A HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF MUSLIMS IN BUGANDA 1965-70

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C O N T E N T S

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A B S T R A C T

Forty-four percent of the Muslim Community in Uganda live in Buganda. For a long time there has been no distinction between religion and political and social life in Buganda. Muslim participation in the social, political and economic life of Buganda is limited by their backwardness. Their backwardness is due to the fact that Muslims rejected Western civilization because it was in contrast with the Eastern oriental civilization. The fact that Muslims are bitterly divided in Buganda has also contributed to their backwardness. Thus the Muslim Community in Buganda is associated with the urban poor. The Christians in Buganda still dominate the political and economic life of Buganda. The Muslims still have a long way to go before catching up with other religious groups in social, political and economic aspects of life. If the present state of the Muslim community continues to exist, Islam in Uganda will be destroyed. If Islam is to survive in Uganda it should try to move with the changing world by accommodating new changes without losing its essence.

The National Association for the Advancement of Muslims is a movement which was founded by Young Muslims in an attempt to establish a body equivalent to Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., to improve the welfare of the Muslim Community not only in Buganda but also in the whole of Uganda. As demonstrated in this dissertation, this objective clearly emerges when we examine the aims of NAAM.

NAAM has largely failed to fulfil its objectives because they were utopian. Secondly, NAAM used force instead of religious, peaceful and persuasive methods to fulfil its aims. But perhaps the major weakness is that NAAM was used by politicians as a religious 'arm' of the Uganda People's Congress. For this reason NAAM encountered strong opposition from those who were against the northern leaders, for example the Baganda and the "Bantu Group," from the rest of the former kingdoms. Consequently NAAM wasted its resources in attempting to suppress this opposition. Though young NAAM has had considerable effect on the Muslim community. It has not only initiated the development of the Muslim community but also created opposition which undermined Obote's Government.

With Obote and UPC out of power, it remains to be seen whether NAAM will concentrate on carrying out the religious objectives, instead of being a political party in disguise. On the other hand it remains to be seen whether NAAM will continue to exist now that its political supporters are out of power.

INTRODUCTION: ISLAM IN BUGANDA BEFORE THE FOUNDATION OF NAAM

Islam was introduced to Buganda by coastal Arab traders who arrived there through the "front door".* 1844 is generally accepted by historians as the year when Arabs and Swahili coastal traders first arrived in Buganda.[1] The first Arab to come to Buganda was Sheik Ahmad bin Ibrahim in A.H. 1260, that is in 1844, during the reign of Kabaka Suna.[2] According to Kisozi, these Arab traders wielded great influence at the Kabaka's court and induced Suna to accept Islam. But the contact with Suna had little lasting effect, Suna's interest in the Arabs was primarily in their trade goods and the presents which they offered him rather than in their religion. It is also suggested that another militant Islamic influence reached Buganda in 1876 with the Egyptian expeditionary forces of Emin Pasha. Also Islam was brought from the north to Buganda by Turkish slave and Ivory traders. According to Katumba and Welbourn a party of Khartoum traders visited Buganda in 1870.[3] Besides the influence of these traders, more converts to Islam were gained when Sudanese soldiers were introduced into Uganda by the Imperial British East African Company. Later these Sudanese troops were employed by the Imperial Government and stationed all over Uganda. They encouraged the spread of Islam and established a number of Muslim settlements known as Nubians. Kasozi pointed out that in Toro the Nubians did a lot to discourage Christianity and to encourage Islam.[4] According to the 1959 census, about 23,339 Sudanese Muslims lived in Uganda especially in West Nile, Kitgum, Gulu and Bombo. Yet despite the extensive intermarriage with local tribes, the Nubians are still racially and ethnically distinct. This is one of the factors which partly explain why the non-Baganda Muslims do not play a significant role in local and national affairs of Uganda.

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* These were the caravan routes across Tanganyika, to Karagwe and Buganda, from the West. This entrance to Buganda was opposed to the "back door" across present day Kenya to Buganda from the East. The Baganda believed that anybody who approached their country by the Eastern route was an enemy and aimed at taking over their country. This was the reason why Hunnington was murdered in 1888.

Islam was accepted in Buganda, as Budalazake believes, with great enthusiasm and gain the favour of the Kabakas and of most people in the country[5] because "Islam was a less demanding religion than Christianity. The convert might retain his wives and many of his traditional beliefs without fear of excommunication and without undergoing the spiritual and cultural crisis which must have accompanied conversion to Christianity"[6] The Baganda traditions, customs, and way of life have much affinity with Islam. Thus demands of Islam on the Baganda, were easily met and Islam was spread all over Buganda. This view was backed by Harries who asserted:

> "for the majority of tribal Africans Islam has appeared as a support and not as a challenge to their traditional way of life..... In a true sense no conversion is expected of the tribal African of East Africa in becoming a Muslim..."[7]

Gee also shares this view. He declares:

> "The Islam faith undoubtedly appeals to the African mind. .....Islam makes a tremendous appeal to the Africans. The freemasonary of Islam is an attraction and its standards compare well with those of nominal Christians."[8]

Oliver also stated that Islam demanded no baptismal renunciation of ancient beliefs from African converts.[9] Trimingham also noticed that everywhere the traditional world remains real and its emotional hold vivid.[10]

Islam was given a fillip when Mutesa I was converted in 1884. Katumba and Welbourn have recorded that Mutesa I encouraged his subjects to be converted too and ordered mosques to be built throughout the country. In addition to this he read and explained the Koran to his chiefs. Later he ordered the execution of a hundred men and women and children who refused to greet one another in the Arabic fashion!! But unfortunately for the fate of Islam in Buganda, Mutesa I refused to submit himself to circumcision. He told Stanely that he refused to be circumcised though the Arabs said it was the first thing that should be done to become a true son of Islam.[12] The Baganda regarded circumcision as a shameful and disgusting act, and for any Muganda to accept circumcision was a drastic reversal of tribal mores. Secondly, as far as their Kabaka was concerned, the penalty for causing him pain was death. Besides the refusal to accept circumcision Mutesa's conversion to Islam was not genuine; it was more political than religious. Certainly no king in Buganda would accept a religion which acknowledged a God greater than himself. He admitted publicly that he needed a strong foreign power which would supply him with arms to fight his beighbouring enemies especially BUNYORO.

Mutesa I saw the rival religions as political forces which he could employ in support of his own power. His public debates as to the relative value of Christianity and Islam indicated that christianity was better than Islam as far as his political desire was concerned. Thus christianity became politically respected and the influence of Islam gradually declined.

By 1888 Christianity had been introduced into Buganda. There were four religious factions at this time: the Catholics, Protestants, Muslims and traditional Lubale* worshippers. Rivalry ensued and these religious rivalries became in effect political parties, each of them struggling for political influence in Buganda. The Muslims tried to gain the favour of Kabaka Mwanga and declared that no white person should enter Buganda, the whole country was to be converted to Islam. This led to religious wars. These so called religious wars were hardly religious conflicts at all; they were essentially political struggles in an attempt to gain the control of Buganda. The Muslims declared that Islamic Law did not "distinguish the things which were Ceasars' and those of God". In the political sense both went together. In 1890 the Muslims were defeated by a combined effort of the Roman Catholics and Protestants. In 1893 Muslims attempted to regain political control of Buganda by rebelling against the government in vain. In 1897 Mbogo refused to accept the Sudanese Troops' suggestion that they were ready to help him if he wanted to gain control of Buganda. In fact he informed the government about the Sudanese mutineers' secret designs.

During the settlement following the religious wars the Muslims were granted three counties only: Ggomba, Busujju and Butambala. In 1893 Macdonald* reduced the Muslim influence by giving away Ggomba to the Protestants and Busujju to the Catholics, so that Muslims had one Chieftainship only as compared to eleven for the Protestants and eight for the Catholics. In 1900 when the Buganda Agreement was made between Britain and Buganda, Mbogo the Muslim leader received twenty-four square miles of land for himself and his adherents. He also received an annual payment of £250 for life. In addition he was treated as a co-equal of the three

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* Lubale is the title of Baganda traditional gods

* He was one of the Governors of Uganda.

Christian Regents during the reign of Chwa. But he was not accorded any political power. In fact as part of the 1900 Agreement, Mbogo renounced his claim to the Kabakaship of Buganda. Since that time the role of the Muslims in Buganda polity has never equalled that of the Christians. From then onwards, the ruling class in Buganda has been closely associated with Western values. The leading Chiefs and Katikiros, such as Apolo Kagwa, were the young Protestant converts who had acted as British allies during the religious wars against the Muslims. These Chiefs adopted an European way of life and sent their children to mission boarding schools, such as Gayaza and Budo, which had a better standard of education. This suitably qualified them for such jobs as chiefs. In time they became an elite and " a self-conscious group with a common destiny as beneficiaries of the European bequest of religion, education, skills and technology."[13]

On the other hand the Muslims felt that they were treated unfairly during the 1900 settlement and from that time their resentment against Western values and mores started. They felt that it was Christian intrusion which prevented Buganda from becoming a Muslim country. By virtue of their disenchantment with the Western influence the Muslims in Buganda have followed behind "by at least one generation the sons of Christian chiefs who were enjoying the best efforts of their denominations to prepare them for participation in Buganda's modernizing society." [14] During the 1950s the elite class in Buganda was challenged by commoner farmers and their better educated children. But the Muslims, although sharing the grievances of the 'have nots' were not yet in the vanguard. The 1959 famous economic boycott against Asians in Buganda was a chance when the Muslims could have gained political power. But they failed to realise this opportunity and to employ it for anything but shortlived economic gain. The prestige of the Muslim Community in Buganda has persisted on a mere factor - that their nominal leader was of the royal family.* They had as Kritzeck and Lewis put it, "one velvet slippered foot in the Kabaka's palace," but on the other hand they had, "a worn and bare one tramping the road of social, economic and political change." [15] The Muslims in Buganda have failed to emerge from the shadow of Christian eminence. As a community, they did not play a leading role in the struggle

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* Kakungulu is the uncle of the late Kabaka Mutesa II.

for Independence of Uganda. Instead they were just a buffer between the Democratic Party (D.P.) and the Uganda People's Congress (U.P.C.) and Kabaka Yekka (K.Y.). Up to now few Muslims have won important positions of leadership either in Buganda or even in Uganda as a whole. It is therefore fair to conclude that Muslims have still a long road to travel before they catch up with the rest of the Community.

The first Arabs who brought Islam to Uganda came to Buganda first and naturally Islam made its first impact in Buganda. As Kritzeck and Lewis put it: "the kingdom of Buganda was the locus of the earliest Muslim activity in Buganda".[16] This was not unique to Islam only. History teaches that Buganda, with its highly developed idea of kingship and its advanced position economically and socially was the natural leader of Uganda so that all alien influences were felt in Buganda first before spreading to the rest of the country. Therefore it was natural that the leader of Uganda Muslims was a Muganda. The Muslim administration was centered in Buganda and Muslims outside Buganda were rarely consulted in decision making. Outside Buganda Protestants and Catholics held the most important political positions against the smaller and less influential Muslim Community. Hardly any Muslim could compete for senior chieftainship outside Buganda because of their poor Western education as shall be explained later. Kamulegeya suggested that it is Kakungulu's inexperience in Islam which is the meaningful explanation of why non-Baganda Muslims did not participate in the advancing of their Community. His other accusation that Kakungulu did not care and neglected areas outside Buganda, and never regarded non-Baganda Muslims as able men to play a part in Muslim affairs, is dismissed by some historians as having no ground to justify it.[17] It is the history of Islam in Uganda as a whole which has fixed Muslims in their unfortunate position.

Islam was sprend to all parts of Uganda by Muslim refugees. After the religious wars the defeated Muslims realised that it was impossible to regain political, social and economic control in Buganda. Therefore they had to seek their fortunes elsewhere in other parts of Uganda. As a result of the dispersal of these Muslims Islam was spread all over Uganda. Luboga pointed out:

> "during Kisira's day religious wars raged in Buganda between Mohammedans and Christian Protestants. Many Mohammedan deserters sought refugee in other countries. One of them named Ali Lwanga escaped into Busoga and besought Kisira to to offer him shelter. Kisira then kept him as a refugee in his Mbuga of Gudumire. This is how Mohammedanism came to Bulamogi" 18

Kasozi has also recorded that a group of Muslim refugees led by Kauzi ran to Ankole and spread Islam there.[19]

The second group which spread Islam from Buganda to the rest of Uganda was the Baganda agents who were sent by the British as administrators in other parts of Uganda. Semei Kakungulu is one of the best example of these British agents. Kakungulu with a large number of Muslims spread Islam in Teso, Busoga and in other parts of Eastern Uganda. Wills complained:

> "Semei Kakungulu the Muganda chief who has recently been appointed practically paramount chief of Usoga has always a large retinue of Muslims around him who no doubt have made their influence felt on the heathen inhabitants of the Mubale district where he is at present settled".20

Abdula Effendi was a Muganda Sazza chief of Bukanga and Abdula Aziz Bulwadda was also a Muganda British agent at Mitoma. These two spread Islam in Ankole. In Kigezi the Muslim Baganda agents were Hassana Ssebowa, Abdala Nammye and Sulimani Ntangamalaalo. All these administrators spread Islam all over Uganda, in spite of the Christians' effort to limit it as much as possible. In fact it is true to say that British Imperialism indirectly aided the spread of Islam in Uganda. In Uganda Islam had a lot of Kiganda influence. Rev. Bammoba observed that a Munyankole who becomes a Muslim usually adopts the Luganda language and looks towards Buganda for spiritual guidance.

The spread of Islam in Uganda was accidental. It was not a deliberate plan. Rev. Bammoba again noticed that the Walimu do not go about preaching or advertising their Muslim religion, because they are not allowed by their leaders to propagate their religion. They believe that each person should be left free to choose whatever religion he chooses.[21] Unlike Christianity there were no missionaries to spread Islam. The governor of Nyasaland stated that Islam spread by itself for it had no missionaries or propagandists like other religions,[23] partly because in Islam there is no official orthodox propaganda to spread Islam. N.Q. King asserted that the greatest achievement of the Muslims in the colonial period was the way they managed to propagate their faith with no missionaries.[24]

This lack of trained leaders and organisation is one of the most important causes of the deterioration of Islamic values and mores in Buganda. Islam lacked organisation and policy from which to focus attention to the rest of the country. Commenting on the disorganisation of Muslims in Buganda Budalazake pointed out that Muslims have no account which shows the income and expenditure of the money used for their affairs. Secondly other religious bodies hold conferences to discuss matters relating

to their religions but the Muslims hold no such meetings.[25]

Although Islam was the first alien religion to be introduced, it has never been a dominant force in Buganda's social, economic and political life and does not even promise to be one in the near future. It was overshadowed by Protestantism and Catholicism. Talking to Muslims at Bugembe near Jinja, Nekyon complained that Islam was the first religion to come to Uganda but today it is the third or fourth in comparison with other religions.[26] Islam in Buganda has lost its appeal as a civilizing element and it is associated with the urban poor. It has little influence in local issues and no influence at all on national issues. It remains a meaningful and valid religion only to those whose society has been unchanged by modern pressures such as education.

Land has been a burning issue among Muslims and most of their grievances are based on land. The catholics and Protestants were granted some land on which they could build schools, churches and hospitals, but the Muslims hardly got any piece of mailo* land during the allocation of land by the colonial government in 1900. The small share which they received was not confirmed by anybody. In 1913 Mbogo, the leader of Muslims, asked the protectorate government to give the Muslims land on which to build six hundred mosques, four hundred of which would be in Buganda. The government agreed to allocate some land to the Muslims as a community. The land outside Buganda was easily allocated: one square mile each was allocated to Busoga, Bunyoro and Ankole, and half a square mile to Toro and Bukedi. But disputes arose over Muslim land in Buganda and up to this day it has not been utilised by Muslims. Mbogo died in 1921 before this problem was settled. It has been one of the grievances among Muslims. Land-owners in Buganda were the important leaders such as the Kabaka, Sazza and Gombolola chiefs. They owned the largest areas of land and enjoyed great wealth. As the Kabaka and all but one of the sazza chiefs were christians, nearly all Muslims were relegated to the common class by virtue of their landlessness. Without land, they had to earn their livelihood mainly as petty traders.

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*MAILO is a Luganda word meaning MILE.
During the settlement of the 1900 Agreement land in Buganda was divided into square miles. 92 square miles were set aside for Mission stations. Some square Miles were given to the Kabaka and Sazza chiefs. Each Sazza chief received 8 miles of land the Ministers got more. Hence MAILO LAND.

Chapter One: THE STATE OF MUSLIMS IN BUGANDA

(a) Leadership and Factions

After the religious wars the Muslims regarded Mbogo as their Kabaka* and protector of their interests. He represented them on all the public functions of the state and tradition developed in such a way that Muslims in Buganda looked to their royal leader as a semi-Kabaka of Buganda. Mbogo was a man of great influence and he commanded the respect of all Muslims. Therefore during his leadership there were no divisions among Muslims; the Muslim Community was united and one. Nsambu described him as "a good reasonable old man who settled any quarrel and any differenne as soon as it was brought to him without taking sides. "Gee also wrote of him as being authoritative, with much dignity and courtesy and used his personal position to weld together the Muslims into a single party, his death in 1921 was for Uganda Muslims the end of an era."[28]

In 1921 Mbogo died. The problem which faced all Muslims in Buganda was to find a suitable successor who would carry on Mbogo's work. Before he died, Mbogo tried to solve this problem. In 1913 he indicated that he was anxious for succession to remain in his family. This anxiety was reflected in his suggestion that his son with the assistance of Ali Kadogo would be the head of the Muslim Community after his death. He was aware of the struggle for power after his death and often he spoke of the jealous men trying to seize the leadership. But being uneducated his ideas were those of an earlier generation of Mutesa I, in contrast to the ideas of the new educated generation of such men as Ham Mukasa and Apolo Kagwa. Therefore he believed in retaining too much personal p ower instead of delegating some of it to his senior lieutenants and training them for the future leadership. Thus when he died the organisation based on his authority and personal position inevitably wilted.

When he died there was no outstanding Muslim to replace him. Perhaps Sekinwanyi who had commanded the respect of some Muslims would have filled this post, but he was not popular among all Muslims. Mbogo's son Kakungulu was only fourteen years old. Secondly, there was the problem of his education to be solved. He was not educated apart from reading the Koran. The suggestion of sending him to Gordon College Khartoum or to Zanzibar for his education was put forward, but some Muslims opposed them. The Protectorate Government proposed that he should be sent to Budo. But some Muslims

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Title of Baganda Kings.

dismissed this proposal as being extremely absurd to educate their would be leader in a Christian mission school. However as there was no Muslim school and as the Muslims realised that academic education was necessary for their leader, Kakungulu was sent to Budo. Kakungulu's guardian, Kisasa, was no better than himself. He also had no education and influence to lead the Muslims.

In 1928 Prince Badru Kakungulu, at the age of twenty-one and after a carefully arranged education at King's College Budo, was selected as nominal leader of Uganda Muslims. The office was made hereditary through the house of Mbogo. Although the Prince received patronage from the Buganda Government and was recognised by Asian Sunnis as leader of all African Muslims, not all Buganda Muslims recognised him. The Muslims understood that they needed a man of influence to guard their political, religious and social interests as well as leading their Community efficiently, but it was questionable whether such a man as this should be merely a member of the royal family.* Thus after Mbogo the problem of the leadership of Buganda Muslims became extremely critical and the Muslim community started disintegrating and splitting into small factions. Since that time Muslims in Buganda have been bitterly divided and have lacked both unity and organisation.

Disputes broke out among Muslims regarding the Friday prayer. The question at issue was whether it was necessary to repeat the ordinary noon prayer al-zuhr after the Juma prayer on Friday. One faction, known as the Juma Group, decided to pray according to the Juma prayer on Fridays. Its members believed that there was no requirement for the noon prayers al-zuhr on Fridays as the Juma prayer took its place. The al-zuhr prayer had to be omitted because conditions which were necessary, in order to pray according to it, could not be fulfilled easily. First of all, forty permanent members of the Mosque's congregation had to be present who could read the Koran and knew the inner meaning of the service. In fact as Gee put it, they had to be almost doctrinal experts. The forty people should be able to hear the call from their houses. Secondly the king of the country where the Juma was prayed should be a Muslim. In addition to this, if the Mosque was built of poles, some of them had to be called Sanambidi, obtained from Arabia or near Mecca. If built of stones some of these stones also had to be obtained from Mecca. As it was almost practically impossible to fulfil these conditions, the al-zuhr prayer had to be omitted. In 1947 the Juma Group turned itself into the Uganda Muslim Community which is today led by

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Kakungulu is the uncle of the late Kabaka Mutesa II.

Prince Badru Kakungulu. Kibuli is its headquarters. It uses the Lunar calendar and observes the moon to indicate the days of fasting. In contrast to the calendar group it believes in the playing of Matali* because these drums had been used to receive their Prophet in Medina from his wars.

The opposing faction was the Juma Zukuli Group which insisted that the al-zuhr prayer be offered as well on Fridays. It is today led by B. Mivule. Its members fast according to the natural moon and believe in playing of the Arabic drums also. Their headquarters is at Kawempe Kyadondo. This group opposed the leadership of Kakungulu.

The third Muslim faction in Buganda is now known as the Calendar Group or The African Muslim Community Bukoto-Natete. It broke off from the Juma sect after disputes over the fasting periods. Its members fast according to the normal calendar. They are led by Zaid Mugenyiasooka and their headquarters is at Bukoto. The Muslims of this group are opposed to the playing of Matali. They associate these drums with Kiganda traditional dances and drums which were used during Kiganda traditional religious ceremonies such as driving away spirits or becoming intoxicated with Lubaale.* This group therefore dismissed them as being pagan drums and dances. Even the tone in which the Koran was to be read was a cause of controversy. This faction maintained that whenever it was to be read aloud to the public it had to be sung.

According to oral information that I collected, the disputes among Buganda Muslims seem to be more personal than doctrinal. The controversies are not over questions concerning the Islamic Law but over minor details. The divisions seem to present a struggle for power between rival leaders. Some faction leaders have used doctrines in order to demostrate their personal quarrels. Sekimwanyi is a case in point. During the time of Mbogo, Sekimwanyi was the most outstanding religious teacher. According to Kasozi "many came to him to learn and go and teach in their own areas." In 1919 - 1920 he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca and was the first Muganda to return alive from Mecca. This increased his prestige. His followers such as Sabiiti Kityo, Abdulla Kuwala and himself were sure that after

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* Arabic Drums

* See p. 3

Mbogo, Sekimwanyi would be the leader of Muslims. It came as a surprise to them, therefore, that Kakungulu, a young man, was selected not only as a leader but his post was made hereditary also. Therefore Sekimwanyi leading another faction of Muslims, known as the Butambala sect, opposed the selection of Kakungulu in 1928, arguing that as he had no religious qualifications at all he was incapable of settling delicate religious matters. They further argued that a religious leader should not necessarily be a prince.

Another quarrel of a similar nature occurred in 1933 when Swaibu Semakula formed a division known as the el-Islam which attacked Kakungulu as an ineffective leader. This group quarrelled with Kakungulu over the land which was granted to Muslims in 1900. They looked back to the time when Muslims had three* masazza (counties) but Mbogo his father allowed the Christians to take two of them and failed to see the full value of the Mailo land which was shared out under the 1900 Agreement. Kakungulu was attacked further for failing to set up schools, hospitals and Mosques for Muslims. The disputes were brought to the attention of Kabaka Chwa but nothing was done, and the problem of proper Muslim leadership in Buganda remained unsettled.

Other writers have also observed that the doctrinal differences are in fact very slight and that the divisions are over personalities. Anderson for example stated "that personal rivalries and antipathies are now involved there can be no doubt whatever."[29] The fact that those who are involved in the disputes have refused the doctrinal decisions of outside arbitrators shows that the disputes are over personalities. The disputes were so critical that the Protectorate Government sent delegates to Mecca to seek the Mufti's advice on how to solve the doctrinal differences. The Mufti decided that there was no need for the extra mid-day prayer on Friday. Secondly, he suggested that a large Mosque uniting all Muslims should be built. Thirdly that each individual must be left free to follow his own conscience over the method of worship. As a response to this decision, Kakungulu called a meeting of all Muslims in 1948, in an attempt to unite them. No effective compromise was reached. Haji Mohamed Ibrahim from Tanzania was invited by the Protectorate Government to help with the solving of the disputes. He was to be an official paid by the government and his work was to advise the government on Mohammadan affairs, to be the general arbitrator in disputes and to act as a guide and instructor of Badru Kakungulu. His decision that al-Zuhr prayer was necessary, was not accepted by Sekimwanyi who claimed to know the koran very thoroughly. Instead Sekimwanyi

*See p. 3

invited his own expert Sharif Ali Mohamed to solve the disputes. In 1930 he arrived in Buganda and added to the confusion. Thus in spite of the government's attempts to find a man of sufficient religious authority to arbitrate on the disputes the factions are not united up to this day.

The fact that Muslims in Buganda were divided deterred the development of their community. Lack of unity, jealousies, quarrels and suspicions towards one another, made unified action difficult. Leaders of different sects could not possibly sit at the same table and discuss ways and means of advancing their community. Because they did not stand as a block, Muslims in Buganda lost privileges which the government gave to other religious bodies. Lewis and Kritzeck asserted that "inhibiting attempts to escape political and social sub-ordination is their own disunity."[30]

(b) Muslim Education in Buganda

In Buganda the Muslims are the least educated and constitute a large part of Buganda's illiterates as a whole, if education is defined on the Western Criterion. In 1962 Kibuli was the only Muslim Secondary School compared to twenty-six for Catholics and more than ten for Protestants. On the other hand more than half of the students in this school were not Muslims. In 1962 Mayanja was the only African Muslim graduate, and so far Fatuma Walusimbi, educated at Gayaza and graduated at Makerere in 1970, is the only graduate Muslim African woman.

Commenting on the Muslim education Abu Mayanja lamented:

> "Muslims have been excluded from positions of power and prestige, they have lacked the educational qualifications to deserve those positions, they have not contributed significantly to the intellectual and professional life of the country and Islam is identified in the popular mind with stagnation, backwardness and inferiority"31

Mrs. Mutyaba, referring to the first Muslim girls to go to secondary schools, described them as the "pioneers in education, coming from homes where neither father nor mother can write." 32 In 1960 a committee was appointed by Badru Kakungulu to look into the working and organisation of the Uganda Muslim Education Association. The Committee reported that the Muslims were still backward in education.

This lack of education by Muslims is attributed to the attitudes of Europeans and the colonial government. The philosophy of Islam was feared by Europeans during the colonial rule and their aim was to limit the spread of this religion. Western and Christian values were promoted against Eastern Islamic values. Those who acquired education or who went abroad to Europe, were the only ones who were regarded as educated, and had chances of getting jobs. For example they became government clerks. Muslims in Buganda sent their students to study in Eastern countries such as Saudi-Arabia, Pakistan and Egypt but when they returned they were not recognised as educated in a British Protectorate. Their education was regarded by Europeans as low education.

This antipathy and fear of Islam in Buganda was reflected in many writings of European missionaries and administrators who proposed the weakening of Islam as much as possible. In 1906 J.J. Willis feared the growing possibilities of a Mohammedan invasion of Uganda and suggested that "the danger of a Mohammedan advance is one to be reckoned with"33 The same person feared that the railway was bringing in a flood of Muslim influence. This fear is again demonstrated by Harries who described Islam in East

Africa as "an ever present challenge to the Christian church."[34] The Muslim religion was regarded as a force hostile to all that European influence wished to achieve in Africa. In 1906 in Berlin it was declared that a Muslim East Africa would be an anti-European East Africa.[35] Missionaries were against the use of Swahili in schools because "swahili is too closely related to Mohammedanism to be welcome."[36] Sir Harry Johnston's* opposition to Islam is reflected in his statement:

> "if there is one thing towards which I am doggedly opposed on political grounds putting aside religious, it is the Mohammedasing of Busoga. For this country to become a focus of Mohammedanism would be one of the most dangerous threats to the future of the prosperity of the Protectorate. In fact it would bring Islam down from the Nile to the Victoria Nyanza and what we aim at politically is to thrust Islam as much as possible into the Sudan. 37

Writing to the Sub-Commissioner of Busoga, Johnston asserted that, "it is not in the interests of the British government that Mohammedanism should receive any more adherents than we can help in Uganda as Muslims are proverbially difficult to manage and are always in their hearts opposed to the administration of a christian power. In Uganda itself we are obliged to put up with the existence of people of this faith because they were here before we came, but I can see that it is decidedly not to the interest of the British government that we should actually assist the spread of this religion. If you are convinced that a religious propaganda of this kind is being carried on by Saleh, arrest him and send him to Entebbe. It is particularly necessary at present time that we should have no Mohammedan nonsense."[38] Thus to the missionaries and colonial government, Islam was "peculiarly liable to fanatic development, therefore should be judiciously watched." African christians were influenced by Europeans and 'joined hands' in the dislike of Islam. Gomototoka described Islam as a pack of lies which was spread by force and its founder Mohammed was a victim of epilepsy.[39] In contrast, Christianity by providing government clerks and professional staff became respected in the 'eyes' of Africans.

One of the most important programmes of the missionaries and colonial government was the destruction of Islam in Buganda. Oliver recorded that the limiting of the spread of Islam "was on the agenda of every missionary conference in East Africa and was filling the pages of missionary magazines at home."[40] One of the means of weakening Islam was the

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* Governor of Uganda from 1899 to 1901

encouragement of Christianity. As Macdonald put it: " To those who fear the possibility of a Muhammedan revival, the importance of Uganda as a strong bulkwork in Equatorial Africa gradually spreading Christianity to its surroundings must be once apparent."[41] This same idea that the spread of Christianity had to be encouraged was put forward by F. Carter. She wrote that the aim was "to develop this Protectorate as a bulkwork against Muhammedan influence coming from the north."[42] It was again proposed that every virgin area especially the Eastern Region of Uganda should be utilised in order to forestall Islam. J. Willis' suggestion was that missionary work in Busoga should begin as soon as possible before it was too late to stop the spread of Islam, and that "as a matter of policy also it is considered advisable that the Muhammedan Religion should not get a footing in Busoga."[43] Besides Busoga the administrators had to see that Islam did not spread in the northern region of Uganda. This policy of obstructing the spread of Islam, by both missionaries and government officials continued up to the 1920s when the Protectorate Government decided to adopt a neutral policy toward religious groups. But it was too late; the Muslims were already a century behind the Christians as far as modernism* was concerned.

The Muslim educational backwardness is a result of the poor background which was set up by the Arabs who introduced Islam in Buganda. As already noted Islam was introduced to Buganda by traders and soldiers. Unlike Christianity no missionary left Arabia with the purpose of converting Africans. There were no organised schools; traders taught the students in their spare time, when this did not interfere with their trade or as Kasozi put it, "when they sought a political union through religion that would be advantageous to their trade."[44] These teachers were not the best and therefore, Islam started off with a poor background so that as far as modernisation was concerned Muslims lagged behind the Christians. When the Arabs went back there were no Muslim teachers to teach Islam and the inexperienced Africans were left to themselves. The responsibility was left to the head of the family to teach his family, but not all fathers were versed in Arabic to teach Islam.

Besides the poor background which the Arabs set up, Muslims in Buganda failed to achieve Western education because they thought that secular education was not necessary for them. They were interested in education which would produce a type of man they considered to be a Muslim proper; that is, a man who knew Arabic and identified himself with the Arabic

*Modernism here means Western values such as education, dress etc.

culture. In Buganda, for instance, Muslims try to leave the traditional culture completely and become almost Arabs. They dress, eat, behave and act as Arabs do. Samula Kimuli complained that "due to improper understanding of the difference between Islam and Arab culture, many Muslims here have turned themselves into small Arabs. They want to act, behave, think and dad as Arabs do. Their family names now are no longer used but have adopted the Arabic system of having their fathers' names as their second names and a Muslim has to have another name no matter whatever it means or otherwise he will be adiluted Muslim. A good Muslim must cover his head with something preferably a white cap or a Turkish re-fez with a tassel of black dangling on the top of it, or his fellow Muslims will look at him with contempt and abhorrence." [45] A person who does not fulfill all these and who adopts himself to Western tastes and standards is suspected to be a Lukewarm Muslim or Christian at heart. Serugo-Lugo complained that the Arab influence in Buganda is so strong that the non-Muslims are compelled to look at them as black copies of Arabs.

Thus the first Muslims to go to Christian schools were subjected to all sorts of isolation and intolerance. Muslims have adopted Arabic which is according to their view, the Holy language and no vernacular is used in prayers in all Mosques. Western education to Muslims was useless. They lacked interest and often reacted very strongly against it because it was brought by missionaries. There was a fear of conversion of Muslim students to christianity. Therefore they sent their children to poor koranic schools where the methods of teaching even Arabic were and still are very unprofessional. However useful religiously the Arabic language and the koran may be, their knowledge alone is not sufficient to meet the needs of the Muslim youths today. Limited Koranic education which cannot possibly earn them a job, makes them extremely narrow-minded. In 1936, it was reported that there were only a few signs that Muslims were becoming school minded. The same Annual Report of 1936 pointed out that, "This Community is so apathetic regarding the educational needs of its children that its members consistently fail to demonstrate by even moderate self-help that they have an obligation towards them."[46] Serugo-Lugo reporting to U.M.S.A. asserted that Gava leader of the Uganda Muslim Education Association, was hated by the Sheikhs for organising the running of secular Muslim schools and they tried their best to see that the Association was either dismantled or completely abolished.[47] Referring to this lack of interest in secular education, Trimingham noted that the "Walimu branded education as haram prohibited and forced fathers to withdraw their children from secular schools,"[48] and according to Carter, this is why Muslim

schools in Buganda were "often closed within a few years of their opening as people were not interested in them."[49]

However a few Muslims have just realised that Western education is necessary for equipping their children with the necessary technical and intellectual knowledge for the society they live in. A case study of Bwaise Koranic School showed that a syllabus of both religious and secular education has been introduced in Koranic Schools. The morning time is devoted to religious studies and the afternoon to academic classes. But lack of qualified teachers is a very serious problem in these schools. This was a great problem of all Muslim schools until recently when the government took over the running of all schools. The few academic schools which the Muslims had were staffed by bad christian teachers who were expelled from missionary schools. As it was reported in 1948, "At present the Muslim schools are largely staffed by men who have left Mission service often because of failures in personal or professional conduct."[50] In addition to this the African Muslims' poor education can be explained by the divisions and quarrels among Buganda Muslims. The quarrels and suspicions among the Muslim Community prevented any united action to set up or maintain good schools. Musoke in his article 'Muslim Education in the Uganda Protectorate' pointed out that each group "has its own schools and the parents of one sect do not like to send their children to schools belonging to another sect."[51] In fact during certain quarrels one division destroyed and pulled down schools and mosques of another group.[52] The Annual Report of 1947 reported that, "once more an attempt to co-ordinate the educational administration of Muslim Primary Schools under one central organisation built out of the three main religious sects proved abortive.... the idea was unsuccessful owing to the jealousies between the sects."[53] Again it was noticed in 1948 that "Muslim schools have hiterto had little cohesion. They have suffered from local and sectional disputes often of trivial nature and have only to some extent been co-ordinated by the direct action of the Education Department."[54] The Uganda Muslim Education Association formed in 1940* tried to reduce tension of these sects in vain. According to the Annual Report of 1935 four Muslim schools were closed because of the "apaty of the community concerned." Thus one may be justified to conclude that the Muslims themselves have contributed to their educational backwardness.

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* It was led by Gava who is mentioned earlier.

As a result of this poor low education, Uganda Muslims form a large part of the unemployed. In his "Islam for 120 years in Uganda", Samula-Kimuli regretted that "the Muslims are the least educated and as such are out of the white-collar jobs." [55] As they were denied jobs by their poor education facilities they tried to find an identity through providing themselves in trade. Kabwejere described them as "the jews in business in Ankole." [56] During the Pope's visit in Uganda, one missionary informed "Newsweek" that in Uganda "It is said that if you want to be a good politician become an Anglican, a good merchant become a Muslim but if you want good education become a catholic." [57]

Islam in Buganda is looked at by non-Muslims as a religion whose ideals are out of date. Therefore the Muslims who belong to it are backward. Also, as no ruler of prominence in Buganda was a Muslim, and because after their defeat in the Buganda religious wars they were reduced to a despised minority, the Muslims in Buganda are backward in every walk of life in comparison with other Communities. They are also backward because they are uneducated. Bishop Cassian Spiss described Muslims as a community which "had no morals, were deceitful and all had V.D. To educate them was useless, they were friends of the government out of greed only." [58] Until recently Muslims in Buganda have been regarded as an important community. They are just butchers, taxi-drivers, shopkeepers, hewers of wood and drawers of water, and second class citizens. According to Kasozi - a Muslim himself - they form a big part of the criminals and they lack the manners, the tastes, the attitudes, the intellectual inclinations and all those other attributes that usually make an educated man the respected individual in his society. "Even small children in villages are reported to jeer at a Muslim who might be passing." [59] Sheikh Kibanga lamenting on their low standard related to me an incident when he was laughed at and made fun of by the Mulago nurses. When they saw him in a Kanzu and tarboosh, they asked him what he would do, being a Muslim they thought he could not write. They were surprised when he signed his name on the medical form. [60]

As a result of this, Islam as a religion in Buganda is associated with backwardness. As Islam is not linked with progress and does not offer chances for progress, ambitious Muslim youths who were eager to participate in the activities of the country, abandoned the religion and identified themselves with Christianity. One example is Iule, the previous Principal of the then Makerere University College. He was a Muslim but abandoned Islam and became a Protestant as Islam was not the avenue to progress. [61]

The whole atmosphere in Buganda is against Islam. The social attitude is that to be a Muslim is to be a foreigner. This has led to the growth of a high inferiority complex among Muslims. Apart from Abu Mayanja, very few Muslim youths would like to be known publicly as Muslims. They try to call themselves by religiously neutral names as Moses rather than Haman, which do not identify them with Islam.[62]

Chapter Two: FOUNDATION OF NAAM*

The formal foundation of NAAM took place on first August 1965. The idea of the formation of NAAM was not Kamulegeya's. The immediate event which led to the foundation of this movement had their root and origin in Mecca. In 1965 an association called the World Muslim League organised a conference and invited representatives of Muslims from all over the world. Abu Mayanja, Ali Kisseka and Kamulegeya represented Uganda Muslims at this conference. Abu Mayanja and Ali Kisseka were sent by Prince Badru Kakungulu leader of Uganda Muslims. But according to oral information, Kamulegeya was a self-styled representative of Uganda Muslims, as shall be explained later. During the conference, Kamulegeya being well-established with most of the members of the World Muslim League by virtue of having studied in Saudi Arabia for many years, played a very outstanding role. He was appointed as one of the committee members which discussed the spreading of Islam in the world. The committee discussed unity of Muslims also and one of the resolutions adopted in this Conference was that all Muslims, whatever their sect, should join in one Muslim organisation, not only in their various countries but also in the whole world.

Kamulegeya returned from Mecca with the idea of opening a branch of the World Muslim League in Uganda. As he was not well-known in Uganda he approached the outstanding Muslim politicians who would support his cause as well as voicing his aspirations. He approached Nekyon, then Minister of Planning and Community Development, and Shaban Nkutu, the Deputy Minister of Education. An Association known as "Addwat" or "The World Muslim League, Uganda Branch", was founded with Kamulegeya as its first President. On first August 1965, a meeting was held at Nekyon's house.[63] During this meeting the title "World Muslim League, Uganda Branch" was changed to "The National Association for the Advancement of Muslims" to suit the aims of the Association in Uganda. At the same meeting, office bearers were selected as follows:

Nekyon	: President (Minister of Planning and Community Development)
Kamulegeya	: Vice-President (Initiator of NAAM)
Shaban Nkutu	: Chairman (Deputy Minister of Education)
Abbas Balinda	: Publicity Secretary (Member of Parliament)
Muwanga	: Secretary General (Financial Secretary of Sebei District)
Ausi Rwakayikara	: Organising Secretary (Minister of Finance in the Bunyoro Government)
Sheikh Kyazze	: Vice-Secretary General
Aziz Mitta	: Treasurer
Sheikh Mutyaba	: Tabling Preacher

*The National Association for the Advancement of Muslims. Hereafter NAAM.

Sheikh Ali Bakary : Education Secretary

Sheikh N. Mutyaba : Vice-education Secretary

At the same meeting a six-man committee was appointed to draft the Constitution of the association under the chairmanship of Ali Balunya. NAAM was a highly organised association and many branches were opened in every District of Uganda.

It seems as though the foundation of NAAM was accidental. It was not planned for years before the date of its foundation. Oral information allege that the foundation of NAAM by Kamulegeya was a result of Jealousy and anngyance.

Kamulegeya was originally a supporter of the Dukoto-Matete group which was one of the bitter opponents of Kibuli and Kakungulu. Kamulegeya then joined Kibuli because Dukoto-Matete was against the playing of Matali. Thus after being a bitter opponent of Prince Kakungulu he became his faithful disciple. Being the leader and organiser of the pilgrims from Uganda, Kamulegeya was sure that he would be the one to be appointed by Kakungulu as the Uganda Muslims' representative at the Annual Conference of the World Muslim League. To his surprise it was Abu Mayanja and Ali Kisseka who were appointed. Immediately he flew to Mecca and argued that these two were lay-men not sheikhs. Thus it was absurd that they should be the ones to represent Uganda at a world conference. When he returned from Mecca, he founded NAAM.

While regarding this immediate cause with some importance, the historial factor should not be disregarded. The main reason for the founding of NAAM is to be found in the history of Islam in Uganda. A serious examination of the history of Muslims in Uganda suggests that a movement like this one was likely to be found. One is justified to suggest that NAAM is a response to Dr. Sergeant's* challenge that the Mohammedan Community was so backward economically and educationally that it needed special help.[64] Thus NAAM may be looked at as one of the many movements founded in an attempt to solve the many problems facing Muslims in Buganda, and to seek for the proper identity of this community. After independence in 1962 Muslims in Buganda begun to be conscious of their backwardness which grave them less say during the struggle for independence. A sense of inferiority took possession of Muslims because of the loss of political prestige. Nearly every Uganda Muslim begun to realise how uninfluential Islam was and to try to establish a meaningful explanation why this was so. Said Mugenyiasoola talking to a visitor from Mecca lamented:

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*Professor of Arabic at the University of London, (In his report on Muslim education in East Africa).

> "Sir, in here Muslim religion is not in good swing, the reason is insufficient education of ourselves who teach it. Our teaching is not based on the best education"65

After the Battle of Mengo, Mutesa II fled Buganda. A fear that Muslims had lost the little prestige which they had through their ruler as a member of the royal family, grew up among the Muslim Community. The Muslims started to be more concerned with the future status of their community than before. This fear, concern, and conscious effort to find a place in the "political sun" and to participate in the emerging political structures, is revealed in the foundation of NAAM. The founders of NAAM looked back with regret at what Muslims had lost in the past and declared that it was high time they regained their lost privileges. This consciousness of the past is revealed in a number of speeches made by the founders of NAAM. On 28th October 1965 A report of the Secretariet of NAAM described it as an:

> "Association.....deep rooted and founded on a common response of the Muslim masses in search of justice, dignity and social equality. It has thus come to be the most realistic common denominator bringing to a focus the diverse problems and aspirations of all Muslims in Uganda with no regard to their differences of worship but with a determination to rehabilitate their social, cultural and economic development, regain their scandalously tramped-on dignity, direct their destiny and challenge the future with a goal and a purpose in life." 66

Addressing the Muslims at Kibibi, Nekyon the President of NAAM told the Muslims that they had "to glance back and recapture the historical background of Islam in Uganda. Islam was the first foreign religion to come to Uganda. Yet today it is the most lagging behind and despised religion in this country. Despite its size, it has no voice in its own affairs, it was not privileged to direct a future that is most suitable to its aspirations and was utilised by others as a weapon of its own destruction. Therefore NAAM..... is founded in search of a prosperous future." 67

This desire of the originators of NAAM to rehabilitate the Muslim Community is reflected in the objectives of NAAM. NAAM's aims as outlined in its constitution are:

a) To promote unity and brotherhood among Muslims
b) To render assistance for the advancement of Muslims in Education, religion, social, health and other aspects.
c) To cooperate with the government on matters relating to Muslims' faith, to promote the rapid growth of "Our religion's affairs"
d) To control collection and expenditure of Muslims' finance.
e) To open, build, run or assist in running schools as well as religious education for Muslims, and to award scholarships or bursaries to

capable Muslim students to prosecute their studies in Uganda, Africa or overseas countries.

f) To open, build, run or assist in running mosques, health clinics, dispensaries, social centres, hospitals, maternity homes and charitable institutions as the association may deem fit for the Muslims.

g) To find ways and means of paying religious teachers.

h) To establish an impartial leadership of all Uganda Muslims

NAAM is a highly organised movement and many outstanding Muslims such as Budalazake Matovu became members of NAAM because of its clear and sound manifesto. After three weeks other associations in pursuit of the development of the Muslim Community, decided to join NAAM. For example on 21st. August 1965 The Uganda Muslim Congress merged with NAAM. After a year the members of NAAM claimed to have 374 mosques under their complete command with Wandegeya as the headquarters of the association. About 1823 Muslims had become members of NAAM after two years of its formation. This number included a number of outstanding sheikhs such as Swaibu Semakula, Nsamba, Mivule and Lutalo. Most of the Muslims who joined NAAM were members of associations which at one time or another opposed the leadership of Kakungulu. Therefore they became members of NAAM in order to challenge the hereditary concept of the leadership of Muslims. It seems that some sheikhs became members of NAAM in the hope of being paid monthly salaries. NAAM was also backed by the Muslim youth not because of religious reasons at all. The young Muslims wanted more organisation and modernization of the Muslim Community. They complained that there should be Muslim reports of what has gone on each year among the Muslim Community and that Muslim Education should be improved. As NAAM seemed a promising association to fulfil all their complaints, the young Muslims supported it and voiced its cause. As explained earlier, most Muslims in Buganda are unemployed. These thought that as NAAM was supported by the government, there was a good chance of being employed. Thus they supported NAAM as a stepping stone to political appointments and employment. Oral information goes on to show that a number of non-Muslims who were not employed were circumcised, converted to Islam and joined NAAM so that they might be employed by the government. "Yet others who joined it were skilful men who hoped to manipulate things to their own advantage."[69]

Another group which supported NAAM enthusiastically was Muslims outside Buganda. They complained that they were rarely consulted and called upon to participate in Muslim affairs, because they were regarded by the Baganda as incapable men. They declared that it was high time areas outside Buganda participated in the running of Muslim affairs and NAAM

seemed to open the way to this aspiration. Dunbar observed that "the foundation of the National Association for the Advancement of Muslims (NAAM) was welcomed by certain elements in Bunyoro who were tired of Kibuli (Buganda)leadership and readily supported the new Association".[70]

The fact that Nekyon, President of NAAM, was not a Muganda strengthened their challenge of Buganda leadership. In January 1967, a branch of NAAM in Busoga wrote a letter to Kakungulu dismissing him as the leader of Muslims in Uganda. He was accused of failing to develop the Muslim Community for sixty years.

Chapter Three: NAAM'S ACHIEVEMENTS

So far NAAM does not seem to have achieved efficiently any of its noble goals of establishing an identity for the Muslim Community in Buganda. Foundation stones have been laid for schools, mosques, and social centres but no building has been set up by the members of NAAM. For example a foundation stone for a mosque was laid at Naguru-Katali in 1966 by Nekyon but no construction of a Mosque has been attempted yet. Many other foundation stones were laid in West Nile, Busoga, Acholi, Mubende and Karamoja, but no actual building of schols or mosque has ever been done by members of NAAM. Secondly, NAAM promised to assist the existing mosques and Koranic schools. For example, its members offered to help the Juma Zukuli sect financially with the building of the Kyadondo mosque but up to now they have not put their promised help into practice. Wandegeya, the headquarters of NAAM, was not set up by members of NAAM. Originally the Mosque and land at Wandegeya belonged personally to Kasule who was a member of the Bukoto-Natete sect. When Kasule became a member of NAAM, he offered the mosque and land to the association. Members of NAAM claim that Bwaise is their biggest Koranic school, but again the land and buildings at Bwaise are personal properties of Kasule. The school is now regarded as NAAM's property because Kasule and Budalazake, the headmaster of the school, are members of NAAM. In fact Bwaise Koranic school started in 1963 while NAAM was founded in 1965. A close study of the school revealed that NAAM has not even assisted it financially and yet the members of NAAM regard it as one of their achievements.[71] Other schools such as Katuuma and Bukuku which are regarded as NAMM's property were not set up by the association. For example, Bukuku was started in 1921. These Koranic schools still remain as poor as they were before the foundation of NAAM.

Again NAAM has not realised its objective of paying religious teachers. Up to now none of the Sheikhs has ever received a penny from NAAM. Some Sheikhs who became members of NAAM with the hope of being paid are now frustrated as their conditions remain as bad as before. For example Sheikh Ibrahim Bitamazire is already thinking of leaving NAAM and start running other businesses from which he can earn a prosperous living.

Muslims are still waiting for the members of NAAM to set up the hospital which they promised. In spite of such hospitals as Mulago which served all the people in Uganda, Muslims are still complaining that they are not treated fairly and are persuaded to become Christians by Balokole*

* A group of Christians in Uganda which believes in public confession of sins.

nurses, especially at hospitals such as Mengo, Rubaga and Nsambya which were set up by Christian missionaries.

Samula-Kasuli commented on this complaint as follows:

> "We hear of a lot of statements where Muslim patients are turned out of Catholic hospitals. It even happens that a Muslim patient dies outside a Catholic hospital without having a doctor seeing him....."72

NAAM opened up a dispensary for the welfare of Muslims in Burton Street, Kampala, but its service did not last for a long time. NAAM's enemies campaigned against it complaining that it treated fairly only members of U.P.C., and other Muslim who were not U.P.C. members were not served properly. Others said that it was another place for compaigning against Kabaka Yekka and the Kingdoms. Thus the dispensary failed. Now Doctor Ssali, a private doctor, is using that building.

The members of NAAM believe that their aim of establishing an overall impartial leadership of Uganda Muslims has been realised. The Muslims complained that during state functions such as independence celebrations, the catholics and protestants are represented by Bishops while Muslims are represented by laymen. On the other hand a leader was necessary to bring together all the factions. As Nekyon put it:

> "The existence of the various associations did not matter but Muslims in Uganda must have one supreme authority which embraces all these organisations."73

On March 7th 1967 Nekyon announced that a meeting would take place to decide Muslim leadership in Uganda and end friction between rival groups. On 1st. April 1967 a meeting of Muslims was organised at Bugembe near Jinja. Each district was represented by three sheikhs. At the meeting proposals for the leader of Uganda Muslims were made. Swaibu Semakula, Sheikh Abdu Kamulegeya, Sheikh Mivule and Sheikh Budalazake Matovu, were some of the people who were proposed on the ground that they had been some of the outstanding sheikhs in the country. All these were members of NAAM. Kakungulu did not appear among the proposed people because the members of NAAM declared that he was not a sheikh. Outstanding sheikhs such as Lubowa who support Kakungulu did not appear among the proposed people also. Moreover Kakungulu's followers had boycotted the meeting.

Sheikh Swaibu Semakula was elected spiritual leader of Muslims, the sheikh Mufti of Uganda. His election was the first of its kind in the history of Islam in Uganda, and was made by what the members of NAAM called the House of Sheikhs. With satisfaction Mutu described him as a spiritual leader like the Archbishops of Rubaga and Namirembe. He further stated that he should be accepted by all Muslims as the President

of Uganda was elected. As he put it:

> "He is the Sheikh Mufti of all Muslims including all those who may not believe in his leadership just as the President of Uganda in the leader of the people all over the country including those who may not believe in his ruling party."

The Obote Government recognized him as the sheikh Mufti of Uganda.

Despite the government's recognition, some of the Muslims refused to accept his leadership. The election of a spiritual leader of Muslims has heightened the conflict among Muslims and widened the gap of unity. Abu Mayanja dismissed the election of a spiritual leader as misleading the Muslims and said that it was against the Islamic Law. He based his opposition on the ground that:

> "Islam does not divide life into water-tight compartments:: the secular and the spiritual, as for example, Chritianity does, and there is no priestly class in Islam." 74

The Muslims pointed out that their Prophet said that there is no class of Monks in Islam. Harries supports this view. He points out:

> "There is no priesthood in Islam, and for the Africans at least no religious leaders who give pratical directions suitable to Muslims living in rural areas." 75

The members of NAAM were accused of being ignorant of Arabic vocabularly: that the word "Sheikh" does not strictly mean a priest or religious teacher. It is just a title of honour. Sembhula's election was again challenged on the ground that it was absurd and too radical to elect a spiritual leader and, to make it worse, compare him with the President of Uganda. Abu Mayanja complained:

> "For a Cabinet Minister* to compare the Mufti with the President in those terms really beats my understanding, because there is absolutely no basis for comparison between the two. The President of Uganda is elected in accordance with the consititution of Uganda and has power to rule all the people within the country and he can enforce his decision through the forces of the country, if need be. In what constitution are the p owers of sheikh Mufti defined? Who are the people eligible to elect him? Where is the election to be held and by what method?"76

On the other hand it was stated that as far as Islam is concerned no such a thing as the House of Sheikhs exists.

Thus NAAM has failed completely to establish unity of all Muslims under one leadership. NAAM's aim was to amalgamate all the Muslim factions into a kind of "federation" under an impartial leader so that they might work together to develop their society. Each faction was to be allowed to follow its own method of worship. The members of NAAM realised that if

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* Nkutu

Muslims were united, they could use help from outside countries more efficiently than before. Unfortunately the members of other factions refused to accept the idea of a joint efforts to develop the Muslims. Besides this, it has been alleged that the leaders of NAAM were not genuinely interested in the idea of unity. For example Kamulegeya is accused of founding NAAM in order to form a group which would oppose Kakungulu's leadership and his association, The Uganda Muslim Community. Therefore, he could not genuinely aim at uniting Muslims when he was publicly preaching against one large sect of Muslims.

The financial problem is another factor which explains the failure of NAAM to implement its objectives. The World Muslim League promised to assist NAAM financially by contributing 20,000 shillings but up to now it has not fulfilled its promise. The members of NAAM complained that those who opposed the association wrote to the World Muslim League, and the leaders of the League were confused as to whom they should send the money which should be used for the benefit of all Muslims in Uganda. It was estimated that the construction of Mubende mosque would cost 20,000 shillings, Hoima 10,000 shillings, Gulu-Acholi 10,000 shillings, West Nile Aringa 30,000, Kyotera-Kayunga 5,000 and Zirobwe 8,000 shillings. In addition, sheikhs had to be paid. The members of the Association had no idea where this money would be obtained from. They just relied on donations alone. An examination of the objectives of NAAM, suggest that the initiators of these objectives were too radicle and their aims too utopian to be carried out. They underestimated the problem of changing the whole Islamic status-quo which has existed for about a century in Uganda. Instead they thought that this could be done overnight. As a result they have failed. Perhaps it is too early to criticise the movement, but it is now five years since NAAM was founded and nothing of importance has been done apart from "jumping" from place to place opening branches of NAAM all over Uganda and trying to convince people that NAAM is purely religious movement.

Since the foundation of NAAM Muslims have been more confused than ever before. In spite of its effort to unite them it has enlarged and strengthened the rift. Muslims have been so strongly divided by NAAM that there do not seem to be any "medicine", as one informer put it, which will bring them together. There do not seem to be any compromise at all even in future, and it is a waste of time, money and energy to try and bring these differences to an end.

Chapter Four: OPPOSITION AGAINST NAAM

A) The Uganda Muslim Community (UMC).

The Uganda Muslim Community* led by Prince Badru Kakungulu is the greatest opponent of NAAM. Opposition from this group has made it practically impossible for NAAM to carry out its aims. NAAM, as far as UMC is concerned, is a threat to peace and a gross violation of the freedom of worship guaranteed to the people of Uganda by the Constitution. In a letter to Obote, then President of Uganda, the members of UMC described the supporters of NAAM as misguided Muslims who brought shame to Islam, and appealed to the government, the police and the public to be aware of the various statements issued, and actions committed by the supporters of NAAM.

UMC accused NAAM of deceiving the public that it was founded to develop the Muslim Community while its main aim is to overthrow the leadership of Kakungulu and to seize Kibuli and convert it into the headquarters of Mufti Semakula. This fear of taking over Kakungulu's position was based on Nkutu's statement during a press conference on 25th November 1967. Asked whether NAAM would take over Kibuli, Nkutu replied that the members of NAAM were looking for a headquater for the Mufti and if the majority of Muslims thought that Kibuli was the right headquarters for Mufti, "I believe Sheikh Mufti will have to accept the advice of his followers."[77] On 15th November the Kakungulu followers wrote a letter to Obote, then President of Uganda, and described Kakungulu as the accredited leader of the Muslims in Uganda. They warned Obote that NAAM aimed at splitting assunder the present Uganda Muslims by usurping Kakungulu's authority. As they put it:

> "The two chief aims and objects for which it claims to have been founded, which... we regret to suspect as being subtle approaches towards the gradual weakening and eventual denial of loyalty to Prince Badru Kakungulu's religious leadership.... which he derives from his own father, our pioneer religious leader"[78]

The members of NAAM were refused access to Mosques of UMC. In a press statement the members of UMC stated that NAAM should build institutions of its own including mosques in order to fulfil its purposes. They declared that they strongly objected to the conversion of their places of religious worship into public platforms for the propaganda of the

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* Hereafter UMC

suspicious intention of NAAM. The refusal of UMC and the insistence of NAAM to use UMC buildings by force, resulted in many physical atrocities committed by the Muslim Community.

On 17th October 1965 a quarrel between the two groups resulted into the death of some Muslims. This took place at Kemisango-Nyamitanga in Ankole at a mauleedi, one of the Muslim ceremonies. NAAM was near the Mosque and UMC inside it. Verbal quarrels resulted into tense physical fighting and two men were killed while many others including women and children were seriously injured. After this incident Obote invited sheikh Semakula to his presidential lodge and assured him that the Government would take action to deal with those who caused trouble at mosques. Similar incidents, but less serious, occurred at Kibiibi-Butambala on 17th September 1965, Luweero-Bulemezi on 31st. October 1965, Nakibembe-Bugweri in Busoga, and at Iganga-Busoga. These quarrels between NAAM and UMC are characteristic of all Muslim quarrels in Uganda. That is they are not based on principles of the Islam faith, but on personal and political quarrels. They have lowered the prestige of NAAM which it had earned from learned Muslims because of its sound aims. For example, after the Ankole incident the Muslim students at Makerere University wrote an open letter to Sheikh Swaibu Semakula, condemning the behaviour of Muslims in Uganda. Further they condemned him because of his insistence on being leader when he knew clearly that a big section of Muslims was not ready to accept him and which led to utter chaos within the Muslim community. They also expressed their suspicion of NAAM. They said:

> "It makes us most highly doubtful of the sincerity of the members of NAAM if instead of persuading the Muslims to their cause through rational means they are bent on.... the use of force to fulfil their purposes. These means do the greatest injustice to whatever noble cause they may aim at advancing... We have been led by their consistent show of intolerance to believe that other factors are at play."79

The conflict at mosques and Mauleedi ceremonies was so tense that on many occassions the Uganda armed forces and Uganda Police had to be present at Mosques. The UMC members accused the President of NAAM, Nekyon, of misusing his ministrial powers by using the Uganda Armed Forces "for his own forcible entry into and use of our mosques, thereby converting public services into his own personal uses." 80 It can be said that one of the reasons why NAAM has so far failed to carry out its aims, is the use of force which as the Makerere University students put it, "cannot solve the problems of Muslims".

The members of UMC believe that NAAM was a movement which was inspired by the Jews. They asserted that the Jews wanted to start movements which support their cause, in Kenya and Tanzania but the Muslims in these countries were not convinced and this idea failed. The Jews therefore looked to Uganda where the Muslims are bitterly divided and where the future of Islam is at stake, and so encouraged the foundation of NAAM. Arrangements of starting a similar movement in Kenya were made by Nekyon in 1965 but failed. UMC members argue that as Jews are fighting to destroy Islam in the world, NAAM aims at doing the same thing in Uganda.

B) IS N A A M A Political Party?

One of the strongest accusation which NAAM encountered and failed to supress was the suspicion that it was a political party in favour of Obote. When I was conducting Oral Interviews, such phrases as "NAAM is a political party", "Do you mean NAAM of Obote?", "she may be a spy for the government", Mufti is Obote's witch doctor", "Don't you know that NAAM is UPC?", were repeated by many informants whom I tried to interview. After the coup in Uganda I received letters from three of my informants apologising for not telling me the truth that NAAM was Obote's Muslim political party, a branch of UPC. Many supporters of NAAM in villages claimed that NAAM was the Government and the Government was NAAM, and that if one did not join NAAM the Government could not give him a job. This belief was encouraged by the fact that all Muslim sazza chiefs during Obote's rule were members of NAAM apart from Mayanja the sazza chief of Ggomba. The following chiefs are all members of NAAM, Mbabali, the sazza chief of Bulemezi county, Lugobe of Butambala, Semakula of Singo, Kibirige of Busujju, Matovu of Sese and Kirunda of Bugwere. In addition to these there were also secretary generals; for example the secretary general of Mubende, The Secretary General of Bunyoro, Assistant Secretary General of Sebeyi, Mwanga, Administrative Secretary General of East Mengo, and Administrative Secretary General of Busoga, Haji Balunywa. All these were members of NAAM; a fact which strongly emphasizes the suspicion that NAAM was in League with Obote's government. The non-members of NAAM were justified to complain that they were denied jobs by the government on the ground that they were not members of NAAM.

NAAM was founded at a critical period in Uganda. This was the time when kingdoms of Uganda and hereditary rulers were being abolished. It seems as though the politicians supported NAAM not only for religious reasons but for political purposes also. They realised that NAAM's aim of ending Kakungulu's hereditary leadership was identical with their policy of abolishing feudalism. They utilized this opportunity by encouraging NAAM's activities. Thus it is alleged, by those who are against NAAM, that instead of being a genuine religious movement its leaders turned it into a political manoeuvre. The fact that Nekyon, the President of NAAM, was not a Muganda but came from the North, where Obote the President of Uganda came from, increased the suspicion against NAAM. To make it worse Nekyon was related+ to Obote. The Baganda complained that

+Obote and Nekyon are half brothers.

NAAM was based on tribalism, that it was founded by Obote's brother to crush the leadership of Buganda. This accusation was heightened when Muwanga a member of NAAM declared that it was time the leader of Muslims in Uganda was a non-Muganda. Ntege-Lubwama, then Kabaka's Minister of Education, complained that to threaten the leadership of Muslims just because the leader was a Muganda showed tribalism. He warned that the plan of uprooting the Baganda from all important positions might even be extended to Rubaga and Namirembe*.

The members of NAAM admitted that their association aimed at working with the government of Uganda. For example Kamulegeya argued that it was impossible to separate religion from politics because both work for the advancement of communities; therefore, he admitted that the members of NAAM were strong supporters of Obote's government and they could not tolerate anyone who opposed it. On 4th August 1965 Abbas Balinda, a member of Parliament, declared that the main aim of NAAM was to co-operate with the Government.[81] Nkutu also informed a press conference that NAAM supporters "have no double loyalty whatsoever. They are all solidly united to support the Government which they themselves elected."[82] He further asserted that non-supporters of NAAM were disloyal to the state. Abu Mayanja challenged this statement in Parliament. He asked the Minister for Cabinet Affairs to explain whether Nkutu's statement reflected Government's policy. He also wanted the Minister to state if the Government still upheld Article 16* of the previous constitution of Uganda, when it was publicly interfering with the freedom of worship of the people of Uganda, by championing, supporting as well as identifying itself with one faction. Mayanja argued that the Government identified itself with NAAM by recognizing Swaibu Semakula as the leader of Muslims, and its intention was to impose this leader over all Muslims.

Obote realizing the tension which the question created in Parliament, decided to answer it himself. He replied that the Government's recognition of Swaibu Semakula was based on the fact that he was the one who represented the Muslims in 1962 during the independence celebrations. Secondly he was the official interpreter of the koran. He added that a group of Muslims recognised Kakungulu because he inherited the leadership from Mbogo.

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*Rubaga is the headquarters of the catholics and Namirembe of the protestants.

* It provided freedom of worship of the people of Uganda.

"Are there some people even today who think that religious leadership should be just inherited?", he asked. He also informed Parliament that there was no word "PRINCE" in the then constitution of Uganda."[83] Although Obote tried to deny that the government did not support and encourage the existence of NAAM, the way he answered Mayanja's question indicated that he used NAAM to fulfil his policy of abolishing the Uganda kingdoms and hereditary rulers.

The fact that Semakula, the Mufti of Uganda preached in favour of UPC on certain occassions, showed that NAAM was a political party. For example, at one of the religious ceremonies at Mityana, the Mufti preached against D.P. and K.Y. and condemned all their leaders. He also appealed to all people to support U.P.C. and Obote, and predicted that Obote would be President of Uganda for 90 years. In a press statement the catholics complained and condemned the Mufti for misusing his religious position to accuse D.P., "their political party."[83] * The Muslim students of Makerere University blamed the Mufti for being used, as they put it, "to endorse and cover some other ulterior motives." Mufti's visit to the President of Uganda, after the Ankole incident appeared to some Muslims as an act of support for NAAM by the Obote's government. Commenting on this visit the Makerere University students wrote to the Mufti that they heard:

> "With great shame that you went to see His Excellency the President of Uganda. This was done most untimely. It would seem to casual observers that the incident of Ankole was treated as a victory of which one congratulates himself by paying a courtesy call to His Excellency. We are very humiliated by this..... Young Muslims are being made to add disgust to disgust and whatever this means to the future of Islam heaven knows. We are made so hopeless that we almost like to avoid even counting ourselves as a party to Islam."84

They stated also that the government was not justified in interfering with the religious affairs of Muslims. Again in the letter to Mufti, they complained:

> "Searching heaven and earth we can perceive of no grounds at all for making government a party in the Muslim struggle .....Muslims must be left on their own as long as they have broken no law of the state... helping one faction to assault the other is to us the most glamorous abuse of good sense and justice by whoever does it. We say then, Hand off Islam"85

*D.P. is regarded by the mass of Uganda as a political party for the Catholics because its leader B.Kiwanuka is a Catholic. UPC is regarded as a party for the Protestants. The Muslims have none. As indicated in the Abstract, there is no difference between religion and politics in Uganda.

Another group which opposed NAAM on political basis was the "Bantu Group". This group was led by the five Ministers who were alleged to have planned to overthrow Obote's government. They also thought, like the Baganda, that NAAM was a political party. In 1966 Ibingira one of the Ministers scattered placards in Kampala saying: We the Bantu Group, have discovered NAAM's secret plan." Nadiope, a member of this group, in a meeting at Busesa - Busoga declared that the "Bantu Group" could not accept the existence of NAAM.

There is no doubt that NAAM was used by Obote's government as a means of gaining support for UPC from the Muslim Community, and to fulfil the government's policy of abolishing the hereditary rulers in Uganda. As already indicated most of NAAM's important supporters were M.P.s who belonged to UPC. Obote's favour of NAAM is shown by his frequent invitations of the Mufti and his public appearance with him in the local press. Obote's answer to Mayanja's question in Parliament left no doubt among the people that NAAM was UPC. The fact that NAAM's strength ~~and~~ and fame weakened when Nekyon lost his cabinet post after conflicting with Obote, also leads people to suspect that NAAM was a religious "arm' of UPC

As a result NAAM was rejected and opposed by those who were against UPC. This opposition from all over Uganda has contributed to NAAM's failure to carry out its objectives. The members of NAAM have wasted a lot of time and money trying to counter this opposition. They have wasted the association's meagre resources by opening up branches of NAAM here and there, and by holding big rallies, trying to convince people that NAAM is a purely religious movement while at the same time arguing them to support UPC.

Now that UPC is out of power, the future of NAAM is at stake. It is already rumoured by the press that NAAM has been abolished.

The development of the Muslim Community is still a problem facing the governments of Uganda. One can say that Idi Amin was aware of this problem and perhaps that was partly the reason why he had suggested the introduction of the Ministry of Religious Affairs to deal impartially with religious grievances. The instability of theMuslim Community in Uganda is partly a result of low education. Those who are concerned with the future development of Muslims should think of introducing Islam as a subject in primary and secondary schools, and to abolish Koranic schools. If this is not done, conservative Muslim parents will continue to send their children to these poor Koranic schools, and the Muslim Community will continue to lag behind other communities.

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