

INSTITUTE OF CURRENT WORLD AFFAIRS

IMW-24
Uganda's Lake District

The White Horse Inn
Kabale, Uganda
July 31, 1962

Mr. Richard H. Nolte
Institute of Current World Affairs
366 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Nolte:

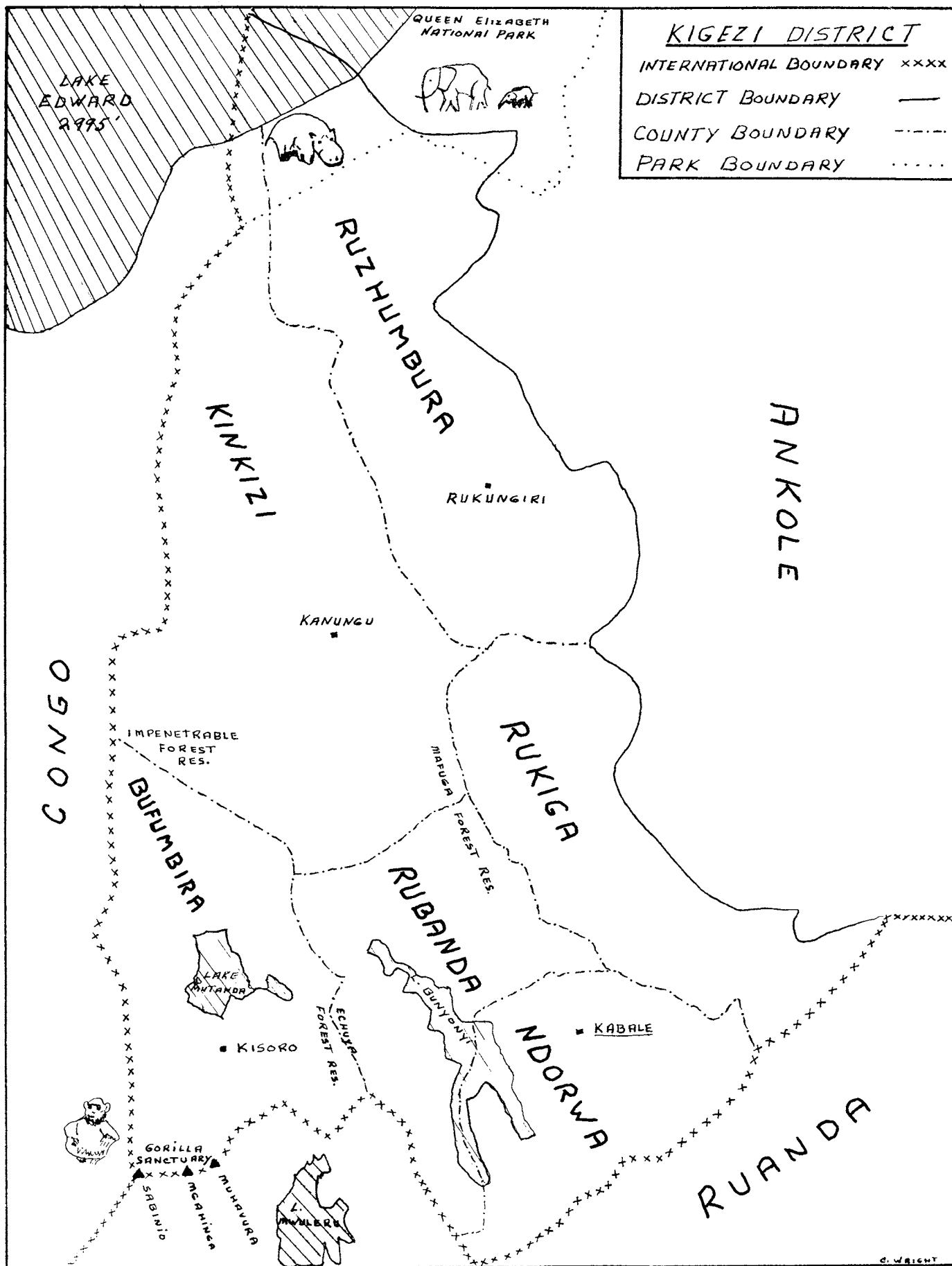
When one enters Kigezi District by the north from Queen Elizabeth National Park, as we did, the animals almost immediately disappear, the country gets considerably more hilly and the road becomes tortuous (thirty is reckless driving). Within a few short miles of leaving the hot plains near Lake Edward at 3,000 feet, we began to work our way up to the Mafuga Forest Reserve on the most spectacular mountain road we have yet seen in East Africa. Mafuga Forest is an extension of Kigezi's famed Impenetrable Forest, and the road crosses its summit at over 8,000 feet and winds across narrow ridges with sharp drops on both sides. We arrived in Kabale late in the afternoon refreshed by its crisp mountain air for although it is only one degree south of the equator, it is 6,000 feet up.

The next morning we awoke to find ourselves engulfed in a thick fog which we later found a daily occurrence. For all its natural beauty and healthy climate, however, Kigezi has had a turbulent history. From the early 1920s when the Protestants and Catholics established missions in Kabale (Protestants are quick to point out they came two years before the Catholics), religion and politics have gotten quite mixed up. If there is any key to understanding the District, it must surely be this.

Essentially the situation is that Catholics are Democratic Party (DP) members and Protestants are Uganda People's Congress (UPC) members. The few Muslims tend to vote UPC, and the sizable pagan minority vote with their relatives who are either DP or UPC. There is no voting across religious lines.

There are approximately 500,000 inhabitants in Kigezi, and the number is increasing by about 13,000 a year. It is already overpopulated and the only district to organize resettlement schemes elsewhere. In spite of these schemes' relative successes, they are of course only a palliative, and there is general agreement that in ten to fifteen years a serious crisis will result, and more basic measures will have to be employed such as birth control. At the moment though, no one pays much attention to it.

The predominant tribe is the Bakiga (pronounced Bachiga), although there are sizable Banyankole, Bahororo and Banyaruanda minorities. There are also a very few Banyabitumbe in Queen Elizabeth National Park and a few of the pygmoid Batwa near Kisoro



(see map on page two). The Bakiga are an industrious people who before the coming of the white man lived without chiefs. Local authority was vested in clan heads, each clan controlling a small area, usually a hilltop in this mountainous land.

The British brought in Baganda administrators who promptly transplanted their own system of chiefs. This worked better than might have been expected and in due course the Baganda were replaced by Bakiga. At present the system is flourishing.

The local government of the District is carried out by the Kigezi District Council which works through a hierarchy of civil service chiefs and their local councils. There are six sazas (counties) in the District which are presided over by six saza chiefs (three Catholic and three Protestant) and their councils (see map). The next tier is that of the gombolola (sub-county) of which there are 35. Next there are 158 miruka (parish) chiefs and councils, and finally there are a whole series of bakungu chiefs (village headmen) who most nearly approximate the traditional clan heads. All these chiefs are paid small salaries by the Council, although the bakungu chiefs are being drastically reduced in order to cut administrative costs. In general the salaries are minimal, but as men of prestige they usually have a reasonable income.

The Kigezi District Council was established more than fifteen years ago, but the first direct elections to the Council were held only in 1956. Previously it was largely an official Council made up of chiefs, civil servants and a few nominated members. If religion has been a divisive force in Kigezi, it has been most apparent in the Council. During its early deliberations, however, Protestants and Catholics were clearly co-operating to a certain degree, for the first Secretary-General (then combined with Chairman of the Council) was a prominent Catholic, Paul Ngolongosa, who was elected by a largely Protestant Council in 1954. What happened after that is not clear, but Protestants accused Ngolongosa increasingly of favoring Catholics in his appointments. At the end of 1954 they claimed to have found a circular, signed by Ngolongosa among others, to the effect that Catholics should band together and exclude Protestants from important positions. No one I talked to had ever seen this circular, but Protestants are as convinced it was genuine as Catholics are it was skullduggery.

Since that time religious rivalry has been severe. In 1956 a new Council was elected with considerable popular representation, Ngolongosa moved over to become Chief Judge, and a Protestant, Mr. Kitaburaza, replaced him. An uneasy truce during which much constructive work was accomplished lasted until 1959 when Government established an Appointments Board.

The Appointments Board represents a stage in the democratization of Kigezi local government. Its job is to appoint all civil servants from posts equivalent to gombolola chiefs and upwards. The Board also appoints civil servants below this rank but on the advice of Saza Advisory Boards and, in the case of the District

Council, departmental heads. In the past this job was done mostly by British civil servants, today by Africans.

Opposition to the Appointments Board was again, as far as I can gather, entirely religious. Paul Ngolongosa was named Chairman, and there were two other Catholics, three Protestants and one African Muslim on the Board. One of the Protestants was reputed to be "weak-willed and friendly with Ngolongosa", and so the Catholics had a clear majority.

The then Council with a Protestant majority was totally opposed to Ngolongosa and so to the Board also. Two people actually went so far as to bring a case against the Protectorate Government in the High Court for having appointed the Board in the face of the Council's refusal to co-operate. The case failed but opposition increased. In March 1960 it reached a peak when some of Ngolongosa's coffee trees were destroyed and his Protestant friend's store was burned down. These incidents touched off a number of similar happenings including the burning of three schools (almost all schools in this District are run by missions) and a pastor's house. The Anglican and Roman Catholic Bishops strongly condemned the violence and widespread religious strife was narrowly averted. But Government agreed to appoint a new Board and by September things had calmed down.

The new Board was appointed at the end of the year. Under the Chairmanship of Mr. J. Bikangaga, a Protestant, it consisted of two other Protestants and three Catholics. Its selection was widely approved throughout the District. To anticipate a bit, this delicate balance was upset early last year when one of the Catholic members of the Board died suddenly. To fill such a vacancy Government must ask the District Council for nominations, and from among them the Governor makes his choice. No such request came from Government, and so the Council passed a resolution asking Government to ask them for the nominations. This Government only recently did, but the Council responded with the names of four African Muslims. Clearly it is out to break the balance between Catholic and Protestant, especially in view of the fact that Muslims tend to support Protestant, or rather UPC, interests.

To return to the Council, solid progress in other spheres continued to be made. In March 1960 a committee was set up to advise on constitutional changes, since the life of the Council was due to expire at the beginning of 1961. By the end of the year there was substantial agreement on most matters. The main changes agreed upon were the separation of Chairman of the Council from Secretary-General, turning the latter from a political into a civil service appointment; the election of forty-eight elected members giving them a substantial majority in the new Council; and the removal of gombolola and miruka chiefs from the Council. The District Commissioner can no longer appoint members, but the new Council can nominate up to eight additional members. Finally Government also agreed in principle to the creation of a ceremonial head of the District without executive function, the Rutakirwa Engabo.

The new Council was made up as follows:

The Speaker and Deputy Speaker
The Secretary-General
6 Saza Chiefs
The Treasurer
The Forestry Superintendent
The Supervisor of Works
48 directly elected members
8 nominated members

One can guess that the inevitable happened. The elections were held in February, the DP (Catholics) got 24 elected members and the UPC (Protestants) also got 24. This created a most unfortunate situation where the ex-officio members were left holding the balance of power. The DP, fearing that most of those members were Protestant, boycotted the Council claiming it was illegal since they had, in fact, a slightly greater aggregate vote than that of the UPC. This allowed the UPC supporters in the Council to nominate six of the eight appointed members without opposition and to ensure its majority on the Council and its Committees. Mr. Kitaburaza the former Secretary-General, was elected Chairman, and the presence of the ten ex-officio members provided a quorum. Thus it was possible for the Council to function in spite of the absence of half its elected members.

Considerable efforts were made to bring the two parties together and work out an acceptable compromise, but they failed completely. Finally last November the Council was dissolved, and the constitutional regulations were ammended so that such a deadlock

could never again occur. The important ammendments provided for the removal of ex-officio members and the creation of a 49th electoral division. Up to five other people may be specially elected to the Council. The Secretary-General and the Treasurer both can sit on the Council but without a vote.

A controversial



An old Bakiga man
(Courtesy Uganda
Department of Infor-
mation).

issue was the timing of the elections for the new Council. The UPC wanted them to be delayed until the new electoral rolls came into force early in 1962, while the DP wanted them to be held immediately on the 1961 rolls. A compromise of sorts was worked out whereby they were held in January 1962 and yet on the 1961 rolls. This time the UPC were the winners with 26 seats (one was won by an African Muslim) compared to the DP's 23. Therefore three of the specially elected members went to the UPC and two to the DP for a total of 29 UPC members and 25 DP members. No pagans were elected.

Besides the two elections to the Council in less than a year, there were also two National Assembly elections. The first was in March 1961 (it was then still called Legislative Council) at which the DP won 4 seats and the UPC won 2 (enlarged to 3 when a Kigezi UPC member became a specially elected member of Legco). The second was last April and in that election the UPC won 4 and the DP won 2. Thus in less than fifteen months there were no fewer than four elections. This spate of political activity not only kept the District

+ + + + + + + + +

The Bufumbira Volcanos.

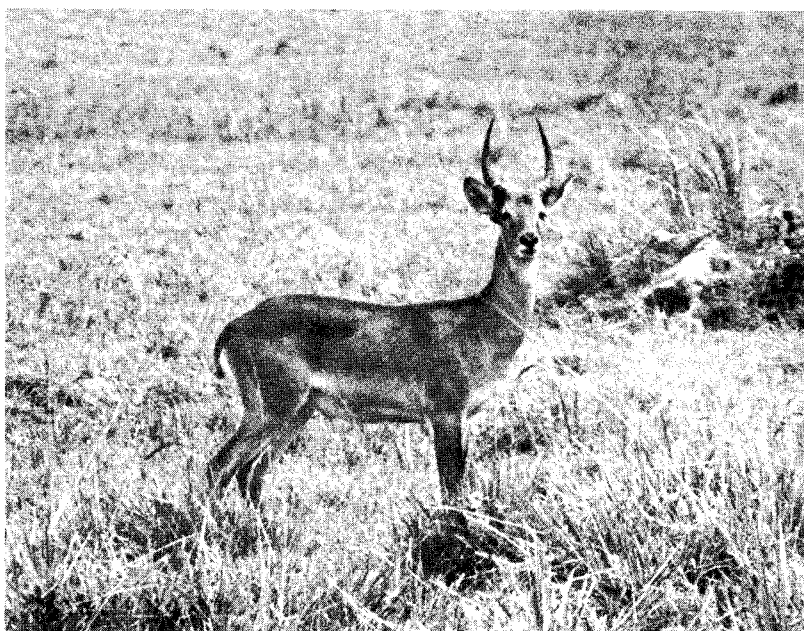
From left to right: Muhavura, Mgahinga and Sabinio (UDI).



A shy bushbuck in Queen Elizabeth National Park.

Administration busier than it cared to be, but in the opinion of many it led to an undue emphasis on political activity at the expense of the economic development of the area.

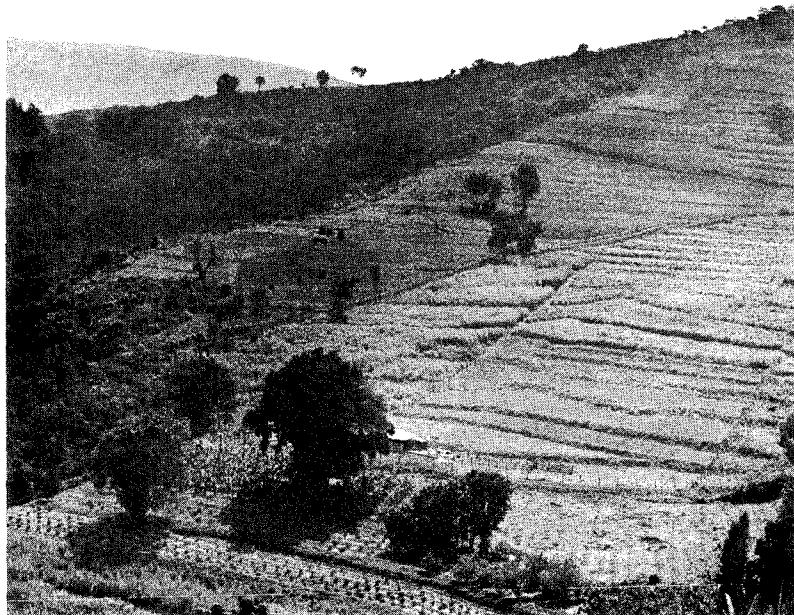
As with most other district administrations in Uganda, finance is its weakest point. For a good number of years the Kigezi District Council has been in the red and had its budget deficit made up by the Central Government. Indeed many people feel that most local councils will never be able to raise enough money to pay for their own programs, and that Government should therefore be prepared to continue financing them as a method of encouraging local responsibility. Regardless of the merits of this point of view, this year's deficit will be on the order of \$75,000.



This is a lot of money considering that the total budget is about \$1 million. Kigezi is one of the poorer districts in Uganda, and unless there are larger grants from Government it will soon have to curtail its services. Taxation is already high and although improved assessment might bring in a little more revenue (such as taxing a man on the basis of income from all sources--- in particular cattle owners are under-assessed), the main problem is that of the economy as a whole.

There is only a minimum amount of mining and forestry, and until recently there were virtually no cash crops at all. Every acre of land had to be farmed for subsistence. With improved agricultural methods, however, a considerable start has been made to encourage cash crops (especially arabica coffee). In 1960 total marketed produce accounted for only about \$200,00, while in 1961 the figure shot up to \$600,00. This, of course, is not only due to increased production but equally to improved marketing facilities.

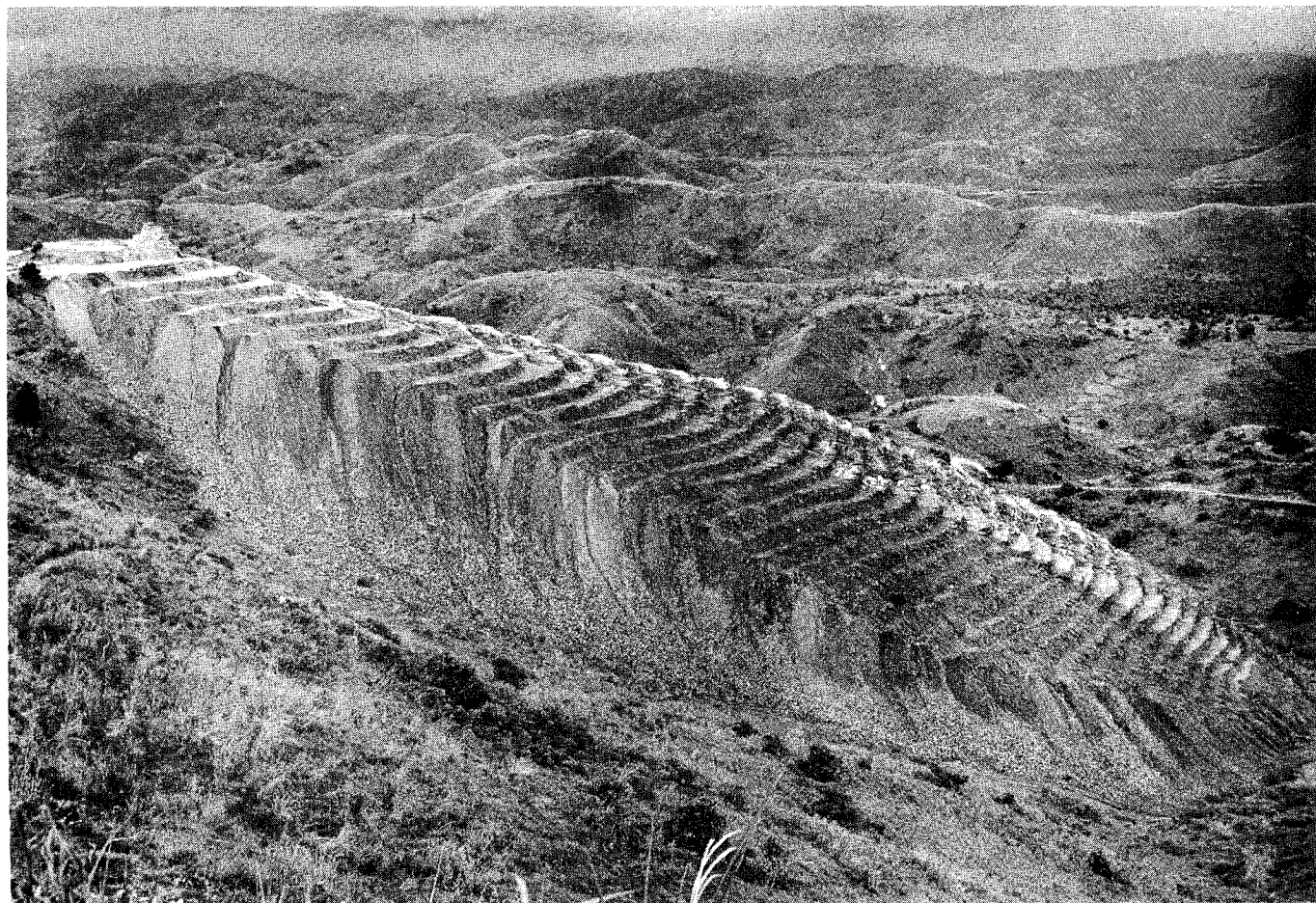
Government has really set the pace in encouraging this type of development. For instance robusta coffee, a low cash earner, is being discouraged (actually people are not allowed to plant new robusta seedlings at all), and arabica coffee plants are being given away (in spite of this a sizable number are stolen). The Agriculture Department intends to make this a major cash crop of the District. Tobacco is another cash crop, although much tea has recently been planted and in a few years will become equally important.



Every inch of this mountainous land is utilized.

(left) Experimental and demonstration farm.

(below) New development
(Courtesy UDI).



At the moment, however, none of these crops are well enough established to yield much in the way of local government revenue. In time this will come to pass, but not until the infant co-operative societies, that are also doing so much to encourage cash crops, prove their worth to the peasant farmers. Again, the all-pervasiveness of politics has hindered their development. Once they are established, though, they will provide the District Council with much-needed cash on the pattern of other local councils throughout East Africa.

In spite of this grim economic outlook (40% of local revenue is in the form of grants), the Council hopes to appoint a ceremonial head of the District, without executive function, in order to keep up with the Joneses, in this case the people of the four treaty Kingdoms: Buganda, Bunyoro, Ankole and Toro. The Rutakirwa Engabo, as he is to be called, will cost an additional \$10,000 a year. This comic opera aspect of Uganda politics is not confined solely to Kigezi. As a matter of fact the functions of the Rutakirwa are modelled entirely on the proposed Won Nyaci of Lango, a district to the north-east of Kigezi.

The creation of the post of Rutakirwa Engabo was agreed upon in principle in 1960 and since then has assumed ever-growing importance locally. A few days ago the Council sent a five-man delegation to Entebbe, led by Mr. Kitaburaza, to iron out the last points stalling his election. The Minister of Regional Administrations was sympathetic to their request, but he pointed out that since they were already asking for a sizable grant to make up their deficit, they might better spend their time building up the Council's finances to pay for a Rutakirwa themselves. Although keenly disappointed, I doubt if they were surprised.

* * * * *

Land is another serious problem in Kigezi District, one of the very few overpopulated areas in Uganda. Keith Anderson, District Surveyor, is also secretary to the recently established Kigezi Land Board. In both capacities he deals directly with this problem.

"What we really need in this District is consolidation, especially in the south. As yet, however, people aren't eager to consolidate their fragmented holdings and under Protectorate Government we don't have the power to force it as was done in Kenya. We'll have to have a strong Central Government for that, and we hope that after uhuru things will be different. The responsible Minister comes from this area and is well aware of the problem, and so we have our fingers crossed.

"There are an increasing number of voluntary individual exchanges of land, though, especially in Ndorwa, and clearly some of the more progressive farmers are beginning to appreciate the advantages of consolidation, but in the end any real progress will depend on the policy of the Government. We are doing, however, an increasing amount of adjudication and surveying of individual hold-



Long-horned Ankole cattle.

ings. Although we prepared 1210 titles last year at great popular demand, we sold only 180. As with everything else here, the problem is entirely political. Because the UPC encourages people to get titles, the DP is against it and tells its followers they will do it for them free as soon as they are returned to power."

He then went on to talk of the Kigezi Land Board. "At last October's Constitutional Conference

in London it was decided that all Crown Land should be vested in the Districts. So we have established our Land Board, the first in Western Province. Again there would be more if it weren't for politics. We have eight African members elected by the District Council, and I've been lent by the Lands and Surveys Department to act as Secretary. We had our first meeting last month. All land in the District is under our jurisdiction with the exception of Kabale Township, Protectorate-occupied land such as national parks and forests and various plots, and all freehold and leasehold. Most land is of course held under customary tenure and we hope and plan that all of this land will slowly become freehold as soon as it can be surveyed and titles issued.

"That leaves the Land Board, however, with two big problems: TOLs and vacant land. A TOL is a Temporary Occupation License, and there are a tremendous number of them in the District. They have to be renewed annually, and the various missions alone have over a thousand. Usually a TOL is like a lease, but the missions get their land free. Most mission TOLs are for about five acres but they usually have grabbed a great deal more, say fifteen to twenty acres. Government wants payment for these plots since many are used for crops, which theoretically isn't allowed. What we would like to do is change all these TOLs into leasehold, but in order to do this we must survey each one which is beyond our resources at the moment. As a compromise we want the missions to pay for their TOLs beginning in 1963.

"The other problem is vacant land. Thank goodness there isn't much of that around. Again we can't sell any vacant land until the area is thoroughly surveyed. Most of the Government rest houses scattered throughout the District belong to the gombololas who want to sell them to raise money. Again we can't do anything until we survey the gombololas or any number of people would claim we had unjustly sold part of their land. We really have a massive job to do."

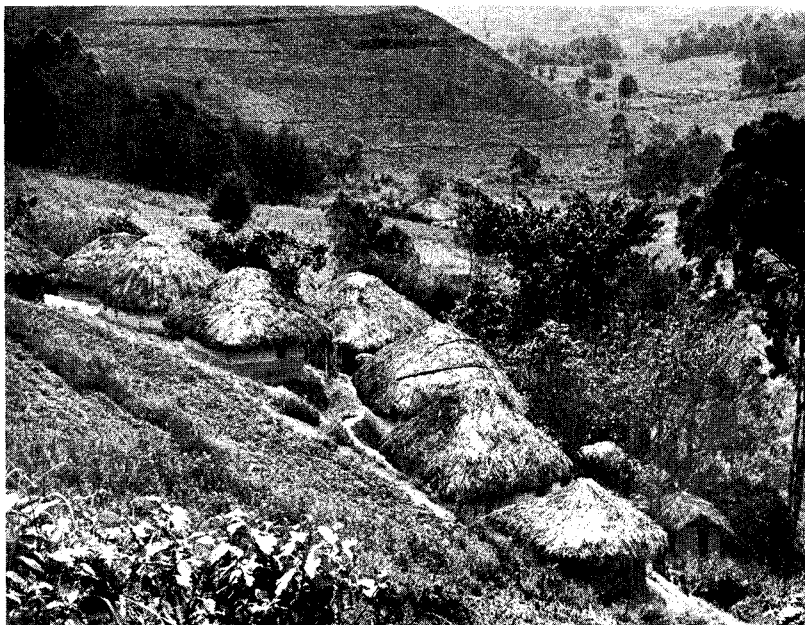
Later we discussed resettlement. The Land Board has a scheme in Ruzhumbura which has been delayed because a few influential persons in the District claimed that large areas in the proposed scheme had been allocated to them under customary law.

"The Board seems determined to get these big people off the land. They plan to get an act passed in the District Council to the effect that the land must be developed within a year. There's room for 10,000 people there, almost the annual increase in population, but I'm not sure the Board will be able to get the act through successfully. The other resettlement areas are full, and soon the problem will have to be tackled in other ways."

The missions are extremely important in Kigezi. We first visited the Catholic White Fathers' mission at Rushoroza, situated on the top of a hill commanding a fine view over the surrounding countryside. Father Mischler, its Father Superior from Strassbourg, France came to Uganda in 1938. With the exception of a five-year stint in France, he has been here ever since. He invited us to tea where we met some of the others working at Rushoroza, and the conversation ranged from life in Brocton, Massachusetts from whence one of the Brothers came, to the number of Protestants in Kigezi.

Later Father Mischler led us into his study and offered us a fine cigar made of local tobacco, doubtless a generous supply of banana leaves and which, unlike most cigars, improve as they dry out. A box of one hundred comes wrapped in banana leaf, is sold for 70¢ and is a product for which the White Fathers are justly renowned throughout East Africa.

"There are about half a million people in this District, a quarter of whom are Catholic, a third Protestant and the rest pagan. We baptize about 1,600 adults and 300 school children a year, not to mention the children of Catholic families who are baptized at birth. Most of our work here lies in running schools which we build and maintain while the Government helps pay for the teachers. Over half the children in our primary schools are Catholic and



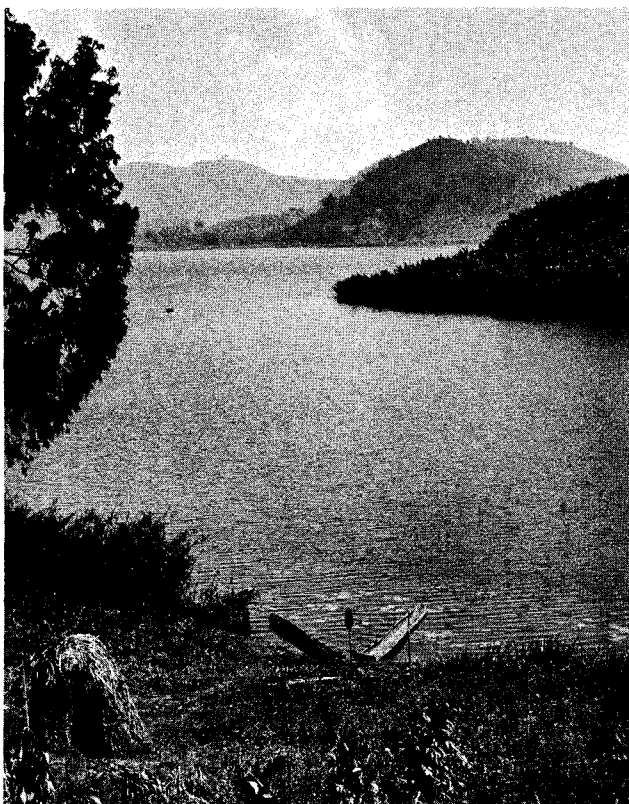
Many small villages are perched on precipitous hillsides.

almost all of those who aren't are baptized after their fourth year. This pattern is true in the Protestant schools also and so all the educated people are either Catholic or Protestant. The pagans have virtually no say at all in local affairs."

We asked him if he received much help from the Government. "As far as schools are concerned we co-operate fully and the Government is completely impartial with its financial aid. But, the Queen is head of the Church of England and most Englishmen here are members. Therefore it isn't surprising that Protestants are favored by the Government. We are unhappy, though, when we see that most of the fine scholarships for higher education go to Protestants and our better students are left out in the cold. We think it's unfair."

Father Mischler went on to talk about relations between the Catholic and Protestant churches. "We want to work more closely with the Protestants, but with most of them we find it rather difficult. Take the question of land for churches. Recently a man wanted to sell us some land, but the local council refused to grant permission, and he had to go all the way to Entebbe to over-ride its veto. In 1960 a law was passed forbidding different religions to build churches within one mile of each other. A Protestant church down the road then insisted to the District Commissioner that one of our churches we had built in 1929 should be torn down, since it was less than a mile away. The DC turned down their request, thank goodness. We are finding it increasingly difficult, however, to get land for our churches."

+ + + + +
Lake Mutanda



We left with a box of cigars.

The next afternoon we visited Reverend Lyth, an ex-District Commissioner in the Sudan and an ordained Anglican minister, who is in charge of the Church Missionary Society's school at Rugirama on the outskirts of Kabale. With sideburns and a massive Victorian mustache, he still looks more like a DC than a minister.

"I'm a relative newcomer to Uganda; I've only been here for 2½ years, but it appears to me that this whole religious controversy is the result of bad handling by both sides from the very beginning. From the first contact with Europeans, religion has been a divisive force throughout Uganda, but in Kigezi the rift still exists

today and is stronger than in any other district. Until the end of 1960 things were really bad. From the bottom to the top, I think it accurate to say our Church was riddled with politics. We even had politics from the pulpit.

"Recently, however, things have improved. I can only call it God's own good work. God has convinced some of our members and shown them that religious persecution is an evil and wicked thing. Other liberal souls have stood up and spoken against persecution in the manner of the Old Testament Prophets, and at a time when it took great personal courage to do so.



Lake Mutanda

+ + + + +

"I can also see the improvement in concrete things. First of all in the District Council the Catholics and Protestants are working together. Even though the Protestants are in complete control, they have put a sizable minority of Catholics onto committees, something no one would have dreamed of doing two years ago. Here at school our sporting events with Catholic schools are much more the unifying force they should be. Two years ago they were very unpleasant indeed.

"I think also that because our attitude has changed so has that of the Catholics in general. Eventually things will be smoothed out. Things are getting better; I'm convinced of it."

* * * * *

Kabale is an interesting town, but in order to see more of Kigezi, I spent a short time visiting Kisoro in Bufumbira County in the extreme south-western corner of the District and only a few miles from the Congo and Ruanda. The road from Kabale first heads north along a papyrus swamp where one can see numerous efforts at reclamation. It then swings south-west across the northern tip of Lake Bunyonyi, a beautiful mountain lake fringed with green forest. Formed relatively recently by a volcanic eruption, it flows into Lake Edward and eventually to the Nile.

The road then rises through the Echuya Forest Reserve where recently a small mouse was found of a genus and species hitherto unknown. This was the first new mammal to be found in East Africa



Lake Bunyonyi

+ + + + +

for twenty-five years. Then after a thick tangle of bamboo the road emerges at Kanaba Gap from whence on a clear day one has a spectacular view of the Bufumbira Volcanos. Finally it drops steeply into a dusty volcanic plain, and I soon arrived in Kisoro.

Kisoro has a completely different atmosphere than Kabale. It is right on the border, and so one hears much more of the Congo and Ruanda. Furthermore the people are predominantly Banyaruanda, with a few of the pygmoid Batwa thrown in, and they are as friendly as one can meet in Uganda. Geographically this part of Kigezi is obviously volcanic and

in the midst of the dry season, as it now is, water is hard to come by. Late that Saturday afternoon, there were long lines at each of the springs I passed.

Kisoro has two major attractions (save the attraction of its very existence which must be great indeed for the numerous smugglers and "businessmen" reaping vast profits from the chaotic Congo): gorillas and the volcanos. Kisoro is just about the only place in the world where in a day, or half a day if in luck, one can see gorillas in their native state. Unfortunately they had been disturbed several times recently, and so the chances of seeing them were slim and I didn't even give it a try. At the same time, as an indication of how rapidly life in this corner of Africa is moving, the well-known African guide Reuben was not available. He had gone to Entebbe to receive his Certificate of Honour for services to gorilla-viewing and mountaineering, which he was recently awarded by the Queen. Today there is a gorilla sanctuary on the slopes of the volcanos, the idea for which was initially proposed by the American naturalist Carl Akeley when he suggested such a reserve on the Congo side.

The second attraction is the volcanos themselves. There are eight major peaks of which only three (Sabinio, Mgahinga and Muhavura) lie in Uganda. Generally known here as the Bufumbira Volcanos, they are usually called Virunga or Birunga in the Congo. There was once a Canadian who was so enchanted with them that he climbed all eight barefoot and later went on to attempt Everest alone with Tenzing. Each can be climbed in a day, and Muhavura, the closest and little more than a slag heap, boasts a ridiculously small (about 200 yards wide) crater lake at its summit. Mgahinga and Sabinio

are near but to climb them one must tramp through thick equatorial forest, replete with giant nettles as if regular ones weren't enough.

There is a small hotel in Kisoro owned by a German, Walter Baumgartel, who arranges gorilla or mountain safaris at the drop of a hat and quite reasonably. The proximity of the Congo border, however, has cut deeply into his business, and so it is not surprising that he complains rather bitterly that no one ever comes to see him any more. Things have improved a bit this year, but then I was the only person at Traveller's Rest, largely a conglomeration of small rondavels (huts). Baumgartel leads very much of a hand to mouth existence and, to add to his troubles, the gorillas have slowly moved up the mountains. While several years ago most parties saw them, today few have the luck.

Walter Baumgartel is quite a raconteur, and I spent a pleasant evening listening to stories of gorillas, the volcanos and of his exploits in various corners of Africa.

On the way back to Kabale I visited Lake Mutanda, so much less visited than Lake Bunyonyi and so much more beautiful. A precipitous road far above the lake wends its way to a delightful rest house at Mushongero, a small fishing village. The spot commands an extraordinary view across numerous islets to the volcanos. Unfortunately dry-season haze obliterated them, leaving only the lake and its islands and an occasional native dugout.

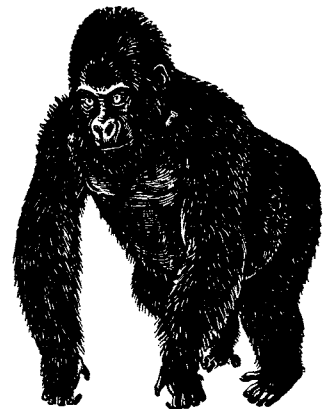
A group of Boy Scouts were in occupation for the weekend. Some were peeling potatoes, others were reciting the Boy Scout's Code, and a few were paddling on the lake. All were obviously enjoying themselves in spite of the lake flies that covered us all. On the road to Kabale that Sunday afternoon I passed a drummer with two large drums summoning parishioners to the Seventh Day Adventist Church nearby.

Bufumbira is certainly remote and delightfully different from the rest of Kigezi.

* * * * *

Kigezi, then, has three big problems: Too many people on too little land, too few cash crops, and an explosive relationship between religion and politics. On the one problem it can attack directly, that of developing cash crops, the Government is moving ahead swiftly, and, considering the obstacles put in its path (mainly for political reasons), I think is doing a fine job.

Religion and politics are more involved. In spite of present UPC control both at national and local levels, the DP is still very much of a force to be reckoned



Mountain Gorilla (*Gorilla gorilla berengeti*)

with. There are indications the purely religious rivalry may be declining, and perhaps with independence the UPC and the DP will move closer together. This seems to me, however, to have more than a grain of wishful thinking in it. Strong rivalries lie just below the surface. In the past they have come and gone regularly, and to a slightly doubtful observer, there appears no specific reason to think the process has either changed or stopped.

The real problem is that of population. Resettlement is only a palliative, but as the Council's Secretary-General told me, "Anyone who encouraged birth control would be thrown out of the District. There is great prestige here in having many children, and up to now people are quite happy that way." He went on to say, however, that some of the younger people were beginning to realize the benefits of planned parenthood. "Perhaps when the older generation dies the attitude will change."

It will have to if Kigezi is to continue to develop along the lines its leaders say they want.

Very sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Ian Michael Wright". The script is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Ian" being particularly prominent.

Ian Michael Wright

The line drawing on page fifteen is by courtesy of Miss Ruth Yudelowitz from the book The Wild Mammals of Uganda, by R.M. Bere, published in 1962 by Longmans, Green in association with the East African Literature Bureau. Miss Yudelowitz is staff artist for the E.A.L.B.