to happen:

- To make the church more able to deal with conflicts when they arose;
- To increase the level of accountability and transparency in the church;
- To increase the powers of the archbishop in a way that enabled him to intervene in major conflicts in dioceses without in any way jeopardising the semi-autonomous nature of the dioceses concerned.

It is sufficient to add that partly as a result of the persistence of the anti-Bamwoze Christians and because of the embarrassment these conflicts had caused to the Church of Uganda (and also to a lesser extent, to the Roman Catholics and Muslims), the House of Bishops and other provincial authorities felt it imperative to become involved particularly in the Busoga Crisis. They did so in a manner which occasionally contravened the diocesan and provincial canons and constitutions. They showed increasing determination

to ask Bamwoze to retire prematurely largely because he embarrassed and burdened them so much that it had become futile to continue to defend him. However, their intervention resulted in rifts emerging and/or intensifying between the conflicting parties, and between the provincial authorities (third party) and the 'rival' groups, hence betraying the bishops' general inability to handle internal conflicts constructively.

Three Reasons Why Busoga Diocese Suffered More Than Other Dioceses

A comment deserves to be made concerning the factors that resulted in Busoga Diocese bearing the brunt of conflicts despite other dioceses experiencing problems similar to those of Busoga. At the time when some Christians in Busoga were demanding to be removed and formed into a separate diocese of Iganga, several Christians elsewhere in the province were making similar demands, often using measures that were more coercive than those of the Christians in Busoga. Also, during the early 1990s, at the time when the Christians in Busoga were struggling without much success to have their bishop removed, Christians in several other Anglican dioceses were also demanding to have their own bishops removed. In this respect it is appropriate to ask why the demands, grievances and accusations in Busoga Diocese resulted in its being gripped with a level of anarchy unknown in other dioceses.

Several reasons may be given in a bid to explain this scenario. One is that Busoga is historically conflict-ridden. A second is the inappropriate ways in which Bamwoze conducted himself and the affairs of the diocese. A third is the individualistic and inward looking attitude of many Christians in the church in Busoga. I proceed to describe them in more detail. First, concerning the conflict-ridden state of Busoga, it is important to remember that Busoga was one of the regions in Uganda that had been most greatly affected as a result of ethnic/regional, religious and political divisions and differences which occurred intermittently inside and outside it. Because these conflicts were never resolved, they would re-emerge when new conflicts arose. So when grievances, disagreements and disputes occurred in the Busoga Diocese, they found a situation that was already conflict-ridden and any new conflict rapidly became complicated and protracted. One can, therefore, argue that the unresolved political party, regional, clan and family divisions created a 'fertile ground' for church conflicts to thrive. At the same time, the grievances, disagreements and disputes in the church enabled past conflicts to

re-emerge, hence making the conflicts that gripped Busoga Diocese throughout its first twenty-seven years complex, multi-faceted, and very difficult to resolve.

Second, the generally inadequate ways in which Bamwoze conducted himself and the affairs of his diocese led many people to conclude, justifiably, in my view, that he was not fit to be a bishop, and that his alleged wrongdoings were more serious than those committed by other senior church leaders in the province. One of the alleged wrongdoings which made him unacceptable to many Christians inside and outside his diocese, including some of his own friends, was his arrogant attitude towards his fellow bishops and the Christians in his diocese. His alleged comparison of his fellow bishops to banana fibre balls and his repeated teasing of the clergy in his diocese that none of them was fit to replace him as Bishop of Busoga are two cases in point underscoring his arrogant and demeaning attitude towards other people, irrespective of their status in the church.

Furthermore, the people who regarded Bamwoze as standing in the way of their political ambitions exploited these allegations in their favour. For instance, the politicians who viewed his political affiliation and persuasions as repugnant or who were threatened by his remarkable contribution to the development sector manipulated his wrongdoings in a bid to discredit him and to persuade more people to reject him. Also, fellow church leaders who saw him as a threat to their bid for topmost positions in the province exploited his wrongdoings in ways which made it difficult for him to consider canvassing for any one of these 'top jobs'. This partly explains why Bamwoze and his supporters accused several leaders in the Church and in the National Resistance Movement (NRM) government of being behind the conflicts in Busoga Diocese. It is also partly the context in which to understand the disputes between Bamwoze, Nkoyooyo and some bishops in Buganda, during which Bamwoze and his supporters accused Nkoyooyo and some Baganda bishops of causing chaos in Busoga Diocese as a way of making it indirectly possible for Nkoyooyo to become the first Muganda Archbishop of the Church of Uganda.

Third, Busoga Diocese was affected by the ways in which Bamwoze and several other Christians placed individual and/or group interests before those of the diocese. They

marginalised, isolated and vilified their opponents or potential rivals. Their actions were marked and expressed by a combination of condescending, unforgiving, obsessively faultfinding, coercive, unaccommodating and petty attitudes. This also explains why, as I mentioned earlier, the causes of the conflicts in Busoga Diocese were numerous, multi-faceted and usually personalised. Moreover, Bamwoze's desire to keep competition from the clergy to a bare minimum, partly to ensure his exclusive control over the affairs of the diocese, had several results. Three of these were his failure to train most of the clergy adequately preferring to prepare, then ordain them using special training and ordination programmes; his refusal, as that of several other bishops, to take clergy for further training; and his inappropriate ordination of his friends and relatives whom he then appointed to positions of special responsibility.

Bamwoze managed to keep his fellow clergy under such close control that he even had the audacity to ridicule them in public or before their congregations, saying that none of them was capable of replacing him as bishop. However, this scenario underscored his failure more than his strength as a bishop. It underscored the acute absence of clergy needed to develop the theological and ministerial institutions in the diocese, and caused disillusionment and anger amongst many clergy because of their appalling living and working conditions or because Bamwoze refused, without any justifiable reason, to allow them to continue training. Some of them left to study or work in other places without Bamwoze's blessing. Others sympathised with the anti-Bamwoze group or joined it, thus authenticating its struggle and contradicting the claims that it was created by laity who wanted to 'overthrow' the clergy.

As a bishop Bamwoze was obliged to be more open-minded and all-embracing. He should have been focused and committed to empowering his colleagues by helping to provide them with regular, better and further training, and improving their living and working conditions. He should also have been motivated by a willingness to serve all the Christians irrespective of whether they liked him or not. Only then would he have managed to unite the people in his diocese beyond their individualistic and in-group proclivities and prevent the grievances and conflicts in his diocese which were a result of these inclinations. His behaviour, which unequivocally underscored the presence of these inclinations, rendered his role as father-in-God self-defeating to say the least. This

notwithstanding, the innovations, maverick disposition, complexities and controversies surrounding Bamwoze make him an enigma, whose life and work deserves further detailed study.

Further comment deserves to be made on the in-group inclinations which characterised the actions of most anti-Bamwoze Christians. Although these Christians repeatedly emphasised their loyalty to the Anglican tradition, they often conducted their affairs in a manner that compromised the ethical and moral standards of the church, to the extent that those who did not support their cause occasionally and appropriately accused them of placing group interests before those of the diocese and the Anglican church/tradition.¹² The manner in which the anti-Bamwoze Christians by-passed the proper procedures for resolving conflicts in the church, and their actions in overrunning or destroying churches, assaulting clergy, sending ultimata and hate mail, and, worst of all, raiding a Holy Communion service, showed the willingness of these Christians to compromise Christian ethics and to stop at nothing in a bid to outmanoeuvre their 'antagonists'.

The fact that some anti-Bamwoze Christians suffered from equally unjustifiable attacks and physical assault by some pro-Bamwoze Christians, or that the behaviour of some leaders fell far short of the expectation of the church, was no excuse for some anti-Bamwoze Christians to resort to violence. After all, several Christians in dioceses such as Namirembe, Luwero and Rwenzori experienced similar problems without resorting to violence. Also, many pro-Bamwoze Christians, though regarding the irregularities in the diocese as unacceptable, believed that addressing them through unconstitutional and violent ways was equally irregular. They felt strongly that Christians worthy of the name were obliged to adhere to the ethical standards of their church, uphold its canons and constitutions, and call for reforms and changes within the proper church channels. The failure, especially of anti-Bamwoze Christians, to do these things suggests a serious and disturbing decline in the moral standards of the church and some church leaders. It also indicated an increase in the extent to which some Christians placed group interests before the unity, image and witness of the diocese, hence making it possible for grievances and conflicts to occur and escalate.

¹² For a detailed study of the Anglican tradition see R Alastair, *Being Anglican*. London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 2000; J E Griffis, *The Anglican Vision*. MA: Cowley Publications, 1997; and S Skyes, *Unashamed Anglicanism*. London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1995.

Therefore, the three reasons mentioned above resulted in the conflicts in Busoga being arguably the most protracted, intense and disastrous in the province. The Busoga Crisis itself attracted a lot of media attention, and was publicised more than any other diocesan conflict known in the history of the church in Uganda. It affected the image and prophetic ministry of the church so much that politicians, when challenged by church leaders to be truthful, just, transparent and accountable to the people, usually responded by asking the question Jesus asked: “Why do you look at the speck of sawdust in your brother’s eye and pay no attention to the plank in your own eye?” (Luke 6:41) – a response which though justified, was pointedly intended to parry criticisms of church leaders.

General Recommendations

The Church in Busoga was embroiled in many grievances and conflicts, some of which, though not bringing its operations to a complete halt, took their toll on its energy and resources. They battered and bruised it. They also resulted in the resurgence of regional, clan and family feuds; created rifts between Christians; and made self-defeating the efforts of the church to address conflicts which occurred in 1992 amongst Basoga clan leaders, during the exercise of appointing a new *Kyabazinga*, after the ban on kingdoms was lifted. However these conflicts were not entirely destructive. They contributed a great deal to reforms aimed at preventing conflicts or, when they occurred, managing them constructively. For instance, partly as a result of the operations of the Busoga Diocesan Steering Committee (BDSC), the Provincial Assembly gave more powers to the archbishop in order to enable him to “exercise a general pastoral care, leadership, supervision and *discipline* over the whole Province”¹³ in accordance with the constitution and canons of the Church of Uganda. The Assembly also amended the Provincial Constitution so as to make it possible for the archbishop “after consultation with, and approval of a two-thirds majority of the House of Bishops, (to) *remove a Diocesan Bishop from his see* if so requested by a two-thirds majority of all the members of the Diocesan Synod concerned”¹⁴.

¹³ Church of Uganda, “Amendment act to Article 9(a) of the Provincial Constitution”, 1994, COU PA (emphasis mine)

¹⁴ Church of Uganda, “Amendment act to Article 13(e) of the Provincial Constitution”, 1994, COU PA (emphasis mine)

These amendments gave the archbishop more powers, but they did not go so far as to allow him to intervene in the affairs of a diocese whose bishop, despite being opposed by his Christians, enjoyed the unequivocal support of the synod and diocesan council. The refusal in September 1996 of Busoga Diocesan Council to allow Archbishop Nkoyooyo to preside over or attend their meeting is a case in point. The council sent Nkoyooyo out of their meeting, on the basis that the diocesan and provincial constitutions were silent about his involvement in it. This partly explains why in December 1996, a further amendment was added to the *Provincial Canons of the Church of Uganda* in order to give the archbishop authority to take over a diocese in circumstances where a bishop did not hand over the office upon attaining the age of sixty-five, or in the event of the death, illness or any other ‘incapacity’ of its bishop, and to control it until a new bishop was elected, consecrated and enthroned.¹⁵

However, despite this increase in his powers, it was still difficult for a primate to take over and control the see of a bishop who, though widely believed to be inadequate, was still supported by his diocesan synod and council. It seems to me that for the church to be able to address grievances and conflicts within its borders more constructively, more initiatives and reforms were (and still are) needed at the provincial level, including carrying out a thorough study of past conflicts in order to understand them better and to learn lessons from them; establishing a disaster and conflict-management committee comprising clergy and laity and entrusting it with duties such as handling grievances and conflicts, advising the church on the best way to prevent or resolve them; and equipping and training church workers in the field with the skills needed to handle properly grievances and conflicts inside and outside the church.

Also, reforms were equally needed at the diocesan levels in order to make it possible for the diocesan synod, diocesan council and other decision-making bodies to handle effectively the accusations made against senior leaders, including the diocesan bishop, in a way that was constructive, impartial, daring and in the interest of the entire diocese. It would have been (and still would be) helpful if the Church of Uganda had done three things, namely:

¹⁵ Canon 1.3.8 of the *Provincial Canons of the Church of Uganda, 1997*, p. 3.

- To institute changes in the diocese which made it possible for the leaders of the diocese to prevent or resolve conflicts in a constructive and amicable manner;
- To cause the bishops of the Church of Uganda, in their own words, “to re-examine [their] way of ministering to the people of God, in light of Christ’s Gospel and respond positively to legitimate [emphasis in original] demands of the people committed to our charge... [and to be] more accountable, transparent and more effective servants and faithful stewards”;¹⁶
- To reduce considerably the powers of bishops, partly by devolving them to their respective diocesan synods, hence a synodical government, in which, “the diocesan synod would have power to consider and debate any matter concerning the Church and to make provision for it in relation to the diocese. The Bishop would no longer be a separate house whose agreement is needed for all decisions, but he would have a limited power to decide whether a question was within the powers of the synod and would be able to withdraw his personal decision on matters belonging essentially to his episcopal office or pastoral duties...”¹⁷

Such initiatives and reforms, if carried out, would make the Church of Uganda better equipped to prevent or at least manage constructively grievances and conflicts; to improve the relations between the laity and the clergy and between the senior church workers and their juniors; to raise the levels of representativeness, accountability, transparency, stewardship, commitment and moral standards of all the Christians; to increase the participation of the laity and junior workers in the church’s decision-making bodies and processes; and to ensure that it (the Church of Uganda) remained, in Kevin Ward’s apposite words, “one of the most important and dynamic churches to have resulted from CMS work”.¹⁸

Two other issues deserve further comment. These are the departure of some church leaders from the servant model of leadership, and the proposal to divide Busoga into two or more dioceses. First, generally people like Bamwoze behaved as rulers, rather than servant-leaders. They failed to do five things, namely to regard their fellow workers with

¹⁶ Church of Uganda, “Report of the House of Bishops’ Special Committee on Busoga Diocese Conflict”, p. 65.

¹⁷ *Central Board of Finance of the Church of England, Government by Synod*, p. 5.

¹⁸ “Introduction” in K Ward and B Stanley (eds.), *The Church Mission Society and World Christianity, 1799-1999*. Cambridge and Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2000, p. 8.

all the respect they deserved; to involve Christians actively in the decision-making bodies and processes; to apprise the developmental and financial position of the diocese; to accept their requests to meet with them in a bid to find solutions to their grievances; and to reply to their letters concerning irregularities in the diocese. These leaders showed that they were not accountable to their Christians, and behaved as decision-makers for the church, rather than as servant-leaders who were charged with the duty of carrying out mutually agreed decisions of the Body of Christ.¹⁹ They also failed to follow closely the biblical concept of leadership such as the teaching Jesus Christ gave his disciples concerning the role of a leader:

You know that the rulers of the Gentiles lord it over them, and their high officials exercise authority over them. Not so with you. Instead, whoever wants to become great among you should be your servant, and whoever wants to be first must be your slave – just as the Son of Man did not come to be served, but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many.²⁰

This teaching ensures the unmistakable presence in the church of a model of servant-leadership. This model is marked among other qualities by the willingness and ability of leaders to take good care of the people placed under their charge; to work together with them in overseeing the church and addressing challenges in it; and to be accountable to them and to Christ, the head of the Church. It is a model which, in effect, makes it difficult for chaos and anarchy to occur and/or intensify in the church.

Second, I have mentioned that several people called for the division of Busoga into at least two dioceses. They argued that its vastness was one of the causal factors of the conflicts, and feared that as long as it remained undivided geographically, problems of administrative and pastoral nature would continue to affect it. In my opinion this call was (and still is) justified. But it should not be addressed, as before, in a manner that underscored the tendency to form new dioceses from existing ones largely as a response to conflicts there. Doing so would be tantamount to creating a number of dioceses which, at the time of their creation would be pastorally and economically non-viable, organisationally unfeasible, and so parochial in outlook that they generally would place their own interests before those of the province.

¹⁹ For more detailed studies on the leadership ethic of the church see L O Richards, *A New Face for the Church*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House, 1970, pp. 109-131; D Cutts, *Welcoming the Bishop*. Bramcote Notts: Grove Books, 1984, p. 5.

²⁰ Matthew 20: 25b – 28 (NIV).

It seems to me that it would be more ideal to divide Busoga initially into only two parts, in a way that was influenced not only by the past and more recent conflicts there, but also by other factors like the geo-dialectical differences (on the basis of which local liturgies could be conveniently developed); the distribution of programmes, projects and churches; and the economic characteristics of the region such as the rural-urban disparities. Furthermore, it would be good for the church if this division was undertaken in a gradual, amicable and meticulously planned process, with a commitment to healing wounds caused by past conflicts, and with the objective of creating friendly and viable dioceses.

I merely mention these initiatives and reforms and do not discuss them in great detail, not only because to do so would be outside the scope of this study, but also because it is a task that is best suited for specially selected individuals or teams of Christians in the Church of Uganda. Also, although this study is largely historical in its approach and outlook, I have made comments of theological, pastoral, ethical, developmental and socio-political nature in the process of understanding and reflecting on these conflicts. However, this does not in any way render more detailed and comprehensive theological, pastoral, ethical or socio-political studies of these and other conflicts unnecessary. These studies, if undertaken, would address issues like the ecclesiology and leadership ethic of a conflict-ridden church, the ethical implications of church conflicts, the influence of conflicts on the pastoral ministry and theology of the church in Busoga, the sustainability of the diocese and its contribution to the development of the region, and the effects of church conflicts on the cohesiveness and development of Busoga.

Any Lessons Learnt?

The conflicts in the church in Busoga and in other parts of the province underscored the ambiguity and contradiction present in religious traditions, and showed how church conflicts could be exacerbated as a result of divisions in the church; the conflicting parties' use of force in a bid to outmanoeuvre each other; and mediators being biased towards one of the conflicting parties or their being openly insensitive to cultures different from their own. They also demonstrated how church grievances and conflicts, if mishandled, could intensify and turn malevolent, resulting in (or being expressed by) any

or all of the following: Christians 'fighting dirty', with issues of conflict being used to tarnish or question one another's spirituality, integrity or character; accusations and counter-accusations affecting trust and clouding over reason and common sense; making enemies, demoralising and upsetting long-standing friendships; group identity and alliances becoming more important than reason and spirituality in the process of resolving conflicts and/or making other crucial church-related decisions; and the principals in the conflicts taking the issues of the conflicts so personally that they deem it necessary to resort to emotional and/or physical violence.

Unfortunately, at the time of writing this thesis, there was nothing that indicated any effort by the diocesan and provincial church leaders to carry out a detailed study on these conflicts. It is widely believed that their failure to consider seriously two independent scholarly studies undertaken on some of these conflicts,²¹ or to carry out their own, limited their ability to resolve emerging grievances and conflicts with the urgency and seriousness they deserved. It also resulted in an increasing number of Christians becoming so disillusioned that it took only a simple though significant incident, namely the resignation of a senior clergyman, to trigger what turned out be the most devastating conflict of the diocese, and arguably, of the province. If the leadership at the diocesan and provincial levels had taken the necessary steps to resolve the grievances and conflicts which occurred earlier in Busoga, it is probable the diocese would not have suffered the mayhem it did in the 1990s. It became clear to many people that the failure to resolve the conflicts which occurred earlier in the diocese, and the permitting of tensions to intensify, contributed substantially to the occurrence of the more devastating conflicts.

The conflicts in Busoga, therefore, challenged the church to be more prepared and willing to deal with internal conflicts. Unlike several other conflicts in which Christians are involved, these conflicts, though often expressed in violent ways, did not result in the creation of a theology condoning the use of violence, that is, the kind which inappropriately, in my view, regards the words of Jesus, "Think not I am come to send peace on earth: I came not to send peace but a sword" (Matthew 10:34), as an

²¹ S R Isabirye, "Schism Within Busoga Diocese, Church of Uganda 1983-1988. An Analysis of Causes, Developments and Effects". BD dissertation, ATIEA, 1989; F J Baalwa, "The Causes and Development of Busoga Crisis (1992-3)". BD dissertation, Makerere University, Kampala, 1996.

endorsement for the use of violence.²² They helped the church in Busoga to test the authentic meaning of the Christian message against the narrower claims of group and self-centred ambitions. They provoked ‘God’s people’ to re-examine their attitude to ‘outsiders’ and those among them whose voices made the privileged, powerful and corrupt people uncomfortable, and alerted the church to the danger of failing to act promptly and seriously when conflicts arose, or of using the message of reconciliation ideologically to protect or preserve the *status quo*. They also challenged the church, as they did other religious groups, to re-think its capacity to exercise a ministry of reconciliation in situations defined by strife and hostility amongst people caught in a history of conflict and enmity, and in a way which offered people, in Gregory Baum’s appropriate words, “the power beyond their own brokenness to enter into self-recognition and overcome the barriers erected by sin”.²³

One other lesson which the church has learnt is the importance of handling grievances and conflicts in a peaceful and reconciliatory manner. For a long time Bamwoze had been unwilling to meet with or to accommodate the Christians in the diocese who disagreed with him or who opposed him. On several occasions, he turned down the request of his Christians to meet with them, fearing that doing so would give them an advantage, and as a result enable them to become influential. Consequently, Bamwoze and his supporters’ isolation of their ‘opponents’ and the hard-line stance of the anti-Bamwoze Christians, such as their non-negotiable demand for the removal of Bamwoze, did not help to make a constructive resolution any easier. In addition, the failure of senior church leaders like Nkoyooyo and Bamwoze (who held grudges against each other or who had strongly differing convictions) to control their emotions, seek ways of agreeing to differ or resolve their differences through constructive win/win-oriented conflict managing strategies, also made the prospects of reconciliation and resolution virtually non-existent.

Yet it was, as Nkoyooyo himself repeatedly emphasised, through a willingness of all Christians to forgive one another, to reconcile and to address their differences in a peaceful and friendly environment, that a lasting solution to the problems in the diocese

²² For a detailed study of this theology see A Reynolds, *Jesus Versus Christianity*. London: Cambridge International Publishers, 1988, pp. 211-232.

²³ G Baum, “A Theological Afterword” in G Baum and H Wells (eds.), *The Reconciliation of Peoples: Challenge to the Churches*. Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1997, p. 189.

would be attained. The widely publicised reconciliation held in October 1998 between Nkoyooyo and Bamwoze is a case in point. Notwithstanding the fact that Bamwoze only restored his relations with Nkoyooyo and the Church of Uganda at a time when he was on the verge of retirement this reconciliation increased the prospects for resolving the conflicts. It paved a way for the improvement of relations between Nkoyooyo and the pro-Bamwoze group. It also led the anti-Bamwoze Christians who had become weary of fighting to declare their allegiance to Nkoyooyo and to support the process of reconciliation wholeheartedly. Hence it became clear to Christians inside and outside Busoga Diocese that conflicts in the church, if they occurred, could not be resolved by resorting to coercive measures, but through reconciliatory, mutual and constructive measures.

Lastly, one other comment deserves to be made here concerning Bamwoze's replacement by a fellow Mugabula and recently ordained clergyman. It is possible to see a parallel between the circumstances in which Bamwoze became a bishop and those in which Rev Dr Michael Kyomya succeeded him. In 1999, when he was appointed bishop-elect, Kyomya, unlike Bamwoze, was over forty-five years old and was very well qualified in terms of theological and ministerial training. However, like Bamwoze, he was made bishop without having much experience as an Anglican clergyman, having been ordained deacon for barely four years. He was also not widely known among the Christians in Busoga. He was brought up an Anglican, and had participated actively in the life and work of the church in a lay capacity. After his training, he worked in various pastoral, teaching and leadership roles in amongst others places, the Baptist-sponsored Nairobi International School of Theology (NIST), hence the allegation that he was, prior to being ordained deacon, a Baptist. This is why some Christians rejected him, claiming that he was not an Anglican, and preferring to have a senior and widely known Musoga clergyman appointed instead of him. They regretted that their leaders had not learned any lesson as a result of the conflicts, and feared that by appointing Kyomya the church had taken another gamble, as it had done in the case of Bamwoze. These fears were, in my view, entirely justified.

Furthermore, by appointing another Mugabula amidst wide spread anti-Bagabula sentiments, the church leaders took as serious a risk as former leaders had done when

they appointed Bamwoze in 1972. Although it was necessary not to appoint church workers on the basis of their ethnic or regional identity (partly in order to frustrate separatist tendencies), the appointment of Kyomya, a Mugabula, as bishop-elect was a risk as the willingness of the Basoga to accept another Mugabula as their leader was unknown. It aggravated the disillusionment of some Christians and risked plunging the church into another wave of conflicts. Fortunately for the church, several anti-Bamwoze Christians decided not to oppose Kyomya, partly because they had become weary of fighting. They decided to give him a chance, hoping, as other Christians did, that being a committed Christian and a person with a high reputation especially outside Busoga, he would conduct his affairs and those of the church in ways that were starkly different from those of Bamwoze.

The 'limitations' of Kyomya and the circumstances in which he became a senior leader in the Anglican Church notwithstanding, ironically, his being a 'stranger' to the church in Busoga made him the most suitable of the candidates for the office of Bishop of Busoga. Unlike other contenders²⁴ and the rest of the clergy, Kyomya had not been directly affected by the power struggles and other conflicts in the diocese. He was unsullied by the accusations, counter-accusations and the generally negative image which many laity had towards the clergy. He had the experience and potential needed to unite the Christians, to team up with them in performing the much needed task of rebuilding their shattered diocese. The history of the diocese and the short period during which he worked in it prior to becoming bishop led him to realise, as did most of the Christians, that it was disastrous for a leader to say or do anything that could fuel discontent or result in conflict. That is why it was necessary for him to be, as he was capable of being, an effective father-in-God, a chief priest, a reconciler, chief pastor and presiding officer of the troubled diocese. Anything short of this would contribute to the occurrence of another conflict, one which, if it occurred, would be one too many.

Suggestions for Further Study

As I mentioned earlier, this study, being predominantly historical in its outlook, does not address in considerable detail the theological, pastoral, ethical, socio-political and developmental issues and implications of church conflicts. They deserve to be addressed, inasmuch as they are the important ways of understanding and addressing conflicts and

²⁴ These included Rev Dr Tom Tuma, Canon John Kalimungabo Bagenda and Rev Charles Wamukolo.

interpreting them (or those in which the church is implicated as a causal factor) within the wider studies of church, ethnicity, politics, and social cohesion and integration. Moreover, there are other conflict-related areas which deserve to be explored further using a predominantly historical approach. Three of these include comparative studies of conflicts in Busoga and other parts of the Church of Uganda; studies dealing with how conflicts affected the church at district or regional levels; and the studies of conflicts caused or expressed by groups of people in the church. I proceed to discuss them in more detail.


First, although conflicts erupted in dioceses largely as a result of specific historical and immediate causes, there were, nonetheless, other factors and/or expressions which compounded these conflicts. These were in-group tendencies, misrule, coercion, marginalisation of sections of people, misappropriation of resources of the church, and several others. All of these if studied historically and comparatively, would help to explain the issues involved in these conflicts and to deal more constructively with conflicts inside and outside its borders. They would also lead the church to realise that diocesan conflicts are not, as is generally argued, internal diocesan affairs. Some of them epitomise deeper and wider problems in the church which could be dealt with better at the provincial level than within individual dioceses.

Secondly, studies dealing with how conflicts affected the church at district or regional levels would help to delineate the coalescing of conflicts in church jurisdictions and in geo-political entities which share common boundaries. They would show how conflicts in the church and other institutions have influenced the cohesiveness of society, life patterns and movements of people and the development of the leadership structures inside and outside the church. Moreover, a comparative study of conflicts in regions of Busoga would reveal in more detail how churches in Busoga were affected by conflicts, and would suggest effective ways of healing wounds in the embattled diocese. A study like this should be undertaken as soon as possible in order not to miss the opportunity to speak to people who were involved in the conflicts and to have access to all documents written by all the parties involved in the conflicts before they 'disappear'.

Thirdly, it is necessary to explore in detail how church conflicts were caused or expressed by sectors and/or groups of people in the church. Such studies would present an even more focused and precise analysis of the causes, developments and implications of the conflicts. Two examples of these studies deserve to be kept in mind. First, a study of the place of the Baganda missionaries in the history of conflicts in Busoga would explore in great detail the Baganda factor in the missionary enterprise of the church in Busoga; compare the attitudes and practices of Baganda missionaries in Busoga with those in other places inside and outside Uganda (partly with a view to investigating the extent to which the Baganda missionaries were a major factor in causing and/or fuelling conflict in Busoga); and underscore contradictions and/or exceptions present in the much celebrated subject of African civic and church workers' participation in the evangelisation of Africa.

Secondly, detailed studies on the participation and experiences of groups in the church such as women, ministers, the pro- and anti-Bamwoze Christians and the non-canonically ordained priests (which are outside the scope of this study) would, if undertaken, greatly contribute to showing the effect, intensity and implications of the conflicts. Studies of the role which women played during the conflicts, or the effects of the conflicts on groups like the Mothers' Union would show the extent to which women were divided on the basis of whether or not they supported Bamwoze, and how the conflicts seriously affected their work. Studies on the ways conflicts affected ministers, other church workers and their work would also reveal the extent of the anarchy that gripped the pastoral sector of the diocese. One other study worth undertaking would be one that seeks to investigate the work of non-canonically ordained priests, partly in order to understand how and why this group of laity-turned-'clergy' maintained five of the seven archdeaconries in Busoga for over five years. This study would explain how these people, despite having inadequate theological and ministerial training carried out with remarkable success the tasks which had defeated ordained and well-trained clergy such as encouraging some congregations in their charge to resume and complete the construction of church buildings which they had abandoned for financial reasons.

This study, as those mentioned above, it is hoped, will contribute substantially to the ongoing challenge of understanding and addressing conflicts which have devastated the Church of Uganda. The church would have itself to blame if it continued to suffer from conflicts partly because it did not give serious consideration to a study such as this. Shelving it, as it had done with similar studies undertaken in the past, would underscore its failure to learn lessons from past conflicts and risk continuation of anarchy and chaos. However, giving this study the consideration it deserves would undoubtedly result in challenging the Church of Uganda to leave no stone unturned in the prevention and/or proper management of grievances, disagreements and conflicts. It would help it to be and remain the church, and contribute greatly to its quest for peace, unity, reconciliation and success, which is succinctly summed up in the words of the hymn²⁵ composed by Harry Emerson Fosdick:



GOD of grace and God of glory,
 On thy people pour thy power;
 Now fulfil thy Church's story;
 Bring her bud to glorious flower.
 Grant us wisdom, grant us courage,
 For the facing of this hour.

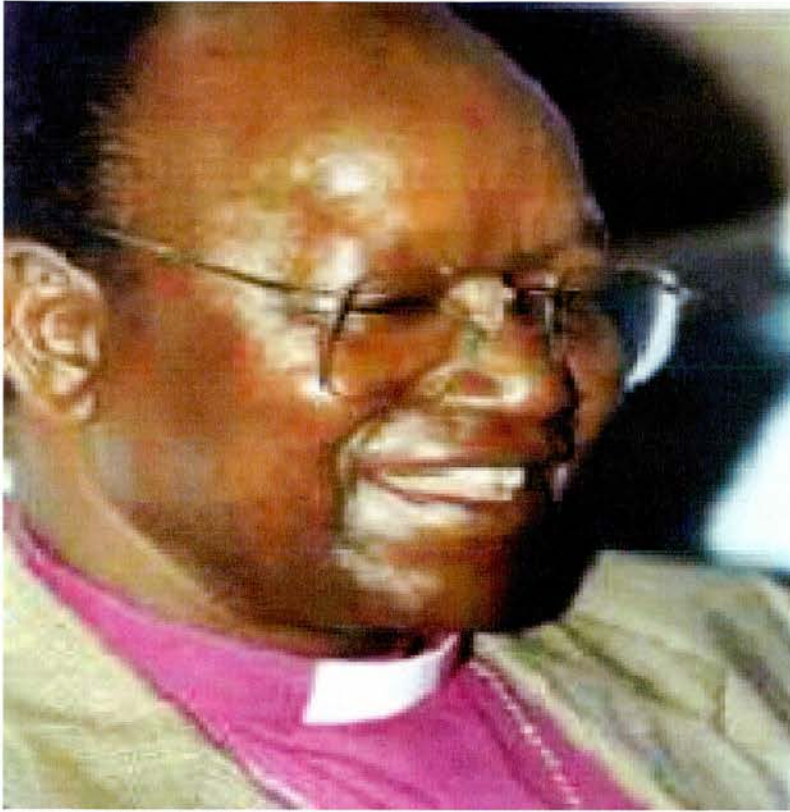
2 Lo, the hosts of evil round us
 Scorn thy Christ, assail his ways;
 From the fears that long have bound us
 Free our hearts to faith and praise.
 Grant us wisdom, grant us courage,
 For the living of these days.

3 Cure thy children's warring madness,
 Bend our pride to thy control;
 Shame our wanton selfish gladness,
 Rich in goods and poor in soul.
 Grant us wisdom, grant us courage,
 Lest we miss thy kingdom's goal.

4 Set our feet on lofty places,
 Gird our lives that they may be
 Armoured with all Christ-like graces
 In the fight to set men free.
 Grant us wisdom, grant us courage,
 That we fail not man nor thee.

²⁵ Hymn 88, in *The Church Hymnary* (Third Edition). Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973, p. 79.

APPENDIX I – PHOTOGRAPHS



Bishop Cyprian Kikunyi Bamwoze
(*New Vision* file photograph)

End of an era



Bishop Cyprian and Naomi at their home in Naminage
(*Busoga Bugle* file photograph)



Mr Aggrey Awori at the Uganda presidential nominations with his proposer retired Bishop Cyprian Bamwoze and Mrs Awori (January 2001)



Christ's Cathedral, Bugembe, side view



front view



rear view



Bishop's (abandoned) residence at Bugembe

APPENDIX II – BUSOGA CRISIS
 (NEW VISION FILE PHOTOGRAPHS)

The new Busoga bishop meets his people



POSING WITH HIS CLERGY



MANY CHRISTIANS TURNED UP



DAVID J K NABETA



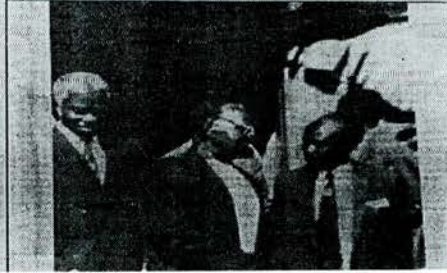
WITH HIS FAMILY AT BUGEMBE CATHEDRAL



SABALANGIRA TIBATEMWE CONGRATULATES HIM



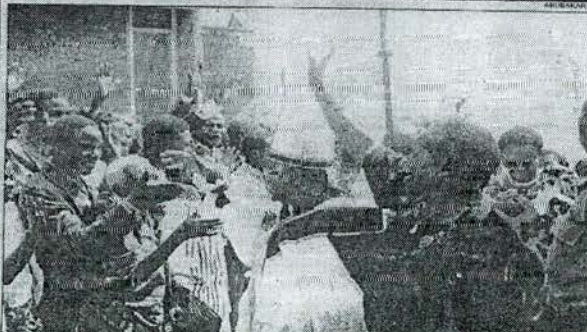
NKOYOOYO AND PALACAS



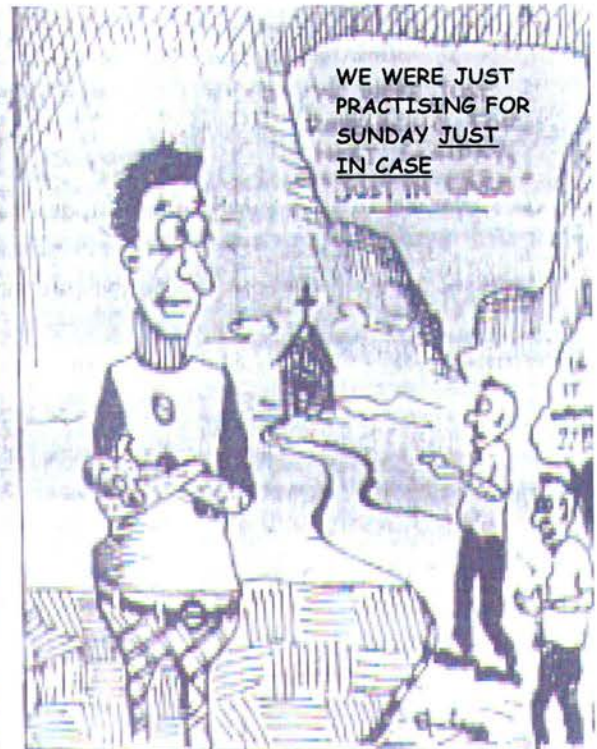
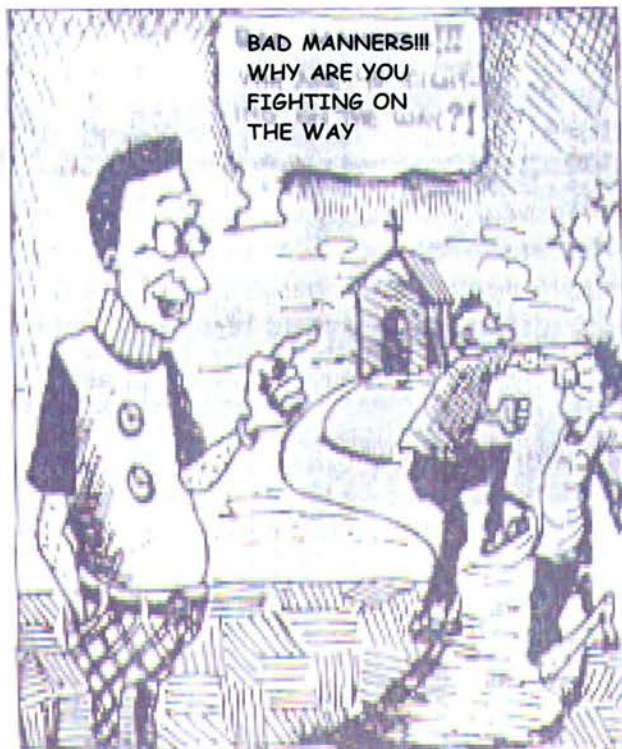
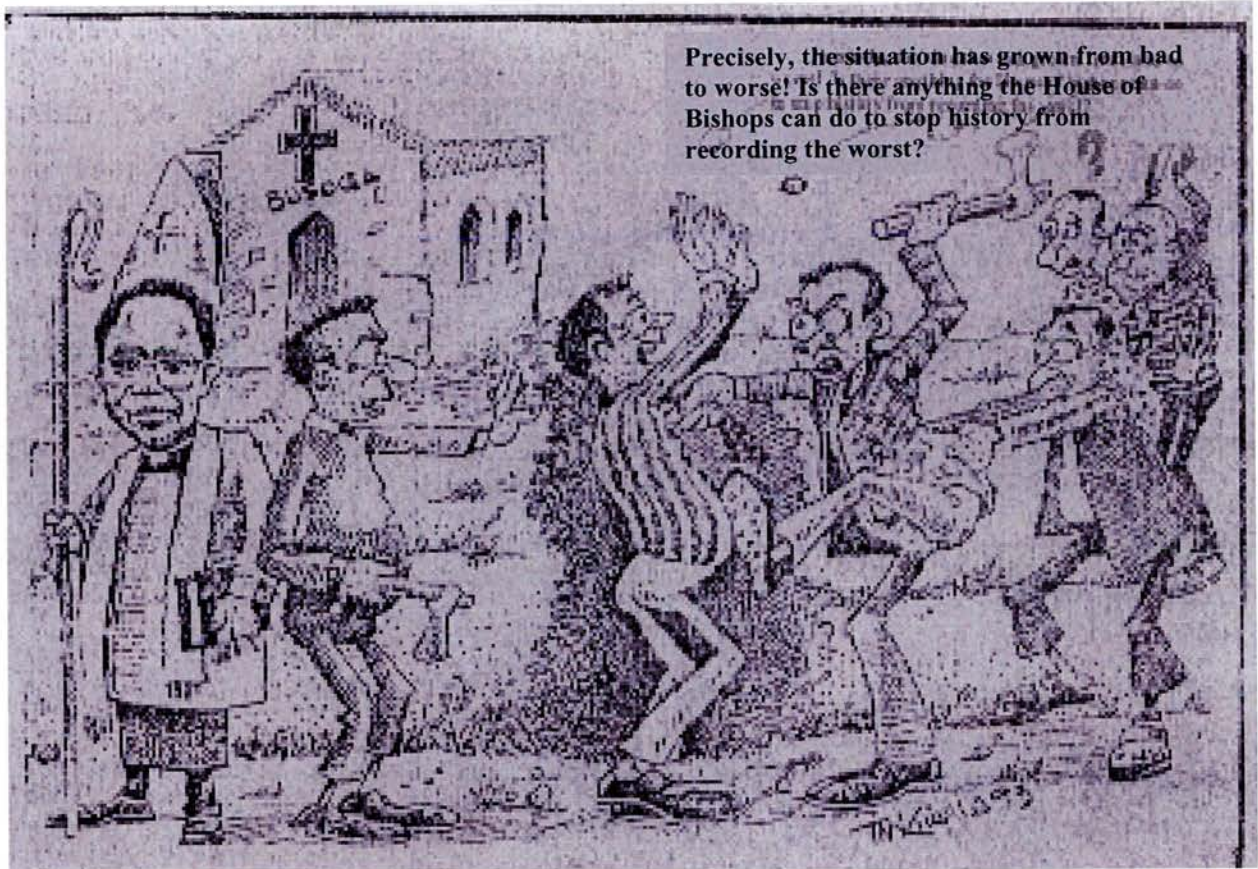
NKOYOOYO AND BAMWOZE RECONCILE

The New Vision, Thursday, January 21, 1999

Bamwoze, wife say goodbye to Bugembe Christia



APPENDIX III – CARTOONS
(NEW VISION AND NEW CENTURY FILES)





APPENDIX IV – SELECTED LETTERS/MEMORANDA/ALTIMATA

THE PROVINCE OF THE CHURCH OF UGANDA

WILLIS ROAD, NAMIHEMBE

	KAMPALA	
TELEPHONES:	OFFICE RESIDENCE	
ARCHBISHOP	270218	270177
PROVINCIAL SECRETARY	270219	271001
ASSISTANT PROVINCIAL SECRETARY	270219	
PROVINCIAL TREASURER	270120	270120
PROVINCIAL ADD. TO	270120	
GENERAL & ESTABLISHMENT OFFICE	270120	
PROVINCIAL YOUTH OFFICE	270201	



PO BOX 8027
KAMPALA
UGANDA

OUR REF:

YOUR REF:

DATE 24th August, 1987

The Christians,
Iganga and Namutumba Archdeaconaries,
BUSOGA DIOCESE.

ATT: Archdeacon Iganga

Dear Brethren,

Re: CENSATION OF IGANGA AND NAMUTUMBA ARCHDEACONARIES TO FORM A NEW DIOCESE.

I am astonished at such a move on your part to declare yourselves as a new diocese.

This move is unconstitutional and therefore as a Province of Church of Uganda we want to denounce the existence of such a diocese in our Province.

I took it upon myself to attend to you when you came to my office on the 29th April, 1987, as a Chief Shepherd, and advised you to follow the procedure of asking for a diocese through your Councils and Synod: It is therefore sad to see your letters declaring yourselves as a new diocese: I therefore condemn the action taken as unconstitutional and unwarranted.

It is my prayer that you subject yourselves to the regulations and governance of our Church as laid down in diocesan and Provincial constitutions.

Yours in Christ,

Hon. Okoth

Most Rev. Dr. Yona Okoth,
ARCHBISHOP OF UGANDA.

c.c. Bishop of Busoga.
All Bishops.

26/8/87
JKB.



CHURCH OF UGANDA

Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptising
them in the name of the Father, the Son and the
Holy Spirit II Mathew 28: 19

Telephone
P. O. Box 19
IGANGA
Uganda.

IGANGA DIOCESE

Our Ref.....

Your Ref.....

Date 2nd September, 1987.

His Grace the Archbishop of Uganda,
Dr. Yona Okoth,
Provincial Headquarters,
Namirembe,
P.O. Box 14123,
K A N P A L A.

Your Grace,

RE: CESSATION OF IGANGA AND NAKUTUMBA ARCHDEACONRIES TO FORM A NEW DIOCESE.

We salute you in the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ.

We refer to your letter dated 24th August, 1987 addressed to the Christians in Iganga and Nakutumba Archdeaconries, in which you expressed your astonishment at the move on our part to declare ourselves as a new Diocese. We have noted with a deep concern your condemnation of the move we took.

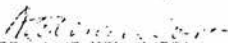
Your Grace, we assume you did not bother to read carefully our letter to you dated 16th November, 1986 regarding non-payment of the Clergy's nine months' salaries by Busoga Diocesan authority last year. Our two memoranda dated 2nd April, 1987 and 9th June, 1987. If at all you had carefully read them, and ours dated 8th August, 1987, you should not have been astonished as you state, and come to your unsympathetic decision of CONDEMNING the majority's desire for church development.

We have hereto attached a photostat copy of your letter to us dated 24th August, 1987 and that of the Acting Archdeacon of Iganga Rev. John K. Bagenda in Luganda, distorting the contents of your letter. This is a clear evidence of our statement that there is a SPIRITUAL BANKRUPTCY in our church leadership in Busoga.

Your Grace, we have frequented your Office for no reason other than the creation of IGANGA DIOCESE. We, as you see most of us, are of a respectable age. We cannot waste our elderly energy and precious time, coming to your office without a justifiable cause. In your capacity as the PRIMATE, you are Our LORD'S representative who has to listen to whoever comes to you for a spiritual healing. The contents of your letter dated 24th August, 1987, and Reverend John K. Bagenda's coverage dated 26th August, 1987 do not cure our spiritual ailment. Your tarrying in appointing a CARE-TAKER is dispersing your flock to other Christian sects, and emprovising the church. We have a lot, as church elders, that we have tolerated in Our Diocesan poor leadership. We should not like to be forced to "reveal the concealed" by your inflexible decision, which Our Lord Jesus plainly teaches us in the Gospel according to St. Mathew Chapter 10 verses 26 and 27.

Let us end in trust that you shall appoint a CARE-TAKER over IGANGA DIOCESE as we requested.

Yours in the services of Our Lord Jesus Christ,


AMULAPARI KISAMBIRA,
CHAIRMAN.

+ Yona Okoth

Most Rev. Dr. Yona Okoth.

ARCHBISHOP OF UGANDA.

CHURCH OF UGANDA

PLANNING, DEVELOPMENT AND REHABILITATION PROGRAMME
CENTENARY ROAD, NAMIREMBE HILL.

TELEPHONES:

	OFFICE	RESIDENCE
ARCHBISHOP	270218	270177
PROVINCIAL SECRETARY	270216	271081
ASSISTANT PROVINCIAL SECRETARY	270219	
PROVINCIAL TREASURER	270120	270120
PROVINCIAL AUDITOR	270120	
GENERAL & ESTATES OFFICE	270120	
PROVINCIAL YOUTH OFFICE	270201	
PLANNING, DEVELOPMENT AND REHABILITATION OFFICE	271592/3	



P.O. BOX 14123
KAMPALA
UGANDA
TELEX: 62014
KANISA.U.G.

OUR REF:

YOUR REF:

DATE: 6 April 1990

Rev. Vasco D.G. Jacob K. Wangola
Ag. Diocesan Secretary
Busoga Diocese
P.O. Box 1098
JIBJA.

Dear Rev. Wangola,

Re: Review of the Diocesan Structure

This is in response to your letter of April 3, 1990, enquiring about recommendations that the Planning, Development and Rehabilitation office might have for the Synod of your Diocese when it meets on Wednesday, April 11, 1990.

I deeply regret this late communication to you. It is not due to our failure to complete the write-up of our study or to give serious thought to the implications of the study's recommendation of the Evaluation Team which I headed, for the Diocese. Rather, in reviewing the structure of Busoga Diocese, we discovered that the structure of the diocese is not very different from that of other dioceses of the Province which your diocese is a constituent member.

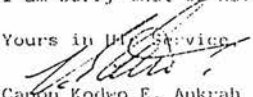
Our conclusion, therefore, has been that it is up to the Leadership of Busoga Diocese to observe the rules and regulations as embodied in the Diocesan Constitution, if the diocese is to run efficiently and effectively as any other diocese in the Province.

Third, we conclude from our findings that it would be more advantageous to Busoga Diocese if it had an impartial, outside agency to study and recommend how best the Diocese can be administered more efficiently. PR is within the Church of Uganda system.

Our impression was that a substantial number of the people interviewed knew exactly what they wanted to be done, but they were not prepared to commit themselves to specific positions, or points of view. Perhaps, people of the diocese would be more forthright in their statements if the diocese were to engage an outside body, preferably an institution or individuals not resident in Uganda.

I am sorry that we have not communicated our position to you much earlier.

Yours in Chr. Service,


Carlton Kodwo E. Ankrach
COORDINATOR



CHRIST'S CATHEDRAL, BUGEMBE

BUSOGA DIOCESE - CHURCH OF UGANDA (Anglican)

Office: Cathedral Precincts

P.O. Box 1477, Jinja-Uganda
Telephone: (256-043) 20329
TelFAX: 22050

Our Ref: _____

Your Ref: _____

Date: 6th September, 1992.

The Rt. Rev. C.K. Bamwoze,
Busoga Diocese.

Sir,

RE: VOTE OF NO CONFIDENCE:

Whereas we the undersigned Christians of Bugembe Christ's Cathedral meeting today the 6th day of September, 1992 at the Christ's Cathedral do hereby resolve ~~A VOTE OF NO CONFIDENCE~~ on you the Rt. Rev. C.K. Bamwoze as the Bishop of Busoga on the following grounds:-

1. That on receipt of the DEAN's (Rev. Canon Eng.J.M.N. Zikusooka) letter of resignation dated the 20th August, 1992 addressed to you and copied to us, among others, we the Christians of Christ's Cathedral wholly acknowledged the contents contained therein as true to the best of our knowledge, information, belief and understanding.
2. That having observed that for the last 20 years of residual control of the office of Busoga Diocese/Dean, you have not initiated any balanced development within the Cathedral and/or the Diocese. You will remember that at one time a contingent Committee of 7 people chaired by Hon. D.J.K. Nabeta was formed to look for ways of renovating the falling Cathedral but you vehemently opposed and frustrated its endeavors. The said members had to withdraw their pledges of shs.1,000,000/= each which they had promised to contribute.



CHRIST'S CATHEDRAL, BUGEMBE

BUSOGA DIOCESE - CHURCH OF UGANDA (Anglican)

Office: Cathedral Precincts

P.O. Box 1477, Jinja-Uganda

Telephone: (256-043) 20329

TelFAX: 22050

Our Ref: _____

Your Ref: _____

Date: 6th September, 1992.

3. That we the entire Christians of this Cathedral learnt it with dismay that you unlawfully and/or without any claim of right stopped the exercise of raising funds for the repair of our falling Cathedral, an act which we felt was contrary to your line of work and an abuse to the Laity who were contributing funds from their meager resources.
4. That you have leashed an antagonistic relationship between yourself as the Bishop, the Clergy and the Laitys, to the extent that for many years you have failed even to convene not only the Diocesan Council but the Synod as well.
5. That for the last three years or so, you have abandoned the Cathedral and the official residence at Bugembe opting for your personal residence at Nakimegere. Notwithstanding the above ground, you also abandoned all your children without shelter and food - thereby rendering your own children paupers. Now the mere fact that you can fail to control your own family is a sure sign that you can no longer control the Diocese [1Tim:3] and Titus 1:1 ff
6. That there has been rampant misuse of the Diocesan funds. A case at hand is the recent acquisition of a Palace at Nakabango at the tune of shs. 75,000,000/= [Seventy five million shillings only] using MSRDP funds, to the detriment of the Basoga Christians who are the sole beneficiaries to the said programme.
7. That it is important to note that you are popularly known for avoiding problems within your Diocese without any solution. e.g. when the Walukuba Christians refused Rev. Kibedi Nswemu [for having attempted to commit suicide] you turned a deaf ear, St. James Church of Uganda, Christ's Cathedral, to mention but a few.



CHRIST'S CATHEDRAL, BUGEMBE

BUSOGA DIOCESE - CHURCH OF UGANDA (Anglican)

Office: Cathedral Precincts

P.O. Box 1477, Jinja-Uganda

Telephone: (256-043) 20329

TelFAX: 22050

Our Ref: _____

Date: 6th Sept 2002

Your Ref: _____

8. That once Hon. D.J.K. Nabeta, Rev. Canon Eng. Zikusooka, Rev. V. Wangoola and Mr. Kate approached you with the view of looking for a lasting solution to the growing rift between you and Rev.Eng. Zikusooka but that you became adamant and instead resorted to rebuking him publically in the Cathedral before his own flock. To us this contravenes the work of **God** for which you were called.

We however thank you for the services you rendered and the interest you still showed in continuing to serve despite the expiry of 20 years.

May **God** Bless you. **Amen** .

CHAIRMAN

- | | |
|--|---|
| c.c. The Archbishop,
Church of Uganda. | " The District Administrator,
Jinja District. |
| " The Chancellor,
Busoga Diocese. | " The District Police Commander,
Jinja District |
| " The Diocesan Secretary,
Busoga Diocese. | " The District Special Branch,
Jinja District. |
| " All Archdeacons,
Busoga Diocese. | " The District Security Officer,
Jinja District. |
| | " All the Parishes,
Busoga Diocese. |

BUSOGA DIOCESAN STEERING COMMITTEE,
P.O. BOX 968,
JINJA.

Ref: Document No. 3.

1st October, 1992.

The Rt. Rev. C.K. Bamwoze,
P.O. Box 1658,
JINJA.

REF: LOSS OF CONFIDENCE.

On 22nd September, 1992, a meeting held at St. James Church, Jinja, of over 1500 Christians of the Church of Uganda from all the Seven Archdeacons of Busoga Diocese, resolved on a Vote of No Confidence in you as Bishop of Busoga with immediate effect.

This resolution was arrived at after realizing that you had lost the qualifications and qualities of a Spiritual Leader like a Bishop.

Any attempt to officiate at any religious function purporting as Bishop of Busoga, shall tantamount to trespassing and done at your own risk. You are duly informed and warned.



D.J.K. Nabeeta

CHAIRMAN BUSOGA DIOCESAN STEERING COMMITTEE.

For and on behalf of all the Christians of Busoga Diocese.

- c.c
- The Archbishop of Uganda.
 - The Diocesan Secretary, Busoga Diocese, Jinja
 - The House of Bishops.
 - The D.As Jinja, Iganga, Kamuli.
 - The Archdeacons - Busoga Diocese.
 - The Regional Police Commander South East.
 - The Chairman House of Clergy - Busoga Diocese.
 - The D.P.Cs Jinja, Iganga, Kamuli.
 - The D.S.Os Jinja, Iganga, Kamuli.
 - Special Branch Jinja, Iganga, Kamuli.
 - RC WY Chairmen Jinja, Iganga, Kamuli.

Kamuli Archdeaconary,
P.O. Box 10
Kamuli

17th October, 1992

The Most Rev.
The Archbishop of Uganda
Dr. Yona Okoth

Your Grace,

BISHOP CYPRIAN BAMWOZE STILL BISHOP OF BUSOGA DIOCESE

The meeting of Christians of the Church of Uganda Kamuli Archdeaconary held at St. Paul Church, at Kamuli on Sunday 17/10/92 entrusted the undersigned to present their dissatisfaction and discontent of what is being done by a few individuals in blackmailing the Bishop and at the same time disintegrate the entire Christian Community in Busoga diocese.

It is most unfortunate that most of complainants and accusers of the Bishop of Busoga are some of the old unsuccessful politicians of the past, who after frequent failures in today's political systems have turned to the Church in order to cure their curiosity. Though learned in their respective careers, they have failed to exhibit their capability in the Ministry of God. This was displayed in the way they refuted the Diocese's constitution which has been followed for the last twenty years. Brain stommers as they claim to be, they would have forwarded their proposals to be enacted in the Constitution through the church relevant committees namely, Parish councils, Archdeaconary Councils, the Diocesan council and then to the Synod.

It was quite embarrassing to hear from the confusers claiming that there were no established organs for them to refer their grievances EXCEPT the Archbishop. But Your Grace can that be true?

We would like to report to Your Grace that in Busoga Diocese we begin from the grassroot of the many individual churches big and small, sub-parish councils, Parish Councils Archdeaconary councils, Diocesan council and finally the Synod. All these are established organs which should have discussed the Bishop's issue but the opposition group disregarded the opinions of all X-tians and all councils in the entire Diocese.

THE DEAN'S LETTER

The Christians in the Archdeaconary read and digested and considered the Dean's resignation as being timely because he found himself unfit to cope with the Bishop. Here below are our opinions regarding the Dean's resignation:-

.../2

1. Before Rev. Zikusoka was appointed Dean of Christ's Cathedral, no advertisement was made either through the House of the Clergy or the press, just as no notices were broadcast after his appointment. The X-tians therefore condemn Rev. Zikusoka for dramatizing his resignation to the entire Nation and the World over.
2. The X-tians noted with great concern that Rev. Zikusoka was still very immature in the Ministry's affair. He had not learnt the logistics, confidence and Secrecy in the whole affair.
3. Young as he is in the Ministry he thought that after being appointed the Dean, he would be above the Bishop who appointed him. This was exhibited in the way he reacted to the Bishop's opinions regarding the renovation of the Cathedral. He thought that the Chapter of which he was Chairman was above the Bishops jurisdiction yet as far as the Administration of the Cathedral is concerned the Bishop is above any other person as the leader of ALL Christians in the diocese.
4. Rev. Zikusoka formerly the Dean of Christ's Cathedral Bugembe, instigated and applied his influence to the laity of that church in making immature resolutions of no confidence in the Bishop Bamwoze. But surely the Christians in the Archdeaconary with great concern castigate such a move because the Cathedral does not belong to the few christians around Bugembe or Jinja town alone. It is a cathedral for the Christians in the entire diocese of Busoga because for a number of years they all contributed to its construction. Therefore the vote of "No confidence" in the Bishop was presumptuous and abusive not only to him as the Bishop but to the Christians in the Diocese. After all what role did the Laity of Christ's Cathedral Bugembe play in the demarcation of Busoga as a diocese. So the resolution was void and null as far as christians in the diocese were concerned. All these unconstitutional moves were ignited by Rev. Zikusoka who did not know the hierarchy in the administration of the Church. We wonder how he was going to manage the Cathedral's affairs.
5. It was at Zikusoka's instigation that the gathering at St. James took place. That gathering was dominated by the non Christians and aimed at dividing the Anglican Church. It is therefore deceitful to claim that over 1500 (one thousand five hundred) Christians attended the gathering. After all, St. James cannot sit even 1,000 people. The gathering was illegal because it was not authorised by the Church administration organs. It was just a collection of people of all denominations who cannot pass a vote of no confidence in the Bishop of an Anglican Church of Uganda such as Busoga Diocese.

To us the Christians in Kamuli Archdeaconary that action was aimed at defiling the spiritual post of the Bishop in our congregation. We have since learned that the vote of No confidence was instigated by Jinja individuals who have grudges with Bishop Bamwoze. Therefore the vote is unacceptable and misleading as far as the Christians in Busoga diocese and Kamuli Archdeaconary in particular are concerned.

..../3

BISHOP C.K. BAMWOZE UNDER FALSE ALLEGATIONS

The Christians in the Archdeaconary looked at and assessed the reasons for rejecting Bishop CK Bamwoze as being allegations which were inspired by the people who had ill feelings about the developments currently taking place in the diocese. Here below were the analysis made by the Christians after a thorough consultations of particular key heads in the diocese:

1. In their reason one the gathering accused the Bishop of having refused to permit fundraising exercises for the repair of the Cathedral at Bugembe. The Bishop as a responsible person in the Cathedral accepted the renovation programme of the cathedral but the means through which funds were to be collected were not satisfying namely (a) Organisers of the fundraising had wanted to lend one million each to the cathedral which would be returned with a big interest. To that Bishop Bamwoze refused because it was like any other commercial transaction and not a gift to God's work. (b) The then Dean and the Chapter did not want to disclose to the Bishop the other methods they were to apply in fundraising. For example one of the methods included going around to various churches in all the Archdeaconaries without the approval of the Diocesan Council which contravenes the regulations of the Diocese. Therefore due to those two major reasons the Bishop refused to be bull dozed by the Dean and the Chapter.
2. Definitely the Bishop recognised the Office of Dean but the Dean himself wanted to operate in isolation which was against the working relationship with the Bishop as the Head of the Cathedral. In other words the Dean did not understand his roles properly because he wanted to dictate to the Bishop.
3. The Chapter had full powers in carrying out any work but because they had been misled by the Dean they thought they could do a lot without the knowledge of the Bishop which was impossible. So the misconception of the roles of the Dean and Chapter created a grieving atmosphere among the concerned.
4. They alleged that the Bishop looks/upon the clergy and the Laity. The Christians commended the Bishops endeavours in Educating the congregation, and the Ministry of God needs such leaders who are frank and straight forward. Such people are misunderstood and misquoted by many backward people otherwise he would not be able to initiate development projects namely; Initiation of many Archdeaconaries; parishes and construction of many churches which are all due to the good mobilization of the Bishop. The accusers expected a yes answer to every claim forwarded to the Bishop which is not a good quality of a leader.
5. Lack of work programme for the entire Diocese; to this the Christians regarded the confusers as blind to what is being done in the Diocese.

Programmes have always been made from the grassroot of even the smallest church in the village, then at sub parish, parish archdeaconary up to the diocese. To accuse the Bishop of failing to promote development was to exhibit ignorance of

.../4

what is going on in the diocese. Those who said that there was no development were people who lived in Jinja Town and do not visit rural areas. Many of them in spite of having held important posts in the country had done absolutely nothing for their village areas or for Busoga in general. They should therefore be invited to see the following developments:-

(a) Water: Over 180 shallow wells and boreholes have been constructed by the Busoga diocese.

(b) Health: Busoga diocese runs 45 dispensaries in rural areas. Busoga diocese is only second to government in the Immunization Programme since 1980. Busoga Diocese is the leading organisation in offering family Planning services. It is even now training government Medical Officers in the field.

(c) Afforestation:- Busoga diocese has embarked on a big programme to plant forests. It runs 15 nurseries all over Busoga. Then what sort of work programmes did they mean?

6. On many occasions the Bishop expounded the reasons why the Assistant Bishop post was still vacant. One of them being that many of the Clergy do not qualify. We know that those pushing the current confusion are the same people who some years back were behind the move to divide the Diocese. Having failed in their misguided intentions have now decided to bring confusion in the diocese by blackmailing the Bishop. The Bishop usually works in consultations with the Diocesan council which aids in making resolutions in the diocese.
7. They accused the Bishop of not having records of Diocesan Assets especially those at the Cathedral. This is a misdirected accusation because that is the work of the Estates Officer which was established in 1976. Since then the Officer concerned is responsible for all the assets in the Diocese including those at the Cathedral. Surprisingly one of the people who once held that office is one of the agitators.

8. Lack of flexibility and being uncompromising:-

The congregation observed that this was a lie because much of the work in the diocese is under the control of other specified persons and boards. All the finances and accounts of the Diocese are run by the finance Board of which the Bishop is not a signatory, but Mr. J. Kafuko is!

The Bishop usually has no decision made by himself because around him are a number of advisory committees namely: Archdeaconary committee, Diocesan house of the Clergy, Diocesan Council, and the Synod.

He is accused of failing to start a University at Mwiri. This project is still under study and can not be hurried.

As regards Bishop Hannington Memorial Theological College. This was not the responsibility of the Bishop alone.

All christians including those making noise now are duty bound to give generously to speed up the setting up of the college.

10. The Bishop was accused of deserting the Diocesan seat at Bugembe - throwing the flock into dissaray. That accusation should have been directed at the Christians including the complainants. The house was breaking down and indeed it requires major repairs. The diocese has never found alternative housing for the Bishop yet he demands no housing allowances. This accusation just shows how some people do not care about the lives of others.

The Christians in the Kamuli Archdeaconary therefore apologise before you and the Bishop of Busoga for having failed to renovate and provide him with accommodation.

11. The complainants accused the Bishop of having no programme for anybody to take over when he retires and said it is deliberate. The congregation did not see any intentions in that as they used the word deliberate because currently there are a number of Clergy who are training at degree and Master degrees level like Rev. J. Magumba. He has also ordained Rev. Dr. Tuma. He therefore can not hinder the progress of the Diocese, only that those complaining wanted him to do things prematurely. The Bishop knows his duty as a shepherd.

To assure you the people to take the post of the Bishop after his retirement are there and they are undergoing the necessary preparations therefore there is no reason why we should accept such dubious and malicious allegations from selfish ends.

12. As regards the Diocesan constitution the congregation proved beyond doubt its existence. Could be it lacked publication due to the intentions of some people concerned otherwise it is there well endorsed. They wondered how such a large congregation could run without regulations.

13. Dictatorial Administration: - Having a well structured line of administration the congregation wondered how the complainants accused the Bishop of being a dictator. In matters concerning the administration of the parishes, the parish councils have their established roles which cannot be interrupted by the Diocesan Administration.

The Archdeaconary Councils and the Diocesan councils are also identified organs which make their own resolutions. The Synod as a policy maker of the Diocese is so evenly represented that they found no loophole in it.

The Diocesan appointments was established and it is in full operation.

14. The congregation wondered how the complainants ACCUSED THE Bishop of having failed to control his own children. As you are also aware children are individuals, so they can fall even the most strict father and the bishop is not an exception. Child rearing has no formula therefore we should leave domestic affairs to the individuals concerned. We learnt with regret that even the accusers had similar problems but they chose to reflect only on the Bishop's children and forgot theirs.

.../6

Therefore the statement that the Rev. C.K. Bamwoze had lost his qualifications as a Bishop is immaterial.

On the list of issues to be taken up the Christians of Kamuli archdeaconary got the following views after a thorough debate:-

1. The minority group which is claiming to be 1500 people cannot dictate to about a million christians in the Diocese. It is a small fraction which has no powers over the Bishop. Therefore their application for the appointment of a cate-taker Bishop is nul and void as far as the church of Uganda's constitution is concerned.

2. Their allegation that the constitution is non existent is false, how would the Provincial administration have allowed the establishment of a new diocese without an approved constitution.

It should be noted that in one of the synod meetings the Bishop asked the Diocesan secretary to print out copies of the constitution and make them available to the members of the synod and deocesan council. But the Diocesan Secretary has failed to do this, yet hs one of the controllers of the diocesan funds.

3. Freezing of diocesan Bank accounts is uncalled for because Bishop is not a signatory on any of them as he was advised by the synod not to be one of the signatories. He is even not a member of the Finance Board.

4. Auditing of Diocesan funds and Fixed assets is the work of the finance Board. It makes arrangements each year and presents a report to the Diocesan council. It is the Finance Board which is responsible for diocesan funds and they are the ones to pass or refuse any requisition made which they think is worthwhile to be implemented as empowered by the synod and Diocesan council.

5. The rejection of Bishop Bamwoza was unlawfully and un constitutional therefore we stand firm to urge you to continue recognising him as the Bishop of Busoga Diocese. We still urge the Bishop to visit churches as programmed.

CONCLUSION

Your Grace you would have noted that those people did not have any knowledge of church issues and constitution. They even dictated to you to accept their own misguided side and rush you in taking wrong steps before you could hear from the Bishop. They went ahead to say that the synod was non existent yet the members of the synod were elected from the grass root churches at all levels, and not as they falsely alleged. We were glad with the education the provincial secretary gave them.

Secondly as earlier pointed out the constitution exists therefore the allegation is null and void. The complainants should have only appealed to the Bishop to revise and make some amendments to the existing constitution if this was the wish of the Christians. It is unchristian to stage coups.

...//

Your grace we are of the view that these people have got their own motives and you should note that in Busoga diocese there has never been a set up Busoga diocesan steering committee. It is self appointed. Diocesan councils and committees are set by the synod.

As regards the leader of the delegation which came to you, Mr. Joel Kafuko, he is the Chairman of the house of laity of St. James church which he has misled. He has instigated the Christians to reject the priests posted to that church meanwhile ordering the Bishop to report Rev. Wandera John whom the Bishop has suspended from the Ministry's work.

On the issue of copies sent to various government officials we think that this being a church issue it had no connection with government officials. It should be noted that through their ignorance they appealed to the Government by the fact that they gave to it copies of their letters, yet the government has always said that it cannot interfere with religious matters. The solution they should have thought of was to advise the Bishop to call the Diocesan council.

In their conclusion they made reference to Daniel 5 to end, which ends in a tragic situation. To us it carries an implication that they are ready to murder the Bishop. We therefore bring it to your notice that if it happens then Mr. Joel Kafuko and Mr. D.J.K. Nabeta will be answerable. They have also promised to embarrass the Bishop if he visited churches in Busoga.

Your Grace, the delegation before you has been sent by all the Christians in the entire Archdeaconary who sat and refuted the allegations being directed to the Bishop of Busoga The Rt. Rev. C.K. Bamwoze. We therefore request you to accept them on our behalf and if possible discuss with them matters pertaining to the Diocese of Busoga.

BALEMUGUIRA MARTIN
LEADER OF DELEGATION
KANULI ARCHDEACONARY

- c.c. The House of Bishops
- " The Bishop of Busoga The Rt. Rev. C.K. Bamwoza
- " The Diocesan Secretary
- " The Archdeacon
- " The Chairman - House of Clergy - Busoga Diocese
- " Mr. D.J.K. Nabeta and J. Kafuko

Ref: DOC/38/93

BUSOGA DIOCESAN STEERING
COMMITTEE,
P.O. BOX 1477,
JINJA.

March 29th, 1993

The Archbishop of Uganda,
The most Rev. Dr. Yona Okoth.

Dear Sir,

RE: CONTROL MEASURES IN BUSOGA DIOCESE

Greetings in Christ Jesus our Lord.

The Busoga Diocesan crisis is now over six month old, and yet problems recur. Your office was informed in time about the situation such that you would engage in constructive remedy. All response from your office seemed laggard and recant to find a viable solution to the saga. Your committee of the House of Bishops has also failed to come out with any recommendations in the right time. Our christians wonder what interest you derive in seeing the Church get divided and your decision to keep indifferent at the expense of ideal Christian Unity and Harmony. It is most unlikely that you, and your House of Bishops can ever come out with any positive measures to contain the Busoga Diocese Saga.

This is therefore to inform you that we shall put an end to the problems by taking up the following measures in the near future:-

- 1) Taking control of the Diocesan Administration, assets and liabilities.
- 2) Re-organising the Diocese in conformity with the objectives of our revolution - i.e. having a clean church based on transparency, and democratic governance.
3. Draft a Diocesan Constitution which is suitable for contemporary Church in modern community.
4. Electing our Bishop whom we shall request you to consecrate, incase he is not already a Rt. Reverand.
- 5) Should you refuse to recognize our Bishop or get one consecrated, then we shall declare Busoga Diocese a separate entity from the province of Church of Uganda, in the same Anglican community and fellowship.

Yours in Christ's Service,

David J.K. Nabeta
CHAIRMAN - BUSOGA DIOCESAN STEERING COMMITTEE

c.c. H.E. Dr. Samson Kiseka,
Vice President &
Minister of Internal Affairs,
Uganda.



BUSOGA DIOCESE

CHURCH OF UGANDA

P. O. Box 1658
Tel: Office 20999
Bishop's House 20617
JINJA-Uganda

ADM.5/2/II

Our Ref _____

Your Ref _____

Date _____

The Archbishop of Uganda
The Most Rev. L. Mpalanyi Nkoyoyo
The Province of the Church of Uganda
P.O. Box 14123
KAMPALA.

Your Grace,

Re: OUR OPEN LETTER TO YOU AS ARCHBISHOP

We send you warm christian greetings.

It has seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us that we should write this letter to you to express to you and to the general public the truth that you know about what has been going on in Busoga since the earlier part of 1992.

1. Your Grace, you know as do all the Bishops and many other people both in Uganda and overseas that what we have suffered in Busoga over the past three years was purely as a result of the succession struggle to the office of Archbishop. It has erroneously been called Busoga Crisis or Busoga Conflict. It has been nothing else but a power struggle at the centre of the Church of Uganda. The question then was; "who is likely to be the next Archbishop of Uganda?"

You know the details better than I do, having been a very serious participant in that struggle, Your Grace. That struggle came to an end on the 4th of December 1994 with your election as the new Archbishop of Uganda. We happily gave you our vote. God knows the truth of what we say.

We had hoped that that would mark the end to our troubles in Busoga. The cause of our suffering had very little to do with us if at all. Busoga is being made the locus for the power struggle at the centre. It has happened once and the effects have been terrible for us. We see signs of renewal of that activity again. We are therefore, prompted to say the following:

2. Soon after you had been installed as Archbishop of Uganda, you invited the Bishop of Busoga and his wife to come and meet you with you wife at Mukono. At that meeting you expressed your fear of us in these words: "Abantu bebuuzza nti Archbishop anaakolagana atya n'oli?" - How will the Archbishop work with Oli?" "Oli" in that context meant the Bishop of Busoga Cyprian Bamwoza. We laboured to assure you of our full loyalty and our full support in all matters lawful and godly. That position still stands. We said then that if we could contribute to your success as Archbishop of Uganda, it would be our greatest pleasure and privilege. The Church of Uganda needs an Archbishop and you happen to be that Archbishop now.

3. In spite of our assurance to you, Your Grace, your fear of us appears to persist. The result is a renewed power struggle. The question now is: who will be the next Dean of the Church of Uganda? The answer is obvious according to the Constitution of the Church of Uganda. It is that obvious answer that seems to scare you stiff. We are telling you in writing, and we want the whole world to know that we have no interest whatsoever in that power struggle. We believe that the following will bring greater glory to God and relieve the hearts of many of unwarranted anxiety.

"WE, CYPRIAN, BY DIVINE PERMISSION BISHOP OF BUSOGA, THE MOST SENIOR DIOCESAN BISHOP IN THE CHURCH OF UGANDA TODAY, HAVING BEEN ENTHRONED BISHOP OF BUSOGA ON AUGUST 13TH 1972; DO MAKE KNOWN UNTO THE MOST REVEREND LIVINGSTONE MPALANYI NKYOYO, THE ARCHBISHOP OF UGANDA, AND UNTO ALL PEOPLE, THAT WE HAVE THIS, THE 5TH DAY OF THE MONTH OF OCTOBER, IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD ONE THOUSAND NINE HUNDRED AND NINETY FIVE, VOLUNTARILY DECIDED TO RELINQUISH ALL OUR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS TO BE THE NEXT DEAN OF THE CHURCH OF UGANDA.

HAVING FIRST CONSIDERED THE GREATER GOOD OF THE PEOPLE OF BUSOGA AND THE CHURCH OF UGANDA.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF WE HAVE CAUSED OUR EPISCOPAL SEAL TO BE HEREUNTO AFFIXED THE DAY AND YEAR ABOVE WRITTEN, AND IN THE TWENTY FOURTH YEAR OF OUR CONSECRATION.

4. It will, therefore, greatly assist us in implementing No.3 above if you will:
 - (a) Signify to us in writing your acceptance of our expressed desire.
 - (b) Request the Chancellor of the Province to advise us in writing with a copy to you, as to how the exercise would be undertaken without contravening the constitutional provisions regarding the Office of Dean of the Church. We wish to conduct this matter in an orderly and godly manner.

"Finally, brother, whatever is true, whatever is honourable, whatever is just, whatever is pure, whatever is lovely, whatever is gracious, if there is my excellence, if there is anything

worthy of praise, think about these things and the God of peace
will be with you." Phillipian 4:8.

Yours respectfully,



Rt. Rev. Cyprian K. Banwoze
BISHOP OF EUGOGA.

THE CHURCH OF THE PROVINCE OF UGANDA
WILLIS ROAD, NAMIREMBE

TELEPHONES:	OFFICE	PALACE	RESIDENCE	
ARCHBISHOP	270218	271138		P.O. BOX 14123
PROVINCIAL SECRETARY	270219		271081	KAMPALA
PROVINCIAL TREASURER	270218/9		272504	UGANDA
MISSION COORDINATOR	270218/9			
	251925(FX & TEL)			
PROVINCIAL- EDUCATION SECRETARY	270218/9			DATE:.....
PROVINCIAL YOUTH OFFICE	270218			
MOTHER'S UNION	272500/270218/9			



1 September 1997

Rev. Samuel Lubogo

Dear Rev. Lubogo,

It has been observed and reported that you have occupied the Bishop's house at Bugembe and have taken on the leadership of the Cathedral. Because of this we are writing this letter with great dismay and deep concern.

You received a letter from the Archbishop authorizing you to return to Busoga Diocese to work as a parish priest. In several discussions with His Grace, the Provincial Secretary and the Archbishop's Chaplain you were told you were not to return to Bugembe in any capacity. On Friday 29 August 1997 you told the PS that you agreed not to go to Bugembe but that you would be going to Iganga. On 27 August 1997 you had even signed a document that stated that you were in fact going to Iganga. (See attached).

It was to our great surprise to discover that you had defied the wishes of His Grace and had occupied the Bishop's house.

This act indirectly states that you are assuming the position of a Bishop and the Province looks upon this as disobedience and insubordination to His Grace the Archbishop of the Church of Uganda who is also the Caretaker Bishop of Busoga Diocese.

The authority of the Archbishop was demonstrated at the wedding of the Kyabazinga's son on Saturday 30 September 1997 when he sent Bishop Mukasa to officiate at that function being assisted by Rev. Dr. Tom Tuma and Rev. Dr. Chris Palacas. Your robing you to assist at that function was an embarrassment and a very unfortunate spectacle. It was very wise of you to remove your robes after being advised.

It also has been brought to our attention that on Sunday 31 September 1997 it was announced by Mr. Fred Mukobe, that he as Diocesan Secretary, has posted you to the Cathedral. As was stated from the Provincial Office in a news release on 26 August 1997, The Archbishop and House of Bishops had not sanctioned or approved the formation of any Diocesan Council. The Caretaker Bishop has not appointed a Diocesan Secretary. Neither has he appointed you to be his representative to Busoga nor posted you as a priest at Christ's Cathedral Bugembe. Therefore your posting to Bugembe is not valid.

If you remain at Bugombe and defy the legal organs of the Church of Uganda you will block any dealings with the Caretaker Bishop and will be counted as a rebel by the Church of Uganda.

We are all aware of the need for Pastoral Care by a Bishop in Busoga. Thus on 1 June 1997 the conditions for a Bishop to come to Busoga were clearly spelled out at a meeting of the Steering Committee. These conditions still stand. Also it is required for you and all others to vacate the Bishop's House. When this happens a Bishop will be prepared to come to conduct Confirmation Tours as well as other Pastoral and Administrative duties.

Unfortunately your actions and the actions of the Steering Committee's council are directly blocking any hope of reconciliation and rebuilding of Busoga Diocese.

My dear brother, you have been in the Church of Uganda many years and are well versed with the Canons that govern behavior of the clergy. Because of this we appeal to you to examine your heart and motives so that you will be able to return to the arms of the Church in humility and repentance.

Yours in Christ,



Rev. Canon George Katwesigye
PROVINCIAL SECRETARY AND BISHOP-ELECT KIGEZI DIOCESE

c.c. The Archbishop of the Church of Uganda/Caretaker Bishop
Busoga Diocese
The Provincial Chancellor
The Diocesan Chancellor
Rev. Dr. Chris Palacas

THE CHURCH OF THE PROVINCE OF UGANDA

WILLIS ROAD, NARIIREMBE

TELEPHONES:	OFFICE	PALACE	RESIDENCE
ARCHBISHOP	270218	271138	
PROVINCIAL SECRETARY	270219		271081
PROVINCIAL TREASURER	270218/9		272504
MISSION COORDINATOR	270218/9		
	251925(FX & TEL)		
PROVINCIAL- EDUCATION SECRETARY	270218/9		
PROVINCIAL YOUTH OFFICE	270218		
MOTHER'S UNION	272500/270218/9		



P.O. BOX 14123
KAMPALA
UGANDA

DATE:.....

A PASTORAL LETTER
FROM: ARCHBISHOP LIVINGSTONE MPALANYI NKOYOYO
CURRENT CARE-TAKER BISHOP OF BUSOGA DIOCESE

TO: ALL CLERGY AND CHRISTIANS IN THE DIOCESE OF BUSOGA
18 FEBRUARY 1997

Dear Brothers and Sisters in Christ,

It is my desire that this letter will give you information that will guide you as you continue to work for reconciliation in your Diocese. You all know that the need for unity and reconciliation in Busoga is of utmost importance. We are all called to be ambassadors of reconciliation as we follow our Lord Jesus Christ's command and walk in His footsteps.

I want to give you information that is important for Busoga Diocese since the Provincial Assembly in August 1996 and the House of Bishops in January 1997.

I am sure you are all familiar with the process of election, consecration and enthronement of Bishops. At such functions the Bishop takes the oath of canonical obedience to the Archbishop of The Church of Uganda and his lawful successors and gives his consent to the constitution of the Province. Further to this, the Bishop on such occasion undertakes to offer his resignation of the See of his Diocese to the Archbishop of the Province when requested to do so by the Diocesan Bishops. In the case of your Diocese, Bishop Bamwoze signed this oath and declaration on the 13th August 1972.

"Canon 3.12.2.a

THE OATH

I,..... swear by Almighty God that I will pay true and Canonical obedience to the Archbishop of the Church of the Province of Uganda in all things lawful and honest, so help me God.

THE DECLARATION

I,.....undertake to offer my resignation of the service of to the Archbishop of the Church of the Province of Uganda if requested to do so by a two thirds (2/3) majority of the Diocesan Bishops."

When The House of Bishops asked Bishop Bamwoze to take an early retirement it was doing so according to the constitution and the Canons that govern the Province of the Church of Uganda. It is not the Diocesan Council which appointed Bishop Bamwoze nor can the Diocesan Council re-call him into office.

- a. The action of early retirement was initiated by the House of Bishops on the basis of their oath of conduct thus they do not have to refer the matter to the synod or council.

The Bishop of Busoga Diocese, The Rt. Rev. Cyprian Bamwoze was ill advised to disobey the Archbishop of the Province and to cut off all dealings with the Provincial Headquarters.

All people in Busoga need to know that the current legal authority of the Church of Uganda in Busoga Diocese is The Archbishop/Care-taker Bishop as decided by the House of Bishops. Therefore, all Clergy, Christians and people of good will in Busoga Diocese are called upon to accord the Archbishop /Care-taker Bishop all loyalty and cooperation.

In order to deal with the current crisis in Busoga Diocese the following will be implemented:

1. The previous Synod of Busoga Diocese was dissolved by The House of Bishops. Then on 10th April 1994, under a directive from the House of Bishops, the current Diocesan Synod was elected. The Synod therefore should be aware of their appointing authority. Since the term of the Provincial Assembly ended in August 1996 and all Dioceses are in the process of electing new Synods it is now necessary to dissolve the current Synod and Council in order that Busoga Diocese march in step with the rest of the Province of the Church of Uganda.

THEREFORE THE BUSOGA DIOCESAN SYNOD AND COUNCIL STAND DISSOLVED WITH IMMEDIATE EFFECT.

2. Because reconciliation has not yet been effected it is not possible to hold elections for a new Synod at this time. Therefore, during this interim period The Reconciliation Committee will do the work of the Synod until such time as new elections can take place.

The members appointed to this committee are:

1. Ven John Bagenda
2. Ven Paul Kitakule
3. Ven Daniel Kizza
4. Ven Jonathan Nsajjuli
5. Ven David Kaluya
6. Ven Nelson Kisambira
7. Ven Wilson Kulata
8. Dr David Bakibinga
9. Mrs. Joyce Abaliwano
10. Mr. Martin Kiruube
11. Mr. Joel Kafuko

12. Mr. B. Naigere
13. Mr Fred Mukobe
14. Mrs Proscovia Katawera
15. Dr. E. Batwala
16. Mrs. Alex Waiswa
17. Rt Rev Dr C. Senyonjo - Dean of the Province
18. Mr E.S. Mungati - Chairman House of Laity
19. Rev Canon Job Mbukure - Chairman House of Clergy
20. Rev Canon George Katwesigye - Provincial Secretary
21. Mr. Zadok Ekirapa - Provincial Chancellor
22. Canon John Bikangaga - Special Advisor
23. Rev Dr Chris Palacas - ex officio
24. Rev Canon James Kitamirike - ex officio
25. Rev. Jane Palacas - ex officio

This committee will be under the chairmanship of the Archbishop/Care-taker Bishop of Busoga Diocese.

The Reconciliation Committee will set a new date for the election of the Synod.

3. There must be an immediate handover to the Reconciliation Committee of all assets and properties. This must be done by both sides so that there is only one governing body of the affairs of Busoga Diocese. This must be done with the full cooperation of all parties so that the Diocese can move on to deal with pressing problems and challenges.
 - a. All accounts will have newly elected signatories.
 - b. In harmony with this directive the administration of Bugembe Cathedral shall be under the Vicar.
 - c. All divided churches should cease and return to united worship and fellowship.
4. The position of the Province of the Church of Uganda is not pro or anti Bamwoze but rather we are the Church of Uganda. The decision made by Bishop Bamwoze to disobey the Archbishop and House of Bishops is a personal matter and not communal. Therefore, all clergy and christians will continue to belong to the Church of Uganda unless you choose to cut yourselves off. We regard you the christians and clergy of Busoga as mature no longer those who can be "tossed back and forth by the waves, and blown here and there by every wind of teaching and by the cunning and craftiness of men...." Ephesians 4:14

As I have told you before the work of reconciliation is our duty and charge. As men and women of God we have a great responsibility to see that we use every possible means to bring the Christians of Busoga Diocese back into unity and reconciliation with their God and with each other. It is a shame to our Lord and to us that this state of disunity should continue. As mature Christians we must lay down our differences and pride and put on love and humility as we seek to reach out to those who have been wounded and hurt.

Our Lord Jesus prayed:

"I pray also for those who will believe in Me through their message, that all of them may be one, Father, just as you are in me and I am in you. May they also be in us so that the world may believe that you have sent me. I have given them the glory that you gave me, that they may be one as we are one: I in them and you in me. May they be brought to complete unity to let the world know that you sent me and have loved them even as you have loved me." John 17: 20 - 23 NIV.

May we all seek to become unified in the bonds of Christ's love so that our children, our families, our church, our community and our nation may see the love and power of our Lord Jesus Christ at work in our midst.

And now to him who is able to keep you from falling .. to the only God our Saviour Jesus Christ our Lord, be glory, majesty, dominion and authority before all time and now and forevermore.
AMEN.



The Most Reverend Livingstone Mpalanyi Nkoyoyo
THE ARCHBISHOP OF THE CHURCH OF UGANDA
AND CURRENT CARE-TAKER BISHOP OF BUSOGA DIOCESE

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A ORAL SOURCE MATERIAL

1. List of informants in alphabetical order

NAMES	AGE	RESIDENCE	OCCUPATION	PAST AND /OR PRESENT STATUS IN CHURCH	PLACE WHERE THE INTERVIEW WAS HELD	DATE OF INTERVIEW
1. Bagenda Kalimungabo John (Canon)	57	Bugiri	Clergyman	Clergyman	Bugiri	8 th November 1999
2. Balimugulira Martin (Mr)	49	Kamuli	Head of Laity, Kamuli Archdeaconry	Lay reader, lecturer at Busoga University.	Kamuli	18 th November 1999
3. Batambuze Eliot Jcy (Mrs)	75	Business woman and farmer	Namizi East Budondo	Member and leader of Mothers' Union, Member of the Electoral College which elected the first bishop of Busoga (Bamwoze)	Namizi East Budondo	10 th October 1999
4. Bukumunhe Jennifer (Mrs)	56	Bugiri	House wife	Member of Mothers' Union, vice chairperson of House of laity, Iganga Archdeaconry 1984-1988	Iganga	9 th September 1999
5. Dhondo Yesero (Rev)	45	Nakalama	Clergyman – CECU	Lay reader, member of BDSC was ordained deacon, joined CECU.	Nakalama	27 th October 1999
6. Edhiruma James (Mr)	43	Wairaka	Lay reader	Lay reader, deacon of BDSC and CECU.	Bugembe Methodist Church	13 th September 1999
7. Edhiruma Margaret (Mrs)	38	Wairaka	Lay reader	Lay reader	Bugembe	7 th September 1999
8. Gonahasa Lucas (Bishop)	67	Kampala	Clergyman	Assistant Bishop of Namirembe Diocese	Kampala	16 th November 1999
9. Ibanda Mephiboseth (Mr)	75	Bugembe	Land surveyor, Accountant and Administrator	Diocesan Secretary/ Treasurer 1978-1988	Bugembe	23 rd September 1999
10. Irongo John Charles (Rev)	40	Namulesa	Clergyman	Clergyman	Namulesa	8 th September 1999
11. Isabirye James (Mr)	46	Kiringa	Boda-Boda vendor	Youth	Kiringa	4 th November 1999
12. Isabirye Richard (Rev)	50	Kaliro NTC	Tutor, clergyman	Tutor, clergyman	Kaliro NTC	12 th June 1999
13. Isooba Patrick (Mr)	51	Wanyange	Lay reader	Lay reader	Wanyange	21 st July 1999
14. Kafuko Joel (Mr)	56	Jinja	Mayor of Jinja town, Business man	Treasurer and Head of laity of St James' Parish, Jinja, signatory to Diocesan accounts and member of Diocesan Finance Board.	Jinja	22 nd July 1999

15. Kafuko Samuel (Mr)	62	Ikonko	Farmer/ Church worker	Trained with Bishop Bamwoze at BTTC Mukono, but did not complete his training, worked for a short time in Greater Kampala Project of Namirembe Diocese, and as a Development Worker in Waibuga Parish Iganga Archdeaconry. He was also appointed, from 1985, to represent Waibuga parish on IDSC. From 1988, he left Church of Uganda and joined the Methodist Church in Uganda, in which he now serves as a local preacher.	Ikonko	10 th September 1999
16. Kagoda Nathan (Mr)	61	Kivubuka	Land surveyor/ cartographer	Diocesan Estates Officer (1973-1986), member of cathedral choir, organist, Secretary of BDSC and deacon in CECU	Kivubuka	3 rd September 1999
17. Kalange Eliazali (Mr)	73	Busesa	Teacher	Head of Laity, Busesa	Busesa	10 th October 1999
18. Kalange M Beatrice (Mrs)	64	Busesa	House wife	Member of Mothers' Union	Busesa	10 th October 1999
19. Kalinaki Geoffrey (Mr)	28	Nabitende-Banada	Carpenter	Steward, youth leader in Nasuti Parish	Nabitende-Banada	15 th October 1999
20. Kamanya Grace (Mr)	44	Naibiri	Head teacher	Head of Laity, Naibiri and Nasuti, Secretary Iganga Archdeaconry	Nabitende-Banada	18 th October 1999
21. Kasawo Barnabas Ali (Mr)	75	Bugiri	Farmer	Member of Church of Uganda, BDSC, became a Muslim	Bugiri	10 th October 1999
22. Katewera Proscovia (Mrs)	48	Buwekula	Banker, administrator	Member of Mothers' Union, member of a group interceding for Busoga Diocese	Buwekula Jinja District	31 st October 1999
23. Katonda Wilson (Mr)	34	Kiringa	Boda boda (bicycle taxi) operator	Member of Kiringa Parish	Kiringa	28 th October 1999
24. Kayeyera Elia (Mr)	65	Bukoyo, Iganga District	Administrator	Co-ordinator, development programme of Busoga Diocese	Bukoyo, Iganga District	11 th October 1999
25. Kazungu Kantale Daudi (Dr)	57	Jinja	Specialist in Rural development. In 1996 Museveni appointed him as Uganda's ambassador to France.	Served between 1992 and 1995 as coordinator of the Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme (MSRDP) and as member of Provincial Development and Relief (PDR) Board.	Jinja	18 th and 19 th November 1999

NAMES	AGE	RESIDENCE	OCCUPATION	PAST AND /OR PRESENT STATUS IN CHURCH	PLACE WHERE THE INTERVIEW WAS HELD	DATE OF INTERVIEW
26. Kisambira Amulaferi (Mr)	77	Busambira	Businessman, farmer, journalist and leader of clans in Busoga	Lay reader in Bugambwe C/U, Head of Laity Iganga Parish and Iganga Archdeaconry, between 1984 and 1989 he served as the chairman of the Iganga Diocesan Steering Committee.	Busambira	26 th September 1999
27. Kisambira Florence (Mrs)	72	Busambira	Farmer and housewife	Member of Mother's Union	Busambira	20 th September 1999
28. Kivunike James (Rev)	40	Bugembe	Clergyman, student BTTC Mukono	Youth worker (Youth Mission Team), Clergyman, member of a group interceding for Busoga Diocese	Bugembe Methodist Church	14 th November 1999
29. Laban Mukiibi (Pastor)	49	Mafubira	Pastor	Pastor of Christian Life Church, Mafubira	Mafubira	5 th November 1999
30. Lubogo Kamanya Samuel (Canon)	57	Namulesa	Medical worker, clergyman	Prisons chaplain in Namirembe Diocese, Bishop-elect, BDSC.	Namulesa	23 rd July 1999
31. Lukungu Naomi (Ms)	87	Nsuube	Matron at Mwiri College - looked after Milton Obote, Bishop Bamwoze and Dr Tom Tuma).	Member of Mothers' Union, left COU to join CECU.	Nsuube	20 th October 1999
32. Mageyo Lucy (Mrs)	40	Namizi East Budondo	House wife	Member of Mother's Union, Jinja Archdeaconry	Namizi East Budondo	10 th October 1999
33. Magumba Hannington (Mr)	36	Bukoyo	Farmer	Youth leader, choir member All Saints' Church, Iganga	Bukoyo	6 th September 1999
34. Misango Ndego David (Mr)	86	Bugiri	Farmer, Head of Baise Ndego clan	Member of Fathers' Union	Bugiri	20 th September 1999
35. Mugabi Bateega Henry (Rev)	40	Iganga	Tutor, Bishop Willis TTC, Lay reader, clergyman	Clergyman	Iganga	18 th October 1999
36. Mugaya John (Mr)	65	Namizi East Budondo	Farmer	Head of Laity Budondo Parish, and Jinja Archdeaconry, member of Diocesan Synod, and member of the Diocesan Electoral College	Namizi East Budondo	10 th October 1999
37. Mukobe Fred (Mr)	49	Wanyama Road, Bugembe	Co-operative office, administrator,	Member of Parish Council, St Andrew's Church, Jinja, part-time co-ordinator MSRDP (1979-1980)	Wanyama Road, Bugembe, Jinja District.	20 th October 1999

38. Mukwaya Nekemiya (Mr)	70	Bugiri	Worked for a long time with East African Railways, later settled in Bugiri as a farmer	Head of Laity Bugiri Archdeaconry and Head of Laity Busoga Diocese	Bugiri	8 th November 1999
39. Muwereza Samuel (Rev)	52	Kiringa	Lay reader, clergyman of CECU	Lay reader -Kiringa COU, Deacon CECU.	Kiringa	28 th October 1999
40. Mwoza Samuel (Mr)	60	Naibiri	Farmer	Head of Laity, Naibiri Parish	Nabitende - Banada	13 th October 1999
41. Mwoza Joy (Mrs)	60	Naibiri	House wife	Member of Mothers' Union	Naibiri	13 th October 1999
42. Naigere Bezaleli (Mr)	64	Wanyange	Farmer	Chairman BSC	Wanyange	18 th and 20 th July 1999
43. Naluswa Henry (Rev)	40	Jinja	Clergyman	Clergyman	Mukono Town	4 th June 1999
44. Nambago Christopher Brown (Mr)	78	Wairaka	Sportsman, Policeman, Personnel Manager - BAT (1949-55), Manager - Madhvani Sweet Factory (1955-81).	Assistant Diocesan Secretary between 1983 and 1987. Chairman BDSC, Musician and member of Christ's Cathedral Bugembe Choir	Wairaka	19 th July 1999
45. Napeera P Patrick (Mr)	30	Nabitende-Banada	Carpenter	Youth- COU, Nasuti	Nabitende-Banada	15 th October 1999
46. Ndekera Lucy (Mrs)	65	Bugiri	House wife	Member of Mothers' Union,	Bugiri	5 th October 1999
47. Ndekera Socipeter (Mr)	70	Bugiri	Teacher	Member of IDSC, chairman of BDSC, and elder in CECU.	Bugiri	5 th October 1999
48. Nsajju Kafambe Yeseri (Mr)	72	Iganga	Tutor	Tutor Secretary, House of Laity Iganga Archdeaconry, co-uthor of the petition for the creation of Iganga Diocese	Iganga Technical Institute	2 nd September 1999
49. Ntalo Birusani (Mr)	58	Bugiri	Farmer	Member of CECU	Bugiri Bugiri District	28 th October 1999
50. Nyende Ezekiel (Rev)	46	Buwaya, Kyando Parish	Clergyman	Clergyman	Buwaya, Kyando Parish	4 th November 1999
51. Opolot Moses (Rev)	47	Kiringa	Clergyman	Clergyman	Kiringa	1 st November 1999
52. Oundo John (Mr)	49	Bugiri	Lay reader	Lay reader	Bugiri	8 th November 1999
53. Palacas Christopher (Rev Dr)	65	Jinja	Medical doctor and clergyman	Member (and later co-ordinator) of Busoga Diocesan Reconciliation Committee, member of a group interceding for Busoga Diocese.	St James Church Jinja	2 nd November 1999

NAMES	AGE	RESIDENCE	OCCUPATION	PAST AND /OR PRESENT STATUS IN CHURCH	PLACE WHERE THE INTERVIEW WAS HELD	DATE OF INTERVIEW
54. Tirusoniwa John Paul (Rev)	40	Jinja	Clergyman	Clergyman, Diocesan Secretary	Diocesan Head Office, Jinja	26 th October 1999
55. Tuma Tom (Rev Dr)	57	Jinja	Clergyman	Clergyman, co-ordinator of MSRDP, co-ordinator of PDR.	Jinja	25 th November 1999
56. Wabegha Wambi Fredrick (Mr)	57	Wamulongo	Politician - member of Iganga District Council (Chairman of finance), Farmer.	Member of IDSC, Head of Laity, Buwaya Parish, member of Synod,	Wamulongo	4 th November 1999
57. Waiswa Tibasoma Alexandra (Mrs)	75	Nasuti Central, Iganga	Farmer, housewife	Member of Mothers' Union, Member of the Special Electoral College which elected the first bishop of Busoga	Nasuti Central, Iganga	11 th September 1999
58. Wambuzi Kamulya Moses (Rev)	44	Kamuli	Clergyman, Teacher	Clergyman- COU, joined the Methodist Church in Uganga, the Anti- Bamwoze group and later left to work with the Nazarene Church	Iganga	5 th September 1999
59. Wamukolo Charles (Rev)	40	Namulesa	Clergyman	Clergyman	Namulesa	8 th October 1999
60. Wandera John (Rev)	55	Bugiri	Clergyman	Clergyman	Bugiri	5 th October 1999
61. Wangola Vasco da Gama (Rev)	63	Nsuube	Health worker, administrator clergyman	Diocesan Secretary, clergyman 1988 -1992	Nsuube	7 th and 16 th September 1999
62. Wanume Kisa (Rev)	48	Nakuru	Clergyman	Clergyman -Nakuru Diocese CPK, later joined the CECU.	Bugembe	5 th July 1999
63. Zikusoka James (Rev Canon, Engineer)	73	Kampala	Served as Town Engineer, Jinja, Permanent Secretary Ministry of Works and Housing during Obote's regime, Minister of Transport (1971-3), Technical expert at UNO (1975-8), Uganda's High Commissioner to UK (1978-1980), Member and chairman of the Board of Directors for Uganda Railways Corporation, and Chairman of the Public Service Commission.	Mediator in the conflict between the Province and the two dioceses in Buganda, and Chairman of Christ's Cathedral Building Committee, was ordained deacon in September 1988, priested in May 1989, and served as dean of Christ's Cathedral Bugembe between 1991 and 1992.	Kampala	17 th November 1999

B ARCHIVES AND SPECIAL COLLECTIONS

1. Birmingham University Library (BUL) Special Collections Department

The Church Missionary (renamed Mission) Society Archives (CMSA) are held at the Special Collections Department in Birmingham University Library. Materials in this collection include Inward and Outward correspondences of missionaries in Uganda between 1877 and 1960; CMS official policy documents; instructions to missionaries; annual reports; minutes of *CMS Proceedings* and *CMS Précis Book*. Some materials (located in G3 A5/0) I studied include letters from Gordon to Lang, 15th August 1890; Walker to Lang, 5th August 1891; Lugard to Roscoe 20th January 1892; Roscoe to Wigram 18th July 1892; Rowling to Baylis 7th August 1897; Walker to Fox, 12th September 1897; Turker, *Occasional Paper*, No. 9, 1st January 1891; Crabtree, *Mengo Notes*, May 1901; Skeens, *Mengo Notes*, 2/8, December 1901; Resolution adopted by the Finance Committee, 3rd October 1892; *Proceedings of the Finance Committee*, 9th July 1894; Lady Missionaries to Tucker, *CMS Précis Book*, 23rd November 1898, 27th December 1898; S R Skeens, *Uganda Notes*, 3/3, March 1902; and S R Skeens, in *Uganda Notes*, 3/14, March 1913. Others (not located in G3 A5/0) are: Cook to CMS, 22nd October 1890, G3 A7/ L1; Tucker to CMS, 14th February 1893, G3 A5/P4; and A G Fraser, "Cycle Trip in Usoga and Kavirondo", December 1902, G3 A7/0.

2. University of Cambridge - Henry Martyn Centre for the Study of Missions and World Christianity

CMS Proceedings, 1890- 1891, 1891-1892, 1892-1893, 1894-1895, 1896-1897, 1898-1899, 1899-1900, 1901-1902, 1904-1905, 1908-1909

Church Missionary Intelligencer, Vol. XIX 1894.

3. Lambeth Palace Library, London

The archives of this library hold correspondences between missionary bishops in Uganda (Tucker, Willis, Stuart and Brown) and the Archbishops of Canterbury from Davidson to Fisher. They also keep official documents, including Lambeth Conference minutes, reports, and canons and constitutions of Anglican provinces. Two of the documents studied are a letter from Fisher to L Brown, LPL, FP, Vol. 210, 30th January 1958; and Usher-Wilson to Fisher, LPL, FP, Vol. 210, 6th November 1958.

4. National Library of Scotland (NLS)

Uganda Papers, 1892-1899, in British Parliamentary papers (facsimile reprints of the first editions London: HMSO, 1892-1899). Shannon: Irish University Press, 1971.

St Andrew's Journals, St Andrew's (Church of Scotland: Nairobi, Kenya), 98, January 1948 – December 1951.

5. Busoga Trust Office Library

Busoga Bugle, spring 1997, summer 1998.

Richard Franks, "Busoga Trust, Busoga Diocese Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme: Water and Sanitation Sector, Jinja, Uganda". 18th March 1998.

Trust Representative, "Report of the Trustees", 1999/2000.

6. The Catholic Diocese of Jinja - Bishop's House Archives,

"Diary of Notre-Dame de L'Esperance (Busoga)", 13th October 1891, in *Chronique Trimestrielle*, No. 54, April 1892.

Fr Mathew to Fr Aelen Rozendaal *Annalen*, Fort Luba's Busoga. 14th November 1897, March 1898.

Fr Grimshaw, *Some Notes on the Apostolic Vicariate of the Upper Nile, 1895-1945*.

Diary of St Francis Xavier's Mission, Luba's 14th March 1900.

Kampala Diary, II, 28th October 1901.

Fr Drontmann, "A half Yearly Report", File IV, Reports, 15th August 1914.

Fr Wheatly to Bishop Biermans, 17/7, 31st August 1921.

7. Uganda Government Archives, Entebbe

Bell, H H, "Glimpses of a Governors' Life" in *Uganda Notes*, July 1908.

Bukedi District Council Minutes, "Comments by the District Council on the Munster Report (Uganda Relationship commission)", Minutes of 3rd Sitting of the Bukedi Council, 7th February 1962.

Busoga, Correspondence (in) District Office Iganga, 1/68, 9th November 1900.

Busoga Local Government, Busoga Native Administration Constitution. Confidential File. 2280/1.

Cohen, A, "Governor's Address to Busoga Council", File No. 2280, 27th October 1942.

Commissioner to Senior Collector, 23rd October 1901, Correspondence, Busoga (in) August 1901 – December 1902.

Crabtree to Grant, 20th September 1901, Correspondence, Busoga (in) August 1901 - December 1902.

Fr Van Term to Grant, the Acting Commissioner, 8th October 1901, Busoga (in) August 1901- December 1902.

Grant to Jackson, Ag. Commissioner, 4th October 1901, Correspondence, Busoga (in) August 1901- December 1902.

Grant to Ag. Commissioner and Consul General. Correspondence, 14th October 1901, (Busoga) Vol. II.

Kestens to Grant, 14th October 1901, Correspondence, Busoga (in) August 1901- December 1902.

Kestens to Grant, 18th October 1901, Correspondence Busoga (in) August 1901- December 1902.

Robertson, D W, "The Historical Considerations contributing to the Soga System of Land Tenure", G P, 1940.

Uganda Gazette, Vol. 1, June 1908

Uganda Government, "Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Recent Disturbances amongst the Bamba and Bakonjo People of Toro (Ssembeguya Report)". Entebbe: Government Printer, 1962.

Wilson, G to Marquess of Salisbury, Kampala. 5th October 1897, BB (Africa), 2/42, 1898.

8. The Methodist Church in Uganda - Special Collections in Bugembe

Bagambi, E (MCU Chairman) and others to Rev Professor Z Nthamburi, Presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church in Kenya, "Rev Solomon Muwanga – Crisis in MCU". 16th November 1992.

9. *Uganda Christian University, Mukono*

Bamwoze, C, "Address of the Chairman of Board of Governors", delivered on the graduation Day at Bishop Tucker Theological College, Mukono, 18th November 1988, BTTC, Mukono/ UCUA.

Carr G and others (Aclain Africa Ltd), "Renewing the Church of Uganda for Effective Mission: A Review Report on Personnel Practices, Financial Resources and the Structures of the Church of Uganda", June 1997, COU PA.

Church of Uganda, "The Report of the Provincial Assembly Standing Committee on Aclain Report Action Plan to the Provincial Assembly", January 1999.

Church of Uganda, "A Joint Pastoral Letter from the House of Bishops, Church of Uganda". February 1996.

Uganda Church Association Newsletter (Edited by Dr Kevin Ward), November 1994.

C CHURCH OF UGANDA ARCHIVES

1. *Provincial Archives (held in the Provincial Secretariat, Namirembe)*

Reports and Addresses

Archbishop Leslie Brown, "Opening Address to the Assembly by His Grace", September 1964.

Church of Uganda, "Report of the House of Bishops' Special Committee on Busoga Diocese Conflict", 13th July 1993.

Church of Uganda, "Message of His Grace the Most Rev. Livingstone Mpalanyi Nkoyooyo Archbishop of the Church of Uganda and Caretaker Bishop of Busoga Diocese to the Non-Canonical Priests", 27th May 1999.

Church of Uganda, "A Report on Busoga Diocese by the Archbishop and Caretaker Bishop [Yona Okoth], Presented to the House of Bishops on 21st – 24th June 1994".

Isabirye, M, Document 52/93, "Welcome Address to the House of Bishops' Special Committee on Busoga Situation at St James' Church, Jinja, 14th June 1993".

Kamanyire, E, Bishop of Rwenzori, "The Bishop's Charge", 26th July 1984.

Namirembe Diocese, "*Obulabirizi bwe Namirembe Buyimiriza Okukolagana N'obussabalabirizi Bwa Uganda Rwanda ne Burundi*", 6th May 1970.

Nkoyooyo, L M, "*Okwojera Kwa Ssabalabirizi Ng'omulabirizi Akuuma Obulabirizi Bw'eBusoga Busoga mu Lukiiko Lw'Obulabirizi Bwe Busoga Olutudde e Jinja nga 2/9/99*".

Letters

- Balimugulira and others to Okoth, "Bishop Cyprian Bamwoze Still Bishop of Busoga Diocese", 17th October 1992.
- Bamwoze to Nkoyooyo, Ref. ADM. 5/2/11, "Our Open letter to you as Archbishop", 5th October 1995.
- Bamwoze to Nkoyooyo, ADM. 5/11, "Meeting of Tuesday 26th September 1995", 25th September 1995.
- Bamwoze to the Permanent Secretary for Religious Affairs, "Request for Permission to Use Vacant Houses on Church Land in Jinja Town", 4th January 1973.
- Bamwoze to Okoth, 25th November 1992.
- Batwala (written on behalf of Christians of Buwologoma Luuka) to Nsubuga, "*Omukristayo Atangaaza Omulabirizi*", 14th June 1971.
- Guina to the Permanent Secretary, Department for Religious Affairs, 30th August 1973.
- Isabirye to Kamanyire, Ref. DOC/054/093, "Composed Statement Unfair", 26th June 1993.
- Kalireku to Sabiti, undated.
- Katwesigye to Bamwoze, 21st January 1997.
- Karibwije to Bamwoze, "Allegations Made Against the Lord Bishop of Busoga Diocese", 25th January 1993
- Katwesigye to Lubogo, 1st September 1997.
- Katwesigye to the Resident District Commissioners of Jinja, Kamuli and Iganga Districts, 30th January 1997.
- Kisambira and others to Okoth, "Creation of Iganga Diocese Detachable from Busoga Diocese", 3rd April 1987.
- Kisambira to Okoth, Ref. ID/APT/1/89, "Creation of Iganga Diocese: Your Pastoral Tour of Busoga", 4th May 1989.
- Kitamirike to Karibwije, 11th February 1993.
- Kitamirike to Bamwoze, "Lubiri Diocesan School (Sub-Grade)", 26th October 1974.

Kyaligonza to the Permanent Secretary, Department of Religious Affairs, Presidents Office (copy to Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Labour), 7th and 20th August 1975.

Lukandwa to the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Labour, Ref. FIN. 2/1, 30th July 1976.

Luwum to Bamwoze, “Lubiri Diocesan School (Sub-Grade)”, 3rd February 1976.

Magambo to Nabeta, B/12, “Information about the Clergy”, 21st February 1996.

Masaaba to Wesonga, 19th September 1981.

Mukama and others to Luwum, 19th January 1976.

Mukwaya to Nkoyooyo, MSN.4/1, “Request to Meet You”, 24th August 1998.

Musuubo and others to Nkoyooyo, “Appointment of Busoga Diocesan Bishop”, 8th August 1999.

Nabeta to all Church leaders, KA/1/93, “Creation of Kamuli Archdeaconry”, 27th October 1993.

Nabeta to Karibwije, the Provincial Secretary, 4th February 1993.

Nabeta to Okoth, DOC/38/93, “Control Measures in Busoga Diocese”, 29th March 1993.

Nabeta to Okoth, BDSC/RES/MIN.199/93, “Notice of Intention to Declare Cessation from Church of Uganda, its Provincial Administrations and its Episcopal Authority”, 3rd November 1993.

Nabeta to Okoth, “Holding of April 10, Synod Elections: Objections”, 24th March 1994.

Nabeta to Okoth, BE/1/94, “Election of New Bishop (Elect) of Busoga Diocese”, 29th March 1994.

Nabeta to Nkoyooyo, “Letter of Congratulations and Ray of Hope”, 5th January 1995.

Nabeta to Nkoyooyo, “Letter of Protest”, 19th June 1995.

Nabeta to Nkoyooyo, “Busoga (Diocese) Conflict – Church of Uganda a Church on Trial”, 11th October 1995.

Nabeta to Nkoyooyo, “Bishop Bamwoze’s Lies and Hypocrisy”, 22nd January 1996.

Nambago to Katwesigye, “Your letter of 1/9/97 to Rev S K Lubogo”, 14th September 1997.

Nkoyooyo to Lubogo, Ref. B/12/14, “Evacuation of Church Premises at Bugembe”, 28th September 1998.

Nkoyooyo to Nambago and others, 6th June 1998.

Nkoyooyo to Nambago, Ref. B/12/18, 15th October 1998.

Nkoyooyo *eri Abawule n'Abakristayo Bonna mu Bulabirizi bw'e Busoga*, 3rd February 1999, BDA.

Nkoyooyo to all Christians in the Diocese of Busoga, 18th February 1996.

Nsubuga to Sabiti, 14th July 1969.

Obonyo, the Provincial Labour Officer, Busoga Province to Bamwoze, Ref. M/CONF/40/1, 15th October 1975.

Obonyo to the Permanent Secretary, Minister of Labour, Ref. M/CONF/1, 29th December 1975.

Okoth to Lubogo, "Rendering the Lord's Service in the Troubled Diocese of Busoga", 8th April 1994.

Okoth to Lubogo, Ref. STA/4, 26th April 1994.

Okoth to the Christians of Iganga and Namutumba Archdeaconries, "Cessation (sic) of Iganga and Namutumba Archdeaconries to Form a New Diocese", 24th August 1987.

Permanent Secretary, Minister of Labour to Bamwoze, Ref: M/CONF/40(ii), 5th March 1976.

Sabiti to Kalireku, "*Obulabirizi bwe' Busoga*", 10th December 1969.

Sabiti to Kate and others, "A Bishop for Busoga", 6th March 1970.

Sabiti to Nsubuga, "A Bishop for Busoga", 6th March 1970.

Sabiti to Nsubuga, 8th October 1969.

Sebalu and Lule Advocates to Nkoyooyo, SL/2391/28289, "Acceptance of Archbishop Nkoyooyo as Caretaker Bishop of Busoga Diocese", 16th November 1998.

The Permanent Secretary, Minister of Labour to Bamwoze, Ref. M/CONF/40, 12th May 1976.

The Permanent Secretary, Department of Religious Affairs, Presidents Office to Kyaligonza, Ref. CRA/192, 12th August 1975.

Tibeessigwa to Mukwaya, the Head of Laity Busoga Diocese, "Meeting with the Archbishop of the Church of Uganda", 14th September 1998.

Tibeessigwa to Nambago, Ref. b/12/13, "Evacuation of Church Premises at Bugembe", 28th September 1998.

Tibisaasa to the Registered Trustees of the Church of Uganda, Provincial Headquarters, Ref. LRV.2235/4, 19th May 1994.

Tumubweinee to Luwum, Ref: CRA/192, 23rd July 1976.

Tumubweinee to Bamwoze, Ref: CRA/192, 30th June 1976.

Waibale and others to Sabiti, "*Ebiriwo Eby'olukiiko Lw'bulabirizi Olwa Synod mu Kitundu Ky'obulabirizi Bw'e Namirembe Ekye' Busoga*", 21st October 1969.

Waibale to Sabiti, "Bishop for Busoga", 5th March 1970.

Wani to Gimugu, 29th August 1982.

Minutes

House of Bishops' meeting held on 31st August 1964.

House of Bishop's meeting held on 13th January 1965.

House of Bishops' meeting held on 16th and 17th October 1968.

House of Bishops' meeting held on 13th January 1970.

House of Bishops' meeting held on 19th October 1971.

House of Bishops' meeting held on 11th and 12th January 1994.

House of Bishops' meeting held from 20th to 22nd June 1995.

Provincial Assembly held on 17th and 18th April 1961.

Provincial Assembly held from 9th to 11th December 1970.

Provincial Assembly held from 10th to 13th January 1972.

Provincial Assembly held from 18th to 23rd August 1979.

Provincial Assembly Standing Committee (PASC) meeting, 20th May 1983.

Provincial Assembly held from 19th to 22nd August 1986.

Provincial Assembly held from 23rd to 25th August 1994.

Special Reconciliation Committee on Busoga Diocese Conflict held at Bishop Tucker Theological College, Mukono on 19th July 1995.

2. Archives/Special Collections in Busoga Diocese.

Several sources of information were studied/collected in different places in Busoga. These places include Busoga Diocesan Archives (BDA) held in the Diocesan head offices, other archives/special collections such as the All Saints Church Iganga Archives (ASCIA) held by archdeaconry and parish levels, and special collections in homes of individual Christians. The sources studied/collected were:

Canons, Constitutions and Legal Notices

Busoga Diocese, Church of Uganda, *Amateeka n'Ebiragiyo by' Obulabirizi bwe Busoga*, (Constitution), undated, BDA.

Byenkya, Kihika and Co. Advocates to M/S Sebalu and Lule Advocates, Ref. BK/CV/105/94, "H.C.C.S. No. 387/94 - Canon James Kitamirike and Others vs. Canon Sam Lubogo and Others", 27th September 1994, BDA.

Kitamirike and Others Versus Canon Sam Lubogo and Others", 18th January 1995, BDA

Sebalu and Lule Advocates to Nkoyooyo Ref. SL/2391/17478, "High Court Civil Suit No. 387/94 Canon

Sebalu and Lule Advocates to M/S Byenkya, Kihika and Co. Advocates, Ref. SL\2391\16757, "Civil Suit No. 387\94 – Canon James Kitamirike and Others Versus Canon Sam Lubogo and others", 26th September 1994, BDA.

The Draft constitution of Busoga Diocese, 1973, BDA.

The Constitution of Busoga Diocese, 1973 (Re-approved on 7th May 1994 by the 7th Busoga Diocesan Synod), English version, BDA.

Uganda Gazette, 68/38, 5th September 1975, Industrial Court Case No. 5 of 1975, BDA.

Declarations, Memoranda, Ultimata, Reports and Addresses

"A declaration made on 10th December 1986 by Y K Nsajju, sent to all leaders and churches in Iganga and Namutumba Archdeaconries", Nsajju's special collection.

BDSC, "A report made by the Executive Steering Committee", Ref. 06/068/093, 9th October 1993, BDA.

Balyejusa J, "Chairman's Address to Busoga Diocesan Finance Board, held on 7th July 1990 at St. James' School", BDA.

- Bamwoze C, "The Diocesan Bishop's Charge to the Sixth Diocesan Synod of Busoga Diocese at its First Session at St James Secondary School, Jinja", April 25th 1990, BDA.
- Bamwoze C K, "*Okwogera kw'Omulabirizi wa Busoga Eri Abawule Bonna ku Kukyala kwa Ssababirizi wa Uganda* The Most Rev. Livingstone Mpalanyi Nkooyooyo mu St. Andrew's Church, Jinja nga 14th February 1996", BDA.
- Bamwoze C, "*Okwogera Kw'omulabirizi wa Busoga eri Sinodi y'obulabirizi Eyokuna, mu Lutuula Lwayo Olusooka e Kamuli nga 24-4-1986*", BDA.
- Busoga Diocese, "Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme, Phase Three, Programme Review, June 1990- June 1995", BDA.
- Busoga Diocese, "*Enteekateeka ey'okusinza kw'okwawula n'okuyingira luttiko ya Busoga ku Ssabiiiti nga 10 October 1982, Essaawa 4 ez'enkya*", BDA.
- Busoga Diocese, Ref. CM/1/97, "Circular Letter *eri Abantu Bonna*", 4th August 1997, BDA.
- Busoga Diocesan Steering Committee, Ref. BDA/9/93, "A Short Press Release", 17th September 1992, Wangola's special collection.
- Busoga Diocese, "Report of the Diocesan Council to the Diocesan Synod of the Activities Transacted between 25th April 1990 and 6th January 1993", BDA.
- Busoga Diocesan Steering Committee (BDSC), "Busoga Crisis: A Feature on One Year of Active Engagement", Ref. OC/068/093, 9th October 1993, Wangola's special collection.
- Busoga Diocese, "Diocesan Estimates for 1992/1993", BDA.
- Busoga Diocese, "*Report y'olukkiko lw'obulabirizi bwa Busoga (Diocesan Council) eri Olukiiko lwa Synod ya Busoga ey'okutuula ku lw'okusatu nga 23/4/1986 ne kulw'okuna nga 24/4/1986, e Kamuli*", BDA.
- Byasi S Y S, Chairman of Laity Kaliro Parish, "Memorandum from Kaliro C/U Parish Bulamogi – Busoga Diocese", 15th June 1993, Kagoda's special collection.
- Byenkya, Kihika and Co. Advocates, Ref. BK/CV/530/96, "Your Pastoral Letter to the Clergy and Christians of Busoga", 25th February 1997, BDA.
- Church of Uganda, "Undertaking by Rev Samuel Lubogo- Bugembe", 4th November 1998, Kagoda's special collection.
- Epudu T W, ACE/ District Education Officer, Jinja district to all Head teachers, Ref. ED/JD/543, "Neutrality in Religious Conflicts", 30th January 1995, BDA.
- Ibanda M J, "Finances in the Church of Uganda, Busoga", 1986, BDA.

- Ibanda to Nsajju and others, Ref. PAR 1/1, “*Okuweebwa Obulabirizi mu bu Ssabadiyani bwe Iganga*”, 25th October 1984, ASCIA.
- Ibanda to the Provincial Treasurer, “Payment for Diocesan Vehicles Received from the Province UShs. 3,037,173.75”, 29th April 1983, BDA.
- Iganga Diocesan Steering Committee (IDSC), “*Embalirira (estimates) y'ensimbi ez'okuleeta obulabirizi bwe Iganga 1985/1986*”, Kisambira's special collection.
- Kafuko J, “St James' Church, Jinja, Memoranda (sic), Document Number One”, 29th June 1991, Wangola's special collection.
- Kalulu W, “The Appointment of the Rev. Dr Michael Kyomya as Bishop-Elect of Busoga Diocese”, 18th August 1999, BDA.
- Kisambira to Okoth, “House of Laity, Iganga Archdeaconry”, 30th September 1985, Kisambira's special collection.
- Kasango to Nabeta, “Crisis in Busoga Diocese”, 5th March 1993, Wangola's special collection.
- Kisambira A, “*Okukyala kwa Kitaffe mu Katonda Omulabirizi we Busoga mu Busumba bwe Iganga ku Sunday nga 20 October 1985 mu Kanisa ya batukuvu bonna: Okwogera kw'omukulu w' abakristayo*”, Kisambira's special collection.
- Kisambira and others, Iganga Archdeaconry Steering Committee, “*Ebyavaako Okuboola Bishop Bamwoze*”, 14th June 1993, Kisambira's special collection.
- Kivebusoga, W, “Busoga Diocese Crisis – The Bishops' Findings”, Wangola's special collection.
- Kiwagama W, “Bishop Bamwoze's Retirement and how the Diocese should Prepare for it”, undated, BDA.
- Mayanja-Musoke, Principal Private Secretary to the Prime Minister to A Kisambira, Ref. PPS/1, 26th May 1987, ASCIA.
- Muwema, On Behalf of All Christians of St James Parish Church, Jinja, “Memorandum to the House of Bishops' Special Committee on Monday 14th June 1993”, Kagoda's special collection.
- Muwema and others to Bamwoze, “Staffing Circular of 27th November 1991”, 13th December 1991, BDA.
- Nabeta D J K, Document 15/92, “*Aide Memoire on Rt. Rev. C. K. Bamwoze and the Diocese of Busoga*”, 16th December 1992, Kagoda's special collection.
- Nabeta D J K, Ref. BDSC/29/93, “As Cessation (sic) Deadline Closes in, on 28th November 1993”, 28th November 1993, Kagoda's special collection.

- Nabeta D J K, "Address to the 12th Provincial Assembly Church of Uganda on the 23rd August, 1994 at Mukono About the Busoga Crisis by the Busoga Diocesan Steering Committee", 21st August 1994, Kagoda's special collection.
- Nabeta D J K, Press Release, "Statement on the Current State of Affairs in Busoga Diocese", 21st March 1994, Kagoda's special collection.
- Naigere B M, For and on behalf of the Laity of Christ's Cathedral Bugembe, Doc. 53/93, "Memorandum to the House of Bishops Special Committee on Busoga Conflict at Bugembe Cathedral on 15th June 1993", Naigere's special collection.
- Naigere B M, Chairman BDSC, "Brief Report to the Archbishop of the Church of Uganda on his Visit to Christ's Cathedral, Bugembe, on 10th September 1996, to Meet the Clergy and Laity", Wangola's special collection.
- Naigere B M, "Rev Dr. C Palacas – Our Reactions", 20th July 1997, BDA.
- Nambago C B, Ref. CM/1/1997, "*Obwetaavu Obwamangu Ennyo*", 18th June 1997, Wangola's special collection.
- Namwebya to Bamwoze, 4th June 1992, Wangola's special collection.
- Ndekera S, BDSC Bugiri Archdeaconry, "Bishop C K Bamwoze", 15th June 1993, Kagoda's special collection.
- Odong, ASP, District Police Commander, Iganga, Ref. 127/222, "To Whom It May Concern: Authority to Collect Funds", 19th July 1985, Kisambira's special collection.
- The Busoga Diocese Declaration, August 1996, BDA.
- The Secretariat of BDSC, BDA/7/93, "Causes of, Actions to and Extent of the Eventful Crisis of Busoga Diocese – Outlined", 15th September 1993, Wangola's special collection.
- Waiswa and others, "The House of Bishops' Special Committee's Visit to Busoga Diocese", 15th June 1993, Kagoda's special collection.
- Wangola to Bamwoze, "Report on Some of the Diocesan Activities for the Period Between 1st October 1989 and 31st March 1989", 27th April 1989, BDA.
- Wangola to Bamwoze, Ref. REV/BD/113, "Resignation from the Office of Diocesan Secretary", 11th November 1992, BDA.
- Zikusoka to Bamwoze, "Relinquishing Office of Dean, Christ's Cathedral", 20th August 1992, BDA.

Minutes

Busoga Diocesan Council held on 6th December 1984, BDA.

Busoga Diocesan Council held on 6th November 1992, BDA.

Busoga Diocesan Council held on 26th September 1996, BDA.

Busoga Diocesan Council held on 16th January 1997, BDA.

Busoga Diocesan Council held on 11th August 1998, BDA.

Busoga Diocesan Synod, 25th April 1990, BDA.

Busoga Diocesan Synod held from 16th to 18th 1992, BDA.

Busoga Diocesan Synod held on 7th May 1994, BDA.

Iganga Archdeaconry Council held on 4th December 1986, ASCIA.

Christ's Cathedral Bugembe Parish Council, 4th July 1974, BDA.

Letters

A circular letter No. 12, Ref. ADM/13/11, 12th December 1989, BDA.

Ankrah to Wangola, "Review of the Diocesan Structure", 6th April 1990, BDA.

Badobya to Wani, "Election of a Chairman of the Mothers' Union in Busoga Diocese", 31st March 1982, BDA.

Bagenda to all leaders in the Iganga Archdeaconry, "*Ensonga Enkulu Ezikwata ku Mr. Amulaferi Kisambira*", 30th April 1987, ASCIA.

Bagenda to all the Clergy, "*Ebahuwa ya Ssabalabirizi wa Uganda eri Abakristayo Bonna mu Bwassabadikoni bwe Iganga ne Namutumba*", 26th August 1987, ASCIA.

Bagenda and others to Okoth, "Your Letter to All Christians in Iganga and Namutumba Archdeaconries", 26th August 1987, ASCIA

Bagenda to Bamwoze, Con/Rev/Gen, 12th October 1989, BDA.

Bagenda to Irongo, 3rd July 1991, Irongo's special collection.

Bagenda to all the Christians of St James' Church, "A Special General Meeting", 7th July 1991, BDA.

Balyejusa to Bamwoze, Ref. ET/P42 (F), "Posting of Priests to St. James Parish Church-Jinja", 6th April 1992, Wangola's special collection.

Bakibinga to Nkoyooyo, "Early Retirement of his Lordship, Cyprian Bamwoze, Bishop of Busoga Diocese", 12th August 1996, BDA.

Bamwoze to Wangola, STF. 1/2/VDGW, 3rd May 1988, BDA.

Bamwoze to Wangola, 5th August 1992, Wangola's special collection.

Bamwoze to Kitakule, 29th February 1992, BDA.

Bamwoze to all the Archdeacons, Ref: 19/ 1, 2nd September 1992, BDA.

Bamwoze to Okoth, Ref. ADM. 5/2/11, "Synod Elections in Busoga Diocese", 8th September 1993, BDA.

Basutagaine to Bamwoze, "*Okujjukiza: Lubiri Diocesan School (Sub-Grade)*", 2nd January 1976, BDA.

Deuchar to Nabeta, 23rd September 1994, Wangola's special collection.

Ibanda to Kisambira, Ref. Par 1/1, 6th May 1985, ASCIA.

Isabirye to Kamanyire, Ref. DOC/054/093, "Composed Statement Unfair", 26th June 1993.

Kalange to Byasi, "*Tolina Buyinza Kuyita oba Kutuuza Lukiiko mu Busumba Muno*", 6th May 1993, Kagoda's special collection.

Kate and others to Zikusoka, "Resignation of the Planning and Development Committee", 18th August 1992, Kagoda's special collection.

Kibedi to Bamwoze, "*Okwanukula Ebaluwa Eyo*", 29th October 1973, BDA.

Kisambira to Ibanda, "Formation of Iganga Diocese", 30th May 1985, ASCIA.

Kisambira to Okoth, "House of Laity, Iganga Archdeaconry", 30th September 1985, Kisambira's special collection.

Kisambira to Bamwoze, "*Okutondawo Obulabirizi Bwe Iganga: Okuwera Olukiiko Lw'abakristayo*", 4th February 1987, Y Nsajju's special collection.

Kisambira and others to Okoth, "Creation of Iganga Diocese Detachable from Busoga Diocese", 3rd April 1987, ASCIA.

Kisambira to the Chairman Human Rights Commission, Ministry of Justice, "Complaints Against Bishop of Busoga", 25th May 1987, ASCIA.

Kisambira to Dr Samson Kisekka, the Prime Minister, "Creation of Iganga Diocese – Church of Uganda", 20th May 1987, Kisambira's special collection.

Kisambira and others to Okoth, 9th June 1987, Nsajju's special collection.

- Kisambira to Okoth, "Ce-ssation (sic) of Iganga and Namutumba Archdeaconries to Form a New Diocese", 2nd September 1987, Kisambira's special collection.
- Kisambira to Okoth, "Your Letter to all the Christians in Iganga and Namutumba Archdeaconries", 24th September 1987, Kisambira's special collection.
- Kisambira and others to Okoth, "Declared Iganga Diocese", 28th January 1988, Nsajju's special collection.
- Kisambira to Okoth, Ref. ID/APT/1/89, "Creation of Iganga Diocese: Your Pastoral Tour of Busoga", 4th May 1989, Kisambira's special collection.
- Kisambira to Kalange, "*Okulonda Akakiiko k'Obwasabadikoni bwe Iganga* (Archdeaconry Steering Committee) *nga* 21/2/93", Kisambira's special collection.
- Kisambira to all the Heads of Laity in Iganga Archdeaconry, "*Okulonda Ababaka ba Sinodi y'Obulabirizi bwe Busoga*", 9th July 1993, Kisambira's special collection.
- Kisambira to Okoth, "Your Pastoral Tour of Busoga", undated, Kisambira's special collection.
- Kisambira to Iganga District Administrator, "*Okujja Obwesige mu Ssabadikoni Waffe Rev. John Kalimungabo Bagenda*", 6th May 1987, Kisambira's special collection.
- Kisambira to the Christians in Iganga Parish, "*Okuleeta obulabirizi bwe Iganga*", 5th August 1986, Kisambira's special collection.
- Kuchope to Bamwoze, "Dispute Over Church Land in Your Diocese", 30th August 1973, BDA.
- Kyaligonza to Bamwoze, "Diocesan Information Post and Conditions of Service", Ref. CA/BD/INF/YD/5/75, 18th February 1975, Wangola's special collection.
- Kyaligonza to all the clergy and Christians in Busoga Diocese, "*Office Empya Egulibwaawo mu Jinja*", 24th January 1974, BDA.
- Lubogo to Okoth, Ref. AP/3/94, 6th April 1994, BDA.
- Mukobe F, "*Eri Abakulu b'Obusumba Mwenna - Omutemwa 30% Okuguwerezu ku Kitebe Ekikulu e Bugembe*", Ref. DOC/48/93-A, undated, Kagoda's special collection.
- Nabeta to all the Christians in Busoga Diocese, "*Ebizibu Ebiguddewo mu Bulabirizi bwe Busoga*", 13th September 1992, Wangola's special collection.

Nabeta to Inspector General of Police, Ref. DOC/031/1994, “Armed Police to Bishop C K Bamwoze – A Threat”, 14th August 1994, Wangola’s special collection.

Nabeta *eri Abakubiriza ba Bakristayo Mwenna*, 28th September 1994, Kagoda’s special collection.

Nabeta to Bamwoze, Ref. No. 3, “Loss of Confidence”, 1st October 1992, Wangola’s special collection.

Nabeta to all the Christians of Busoga Diocese, document 11/92, “*Olukiiko lw’abakristayo nga 13/12/92 mu Christ’s Cathedral*”, 3rd December 1992, Wangola’s special collection.

Nabeta to Okoth, Ref. Docriment (sic) No. 5, “Rt. Reverend C. K. Bamwoze: A Response to the Reactionalists (sic) of Kamuli Archdeaconry”, 4th December 1992, Kagoda’s special collection.

Nabeta to Kiwagama, DOC/25/93, “Opening Bufulubi Church”, 20th January 1993, BDA.

Nabeta to Kagoda, DOC/016/094, “Appeal for Funds/ Material Assistance”, 20th April 1994, Kagoda’s special collection.

Nabeta to Okoth, 3rd April 1994, BDA.

Nabeta to Okoth, 10th April 1994, Wangola’s special collection.

Nabeta to the Chairman, House of Bishops, Ref. DOC/025/094, “Busoga Crisis”, 20th June 1994, Kagoda’s special collection.

Naigere to Bamwoze, “*Obukulembeze bwo nga Omulabirizi was Busoga Diocese*”, 8th September 1992, Kagoda’s special collection.

Nambago to Palacas, “Spreading Wrong Information About Me”, 24th April 1997, BDA.

Nambago to Nkoyooyo, Ref. CRC/001/97, “Special Busoga Diocesan Christian Reconciliation Committee Meeting on 13th May 1997”, 21st May 1997, Wangola’s special collection.

Nambago to Lubogo, Ref. CM/1/97, “Posting of Rev. Canon S K Lubogo”, 27th August 1997, Kagoda’s special collection.

Nambago to Nkoyooyo, Ref. CRC/001/97, “The Immediate Withdrawal of Palacas from Busoga”, 13th June 1997, BDA.

Nambago to Carey, 19th August 1998, Kagoda’s special collection.

Nambago to Nkoyooyo, Ref. CM/1/1998, “Withdrawal of Our Memo of the 6th May 1998”, 19th August 1998

Nambago to Museveni, 19th August 1998, Wangola's special collection.

Ndekera to Nkoyooyo, "A Request for the Postponement of the Church Councils' Election in the Diocese so as to Allow all the Three Interested Parties in the Diocese to be Fully Involved/Consulted and to Agree on the Work-Plan of the Reconciliation Process, Re-organisation of the Church Leadership and Composition of the Renovation Committee of the Cathedral", 15th March 1999, Kagoda's special collection.

Ndekera and others to Nkoyooyo, Ref. IBDC/001, "Declaration on the Cessation [sic] from the Church of Uganda Leadership", 29th August 1999, Kagoda's special collection.

Ndekera others to Obokech, "Declaration on the Cessation [sic] from the Church of Uganda to the Charismatic Episcopal of Church, Uganda", 29th August 1999, Kagoda's special collection.

Njuba to Bamwoze, "Lubiri Diocesan School (Sub-Grade)", 26th June 1975, BDA.

Nkoyooyo L M, "*Ebbahuwa y'Obusumba Okuva eri Ssabalabirizi, The Most Rev. Livingstone Mpalanyi Nkoyoyo, Alabirira Obulabirizi bw'e Busoga eri Abawule n'Abakristaayo Bonna mu Bulabirizi bw'e Busoga nga 18/2/1997*", BDA.

Nkoyooyo L M, "A Pastoral Letter from Archbishop Livingstone Mpalanyi Nkoyoyo Current Caretaker Bishop of Busoga Diocese to All Clergy and Christians in the Diocese of Busoga", 18th February 1997, BDA.

Nkoyooyo to Lubogo, Ref. wks/B12/ 3, "Sent to Work in a Parish Within Busoga Diocese", 21st August 1997, BDA.

Nsajju to Okoth, "Creation of Iganga Diocese: Laity's Financial Control", 10th November 1986, Nsajju's special collection.

Nsajju to Okoth, "Creation of Iganga Diocese", 5th December 1986, ASCIA.

Nsajju to all Archdeacons, the Heads of Laity, Synod delegates and Christians of Iganga and Namutumba, "*Ababaka Okutalaga mu Bwassabadikoni Bwombi - Iganga Ne Namutumba - Ku Nsonga y'Okuleeta Obulabirizi bwe Iganga 20th July - 30th August 1986*", 7th July 1986, Nsajju's special collection.

Nsiiro and others to Bamwoze, 24th October 1984, Nsajju's special collection.

Nsiiro and others to all heads of laity in all the Parishes of Iganga Archdeaconry, 12th November 1984, Nsajju's special collection.

Obonyo to the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Labour, Ref. M/CONF/1, 29th December 1975, Wangola's special collection.

Swaga to Epudu, "Neutrality of Religious Conflicts", 6th March 1995, BDA.

- The Christians of Christ's Cathedral, Bugembe to Bamwoze, "Vote of No Confidence", 6th September 1992, Kagoda's special collection.
- Tirusoniwa to all the Archdeacons and Parish Priests, Busoga Diocese, "Election of Church Councils and Synods", 23rd February 1999, BDA.
- Waiswa to Rev Canon Kulata, "*Okwojera ku Baluwa Ezakuwandikirwa nga Zikugoba mu Kifo Kino*", 13th September 1996, ASCIA.
- Wangola to Bamwoze, "Report on a Tour for Addresses to all Archdeaconries by the Diocesan Secretariat", ADM.14/1, 17th April 1989, BDA.
- Wangola to Bamwoze, "Report on some of the Diocesan Activities for the Period Between 1st October, 1988 and 31st March 1989", 27th April 1989, BDA.
- Wangola to Irongo, Ref MSN. 23/1, "Audience with the Diocesan Bishop", 6th June 1991, BDA.
- Wangola to Irongo, Ref ADM 13/1, "Posting for Practical Training", 24th June 1991, BDA.
- Wangola to Naigere, Ref. PAR. 19, "Christian's Vote of No Confidence in the Rt. Rev. Cyprian K. Bamwoze", 21st September 1992, Kagoda's special collection.
- Wekiya to Ibanda, "*Ekiteeso eky'a Minute No. 6/85 eky'Olukiiko lw'Obwasabadikoni bwe Iganga Olwatuula nga 14 February 1985 e Iganga mu All Saints' Church*", 15th March 1985, ASCIA.
- Zikusoka to Bamwoze, 4th August 1992, Wangola's special collection.
- Zikusoka to Bamwoze, "Relinquishing Office of Dean, Christ's Cathedral", 20th August 1992, BDA.
- C NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES AND ONLINE ARTICLES**
- Anglican Communion News Service (ACNS), "Uganda: Province Acts of the Diocese of Busoga", 862, 3rd April 1996, <http://www.anglicancommunion.org/acns/acnsarchive/acns0800/acns862.html>; "Uganda: Bishop Forced to Retire", 958, 2nd September 1996, <http://www.aco.org/acns/acns958.html>
- Bukedde* 1st April 1997.
- Church of the Province of Southern Africa (CPSA), CPSAnet II Archives, "Anglican Update", 28th January 1994. <http://www.cpsa.org.za/oldarc/94FEB03.html>
- Daily Nation*, 10th December 1970.
- Daily Topic*, 11th April 1994; 25th May 1994.

Ebifa, March 1970.

New Century, September 1990; August 1991; April 1992; May 1992; September 1992; November 1992; February 1993; March 1993; May 1993; September 1993; November 1993; December 1993; January 1994; February 1994; February 1995.

New Vision 3rd January 1991; 5th January 1991; 8th July 1991; 3rd August 1992; 18th August 1992; 20th August 1992; 1st September 1992; 15th September 1992; 21st September 1992; 23rd September 1992; 30th September 1992; 13th October 1992; 22nd October 1992; 5th January 1993; 24th February 1993; 3rd August 1993; 12th August 1993; 17th August 1993; 30th August 1993; 21st September 1993; 1st December 1993; 14th January 1994; 5th April 1994; 9th May 1994; 24th May 1994; 25th May 1994; 1st June 1994; 2nd June 1994; 30th January 1995; 23rd February 1995; 9th May 1995; 20th June 1995; 22nd June 1995; 20th July 1995; 21st July 1995; 26th July 1995; 12th December 1995; 2nd February 1996; 3rd February 1996; 15th February 1996; 1st August 1996; 14th August 1996; 15th August 1996; 19th August 1996; 22nd August 1996; 16th September 1996; 26th September 1996; 8th November 1996; 16th January 1997; 17th January 1997; 20th January 1997; 29th January 1997; 2nd February 1997; 12th February 1997; 22nd February 1997; 1st April 1997; 8th April 1997; 11th April 1997; 7th May 1997; 21st May 1997; 23rd May 1997; 5th August 1997; 16th August 1997; 18th August 1997; 28th October 1998; 7th November 1998; 23rd November 1998; 2nd January 1999; 4th January 1999; 19th January 1999; 21st January 1999; 9th March 1999; 24th January 2000.

Ngabo Saturday, 1st August 1987; 25th August 1994; 1st February 1996.

Sunday Vision, 29th May 1994; 25th February 1995; 2nd February 1997; 13th April 1997; 29th April 1997.

Taifa Empya, 11th June 1971.

The Involvement Magazine, 2/5, October/ December 1995.

The Monitor 3rd – 6th November 1995; 21st May 1997; 24th January 2000.

The Star, 27th September 1985.

The Telecast, 14th July 1987; 25th May 1988.

Uganda Argus, 22nd December 1959; 13th November 1965; 16th November 1965; and 22nd November 1965.

Uganda Church Association, November 1994.

Uganda Confidential, 16th – 23rd May 1994; 29th August – 5th September 1994.

Weekly Topic, 15th October 1986.

D TYPESCRIPTS, THESES, LECTURES AND PAPERS

Typescripts

Bikangaga, J, "The Survey of the Administration and Finance of the Church of Uganda".
Printed by Uganda Bookshop Press, 1969.

Canons of the Province of the Church of Uganda, 1997.

Church of Uganda, "Notable Events in the History of the Province", undated.

Church of Uganda, "The Draft Report of the Preliminary Survey of the Church Organisations in Uganda", carried out by the Director of Corat, between 15th – 28th August 1971. Uganda Bookshop 1971.

Church of Uganda, *Okwawula abakadde mu Kitabo ky'okusaba kwa'bantu bonna*. Kampala: Centenary Publishing House, 1990.

Church of Uganda Provincial Constitution. Kampala: Printed by Uganda Bookshop Press, 1972.

Church of Uganda, *Crisis in the Christian Ministry in Uganda*. Printed by Uganda Bookshop Press, 1964.

Church of Uganda, *Ekitabo Ky' Okusaba Kw' Abantu Bonna*. Kampala: Centenary Publishing House: 1977.

Church of Uganda, *Evangelism and Development: PIM Consultation Report*, Namirembe: Mission Department, 1985.

Church of Uganda, *The Ten-Year Plan*. Kampala, Uganda Bookshop Press, 1967.

Information about the Church of Uganda. Kampala: Research Unit, Planning and Advisory Office, 1978.

Theses

Baalwa, F J, "The Causes and Development of Busoga Crisis (1992-3)". BD dissertation, Makerere University, Kampala, 1996.

Bamunoba, Y, "The Development of the Anglican Church in West Ankole, 1900 – 1990". MPhil thesis, Leeds University, 1992.

Gatwa, T, "The Churches and Ethnic Ideology in the Rwandan Crises (1900-1994)". PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1998.

Hansen, E, "Political Leadership in Busoga". MA thesis, Makerere University, Kampala, 1968.

- Lockard, K, "Religion and Political Development in Uganda, 1962-1972". PhD thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1974.
- Mande, W M, "An Ethic of Leadership Power and the Anglican Church in Uganda". PhD thesis, Aberdeen University, 1997.
- Isabirye, S R, "Schism Within Busoga Diocese, Church of Uganda 1983-1988: An Analysis of Causes, Developments and Effects". BD dissertation, ATIEA, 1989.
- Kalimi, J, "The Life and Contribution of Dunstan Nsubuga (Bishop of Namirembe 1964-1985) to the Church of Uganda". DipTh dissertation, Makerere University, Kampala, 1988.
- Kambere, D, "The Bakonzo-Rwezururu War 1962-1982: Its Effect in the Growth of the Anglican Church, South Rwenzori Diocese, Kasese District, Uganda". BD dissertation, ATIEA, July 1987.
- Kamya, S C, "A History of the Church of Uganda, 1900 – 1980: The Impact of Christianity on the Political, Social, Economic and Religious life of the People of Uganda". MTS thesis, Virginia Theological Seminary, 1990.
- Karamura, G, "The Interplay of Christianity, Ethnicity and Politics in Ankole (Uganda) Since Independence, 1962-1996". PhD thesis, Leeds University, 1999.
- Kermu, S, "The Life and Times of Archbishop Silvanus Wani". DipTh dissertation, Makerere University, Kampala, 1987.
- Mftimukiza, S R, "The Origins and Growth of the Anglican Church in Bufumbira Area, Uganda 1912-1980". DipTh dissertation, Makerere University, Kampala, 1987.
- Mudoola, D, "Chiefs and Political Action: The Case of Busoga 1900-1962". PhD thesis, Makerere University, Kampala, 1974.
- Mukungu, F N, "Survey of the Anglican Church of Uganda Archives Documents in Britain". MA thesis, Loughborough University, 1995.
- Nambobi, S F M, "The Schism Within the Anglican Diocese of Mbale, Church of Uganda: An Analysis of the Background and Development". BD dissertation, ATIEA, 1985.
- Niringiye, D Z, "The Church in the World: A Historical-Ecclesiological Study of the Church of Uganda with Particular Reference to Post-Independence Uganda 1962-1992". PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1998.
- Olal, T K, "Church and Politics in Lango-Uganda, 1971-1981". DipTh dissertation, Makerere University, Kampala, 1982.
- Sebalugga, K J, "Church and State Relations in Uganda with Particular Reference to Namirembe Diocese (Anglican) 1950-1990". BD thesis, Bishop Tucker Theological College, Mukono, 1992.

- Sentongo, E, "The Conflicts Surrounding the Creation and Development of an Anglican Diocese of West Buganda (Uganda), 1960- 1976". DipTh dissertation, Makerere University, Kampala, 1981.
- Steele, D A, "Role of the Church as an Intermediary in International conflict: A Theological Assessment of Principled Negotiation". PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1992.
- Tusiime, B, "Background to the Creation of a New Diocese of Muhabhura in Kisoro Sub-District, Uganda". DipTh dissertation, Makerere University, Kampala, 1987.
- Twaddle, M J, "Politics in Bukedi 1909 – 1939: A Historical Study of Administrative Change Among the Segmentary People of Eastern Uganda Under the Impact of British Colonial Rule". PhD thesis, University of London, 1967
- Waliggo, J M, "The Catholic Church in Buddu Province of Uganda 1879-1925". DPhil thesis, Cambridge University, 1976.
- Yardley, S, "A Study of Busoga's Multi Sectoral Rural Development Programme". MSc thesis, University of London, 1998.

Lectures and Papers

- Cohen, D, "Busoga and its Pattern of Succession". Makerere Institute of Social Research, 1971.
- _____, "Sharing Authority in Pre-colonial Northern Busoga", a paper submitted to the African Seminar, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 7th June 1972.
- _____, "The States of Busoga in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century". Paper No. 15, Makerere Institute of Social Research, 1971.
- Hansen, H B, "British Administration and Religious Liberty in Uganda 1890-1900". Conference paper No. 373, East African Institute of Social Research, January 1966.
- _____, "Religion and Politics in Independent Uganda: The Role of the Religious Factor in Ugandan Politics and a Discussion of the Conceptual Framework". Paper given to the European Consortium of Political Research Workshop, Brussels, April 1979.
- Hastings, A, "Typology of Church-State Relations". Discussion paper on Christianity in Post-Colonial Africa. School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, October 1973.
- Langlands, B W, "The History of Sleeping Sickness, 1900-1920". *Occasional Paper 1*, Kampala: Department of Geography, Makerere University, Kampala, 1967.
- _____, "The Population Geography of Busoga District" in *Occasional Paper*, No. 40. Kampala, Department of Geography, Makerere University, Kampala, 1971.

- McGrory, J, "Uganda (Busoga) 1992 Project Evaluation". Paper on the work undertaken in Uganda by WaterAid between 1989-1992. <http://www.lboro.ac.uk/departments/cv/wedc/garnet/allcasewateraid5.html>
- Mudoola, D, "The Upicification (UPC) of Kyabazingaship". Seminar paper, Makerere Institute of Social Research, 1973.
- Mujaju, A B, "Church and State Relations in Rapidly Changing Societies". A public lecture given in memory of Archbishop Janani Luwum. Makerere University, Kampala, February 1989.
- Putnam, E T and others (eds.), *Evaluation of the Busoga and East-Ankole Diocese Community Family Planning Projects*. Poptech Report No. 96-075-043, October 1996.
- Ward, K, "The Church of Uganda and the Exile of Kabaka Mutesa II of Buganda, 1953 – 1955". Paper presented at the Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World (CSCNWW), New College, University of Edinburgh, on 19th October 1993.
- Watts, S J, "The South Busoga Resettlement Scheme". *Occasional Paper*, No.17, The Program of Eastern African Studies. Syracuse University, NY, 1966.

E CHAPTERS/ARTICLES IN BOOKS AND JOURNALS

- Ajayi, J F A and Ayandele, E, "Writing African Church History" in Beyerhaus, P and Hallencreutz, C (eds.), *The Church Crossing Frontiers: Essays on the Nature of Mission in Honour of Bengt Sundkler*. Lund: Gleerup, 1969.
- Azar, E E, "The Theory of Protracted Social Conflict and the Challenge of Transforming Conflict Situations". Monograph series in *World Affairs*, 20/12, 1983.
- Beyer, H W, "Episcopos" in Kittel G, *The Dictionary of the New Testament* (Vol. II). Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964.
- Biggar, N, "Power and Powerlessness" in Atkinson, D (ed.), *Pastoral Ethics*. Oxford: Lynx Communications, 1994.
- Brown, L, "The Anglican Episcopacy in Africa" in Moore, P (ed.), *Bishops But What Kind?* London: SPCK, 1982.
- Deutsch, M, "Constructive Conflict Resolution: Principles, Training, and Research" in *Journal of Social Issues*, 50/1, 1994.
- Dornobos, R M, "Kumanyana and Rwenzururu: Two Responses to Ethnic Inequality" in Rotberg, R I and Mazrui, A, *Protest and Power in Black Africa*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.

- Fosdick, H E, "God of Grace and God of Glory" in *The Church Hymnary* (Third Edition). Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973.
- Fisher, R J, "Generic Principles for Resolving Inter-group Conflict" in *Journal of Social Issues*, 50/1, 1994.
- Gray, J M, "Early History of Buganda" in *Uganda Journal*, 2/1, 1935.
- _____, "The Basoga" in *Uganda Journal*, 3/4, 1936.
- Halliburton, J, "A Historical Perspective" in Buchanan, C (ed.), *The Bishop in Liturgy*. Bramcote Nottingham: Grove Books, 1988.
- Hansen, E, "Busoga" in Barkan J D and others, *Uganda District Government and Politics 1947-1967*. University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1977.
- Hansen, H B, "Mission and Colonialism in Uganda: A Case Study on Forced Labour" in Christensen, T and Hutchison, W R (eds.), *Missionary Ideologies in the Imperialist Era: 1880-1920*. Denmark: Aros Publishers, 1982.
- Hanson, R P C, "The Nature of the Anglican Episcopacy" in *Lambeth Conference Preparatory Essays*. London: SPCK, 1968.
- Hodges, A D P, "Sleeping Sickness and Filarial Perstants in Busoga" in *Journal of Tropical Medicine*, 5/1, 1902.
- Jones, G S, "From Historical Sociology to Theoretical History" in *British Journal of Sociology*, 27/3, 1976.
- Kalu, O, "African Church Historiography" in Falola, T, *African Historiography: Essays in Honour of Jacob Ade Ajayi*. Harlow: Longmans, 1993.
- Kiwanuka, M S M, "Bunyoro and the British: A Reappraisal of the Decline and Fall of an African Kingdom" in *Journal of African History*, 9/4, 1968.
- Kressel, K and Pruitt, D G, "Themes in the Mediation of Social Conflict" in *Journal of Social Issues*, 41/2, 1985.
- Kriesberg, L, "Coexistence and the Reconciliation of Communal Conflicts" in Weiner, E, *The Handbook of Inter-ethnic Coexistence*. New York: The Abraham Fund, 1998.
- Lwanga-Lunyiigo, S, "The Colonial Roots of Internal conflicts" in Rupesinghe, K (ed.) *Conflict Resolution in Uganda*. Oslo: International Peace Research Institute, 1989.
- Mair, L, "Busoga Local Government" in *Journal of Commonwealth Political Studies*, 1967.

- Mink, L, "History and Fiction as Modes of Comprehension" in Cohen, R (ed.), *New Directions in Literary History*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974.
- Morgan, R, "The Office and Work of a Bishop" in Simon, G (ed.), *Bishops*. London: The Faith Press, 1961.
- Mudoola, D, "Religion and Politics in Uganda: The Case of Busoga, 1900-1962" in *African Affairs*, 77/306, 1970.
- Mujaju, A B, "The Religio-Regional Factor in Ugandan Politics" in *Mawazo*, Kampala, 4/2, 1973.
- _____, "The Political Crisis of Church institutions in Uganda" in *African Affairs*, 75/298, 1976.
- Nabwiso-Bulima, F, "The Evolution of the Kyabazingaship of Busoga" in *Uganda Journal*, 31/1, 1967.
- Nsibambi, A R, "Buganda" in *Uganda District Government and Politics 1947-1967*. African Studies Program, University of Wisconsin- Madison, 1977.
- Pattinson, D, "Church Government and Administration: Idol – or Tool?" in Greenhalgh, J and Russell, E (eds.), *Building in Love: The Vocation of the Church*. London: St Mary's Bourne Street, 1990.
- Peck, C, "An Abuse of Power: Confronting Clericalism" in *Modern Churchman*, LXXXIII, 4, 1992.
- Pratt, R C, "The Politics of Indirect Rule, 1900-1950" in Low, D A, (ed.), *Buganda and the British Overrule, 1900-1950*, London: Oxford University Press, 1960.
- Roberts, A D, "The Sub-Imperialism of the Baganda" in *Journal of African History*, 3/3, 1962.
- Rubin, J Z, "Models of Conflict Management" in *Journal of Social Issues*, 50/1, 1994.
- Sanneh, L, "The Horizontal and the Vertical in Mission: An African Perspective" in *International Bulletin of Mission Research*, 7/4, 1983.
- Skeens, S R, "Reminiscences of Busoga", Typescript, *Uganda Society*, 1937.
- _____, "Reminiscences of Busoga and its Chiefs" in *Uganda Journal*, Vol. 4, 1937.
- Stancliffe, D, "The Bishop in His Cathedral" in Buchanan, C (ed.), *The Bishop in Liturgy: An Anglican Symposium on the Role and Task of the Bishop in the Field of Liturgy*. Bramcote: Grove Books, 1988.
- Sweeting, R, "The Growth of the Church in Buwalasi" in *The Bulletin of the Society for African Church History*, 2/4, 1968.

- Thomas, H B, "The Last Days of Bishop Hannington" in *Uganda Journal*, 2/1, September 1940.
- _____, "The Death of Bishop Hannington: Supplementary Evidence" in *Uganda Journal*, 23/1, March 1959.
- Tuma, T, "Church Extension to the East" in Tuma, T and Mutiibwa, P (eds.), *A Century of Christianity in Uganda (1877-1977): A Historical Appraisal of the Development of the Uganda Church Over the Last One Hundred Years*. Nairobi: Uzima Press Ltd, 1978.
- Tuma, T, "African Chiefs and Church Work in Busoga, Province of Uganda 1900-1940", Part I in *Kenya Historical Review: Journal of the Historical Association of Kenya*, 4/2, 1976.
- Twaddle, M, "The Bakungu chiefs of Buganda under British Colonial Rule 1900-1930" in *The Journal of African History*, 10/2, 1969, pp. 309-322, 335.
- _____, "Tribalism' in Eastern Uganda" in Gulliver, P H (ed.), *Tradition and Transition in East Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969.
- Uzoigwe, G N, "The Kyanyangire, 1907: Passive Revolt against the British Overrule" in Ogot, B A, *War and Society in Africa*. London: Franc Cass and Company, 1972.
- _____, "The Warrior and the State in Pre-colonial Africa" in *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, XII, 1977.
- Waliggo, J M, "The Catholic Church and the signs of the Times" in Waliggo, J M and Byabazaire, M D (eds.), *African Theology in Progress: Rethinking the Mission of the Church in Africa*. Kisubi: Marianum Press, 1989.
- Walls, A, "Structural Problems in Mission Studies" in *International Bulletin of Mission Research*, 15/4, 1991.
- Walton, H, "An Abuse of Power 2: Finders, Keepers, Losers, Weepers – A Polemic Concerning the Priest of God and the Ministers of Religion" in *Modern Churchman*, XXXIV, 3, 1982.
- Ward, K, "The Church of Uganda Amidst Conflict: The Interplay between Church and Politics in Uganda Since 1962" in Hansen, H B and Twaddle, M (eds.), *Religion and Politics in East Africa*. London: James Currey, 1995.
- Were, S G, "The Western Bantu Peoples from AD 1300 to 1800" in Ogot, B A (ed.) *Zamani: A Survey of East African History*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1964.
- Young, M C, "The Obote Revolution" in *Africa Report* XI, 6/6, 1966.

F BOOKS

- Adair, J, *Not Bosses But Leaders*. Guildford: Tabolt Adair Press, 1987.
- Alastair, R, *Being Anglican*. London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 2000.
- Allen, B and Montell, W L, *From Memory to History: Using Oral Sources in Local Historical Research*. Nashville, Tennessee: The American Association for State and Local History, 1981.
- Apter, D, *The Political Kingdom of Uganda*. London: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Ashe, R, *Chronicles of Uganda*. London: Rundolf and Company, 1885.
- Austin, G, *Affairs of State: Leadership and Conflict in the Church*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1995.
- Avis, P, *Anglicanism and the Christian Church*. Edinburgh: T and T Clark, 1989.
- _____, *Authority, Leadership and Conflict in the Church*. Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1992.
- Azar, E E, *The Management of Protracted Social Conflict*. Aldershot: Dartmouth, 1990.
- Barber, J, *The Imperial Frontier*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1968.
- Baum, G and Wells, H (eds.), *Reconciliation of Peoples: Challenge to the Churches*. Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1997.
- Bebbington, D, *Patterns in History: A Christian Perspective in Historical Thought*, (Second Edition). Leicester: Apolos, 1990.
- Bell, H H, *Correspondence Relating to the Famine in Busoga District*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), 1908.
- Best, J, and Kahn J, *Research in Education*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1993.
- Blanch, S, *Future Patterns of Episcopacy: Reflections in Retirement*. Oxford: Latimer House, 1991.
- Bonhoeffer, D, *Life Together*. London: SCM Press, 1954.
- Brown, R and Daniels C W, *Learning History: A Guide to Advanced Study*. London: Macmillan Education Limited, 1986.
- Brown, L, *The Three Worlds: One World*. London: Rex Colling, 1981.
- Burke, P (ed.), *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991.

- Burke, F, *Local Government and Politics in Uganda*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1964.
- Burns, D, *Feeling Good: The New Mood Therapy*. New York: Signet Books, 1980.
- Canary, R H, and Kozicki H (eds.), *The Writing of History: Literary Forms and Historical Understanding*. Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1978.
- Carr, E, *What is History?* (Second Edition). London: Penguin, 1987.
- Cohen, D, *The Historical Tradition of Busoga: Mukama and Kintu*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972.
- _____, *Towards a Reconstructed Past: Historical Texts from Busoga, Uganda*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Cutts, D, *Welcoming the Bishop*. Bramcote Notts: Grove Books, 1984.
- Eberhard, W, *The Reforms of Church Government*, London: Prism Publications, 1965.
- Elton, G, *The Practice of History*. London: Fontana Publishers, 1969.
- Fallers, L, *Law Without Precedent: Legal Ideas in Action in the Courts of Colonial Busoga*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969.
- _____, *Bantu Bureaucracy: A Century of Political Evolution Among the Basoga of Uganda*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1965.
- Fallers, M C, *The Eastern Lacustrine Bantu: (Ganda and Soga)*. London: International African Institute, 1960.
- Fashole-Luke, E, and others, *Christianity in Independent Africa*. London: Rex Collings, 1978.
- Feagin, J, Orum A, and Sjoberg, G, (eds.), *A Case for Case Study*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1991.
- Felson, R B, and Tedeschi J T (eds.), *Aggression and Violence: Social Interactionist Perspectives*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 1993.
- Folberg, J, and Taylor A, *Mediation: A Comprehensive Guide to Resolving Conflicts Without Litigation*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1984.
- Ford, M, *Janani Luwum: The Making of a Martyr*. London: Marshal, Morgan and Scott, 1978.
- Gale, H P, *Uganda and the Mill Hill Fathers*. London: Macmillan and Company Limited, 1959.

- Gifford, P, *African Christianity: Its Public Role*. London: Hurst and company, 1998.
- Giles, K, *What on Earth is the Church? A Biblical and Theological Inquiry*. London: SPCK, 1995.
- Goff, J, and Nora P (eds.), *Constructing the Past: Essays in Historical Methodology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Gordon, G, *The Idea of Christian Charity: A Critique of Some Contemporary Conceptions*. London: Collins, 1990.
- Gossman, L, *Towards a Rational Historiography*. Independence Square, Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1989.
- Griffis J E, *The Anglican Vision*. MA: Cowley Publications, 1997.
- Gukiina, P M, *Uganda: A Case Study in African Political Development*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1972.
- Gunton, C E and Hardy D W (eds.), *On Being the Church: Essays on the Christian Community*. Edinburgh: T and T Clark, 1989.
- Halliburton, J, *The Authority of a Bishop*. London: SPCK, 1987.
- Halverstadt, H, *Managing Church Conflict*. Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster, 1991.
- Hansen, H B, *Mission, Church and State in a Colonial Setting: Uganda 1890-1925*. London: Ibadan and Nairobi: Heinemann, 1984.
- Hansen, II B, and Twaddle M (eds.), *Uganda Now: Between Decay and Development*. London: James Currey, 1988.
- _____, *Changing Uganda*. London: James Currey, 1991.
- _____, *Religion and Politics in East Africa*. London: James Currey, 1995.
- Hastings, A, *Church and Mission in Modern Africa*. London: Burns and Oates, 1967.
- _____, *The Faces of God: Essays on Church and Society*. London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1975.
- _____, *African Christianity: An Essay on Church and Society*. London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1976.
- _____, *A History of African Christianity, 1950-1975*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.
- _____, *The Church in Africa, 1450-1950*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.

- Hauerwas, S, *A Community of Character: Towards a Constructive Christian Social Ethic*. Notre Dame, IN: The University of Notre Dame Press, 1981.
- _____, *The Peaceable Kingdom: A Primer in Christian Ethics*. Notre Dame, IN: The University of Notre Dame Press, 1983.
- Hauerwas, S and Jones, G (eds.), *Why Narrative? Readings in Narrative Theology*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1989.
- Henige, D, *Oral Historiography*. London and Lagos: Longman, 1982.
- Hewitt, G, *The Problem of Success: A History of the Church Missionary Society, 1910-1942*. London: SCM Press, 1972.
- Ibingira, G, *The Forging of an African Nation*. New York: The Viking Press, 1973.
- _____, *African Upheavals Since Independence*. Boulder: West View Press, 1980.
- Ingham, K, *The Making of Modern Uganda*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1958.
- Ingrams, H, *Uganda: A Crisis of Nationhood*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1960.
- Jackson, J, *Early Days in East Africa*, London: Edward Arnold and Company, 1930.
- Jay, E, *The Church: Its Changing Image Through Twenty Centuries*. London: SPCK, 1977.
- Jenkins, K, *Re-thinking History* (Seventh Edition). London: Routledge, 2001.
- Johnson, L T, *Scripture and Discernment: Decision Making in the Church*. Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1996.
- Jorgensen, J J, *Uganda: A Modern History*. London: Croom Helm, 1981.
- Kabwegyere, T, *The Politics of State Formation and Destruction in Uganda*. Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 1995.
- _____, *The Politics of State Formation: The Nature and Effect of Colonialism in Uganda*. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, 1974.
- Karugire, S R, *A political History of Uganda*. Nairobi: Heinemann Educational Books, 1980.
- _____, *Roots of Instability in Uganda*. Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 1996.
- Kasfir, N, *The Shrinking Political Arena: Participation and Ethnicity in African Politics, with a Case Study of Uganda*. London: University of California Press, 1976.
- Kavuma, P, *Crisis in Buganda, 1953-55*. London: Rex Collings, 1979.

- Kibira, J, *The Church, Clan and the World*. Uppsala: Almenist and Wiskell, 1974.
- Kiwanuka, M S M, *The Kings of Buganda*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1971.
- Kolb, D M, *When Talk Works: Profiles of Working Mediators*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1994.
- Kressel, K and Pruitt D G, *Mediation Research: The Process and Effectiveness of Third Party Intervention*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1989.
- Krieger, L, Ranke: *The Meaning of History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977.
- Kuczinsky, R R, *A Demographical Survey of the British Colonial Empire*, Vol. 2, 1949.
- Kung, H, *The Church*. London: Burns and Oates, 1967.
- Larimore, A E, *The Alien Town: Patterns of Settlement in Busoga, Uganda*. Chicago and Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1958.
- Lieblich, A and others, *Narrative Research: Reading, Analysis and Interpretation*. New Delhi and London: Sage Publications, 1998.
- Low, D A, *Religion and Society in Buganda 1875-1900*. Kampala: East African Institute of Social Research, 1956.
- _____, *Political Parties in Uganda, 1949-1962*. London: The Athlone Press, 1962.
- Low, D A and Pratt C, *Buganda and the British Overrule, 1900-1955*. London: Oxford University Press, 1960
- Lubogo, Y K, *A History of Busoga*. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, 1960.
- Lugard, F D, *The Rise of Our East African Empire*, (Vol. II). London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1893.
- Mamdani, M, *Imperialism and Fascism in Uganda*. London: Heinemann Education Books, 1983.
- Mamdani, M and Oloka-Onyango J (eds.), *Uganda: Studies in Living Conditions, Popular Movements and Constitutionalism*. Vienna: *Journal für Entwicklungspolitik* (JEP) Book Series, 1994
- Marshall, C and Rossman, G, *Designing Qualitative Research*. London: Sage Publications, 1989.
- Marwick, A, *The Nature of History* (Third Edition). London: Macmillan Publishers, 1993.

- Mbiti, J S, *The Crisis in Mission in Africa*. Kampala: Uganda Church Press, 1971.
- Miles, M and Huberman M, *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Source Book for New Methods*. Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1984.
- Mittelman, J, *Ideology and Politics in Uganda from Obote to Amin*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1975.
- Moore, P (ed.), *Bishops But What Kind? Reflections on Episcopacy*. London: SPCK, 1982.
- _____, (ed.), *Ecclesiastical Law*. London: Butterworth, 1975.
- Morris, H P and Reed, M, *Indirect Rule and the Search for Justice*. London: Oxford University Press, 1964.
- Mudoola, D, *Religion, Ethnicity and Politics in Uganda*. Kampala: Fountain Publishers Ltd, 1993.
- Mugambi, J N K and Magesa, L (eds.), *The Church in African Christianity: Innovative Essays in Ecclesiology*. Nairobi, Initiative Publishers, 1990.
- Mukulu, A, *Thirty Years of Bananas*. Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Museveni, Y K, *What is Africa's Problem?* Kampala: NRM Publications, 1992.
- _____, *Sowing the Mustard Seed: The Struggle for Freedom and Democracy in Uganda*. London: Macmillan Publishers, 1997.
- Mutiibwa, P, *Uganda Since Independence: A Story of Unfulfilled Hopes*. Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 1992.
- Mwamula-Lubandi, E D, *Transitional Socio-Economic Clans Among Basoga*. Uppsala, Uppsala University, 1978.
- Neill, S, *Anglicanism*. London and Oxford: Mowbrays, 1977.
- Niebuhr, R H, *The Purpose of the Church and its Ministry*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1956.
- Nthamburi, Z (ed.), *From Mission to Church*. Nairobi: Uzima Press, 1982.
- Oliver, R, *The Missionary Factor in East Africa*. London: Longman, 1952.
- Omara-Otunnu, A, *Politics and the Military in Uganda, 1890-1985*. London: Macmillan Publishers, 1987.
- Paul, L, *A Church by Day*. London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1973.

- Pirouet, L, *Black Evangelists: The Spread of Christianity in Uganda, 1891-1914*. London: Collings, 1978.
- Provost, J and Walf K, *Power in Church*. Edinburgh: T and T Clark, 1988.
- Pruitt, D G, *Negotiation Behaviour*. New York: Academic Press, 1981.
- Pruitt, D G and Rubin J Z (eds.), *Social Conflict: Escalation, Stalemate and Settlement*. New York: Random House, 1986.
- Pulford, C, *Eating Uganda: From Christianity to Conquest*. Banbury: Ituri, 1999.
- Raven, C, *Conflict and Growth*. Cambridge: Grove Books Limited, 1998.
- Reynolds, A, *Jesus Versus Christianity*. London: Cambridge International Publishers, 1988.
- Rheenen, G, *Church Planting in Uganda: A Comparative Approach*. California, Pasadena: William Carey Library, 1976.
- Richards, L O, *A New Face for the Church*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House, 1970.
- Richards, A I, (ed.), *East African Chiefs*. London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1960.
- Roberts, A and Donaldson J (eds.), *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981.
- Roscoe, J, *Twenty Five Years in East Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921.
- Rothchild, D, *Towards Unity in Africa*. Washington DC: Public Affairs Press, 1960.
- Rowe, A, *Lugard at Kampala*. Nairobi: East African Publishers, 1969.
- Rupesinghe, K, (ed.), *Conflict Resolution in Uganda*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 1989.
- Sachs, W, *The Transformation of Anglicanism: From State to Global Communion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Singer, H, *The Ethics of Aid*. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies, 1984.
- Sittser, P L, *Loving Across Our Differences*. Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 1994.
- Skyles, S, *Authority in Anglican Communion*. Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1987.
- _____, *Unashamed Anglicanism*. London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1995.

- Skyles, S and Booty, J, *The Study of Anglicanism*. London: SPCK, 1988.
- Speke, J H, *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile*. London: Blackwood and Sons, 1863.
- Stake, R, *The Art of Case Research*. Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications, 1995.
- Stanley, B, *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions and British Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. Leicester: Inter Varsity Press, 1990.
- Syed, A (ed.), *The Role of Religious Organisations in the Development of Uganda*. Kampala: Foundations for African Development, 1991.
- Taylor, J V, *The Growth of the Church in Buganda*. London: SCM, 1958.
- _____, *Processes of Growth in an African Church*. London: SCM Press, 1958.
- Thompson, P, *The Voice of the Past: Oral History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Tourigny, Y, *So Abundant a Harvest. The Catholic Church in Uganda 1879-1979*. Darton: Longman and Todd, 1978.
- Trosh, J, *The Pursuit of History* (Third Edition). London: Longman Publishers, 2000.
- Tucker, A R, *Eighteen Years in Uganda and East Africa* (Vols. I and II). London: Edward Arnold, 1908.
- Tuma, T, *Building a Ugandan Church*. Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau, 1980.
- Tuma, T and Mutiibwa P (eds.), *A Century of Christianity in Uganda (1877-1977): A Historical Appraisal of the Development of the Uganda Church over the Last One Hundred Years*. Nairobi: Uzima Press, 1978.
- Tumusiime, J (ed.), *Uganda Thirty Years, 1962-1992*. Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 1992.
- Turner, H E, *Why Bishops? Their Origin, Functions and Traditions*. Westminster: The Church Information Board, 1955.
- Twaddle, M, *Kakungulu and the Creation of Uganda*. London: James Currey, 1993.
- Vansina, J, *Oral Tradition as History*. Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985.
- _____, *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology*. London: Routledge and Paul Kegan, 1965.
- Waite, T, *Taken on Trust: Recollections from Captivity*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1993.

- Waliggo, J M and Byabazaire M D (eds.), *African Theology in Progress: Rethinking the Mission of the Church in Africa*. Kisubi: Marianum Press, 1989.
- Ward, K and Stanley, B (eds.), *The Church Mission Society and World Christianity. 1799-1999*. Cambridge and Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2000.
- Welbourn, F B, *Religion and Politics in Uganda, 1952-1962*. Nairobi: East African Publishers, 1965.
- White, S R, *Authority and Anglicanism*. London: SCM Press, 1996.
- Wiebe, P D and Cole P D, (eds.), *Beyond Crisis: Development Issues in Uganda*. Kampala: Makerere Institute of Social Research, 1987.
- Willis, J J, *An African Church in Building*. London: CMS, 1925.
- Wingate, A and others, *Anglicanism: A Global Communion*. New York: New York Church Publishing Inc., 1998.
- Wink, W, *Engaging the Powers: Discernment and Resistance in the World of Domination*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992.
- Wright, J R (ed.), *On Being a Bishop*. New York: The Church Hymnal Corporation, 1993.
- Wrong, D H, *Power: Its Forms, Bases and Uses*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1979.
- Wuthnow, R, *Christianity in the 21st Century: Reflections on the Challenges Ahead*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.