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**A Political History of Higher Education in East Africa: The
Rise and Fall of the University of East Africa, 1937-1970**

by

Bhekithemba Richard Mngomezulu

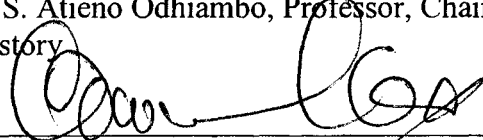
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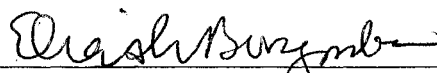
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ABSTRACT

A Political History of Higher Education in East Africa: The Rise and Fall of the University of East Africa, 1937-1970

By
Bhekithemba Richard Mngomezulu

From the 1920s Britain started formulating educational policies for its African colonies as part of the overall imperial policy, and in response to African agitation for higher education. In 1937, the publication of the De la Warr Commission Report set in motion a long drawn-out process of establishing the federal University of East Africa. Subsequently, territorial and inter-territorial tensions regarding the nature and function of the envisaged regional University emerged and continued up to independence. After independence, the spirit of nationalism and the divergent policies followed by East African nation-states exacerbated the tensions regarding the anticipated University. When the University was inaugurated in June 1963, these tensions made it inevitable that the University would split. In a sense, the University of East Africa was a stillborn entity.

This study explores the tensions within the history of the University of East Africa with the view to establishing why it was established and why it disintegrated in 1970. The study analyzes these tensions at four levels: (i) the tensions which emerged between the British authorities and East African constituencies when the idea of a regional University was conceived during the colonial period; (ii) the tensions obtaining between the British government and its Governors and Directors of Education in East Africa during the 1920s and 1930s; (iii) inter-territorial tensions in East Africa before and after independence; and (iv) sustained tensions within each territory.

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After a storm comes a calm! This work is a product of sleepless nights, frustration and emotional stress. However, I did not endure this incessant pain all by myself. I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to the many people who assisted me. I cannot mention all of them due to lack of space, my apologies to those who will be left out.

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I remain solely responsible for all the views expressed in this work as well as all the omissions, errors or misinterpretations that may be found in it.

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Abbreviations

AAU	Association of African Universities
ACCAST	Advisory Committee on Colleges of Arts, Science and Technology
ACEC	Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies
AID	Agency for International Development
ASA	Academic Staff Association
CD & WA	Colonial Development and Welfare Act
EACSO	East African Common Services Organization
EAHC	East Africa High Commission
EIC	East India Company
HSC	Higher School Certificate
ICTA	Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture
IUC	Inter-University Council
KNA	Kenya National Archives
RC	Royal College
RTC	Royal Technical College
RTCEA	Royal Technical College of East Africa
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
UCWI	University College of the West Indies
UDP	University Development Plan
UEA	University of East Africa
UGAC	University Grants Advisory Committee
UNISA	University of South Africa
UON	University of Nairobi
UWI	University of the West Indies
YBA	Young Baganda Association

Introduction

The establishment of the University of East Africa in 1963 was inspired initially by the British thinking about imperial integration from the 1920s; and in part by the political enthusiasm for East African integration that swept through East Africa in the early 1960s.

The history of the University of East Africa can be traced back to the inter-war period when the British Colonial Office started formulating policy on African education for its African territories. On November 24, 1923, the Duke of Devonshire, Secretary of State for the Colonies, appointed a Commission, chaired by W. G. A. Ormsby-Gore, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, and charged it to investigate and report on matters of Native Education in the British Colonies and Protectorates in Tropical Africa with the goal of advancing the progress of education in those Colonies and Protectorates. The Commission submitted its Report to the Secretary of State for the Colonies early in 1925. The Secretary of State for the Colonies subsequently published the Report as Command Paper No. 2374 in March 1925. One of the key recommendations of the Ormsby-Gore Commission was that the time was opportune for some public statement of principles and policy which would prove a useful guide to all those engaged, directly or indirectly, in the advancement of native education in Africa. Although the focus of the Ormsby-Gore Commission was not East Africa *per se*, this memorandum laid the foundation of higher education in East Africa.

The actual process that led to the establishment of the University of East Africa began with the publication of the De la Warr Commission Report in 1937. The Commission had been set up by Ormsby-Gore, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, to examine and report upon the organization and working of Makerere College in Uganda, which had

begun in 1922, and of the institutions or other agencies for advanced vocational training connected with it. One of the Commission's key recommendations was that there was a need for the establishment of an inter-territorial University College in East Africa. The outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 disrupted the implementation of this process.

In August 1943, Oliver Stanley, the new Secretary of State for the Colonies, appointed the Asquith Commission and tasked it to consider the principles which would guide the promotion of higher education, learning and research and the development of universities in the British Colonies; and to explore the means through which universities and other appropriate bodies in the United Kingdom might be able to co-operate with institutions of higher education in the colonies. The Asquith Commission presented its Report in June 1945 and proposed the establishment of Colleges in the colonies where they were non-existent and the upgrading of those that were already in place. These Colleges would have a 'Special Relationship' with the University of London and would be monitored by the Inter-University Council (I. U. C.) formed by British universities until they were ready to stand on their own. The Asquith Commission endorsed the earlier recommendation made by the De la Warr Commission regarding the upgrading of Makerere College into a fully-fledged University College. In September 1947, William D. Lamont, Principal of Makerere College, submitted the first application to the University of London seeking admission to the 'Special Relationship' program. The application was accepted in November 1949 and Makerere then became the University College of East Africa serving Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar.

Meanwhile, the Royal Technical College (R. T. C.) was established in Kenya in 1954 and admitted its first students in 1956. In 1955, the Inter-University Council of

Great Britain and the Advisory Committee on Colleges of Arts, Science and Technology appointed the First Working Party on behalf of the East Africa High Commission. The First Working Party was tasked to review the provision for post-secondary education in East Africa. Its Report was published in 1956. While acknowledging the fact that Makerere was already at an advanced stage of development regarding higher education, the Working Party argued that the provision of university education in East Africa had to remain the concern of all three territories. A Second Working Party, appointed in 1958 at the request of East African Governors, agreed on the need to establish a University College in Dar es Salaam. This third College opened in 1961. The Provisional Council of the University of East Africa was established in June 1961 to draw the statutes and rules that would govern the University. Once this was done, the University of East Africa was inaugurated at the Royal College in Nairobi on June 28, 1963. The three University Colleges physically located in Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika became the constituent colleges of the federal University of East Africa. The University ceased its operation on June 30, 1970 due to political and economic reasons, some of which were incipient from its infancy. On July 1, 1970, national universities were established in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania.

The main objective of the present study is to identify the reasons behind the establishment and subsequent dissolution of the regional University of East Africa by exploring the tensions within the history of the federal University of East Africa from the 1920s when the process of developing education in the region began, to 1970 when the federal University collapsed. Another objective of this study is to demonstrate how the history of the University of East Africa sheds light on colonial and post-colonial policies

on education as a contribution to educational planning in contemporary Africa. The present study is organized as follows:

Part I, Chapter 1, provides a broad overview of the development of higher education in the British Empire in general. With regard to Africa, the Chapter traces the development of higher education from the 1920s to the 1960s and shows how different African constituencies in Anglophone Africa responded to this development. Part II, which comprises three Chapters, focuses specifically on the rise of the University of East Africa. Chapter 2 explores the process of establishing the University of East Africa from 1937 to 1963. Chapter 3 discusses the politics behind the establishment of the University of East Africa by analyzing different reports and other sources discussed in Chapter 2. The Chapter locates the University of East Africa within the broader context of British imperial policy. Chapter 4 builds on Chapter 3. It provides the political context in which the University of East Africa was perceived by different constituencies once established; and demonstrates how each constituency strived to stamp its authority on the new institution. Part III, which comprises two Chapters, explores the factors that led to the demise of the University of East Africa. The main argument in this part is that while the establishment of the federal University was a worthwhile project, natural and human factors predetermined its fate. Chapter 5 discusses a wide range of problems that dogged the federal University of East Africa from the outset, demonstrating how each problem contributed to the University's eventual collapse. Chapter 6 builds on Chapter 5 and focuses specifically on the role played by nationalism and independence in the demise of the University of East Africa. Chapter 7 forms the conclusion of this study. It provides a

synthesis of the key issues discussed in the preceding Chapters and demonstrates the relevance of the present study in education policy-making in contemporary Africa.

PART I

HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE: AN OVERVIEW

CHAPTER 1

THE GENESIS OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

Education is the key to progress in agriculture and industry, in public health and curative medicine, and in the sciences and the arts: and no less in government and political life, for without it democratic institutions become unworkable or pernicious.

Report of the Working Party on Higher
Education in East Africa, 1955

During the last half of the twentieth century, higher education has become a key institution in societies around the world. Nearly everywhere national systems of higher education have grown tremendously in size and scope in response to increased demand for access and the growing need to train experts for an expanding array of advanced occupations.

The Encyclopedia of Higher
Education, Vol. 1, 1992

Introduction

Higher education in Africa has a long history. Its origins and subsequent expansion have raised a number of interpretations and it remains one of the topical subjects in African historiography. This Chapter explores the history of higher education in Africa by discussing its tradition, how the process unfolded, and the role played by philanthropic organizations in this development process. The Chapter provides a survey of three selected African countries and the West Indies to demonstrate how institutions of higher education came into existence in the British colonies. Further, it discusses the views espoused by different constituencies – African politicians, the people on the spot, the academy, and the students – regarding African institutions of higher education. It then provides a critique of the literature on higher education in East Africa – especially

regarding the federal University of East Africa – as a justification for the present study and ends by presenting the method used in the current study. This Chapter introduces the Commissions, Committees and Working Parties that played an instrumental role in the development of higher education in Anglophone Africa, but does not discuss them in detail.¹

1.1 The Tradition

The essential role of tradition is to define the present. People “do not think or act outside the broad confines of a particular heritage; they face their problems with a knowledge and wisdom transmitted to them by their predecessors. Hence, tradition is inescapable, whether one reaffirms it or repudiates it. Indeed, even those disposed to reject tradition entirely do well to bear it in mind, since it is at the very least their point of departure.”² This conception of tradition is particularly relevant to the study of the history of higher education in Africa.

Eric Ashby begins his work, *Universities: British, Indian, African* by making reference to Sankore in Timbuktu, the Qarawiyyin in Fez and Al-Azha in Cairo. He concludes that higher education is not new to the African continent, a view shared by, among others, the Africanist scholar, Basil Davison.³ However, Ashby briskly warns: “but the modern universities in Africa owe nothing to this ancient tradition of

¹ Except the two Phelps-Stokes Commission Reports published in 1922 and 1925 respectively, details about the rest of the Commissions, Committees and Working Parties are provided in Chapter 2 and they are analyzed in Chapter 3.

² Lawrence A. Cremin, “Preface”, in David G. Scanlon, *Traditions of African Education* (New York: Bureau of Publications, 1964).

³ Basil Davidson, *Old Africa Rediscovered* (London: Gollancz, 1961), 90-91.

scholarship.”⁴ He bases this submission on the fact that the Islamic curriculum obtaining at the institutions in North and West Africa was medieval and its technique was to learn by rote. Furthermore, the curriculum’s truths rested on authority, not on observation or inquiry. Ashby maintains that the indigenous systems of education obtaining in Sub-Saharan Africa were not fit to fill the void in the Islamic curriculum because: they were inward looking, conducted by members of the extended family, and directed to ensuring conformity with social customs and acquiescence in the hierarchy of the community. Arthur Porter concurs with Ashby. He concedes that for over a thousand years students gathered at Africa’s ancient city of Fez to argue about ‘subtle points’ on Islamic science. While acknowledging that the University of Al-Azha in Cairo was established in 970, more than two centuries before Oxford, England’s oldest university, was founded; that the flowering of commerce, religion, and learning took place in Timbuktu under King Kankan Musa; and that in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries Gao and Timbuktu prospered as cities of learning when Europe was still engulfed in The Hundred Years War, Porter, like Ashby, concludes: “But the traditions of higher education to which present day universities in Middle Africa can lay claim derive not from the far East or Old Africa, but have come from Europe.”⁵ In his other work, *Adapting Universities to a Technological Society*, Ashby writes: “The university is a mechanism for the inheritance of the western style of civilization. It preserves, transmits, and enriches learning; and it evolves as animals and plants do. Therefore one can say that the pattern of any particular university is a result of heredity and environment.”⁶

⁴ Eric Ashby and Mary Anderson, *Universities: British, Indian, African. A Study in the Ecology of Higher Education* (Cambridge and Massachusetts: Harvard UP, 1966), 147.

⁵ Arthur T. Porter, “African Universities in Transition”, *East Africa Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (May, 1965): 22.

⁶ Eric Ashby, *Adapting Universities to a Technological Society* (London: Jossey-Bass, 1974), 2.

The view espoused by these authors cannot be totally refuted, especially given that there is more evidence showing that African universities imbibed European institutions of higher learning. William Hanna subscribes to Ashby and Porter's views but his statement is cogently worded. He writes: "Higher education is not new in Africa, but in its contemporary manifestation *little* [emphasis mine] is owed to the ancient tradition of scholarship which flourished in Timbuctoo and other former centers of Islamic education."⁷ Overall, there is consensus among these scholars that Europeans are the architects of African higher education as it stands today.

European universities trace their origins back to the Middle Ages. Nduka Okafor mentions Salerno and Bologna in Italy and the University of Paris as the three earliest universities in Europe. Britain's Oxford and Cambridge Universities followed later. One of the social functions of these British universities was "to produce Christian gentlemen and the officer class."⁸ Once universities had been established in Britain, they resolved to create uniformity among themselves. They did two things to achieve this objective. First, they designed curricula of similar content to ensure that a degree from one institution was not different from those obtained in other universities.⁹ Second, they used the same administrative structure; all British universities were administered by a Council and an Academic Board or Senate.

The East India Company (E. I. C.) played an instrumental role in exporting British systems of education to the East Indian colonies. In 1792, Charles Grant, recently

⁷ William John Hanna, "Students, Universities and Political Outcome", in William John Hanna et al. (eds) *University Students and African Politics* (New York and London: Africana Publishing Company, 1975), 6.

⁸ Arthur T. Porter, "African Universities in Transition", *East Africa Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (May, 1965): 24.

⁹ Another ramification of this uniformity was the appointment of external examiners who helped set and mark examination papers and also visited universities to assess laboratory work and conduct oral tests. See: Eric Ashby, *African Universities and Western Traditions* (Cambridge and Massachusetts: Harvard UP, 1964), 8.

returned employee of the E. I. C., urged Britain to communicate to India her own 'superior light': a knowledge not only of Western philosophy and science but of Christianity. Although no immediate action was taken, the East India Company Act of 1813 authorized the Governor-General in Council to direct that from any surplus revenues of the Company a sum of not less than one lac of rupees be set aside for 'the funding of colleges, schools, public libraries and other institutions for the revival and improvement of literature and encouragement of the learned natives of India and for the promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the British territories of India'.¹⁰ In 1817 Hindu College in Calcutta became "the first institution to introduce Hindus to western learning, and later to provide on the higher side of its work the nucleus of Presidency College."¹¹ Ideological differences between Calcutta and London regarding the medium of instruction to be used in Indian institutions took center stage at the meetings of the General Committee of Public Instruction appointed by the East India Company after the 1813 Act. The saturation point of these debates was the publication of Thomas B. Macaulay's Minute of February 2, 1835. Ashby writes:

The controversy that had opened between Calcutta and London in 1824 came to be pursued within the committee itself; and by 1835, the cleavage of opinion over the competing claims of oriental and occidental learning was such that the secretary felt obliged to submit the issue to the arbitrament of the government. In doing so, he prompted the brilliantly tendentious minute of Macaulay, which not only precipitated the solution to the dilemma posed by the educational clause of the charter act twenty years before, but strongly coloured its character.

Macaulay narrowed the issue to the need for a decision on the medium of instruction to be adopted in the higher education financed by the government. In view of the inadequacy of the vernaculars, he concluded that the choice lay between English and the oriental classical languages. The criterion he applied was the simple one of which was the

¹⁰ Bruce Pattison, *Special Relations. The University of London and New Universities Overseas 1947-1970* (London: The University of London Press, 1984), 1. See also: Ashby and Anderson, *Universities*, 48.

¹¹ Ashby and Anderson, *Universities*, 49.

better worth knowing. On grounds of utility, and the intrinsic merit of the literature to which it would give access, he had no hesitation in asserting the superiority of English; and he discovered a further justification for it in the analogy of the great impulse Britain herself had received from an alien literature some three centuries before. 'Had our ancestors acted as the Committee of Public Instruction has hitherto acted, - had they neglected the language of Thucydes and Plato, and the language of Cicero and Tacitus, and had they confined their attention to the old dialects of our own island, had they printed nothing and taught nothing at the universities but chronicles in Anglo-Saxon and romances in Norman French, - would England ever have been what she is now? What the Greek and Latin were to the contemporaries of More and Ascham, our tongue is to the people of India'.¹²

Until the 1850s, discussions between India and London revolved around the establishment of schools and colleges and the medium of instruction to be used in those institutions. The dispatch written by Sir Charles Wood in 1854 on behalf of the directors of the East India Company and addressed to the Governor-General of India in Council "marks the first occasion on which an initiative coming from Great Britain was directed to the foundation of universities in a dependent territory under the British crown."¹³

According to the East India Company, the aim of educating Indians was to train a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect.¹⁴ The East India Company resolved to use education as an instrument to preserve and spread British culture. Such practices sustained the uniformity already ingrained in Britain. The dispatch unabashedly stated that the education it wished to extend to India had for its object "the diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy and literature of Europe; in short of European knowledge."¹⁵

¹² Ibid., 51.

¹³ Alexander M. Carr-Saunders, *New Universities Overseas* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1961), 17.

¹⁴ Ibid., Ashby and Anderson, *Universities*, 148; and Pattison, *Special Relations*, 1-2.

¹⁵ Cited in Ashby, *African Universities and Western Traditions*, 1.

By the time Britain thought about developing higher education in Africa, she had already built 15 universities in British India and had also established universities in Ireland and Australia. When the British government decided to establish universities in Africa in the 1940s, the underlying philosophy had not changed. The attitude was still that Universities in Africa should fulfill the same social purposes as the British universities, that is, to train a small class of people to perform specific tasks. Like their parent institutions in Britain, those universities that were established in British colonies in Africa were organized as self-governing corporations, each with a Senate and a governing Council. Unlike Islamic institutions, but like British ones, “they were to develop as centres of independent thought and critical inquiry.”¹⁶ The curriculum was modeled on the British pattern with the aim of ensuring that the new universities “should become part of the imperial family of universities.”¹⁷ It was thought that a similar pattern would ensure the attainment of that goal. Thus, the first universities in Africa “were imports, their purpose the indoctrination of a foreign culture.”¹⁸

The development of education in Africa followed a similar pattern. With regard to higher education in Anglophone Africa, there are three types of universities with which Britain got involved at different times in the twentieth century¹⁹: (i) those that evolved from long-established earlier institutions: the University of Sierra Leone which started at Fourah Bay College, established by the Church Missionary Society in 1827, and the

¹⁶ Arthur T. Porter, “University Development in English-Speaking Africa: Problems and Prospects”, *African Affairs*, Vol. 71, No. 282 (January, 1972): 79-80.

¹⁷ I. C. M. Maxwell, *Universities in Partnership: The Inter-University Council and the Growth of Higher Education in Developing Countries 1946-70* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1980), 20.

¹⁸ Robert W. July, *An African Voice: The Role of the Humanities in African Independence* (Durham: Duke UP, 1987), 157.

¹⁹ Lalage Bown, “The Engagement with Higher Education”, in Douglas Rimmer and Anthony Kirk-Greene (eds) *The British Intellectual Engagement with Africa in the Twentieth Century* (USA: St. Martins Press in Association with The Royal African Society, 2000), 73.

University of Khartoum in Sudan which was preceded by Gordon Memorial College, founded by Lord Kitchener in 1898; (ii) those that grew from the London family: University Colleges at Legon at the Gold Coast, Ibadan in Nigeria, Makerere in East Africa, and Salisbury in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe); as well as (iii) those that were established as fully-fledged universities after independence. These include the University of Nigeria at Nsukka, which was founded by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe in 1960. In East Africa such institutions are: the University of Nairobi in Kenya, the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania, and Makerere University in Uganda which became independent institutions at the dissolution of the University of East Africa in 1970.

1.2 The Process Unfolds

The University Colleges that were established in Africa after the Second World War owe their existence to a number of Conferences, Commissions, Committees and Working Parties. The process began with the first World Missionary Conference that was held in Edinburgh in 1910. During that conference, Commission III was tasked to determine the form of education that would accompany evangelism. The Commission resolved that the application of industrial education to Africa was urgent.²⁰ The conference urged governments to play a more active role in the development of education in the African colonies. In 1912, the Colonial Office in London called the British Imperial Conference on education. Professor L. J. Lewis, lecturer at the University of London Institute of Education recalled years later: 'In 1912 the calling of an Imperial Conference on education carried with it the promise of a widened concern for education,

²⁰ Kenneth James King, *Pan-Africanism and Education: A Study of Race Philanthropy and Education in the Southern States of America and East Africa* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), 50.

and implicit in that concern the possibilities of development. Whatever that promise may have amounted to, it disappeared with the outbreak of war in 1914'.²¹ When the war ended, the United States, not Britain, took the lead in the development of education in Africa. This was due in part to the fact that American missionaries had been less handicapped by war demands and pressures either in terms of resources or direct involvement in the war. Accounting for the general interest in Africa, Professor Lewis reasoned:

In part, this was due to the preponderance of missionary effort in that continent, in part, because of the contrast between educational ideas pursued in Africa and those pursued in Hawaii and the Philippines, and, in part, on account of the trustees of an American philanthropic foundation deciding that the time had come for them to pay attention to the African part of the objective laid down by the founder of the trust in her will, which stated that among the objects of the trust should be research and publication 'for educational purposes in the education of Negroes both in Africa and the United States'.²²

In 1919, the American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society made an appeal through the Foreign Missions Conference of North America for a survey of West African Education, a move that has been considered an important landmark in American, British, and African co-operation. The Society suggested that the Phelps-Stokes Fund²³ be asked to undertake the survey. The request was accepted and the first African Education Commission was appointed. Thomas Jesse Jones, once director of the research department at Hampton Institute in Virginia, now working as the Educational Director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, was appointed as Chairman of the Commission. Other members were: James Emman Kwagyir Aggrey, a distinguished African from the Gold Coast; Mr.

²¹ John Wilson, *Education and Changing West African Culture* (New York: Bureau of Publications, 1963), 32.

²² Cited in *Ibid.*, 32-33.

²³ The role played by The Phelps-Stokes Fund and other philanthropic organizations is discussed below.

and Mrs. Arthur W. Wilkie of the United Free Church of Scotland, who were working for the Scottish Missionary Society in the Gold Coast; and Henry Stanley Hollenbeck, from Milwaukee, Wisconsin, who worked for twelve years as a medical missionary in Angola. Mr. Leo A. Roy of New York City, who had intimate knowledge of Negro education in America, served as Secretary to the Commission.²⁴

The Chairman of the Commission traveled to England, Belgium, France and Switzerland in April and May 1920 consulting with colonial officials and representatives of various missionary societies. Subsequently, the rest of the Commission spent a month in England doing preliminary research before sailing for Africa on August 25, 1920. The Commission visited Sierra Leone, Liberia, the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Congo, Angola, and South Africa. It published its Report in 1922.²⁵ One of the Commission's key recommendations was that African education had to be geared towards creating self-respect through self-help. This would be achieved by substituting bookish learning with the learning of skills and by taking the community into consideration when making educational plans. The first Phelps-Stokes Commission set forth a philosophy of education that was deemed relevant to the needs of the societies. It "committed itself to the adaptation of school curricula in Africa to the natural and social environment. . . ."²⁶ The publication of the Phelps-Stokes Report prompted Britain, France and Belgium to issue policy statements on education in their respective African territories. John Wilson writes: ". . . whatever the frustrations and failures at the periphery in the African territories, the Phelps-Stokes Report had an abiding and continuous influence at the

²⁴ Reverend John T. Tucker of the American Board in Angola was a member of the Commission when it started but had to resign due to the illness of his wife.

²⁵ Thomas Jesse Jones (ed) *Education in Africa: A Study of West, South and Equatorial Africa. Report of the First Educational Commission* (New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1922).

center of responsibility in Britain and upon the thinking of far-sighted individuals and groups in African and British territories themselves and in the United States among the comparative few but sometimes quite remarkable people who were interested. The urge and insight which produced the Phelps-Stokes Report were not dissipated.”²⁷

Concern for African education by the British Missionary Societies and, gradually, by the British government, resulted in a conference that was held at the Colonial Office in London on June 6, 1923.²⁸ These institutions (the British Missionary Societies and the British government) decided to have a survey of East Africa. They derived inspiration from the 1922 Phelps-Stokes Commission Report and from the conversations they held with Anson Phelps Stokes, President of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and with Thomas Jesse Jones when the two were in England in the spring and summer of 1923. Further,

The serious situation in Kenya and the desire of all the responsible officials concerned to meet it in the wisest and most constructive way was specially emphasized as making an early report desirable. . . .

The visits of African educators to this country [America] which the Phelps-Stokes Fund, in cooperation with Governments and missionary societies, had helped to render possible, made the importance of the proposed Commission more and more evident. These British visitors were convinced that the American experience in dealing with the African Negro was particularly valuable, and that if a suitable Commission representing Great Britain, the United States and Africa, could be created and financed, it could render East Africa a very important service.²⁹

The first Phelps-Stokes Report became an influential document. Its reception by missionary societies and different governments encouraged the Trustees of the Phelps-Stokes Fund to appropriate \$6, 500 for the East African survey and to authorize the

²⁶ Wilson, *Education and Changing West African Culture*, 38.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 64.

²⁸ In attendance at this conference were: the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of States for the Colonies, W. G. A. Ormsby-Gore, Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, the Governors of Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and Nyasaland and a representative of Tanganyika.

Commission to East Africa at their meeting of November 21, 1923.³⁰ Like the first one, this Commission was under the chairmanship of Thomas Jesse Jones. Other members were: James Emman Kwegyir Aggrey, who served in the first Commission; James Hardy Dillard, President of the Jeans and Slater Funds and member of the General Education Board; Homer Leroy Shantz, an Agriculturalist and Botanist of the United States Department of Agriculture; The Reverend Garfield Williams, Educational Secretary of the Church Missionary Society; Major Hanns Vischer, Secretary and member of the British Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa, formerly Director of Education in Northern Nigeria; and C. T. Loram, the leading authority on Native education and a member of the Native Affairs Commission in South Africa. James W. C. Dougall from Scotland and George B. Dillard from the United States served as Secretaries to the Commission at different times. The Report of the second Commission was published in 1925.³¹ It stated that facilities for advanced education, even of secondary grade, in the countries visited were inadequate. The Commission argued that the demand for such education could not long be delayed. It presented its observation as follows:

Already a few Native pupils requiring special training for technical, agricultural or teaching service, as well as those who desire to enter the professions, have gone to Europe or America to continue their education. The necessity to do this is a serious handicap to Native Africans who have the capacity for advancement. The cost is almost prohibitive, the break from all African surroundings is unfortunate, and the entrance into the perplexing and conflicting tides of European or American life is fraught with danger to mind and morals. That a number of Africans, especially

²⁹ Thomas Jesse Jones (ed) *Education in East Africa: A Study of East, Central and South Africa by the Second African Education Commission Under the Auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, in Cooperation with the International Education Board* .1925 (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1970), xix and xx.

³⁰ Countries included in the second survey were: Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Nyasaland, Southern and Northern Rhodesia, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, Ruanda-Urundi, Portuguese East Africa and Abyssinia.

³¹ Jones, *Education in East Africa*.

from South and West Africa, have successfully passed through the ordeal is greatly to their credit. No one knows, however, the price they have paid in physical endurance and in mental and moral strain. Nor does anyone know how many young Africans have in the process been lost to a life of service for Africa.³²

The second Phelps-Stokes Commission recommended that Africans needed higher education that would enable them to understand the essentials of their own development, to distinguish the false from the true, the realities from the unrealities. Through higher education, argued the Commission, Africans would be able to realize the advantages and disadvantages of European colonization of Africa and to contrast both with the advantages and disadvantages of independent countries like Abyssinia and Liberia.³³

The conference held at the Colonial Office in London in 1923 considered a memorandum submitted to The Duke of Devonshire, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, by the Education Committee of the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland. In that memorandum the Missionary Societies described the state of African education as unsatisfactory. They stressed the importance of co-operation among missionary organizations and also called for more involvement from the British government. To this effect, they proposed the appointment of an Advisory Committee that would provide professional advice on educational issues in Anglophone Africa. The Secretary of State for the Colonies consented and subsequently set up the Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies.³⁴ On July

³² Ibid., 44.

³³ Ibid., 45.

³⁴ W. G. A. Ormsby-Gore, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, served as the Chairman of this Committee. Other members were: Sir Frederick Lugard, who had been involved in educational

25, 1923, W. G. A. Ormsby-Gore, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, made the following statement in Parliament:

I have to announce that recently we have had an important conference at the Colonial Office consisting of the African Governors and Colonial Secretaries home on leave, and there have been a good many, together with our educational advisors, as to the future of Native education in Africa. We want to avoid making mistakes at this critical stage. We want to explore the experience of the work as to what is the best and most helpful form and type of education that we can give to the Africans for the purpose of giving light to New Africa. With that view we have formed a Permanent Committee, and I hope shortly to get a permanent Secretary to advise on this issue.³⁵

The first recommendation of the Advisory Committee was published in 1925 in a memorandum entitled: 'Education Policy in British Tropical Africa'. The memorandum set out a comprehensive policy for the development of African education. Regarding higher education, it noted that "As resources permit, the door of advancement through higher education in Africa must increasingly be opened for those who by character, ability and temperament show themselves fitted to profit by such education."³⁶ A Colonial Conference in 1927 acknowledged the importance of the Committee's activities and thus recommended that its activities be expanded to include all areas within the jurisdiction of the Secretary of State. On January 1, 1929, L. C. M. Amery, Secretary of State for the Colonies, replaced the old Committee with a new Advisory Committee on

development in Nigeria and Hong Kong; Sir James Currie, former Director of Education in Sudan; Sir Michael Sadler, Master of University College, Oxford; J. H. Oldham, representing Protestant Missionary Societies; Bishop of Liverpool; and Hanns Vischer, who pioneered western education in Northern Nigeria.

³⁵ *Hansard's Debates*, Vol. 167, No. 104. Cited by Jones, *Education in East Africa*, xvii-xviii.

³⁶ *Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa. Memorandum Submitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies by the Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British tropical African Dependencies*. Cmd. 2374, 1925, 4.

Education in the Colonies (A. C. E. C.). The new Committee published its first memorandum in 1935.³⁷

In 1932, the Directors of Education from Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar held a conference in Zanzibar to discuss educational matters in the East African region. The conference was followed by the appointment of a sub-committee by the Colonial Advisory Committee to give advice on specific issues regarding the development of education in East Africa.³⁸ In 1933, the British Colonial Office adopted the sub-committee's Report. One of its recommendations was that there was a need for an immediate and publicly announced program of university development in Africa. The Report further recommended that colleges in Africa had to be raised to full university status. Gordon College and Makerere College would provide a sufficient nucleus for higher education in Sudan and East Africa respectively, while colleges at Yaba and Achimota in West Africa would be supplemented by Fourah Bay College. For reasons discussed in Chapter 3, British Governors in East and West Africa delayed submitting their views on the recommendations of the sub-committee's Report. Only Phillip Mitchell, Uganda's Governor, showed interest in it and subsequently embraced the idea of setting up the De la Warr Commission in 1936. This began the process that would lead to the establishment of the University of East Africa in 1963.

On November 23, 1942, Oliver Stanley succeeded Lord Cecil as Secretary of State for the Colonies. In 1943, Stanley appointed the Asquith and Elliot Commissions to

³⁷ Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, *Memorandum on the Education of African Communities*, Colonial No. 103 (London: H. M. S. O., 1935). For more details on these developments, see: Scanlon, *Traditions of African Education*, 90-117 and Wilson, *Education and Changing West African Culture*, 64-66.

³⁸ See Chapter 2 for details about both the Conference and the Sub-Committee.

study the education situation in the British colonies and in West Africa respectively.³⁹ They both presented their Reports to Oliver Stanley in mid-1945. One of the key recommendations of the Asquith Report was that there was an urgent need to establish University Colleges in the British colonies. The Elliot Report made a similar recommendation for West Africa. Subsequently these Colleges were instituted in Sub-Saharan Africa and in the West Indies. The Asquith Report was Britain's blueprint for the export of universities to her overseas colonial subjects. In 1946, British Universities established the Inter-University Council (I. U. C.) to oversee the development of the new colleges. Between 1947 and 1970, no less than eight institutions in Africa and the West Indies had become universities through the Asquith scheme. The years from 1945 to 1948 "stand enduring on the credit side of the balance sheet of British colonial policy"⁴⁰ because during this time, British colonial higher education policies took a better shape, culminating in the establishment of the first Asquith Colleges in 1948.

Although the Asquith Colleges were perceived as autonomous institutions, they were modeled on British universities. They had a 'Special Relationship' with the University of London, a device that had already worked in the development of British universities such as Leeds, Manchester, Liverpool, Reading and Birmingham. The Asquith Colleges attained their independent status only in the 1960s when most African countries became independent. Yet even then, the metropolitan culture still dominated. Similar institutions built by other European metropolitan powers were linked to those metropolitan powers. For example, the University of Dakar in Senegal was incorporated

³⁹ For membership and terms of reference of these Commissions, see Chapter 2. The political context in which both Commissions were set up is discussed in Chapter 3.

⁴⁰ Ashby and Anderson, *Universities*, 233. See also: Ashby, *African Universities and Western Traditions*, 21.

into the French culture. Lovanium at Leopoldville was established independently of the Belgian University, Louvain, but its staff came from Belgium and the curriculum was similar to that of Belgian institutions. In the end, Lovanium portrayed a Belgian character just like University Colleges in the British Empire reflected a British outlook.

The politics behind the establishment of the Asquith Colleges is encapsulated in John Hargreaves' article: 'The Idea of a Colonial University' in which he looks at the rationale for establishing these colleges. Hargreaves holds that Britain wanted to use University Colleges to produce well-educated men to whom she would gradually hand over responsibility for the administration, the technical services and for the taking of political decisions. This educated class would work in partnership with its colonial masters to build up the structure needed for a modern state, as envisioned by the British authorities. Thus, by building institutions of higher learning, Britain wanted to produce "an honest administration, capable of utilizing modern science and technology to sink shafts of modernity deep into the traditional African societies. In short, the foundation of such universities as Ibadan was part of a British strategy for gradual and controlled decolonization."⁴¹ Marion Johnson argues that the creation of African universities and other institutions of higher learning offered a new role to the expatriate expert, that of teaching and training the new generation of African graduates.⁴²

The fact that earlier institutions of higher learning in Africa were appendages of their European counterparts had many disadvantages. The metropolitan degree structures did not always fit local needs. For example, the medical program of Louvain provided a minor place for pediatrics and preventive medicine. It failed to prepare students for

⁴¹ John D. Hargreaves, "The Idea of a Colonial University", *African Affairs*, Vol. 72, No. 286 (January, 1973): 27.

conditions where infant mortality was high. Similarly, the London single-subject honors program offered at Yaba College was too narrow. It offered little help to Nigerian graduates from whom a wide range of competence was likely to be demanded in the job market.⁴³ However, despite these disadvantages, the period from 1919 to the early 1960s stands out as the most important period in the history of higher education in Africa.

1.3 Philanthropy and Higher Education in Africa

Philanthropic organizations played a cardinal role in the development of higher education in Africa, and still continue to do so today. The Phelps-Stokes Fund, mentioned earlier, was just one of many institutions. Other philanthropic organizations include: the Rockefeller Foundation, Ford Foundation, Russel Sage Foundation, Nuffield Foundation, the Mellon Foundation, and the Carnegie Corporation. The global importance of these organizations was felt immediately after the end of the First World War. The Russel Sage Foundation, established in 1908, devoted most of its resources to the promotion of social research. The Rockefeller Foundation, incorporated in New York State in 1913, concerned itself with health issues and thus provided substantial financial support for the League of Nations Health Organization after the war. It mainly sponsored research on health-related topics⁴⁴ but also funded other projects.⁴⁵ The Carnegie Corporation,

⁴² Marion Johnson, "Expatriates in African Studies", *African Affairs*, Vol. 88, No. 350 (January, 1989): 79.

⁴³ L Gray Cowan, James O'Connell and David G. Scanlon (eds) *Education and Nation-Building in Africa* (New York, Washington and London: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965), 29.

⁴⁴ For a detailed discussion on how the Rockefeller foundation helped European countries devastated by the war, see: Paul Weindling, "Public Health and Political Stabilisation: The Rockefeller Foundation in Central and Eastern Europe Between the Two World Wars", *Minerva*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (Autumn, 1993): 253-267; Paul Weindling, "Philanthropy and World Health: The Rockefeller Foundation and the League of Nations Health Organisation", *Minerva*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (Autumn, 1997): 269-281; Malcom Richardson, "Philanthropy and the Internationality of Learning: The Rockefeller Foundation and Nationalist Germany", *Minerva*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (Spring, 1990): 21-58; and Martin Bulmer and Joan Bulmer, "Philanthropy and

founded by Andrew Carnegie in 1911, was devoted to educational purposes in America. It was one of the very first American philanthropic organizations to be active in the support of education.⁴⁶ Initially it granted 'block grants' to universities for general programs. In the 1930s it started funding specific projects. The Carnegie Corporation found the work of the Council on Foreign Relations (the promotion of globalism) impressive and thus funded its projects too.⁴⁷ Until the 1930s, funds from the Carnegie Corporation met part of the cost of running the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies referred to earlier.⁴⁸ David Grossman maintains that academic social scientists and foundation officials became new reformers after the First World War. He writes: "By the 1920s the social scientists saw philanthropists as a fountain-head of resources necessary for the construction of a science of society and for enabling social scientists to contribute to the improvement of their society."⁴⁹

The Carnegie Corporation's financial support to East Africa started before Makerere became a University College in 1949. In the early 1940s a grant of £1, 350 from this Corporation made it possible for the college to start collecting standard texts. When the Inter-University Council started implementing the recommendations of the

Social Science in the 1920s: Beardsley Rulm and the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, 1922-29", *Minerva*, Vol.19, No. 3 (Autumn, 1981): 347-407.

⁴⁵ The traveling expenses of Dr. Shantz, a member of the second Phelps-Stokes Commission, were met by the Rockefeller Foundation.

⁴⁶ For a detailed discussion on the role of philanthropic organizations in the development of education in the Southern States of America, see: King, *Pan-Africanism and Education*. Venessa Northington Gamble, in her article: "Black Autonomy Versus White Control: Black Hospitals and the Dilemmas of White Philanthropy, 1920-1940", *Minerva*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (Autumn, 1997): 247-267, discusses arguments for and arguments against philanthropy in the racial American South.

⁴⁷ Inderjeet Parmar, "The Carnegie Corporation and the Mobilisation of Opinion in the United States' Rise of Globalism, 1939-1945", *Minerva*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (Winter, 1999): 363; Martin Bulmer and Joan Bulmer, "Philanthropy and Social Science in the 1920s: Beardsley Rulm and the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, 1922-29", *Minerva*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (Autumn, 1981): 404-406.

⁴⁸ Nduka Okafor, *The Development of Universities in Nigeria. A Study of the Influence of Political and other Factors on University Development in Nigeria, 1868-1967* (London: Longman, 1971), 66.

Asquith and the Elliot Reports, it soon realized that it would need more financial support to be able to do its job effectively. For this, it turned to philanthropic organizations like the Carnegie Corporation. Through such help it was able to fund medical research at Makerere College and build libraries at different University Colleges in Africa. The money was also used to appoint distinguished librarians who would begin the process of establishing those libraries. In 1953, Stephen Stackpole and Alan Pifer (both of whom had experience in the educational needs of the less developed countries⁵⁰) took over executive responsibility for the Carnegie Corporation's commonwealth program. Under their leadership the Carnegie Corporation "soon began to exercise what gradually became a distinctive, in some ways unique, influence in relation to the development of higher education in Africa."⁵¹ In June 1954, Stackpole and Pifer invited to New York Walter Adams from the Inter-University Council and Mrs. E. M. Chilver, Secretary of the Colonial Social Science Research Council to discuss the educational and research needs of the new university institutions. The meeting led to "a committed Carnegie interest in higher education in Anglophone Africa (...) and clinched a new orientation in the corporation's Commonwealth activities."⁵² The Carnegie Corporation subsequently sanctioned a policy of support for the new University Colleges. Thus, from 1954 the Carnegie Corporation put more weight behind the development of higher education in the British colonies, more particularly those in Africa.

⁴⁹ David M. Grossman, "American Foundations and the Support of Economic Research, 1913-29", *Minerva*, Vol. 20, Nos. 1-2 (Spring-Summer, 1982): 59.

⁵⁰ Before joining the Corporation, Pifer had paid a fact-finding visit to Africa on behalf of the Fulbright Commission. Early in 1953; previously he had attended the 1962 Tananarive conference on higher education in Africa, Stackpole had made an exploratory visit to a congress of the Association of Universities of the British Commonwealth held in Britain.

⁵¹ Maxwell, *Universities in Partnership*, 47.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 48.

In June 1955, the Carnegie Corporation sponsored and attended a conference of Vice-Chancellors and Principals of overseas universities associated with the Inter-University Council held in Jamaica. This conference provided Stackpole and Pifer a golden opportunity to get to know these administrators and discuss with them any proposal they had in mind about higher education in the British Commonwealth. The Corporation also provided funding for some delegates to visit American institutions to see if they could learn something that would be of use in their home institutions. Stackpole and Pifer, in response to the independence euphoria that swept through the African continent in the 1960s, began directing their support to programs that would better equip these universities for the pressures of independence. Among other projects, they funded local staff training and the strengthening of the relationship between the universities and the societies in which they were located. The Corporation also helped the Inter-University Council meet some influential people in different governments, universities and other funding corporations.

The arrival in New York, in 1957, of Sir Andrew Cohen as the United Kingdom's Permanent Representative to the United Nations Trusteeship Council was a boost to the development of higher education in Africa. Sir Andrew had been Uganda's Governor for five years (1952-1956) and had previously served as Under-Secretary for Africa in the Colonial Office between 1948 and 1951. He therefore understood the educational situation in Africa. Alan Pifer, who had visited Cohen in Uganda, met him and they discussed how the Carnegie Corporation could be of assistance. In 1958 the Corporation funded another conference at Gould House, Ardsley-On-Hudson. The aim of this

conference was to discuss the prospects of American participation in the development of higher education in Africa.

Other funding institutions also made a significant contribution to the development of higher education in Africa. In 1955 the Nuffield Foundation made an unspecified grant towards the cost of the new Faculty of Education building planned at Makerere so that research and conference rooms could be incorporated. The Foundation added £40, 000 for the maintenance of research fellows at Makerere and another £21, 000 towards a Faculty of Science's program of Swamp Research. In 1958-1959 it made another grant of £7, 750 for Swamp Research at Makerere. Meanwhile, the Rockefeller Foundation donated \$35, 000 to Makerere's Faculty of Agriculture. Ford Foundation made a grant of £9, 000 for the training of Makerere's laboratory technicians.⁵³

When African countries achieved political independence in the 1960s, they continued requesting and receiving financial support from their former colonizers and from different philanthropic organizations in other countries. According to Vernon Mckay, between 1961 and 1965 the Rockefeller Foundation appropriated over \$3 million for Ibadan and two and a half million dollars for the University of East Africa. The University of Khartoum received \$362, 460 between 1959 and 1965. From 1963 to 1966, the Carnegie Corporation made grants of more than \$1.7 million under its African program, largely in support of teacher training and curriculum development initiatives among different African universities.⁵⁴ Therefore, the development of higher education in

⁵³ Margaret Macpherson, *They Built for the Future: A Chronicle of Makerere University College, 1922-1962* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1964), 74, 113 and 115.

⁵⁴ Vernon Mckay, *Africa in the United States* (New York: Macfadden-Bartell Corporation, 1967), 25. Cited by Maxwell, *Universities in Partnership*, 68.

different parts of Africa owes its success in part to the generous philanthropic organizations, largely based in America.

A quick survey of the development of higher education in three African countries (Nigeria, Ghana and Sudan) will put into context the discussion on the development of higher education in Anglophone Africa and highlight the similarities in this development process. A survey of West Indian higher education will epitomize a similar experience in other British colonies elsewhere. This is a useful comparison because the establishment of the University College of the West Indies and, later, the University of the West Indies, was part of the Asquith reforms through which University Colleges were established in Anglophone Africa.

1.4 The Survey

1.4.1 *Nigeria*

Professor J. F. Ade Ajayi argues that the roots of higher education in Nigeria can be traced back to the colonial times “when Nigerian leaders demanded a University as a means to their own emancipation.”⁵⁵ Ajayi’s statement can easily be misconstrued. One interpretation could be that the development of higher education in Nigeria was an African initiative inspired by the spirit of nationalism. Another interpretation could be that the establishment by the British government of the University College at Ibadan in 1948 was a direct response to this African demand. Such interpretations would ignore the fact that “like the people in other British colonial territories, the Nigerian people were subject to the pleasures and displeasures of the Colonial Office, which determined all

⁵⁵ J. F. Ade Ajayi, “Higher Education in Nigeria”, *African Affairs*, Vol. 74, No. 297 (October, 1975): 420.

policies – economic, social and political.”⁵⁶ Before the creation of the colonial government, Nigerian education, like education all over Africa, was the prerogative of the missionaries. Hence the view: “As in elementary and secondary education, the Christian missions played a major role in early higher education in Nigeria. Consequently, the early aim of higher education in Nigeria and elsewhere was to train Nigerians for service in the church.”⁵⁷ It was only in 1926 that the missionaries de-emphasized higher education.⁵⁸

Until 1930, no institution of higher education had been established in Nigeria. Africans had to travel elsewhere for higher education. The Yoruba sent their children to Britain. They were later joined by Ibibio Union from Eastern Nigeria in the early 1930s and, later, by the Ibo State Union. In 1932, Yaba Higher College admitted its first students in a temporal venue in Lagos. On January 19, 1934, Sir Donald Cameron, the Nigerian Governor, officially opened Yaba College. It was “the first higher educational institution ever to be organized with various departments located at one centre on Nigerian soil; it was also the first institution of higher learning in the country, organizationally speaking, that merited the name ‘college’.”⁵⁹

Yet Yaba College was not the kind of institution Nigerians had been asking for. Soon after the College had started operating, the Nigerian public raised complaints. They were dissatisfied, *inter alia*, about the fact that the requirements to enter the College’s Medical School were similar to those required in Britain. They interpreted this as the

⁵⁶ A. Babs Fafunwa, *A History of Nigerian Higher Education* (Ibadan: Macmillan, 1971), 21.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁵⁸ In 1926, a Christian Mission Conference in Le Zonte decided that education was a state function. It was agreed that primary and secondary education would remain in missionary hands while the government focused on technical and higher education.

⁵⁹ Fafunwa, *A History of Nigerian Higher Education*, 28.

government's deliberate attempt to limit and control opportunities for higher education. They further argued that it was wrong to have the entrance examination and the duration of the course similar to that of British universities while Nigerians trained at Yaba were not recognized outside Nigeria – not even by the British Medical Council. Despite these complaints, Yaba Higher College remained the only credible institution of higher learning in Nigeria until the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939.

In 1943, Oliver Stanley, Secretary of State for the Colonies, set up the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa to report on the organization and facilities of the already existing centers of higher learning in British West Africa. Stanley tasked this Commission, chaired by Colonel Walter Elliot, M. P. for Glasgow, to make recommendations regarding future university development in this area. After its investigation, the Elliot Commission presented two Reports to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The Minority Report recommended that one University based in Ibadan would best serve the interests of British colonies in West Africa. The Majority Report recommended the establishment of University Colleges in each of the British West African colonies. In either case, Nigeria would end up having a University in Ibadan.

In June 1945, the British Parliament accepted the Majority Report. In the following month the Labour Party defeated the Conservative Party in Britain's general elections. Clement Attlee became the new Prime Minister while George Henry Hall became the new Secretary of State for the Colonies. Arthur Creech Jones, who had submitted the Minority Report, became Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. The new leadership reversed the decision made before the elections and accepted the Minority

Report. There was an outcry from West Africa, especially from Ghana.⁶⁰ The Secretary of State for the Colonies responded by sending the Inter-University Council to West Africa in 1946 to study the education situation and make its recommendations. The Inter-University Council under William Hamilton Fyfe endorsed the Majority Report and confirmed the site already selected by the Ibadan Native Administration. Creech Jones, who became the new Secretary of State for the Colonies towards the end of 1946, conceded defeat. In May 1947, Dr. Kenneth Mellanby from the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine was appointed Principal-Designate of the University College, Ibadan. He transferred Yaba Higher College to Ibadan. On January 18, 1948, former Yaba Higher College students became the first students of the University College, Ibadan. The College joined the 'Special Relationship' scheme with the University of London.

The new University College received criticisms and praises from different sectors. Members of the public considered the institution to be an alien college and a branch of the University of London in Nigeria, since the curriculum was largely designed for the English not the Nigerian environment.⁶¹ No changes could be made to the curriculum before London's approval. Dennis Austin summarizes the dilemma that faced Ibadan's staff as follows:

In the early period of the foundation of the University College of Ibadan after the Second World War, many of the newly appointed teachers, registrars and Vice-chancellors – Africans and British alike – struggled to establish themselves in the period before and after independence. Many seemed at the time to be 'unanchored souls', carried backward and forward on a current that had no clear direction. They were uncertain above all of the nature of the university and its place in Nigerian society. The students were African-speaking and English-taught. The College was

⁶⁰ Ghana had the money to build its own college if needs be. See: Pattison, *Special Relations*, 50.

⁶¹ Fafunwa, *A History of Nigerian Higher Education*, 124.

locally established but linked through the arrangement for external degrees to the University of London. It was also a federal institution in a land that lacked definition. . . .⁶²

Driven by the post-World War II spirit of nationalism and independence, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe proposed to establish a 'Nigerian' university, as opposed to 'a University in Nigeria'. Under his leadership, in May 1955, Nigeria's Eastern Region Assembly passed the University of Nigeria Act. In 1957, Dr. Azikiwe wrote to the Inter-University Council informing it about this development. In November 1958, he talked to Dame Lillian Penson, the new Chair of the Senate Committee at the University of London, and John Lockwood, a member of the University of London Senate Committee, and told them that the new university would be a full university from the outset. Dr. Azikiwe solicited funds in Europe and America. British and American academicians who came to Nigeria to inspect and advise wrote good reports and agreed to help.⁶³ The University of Nigeria at Nsukka was ceremonially opened on October 7, 1960 as part of the week-long celebrations marking Nigeria's attainment of her political independence on October 1. H. R. H. Princess Alexandra of Kent, who was representing the Queen at the celebrations, laid the University's foundation stone.

Meanwhile, the Commission appointed by the Federal Government's Education Minister in 1959 to conduct an investigation into Nigeria's needs in the field of post-school certificate and higher education for the next twenty years⁶⁴ had recommended the

⁶² Dennis Austin, "Universities and the Academic Gold Standard in Nigeria", *Minerva*, Vol.18, No. 2 (Summer, 1980): 203.

⁶³ George M. Johnson, "The University of Nigeria", in Murray G. Ross, *New Universities in the Modern World* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1966), 89. See also: Maxwell, *Universities in Partnership* and Okafor, *The Development of Universities in Nigeria*, 110-117.

⁶⁴ The Chairman of this Commission, sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation, was Eric Ashby. Other members were: J. F. Lockwood, G. W. Watts (all three from Britain); K. O. Dike, Senator Shettima Kashim, S. D. Onabamiro (from Nigeria); and R. G. Gustavson, H. W. Hanna and F. Keppel (all from the United States of America). Its Report was submitted to the Nigerian government in September 1960.

establishment of three universities in addition to Ibadan: one in Zaria (Northern Nigeria), one in Lagos, and the University of Nigeria already planned by the government of Eastern Nigeria. Subsequently, the University of Lagos opened in 1962. Ahmadu Bello University in Zaria was opened in October 1962. Although no university had been recommended for Western Nigeria, the regional government put pressure on the Federal Government. In the end, the latter gave in and the University of Ife opened its doors in October 1962. Ahmadu Bello, Ife and Nsukka were regional universities. The universities of Lagos and Ibadan were federal institutions. Of all these universities, Nsukka “was the first of the ‘independence era’ Universities, conceived as a result of Nigerian initiative rather than as part of British colonial policy for her overseas territories.”⁶⁵

1.4.2 Ghana

The Gold Coast, as Ghana was known before independence, made several efforts to develop its education system. In 1908, Governor Sir John P. Rodger appointed a Committee and tasked it, *inter alia*, to revise educational rules and establish training institutions for teachers. His successor, Sir Frederick Gordon Guggisberg, kept the momentum. When the Phelps-Stokes Commission submitted its first Report in 1922, it had the following to say: “The educational interests, activities and plans of the Gold Coast Government are very significant and surpass those of all other colonies.”⁶⁶ Achimota College, established by Governor Guggisberg in 1926, offered education from

Copies were distributed to the Nigerian Federal Legislature at its first meeting after independence in October 1960. It was later published under the following title: *Investment in Education. The Report of the Commission on Post-School Certificate and Higher Education in Nigeria* (Lagos, 1960).

⁶⁵ Vincent Chukwuemeka Ike, *University Development in Africa: The Nigerian Experience* (Ibadan: Oxford University Press, 1976), 16.

⁶⁶ Jones (ed) *Education in Africa*, 141.

nursery school through secondary education to teacher education, and even up to the beginnings of a university department of engineering.⁶⁷ But as Arthur Porter puts it, these were feeble efforts.⁶⁸ When Governor Guggisberg proposed that Achimota College should be linked with the University of London to ensure that it maintained internationally accepted standards, the Gold Coast Advisory Education Committee opposed the idea, fearing that it would mean Achimota losing the opportunity to develop the indigenous system of higher education it had already started.⁶⁹ In 1944, the Colonial Government in the Gold Coast approved a scheme drawn up by the Department of Education to provide a staff of highly qualified African men and women who would be required to work in training colleges and secondary schools and also work as supervisors. This scheme provided for higher education and professional training at Achimota or in the United Kingdom.⁷⁰

Serious attempts to develop higher education in Ghana began in 1948 with the establishment of the University College of the Gold Coast. The circumstances leading to the foundation of this institution are similar to those that gave birth to Ibadan University College in Nigeria. The Majority Report of the Elliot Commission had recommended the establishment of a University College in the Gold Coast. When the Labour government reversed this idea, the Gold Coast expressed its willingness to raise funds to build its own university. Governor Alan Burns appointed a Committee to advise on this matter. In its Report, the Committee recommended that the Gold Coast could have a university

⁶⁷ Wilson, *Education and Changing West African Culture*, 41-42.

⁶⁸ Porter, "African Universities in Transition": 24.

⁶⁹ According to Francis Agbodeka, Achimota College was in many respects the best in Africa. It had an African Studies program, an impressive library with 16, 000 books and beautiful compounds. See: Francis Agbodeka, *A History of University of Ghana. Half a Century of Higher Education (1948-1998)* (Accra: Woeli Publishing Service, 1998), 4.

evolving from Achimota provided it had funds, both capital and recurrent. This view was upheld by the Inter-University Council delegation, thus forcing the Secretary of State for the Colonies to allow the Gold Coast to go ahead with its plan. Bruce Pattison writes: "The Gold Coast could have its university if it bore the entire cost. This it virtually did. Compared with the other colonial university colleges, the Gold Coast received very little from the British government through the Colonial, Development and Welfare Fund, and it built, equipped and maintained a fine university largely by its own efforts. It can be proud of the achievement."⁷¹ In May 1947, David Balme was appointed as Principal-Designate and by an Ordinance, the University College of the Gold Coast was established in 1948. Subsequently, Balme formally applied for the College's admission to London's 'Special Relationship' program. Governor Burns officially opened the College on October 11, 1948 and the Inter-University Council appointed the staff. Therefore, while it cannot be refuted that in 1948 the people of the Gold Coast decided to found their own University College with their own money to sever the needs of their country when Britain accepted the Minority Report,⁷² evidence suggests that the University College in the Gold Coast was part of the Asquith scheme.

In 1951 a College of Technology was established at Kumasi. Its main purpose was to train the personnel that was desperately needed for the economic, technological, educational and social development of the country. Both these institutions, one at Achimota (later moved to Elgon Hill) and the one at Kumasi, were made possible, in part,

⁷⁰ C. K. Graham, *The History of Education in Ghana from the Earliest times to the Declaration of Independence* (London: Frank Cass, 1971), 175-176.

⁷¹ Pattison, *Special Relations*, 50.

⁷² Alexander Kwapong, Address to the Congregation of the University of Ghana, 26 March 1966, in *Minerva*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (Summer, 1966): 542.

by grants that came from Britain through the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts of 1945 and subsequent years.⁷³

On February 20, 1951, a new Legislative Assembly took its seat in Accra, symbolizing the passing of the colonial era. Although formal independence only came on May 6, 1957, from 1951 the Gold Coast gained self-government. The effective control of the country's internal policy lay in the hands of the African leaders. Educational policy in particular, reflected the aims of the new leadership. Thus, 'The Gold Coast Revolution' "was as much an educational as a political one."⁷⁴ In April 1951, Balme reported to the College Senate Committee that there might be political pressure in the near future to turn the University College into an independent university.⁷⁵ In 1959, just two years after independence, Balme's postulation was confirmed. The University College expressed its wish to end the 'Special Relationship' with London.⁷⁶ The government responded by appointing a Commission in 1960 to look into the possibility of the University College of Ghana and the Kumasi College of Technology becoming a single independent university. The Commission recommended the establishment of two separate universities and, as was the case in Nigeria, stressed the need to Africanize them.⁷⁷ In 1961, the College of Technology at Kumasi became Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology. The University College at Achimota became the University of Ghana. In October 1962, the University College of Cape Coast was founded. It was established in special

⁷³ Graham, *The History of Education in Ghana*, 176-177.

⁷⁴ Philip Foster, *Education and Social Change in Ghana* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965), 185.

⁷⁵ Pattison, *Special Relations*, 143.

⁷⁶ H. O. A. Macwilliam and M. A. Kwamena-Poh, *The Development of Education in Ghana. An Outline* (London: Longman, 1975), 104.

⁷⁷ *Report of the Commission on University Education, December 1960-January 1961* (Accra: GP, 1961), 33.

relationship with the University of Ghana and only assumed independent status in 1972 as the University of Cape Coast.

1.4.3 *Sudan*

The development of higher education in Sudan began in 1898 when Lord Kitchener founded Gordon Memorial College soon after the battle of Omdurman. The foundation stone was laid in January 1899, with the first college buildings being completed in 1903. Subsequently, a technical training center and an industrial workshop were added. Lecturers who taught at Gordon Memorial College were expatriates just like in Nigeria and Ghana. The difference is that Sudan was not a British colony but an Anglo-Egyptian condominium.⁷⁸ The majority of staff were Egyptian Muslim scholars from Al Azhar, not from British universities as was the case in Nigeria and Ghana. These Egyptian Muslim scholars paid more attention to Islamic studies. According to Mohamed Bashir, the end of the First World War marked the beginning of a new educational policy in Sudan.⁷⁹ He argues that this was due to two reasons. First, the end of the war allowed free movement within Sudan and also between Sudan and countries like Egypt. The second reason is that there was a conscious effort by education authorities to pay serious attention to education. The general public called for the 'Sudanization' of the teaching profession and wanted the Egyptians to leave. The problem was that there were few Sudanese who were trained for the positions held by expatriate staff. For example, the Sudanese had to go to Cairo, Beirut and London to train as doctors.

⁷⁸ Pattison, *Special Relations*, 35.

⁷⁹ Mohamed Omer Bashir, *Educational Development in the Sudan 1898-1956* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 55.

This dearth of doctors led to the establishment of the Kitchener School of Medicine in Khartoum in 1924. More training centers were established throughout the 1920s and the early 1930s. In 1935, a School of Law was established in Khartoum. Political developments between 1935 and 1936 gave a further impetus to the development of higher education in Sudan. The Anglo-Egyptian treaty signed in 1936 ended the exclusion of Egyptians from Sudan. People of Egyptian nationality could now be considered for employment in Sudan. Although the Sudanese government was not prepared to restore to the Egyptians the share in government service they had enjoyed up to 1924, the signing of this treaty meant increased competition for jobs between the Sudanese and the Egyptians. The need for higher education in Sudan became more urgent.

After the Report of the De la Warr Commission, schools for agriculture and veterinary science commenced in 1939. When the Asquith Commission began its work in 1943, two of its members (H. J. Channon and J. F. Duff) visited Sudan.⁸⁰ In 1944, the Council of Gordon Memorial College was constituted. On January 1, 1945, schools of law, agriculture and veterinary science, science and engineering as well as arts (except the Kitchener School of Medicine) were united to form the new Gordon College which was inaugurated the following month. In December 1945, Gordon College invited Professor Lillian Penson to visit and advise it on how to proceed towards university status. After responding to her recommendations (one of which was the inclusion of two Inter-University Council members in the College Council), the College Council applied

⁸⁰ Sudan asked to be included in the list of countries to be visited by the Asquith Commission through the Foreign Office. When other colonies received funds from Britain through the Colonial Welfare and Development Fund, Sudan did not qualify for those funds. What enabled it to even think about establishing

to the Senate of the University of London for admission to the 'Special Relationship' scheme. Gordon College was admitted on May 22, 1946.

In 1951, the Gordon College and the Kitchener School of Medicine combined to form the University College of Khartoum. The Ordinance establishing this University College came into force on September 1, 1951. There was political pressure for the University College to reflect local character. Also, the Sudanese Government expected the College to play a key role in the 'Sudanization' project. Such expectation accelerated the need for the University College to become a fully-fledged independent university. On April 21, 1954, the Principal of the University of Khartoum wrote to the Secretary of the Senate Committee giving formal notification that the council of the College had approved the recommendation of the Academic Board that appropriate action should be taken to raise the status of the College to university status by July 1, 1955 or soon thereafter. It was not until 1956, the year in which Sudan achieved independence, that the University of Khartoum Act, 1956 raised the college to full university status, with the right to award its own degrees. In 1957 the University College of Khartoum was constituted into an autonomous institution. Bruce Pattison writes: "Khartoum was the first college to enter into Special Relationship and the first to become independent university. Both in its entrance and its exit it was the model for all the others."⁸¹

The 1957 University Act provided for a Chancellor appointed by the Head of State on the recommendation of the University Council. This move threw the University deep into politics.

a college was a gift of £2, 000, 000 from the British government in recognition of its support to the allied forces during the Second World War. It decided to use half of that money to establish a university.

1.4.4 *The West Indies*

The idea of establishing a university in the West Indies came as early as the eighteenth century when Bishop Berkeley proposed the conversion of Bermuda into ‘a university island for the British and American colonies’.⁸² The emancipation of slaves in the nineteenth century and the provision of a ‘Negro Education Grant’ by the British government resulted in new proposals. The most elegantly articulated call for the establishment of a University of the West Indies was made in 1869 by Patrick Joseph Keenan, the Chief of the Inspection Board of National Education in Ireland. The British government had sent him to the West Indies to report on the state of education in Trinidad. In his Report, he proposed the establishment of a regional university that would neither hold classes nor have teachers, but set examinations and award degrees to students who pursued their studies at local colleges and seminaries.⁸³ All these calls for the establishment of a regional university were isolated cases. Even the University of the West Indies proposed at the time was meant only for very few islands. At this time, the British government had not formulated any consistent policy on higher education in its Empire. The gradually building momentum was diffused by the outbreak of the First World War in 1914.

In the West Indies, as in Africa, it was not until the inter-war period that the British policy on education became consistent and comprehensive. The war had shown

⁸¹ Pattison, *Special Relations*, 142.

⁸² Alan G. Copley, “The Historical Development of Higher Education in the Anglophone Caribbean”, in Glenford Howe (ed) *Higher Education in the Caribbean: Past, Present and Future Directions* (Barbados: The University of the West Indies Press, 2000), 3.

⁸³ There were very few such institutions at this time. Codrington College established by the Anglican missionaries in Barbados in 1743 was the first institution of higher learning. The Baptist Missionary Society established Calabar College in Jamaica in 1843. Other colleges were established by Moravians and Methodists, but Codrington College remained the only institution offering higher education until 1921 when the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture was established in Trinidad.

that such an approach was needed if the British Empire was to survive as an economic and political stronghold.⁸⁴ One of the first steps was the establishment in Trinidad of the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture (I. C. T. A.) in 1921. In 1929, the first West Indian Conference was held under the auspices of the Colonial Conference. It stressed the idea of developing higher education in the Caribbean. Sir James Currie, Director of Gordon College in Khartoum, and Mr. R. R. Sedgwick were tasked to advise the Colonial Office about this idea and they approved of it. Currie and Sedgwick proposed the appointment of a Commission to begin the process of setting up a regional university with a possible site in Jamaica or Trinidad. As colonies like Jamaica and Barbados made individual efforts to develop education, Lord Passfield, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, announced that he was setting up a Commission to inquire into higher education in the whole colonial empire.⁸⁵

By this time the world was feeling the effects of the Great Depression from which the West Indies sustained severe blows. The 1930s were characterized by labour unrests and anti-colonial agitation. In June 1935, Malcom MacDonald became the new Secretary of State for the Colonies. On August 5, 1938, MacDonald set up a Royal Commission under Lord Moyne. He tasked the Commission “to investigate social and economic conditions in Barbados, British Guiana, British Honduras, Jamaica, the Leeward Islands, Trinidad and Tobago, and the Windward Islands, and matters connected therewith, and to make recommendations.”⁸⁶ Among its recommendations, the Moyne Commission suggested that the region’s education system had to be improved. It argued that in theory

⁸⁴ Cobley, “The Historical Development of Higher Education”, 6.

⁸⁵ *Report on the Desirability of Establishing a West Indian University*, West Indies Pamphlet No. 515, 1930. Cited by Pattison, *Special Relations*, 13.

the British West Indies possessed a fairly complete educational system but in practice that was not the case and in spite of frequent calls for the establishment of institutions of university rank nothing had been done.⁸⁷ The outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 delayed the implementation of the recommendations of the Moyne Commission.

The circumstances that led to the establishment of the University of the West Indies are similar to those that brought about University Colleges in Ibadan, Achimota and Khartoum. Alan Cobley reasons: "it is important to realize that the university envisaged by the Irvine Committee in the West Indies was completely in keeping with the aims of the wider Asquith Commission, of which it was part."⁸⁸ The Irvine Committee, set up in January 1944, studied the education situation in the West Indies. It visited Trinidad, British Guiana, Jamaica and Barbados before proceeding to the University of Puerto Rico on a fact-finding mission. From there it visited West Indian students studying at Howard University in Washington and those at McGill University in Montreal.

The Committee considered that the evidence presented to it justified a firm recommendation that a university should be provided in the West Indies as early as possible. Although there were students who qualified for entry into a university, no such institution was available to them in the West Indies. The Committee recommended the establishment of a single university for the West Indies. Commenting on the Irvine Committee, the Asquith Commission stated that it was of importance to note that the Committee "recommends the establishment of a unified university and rejects the alternative of federated colleges being set up in the different Colonies to function as

⁸⁶ Royal Warrant dated 5th August 1938 signed by Malcom MacDonald. See also: *Report of the West India Royal Commission 1938-9* (London: H. M. S. O, 1945). Cmd. 6607, xiii.

⁸⁷ *Report of the West India Royal Commission 1938-9*, Part II, Chapter VII, par.1.

⁸⁸ Cobley, "The Historical Development of Higher Education", 13.

constituents of a degree-granting university. This decision is emphatic.”⁸⁹ Such a university would be administered by the Council and the Senate and would be equipped and staffed in a way that would be recognized in Great Britain as conforming to a high standard. Responding to concerns about the poor economic state of the British islands, the Irvine Committee recommended that Britain had to provide the funds. The British government responded positively and the University of London accepted the University College of the West Indies (U. C. W. I.) to the ‘Special Relationship’ program. In October 1948, the U. C. W. I. opened its doors to 33 students at Mona in Kingston, Jamaica. All these students were in the Medical School. Science students were admitted the following year and Arts students the year after. Before the buildings were completed at Mona campus, students were accommodated in temporary buildings.

The Colonial Office and West Indian nationalists perceived the University College of the West Indies in political terms. The Colonial Office held the belief that the establishment of a regional University College would bring the West Indian islands much closer, thus making administration much easier. To the West Indian nationalists, the University College was one step towards federation. The Moyne Commission espoused similar sentiments. While asserting that federation was the ideal to which British policy should be directed, it stated that time was not ripe for federation, a view shared by Oliver Stanley, the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Yet soon thereafter, Stanley issued a dispatch to the representatives of the various colonies inviting them to meet him at Montego Bay in Jamaica to discuss positive measures regarding federation. According to Anthony Payne, it was during the enactment of this new emphasis in British policy that

⁸⁹ *Report of the Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies [The Asquith Report]* (London: H. M. S. O., June 1945), Part III, Chapter XXI, par.2(b).

the first steps were taken towards the establishment of a university in the West Indies. It was going to be “one university or no university.”⁹⁰ Such perceptions meant that the functions of the University College of the West Indies would not be confined solely to higher education. The envisioned University would also have a political function. Michael Erisman writes:

The University of the West Indies was established to serve the entire area with major campuses in Jamaica, Trinidad, and Barbados. Such initiatives were conceived with a dual purpose in mind. First, in a purely technocratic sense, it was hoped that they would create an infrastructure for future economic growth that, because it would be truly regional in scope, would help to ameliorate the size and viability problems that previously had always been a major factor behind the inability of the CARICOM countries to enjoy much significant long-term developmental progress. There was, however, a second and more nebulous dimension to such multilateralism, related to the concept popularized by functionalist theorists in the 1960s that socioeconomic cooperation would generate a spillover effect into the political arena, thereby laying the cornerstone for the emergence of a single unified state.⁹¹

In May 1957, the Standing Federation Committee of the West Indies established a Committee of Inquiry under the chairmanship of Dr. A. S. Cato. The Committee reported in 1958 that the University College had made significant progress. It stated that given the standards of teaching and research activity at the University College, time was ripe for it to assume university status. In 1960, The Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture in Trinidad became the University College of the West Indies' School of Agriculture. During the 1960-61 academic year, Trinidad became the University College's second Campus. On April 2, 1962, the University College of the West Indies was granted a Royal Charter authorizing it to become an independent University of the West Indies (U.

⁹⁰ Anthony Payne, “One University, Many Governments: Regional Integration, Politics and the University of the West Indies”, *Minerva*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (Autumn, 1980): 475.

W. I.) with the right to grant its own degrees. In 1963 it opened its third campus in temporary accommodation in Barbados and moved to the site at Cave Hill in 1968.⁹²

Like University Colleges in Nigeria, Ghana and Sudan, the U. C. W. I. was affected by political developments. What made its situation more problematic was that it had to respond to over fourteen governments. Anthony Payne reasons: "From a political point of view, the University of the West Indies is unusual, and therefore of special interest, in that it is dependent not so much on the domestic politics of one particular state, but rather on the complex and changing character of international politics within a clearly defined region."⁹³ In the West Indies, as in Africa, independence and the spirit of nationalism raised questions about the functioning, staffing, curriculum and the syllabus of the University. The programs were too limited, focusing on arts, science and medicine. The structure of the degrees was locked into the British models. Those who had been educated abroad did not want the very idea of a colonial university.⁹⁴ The collapse of the British West Indian Federation in 1962 put the University of the West Indies in an even more awkward position. The idea of sustaining a regional university in the West Indies became questionable. In 1963, Guyana responded to this new political dispensation by withdrawing from the federal university to set up the University of Guyana. It is of interest to note that unlike the University of East Africa, the University of the West Indies has survived to-date.

⁹¹ H. Michael Erisman, *Pursuing Postdependency Politics: South-South Relations in the Caribbean* (Boulder and London: Lynne Rinner, 1992), 69.

⁹² "The University of the West Indies and its Operations", *Caricom Perspective*, No. 65, Souvenir Issue (June 1995): 40.

⁹³ Payne, "One University, Many Governments": 474.

The common thread running through these surveys is that in spite of desperate calls for the development of higher education in the colonies, it was not until after the First World War that the British policy on education was formulated. Secondly, it was not until after the Second World War that the British government took serious measures to establish University Colleges in its colonies. Thirdly, although the local people benefited from these colleges, the primary aim of the British government was to develop higher education along British lines and thus sustain its influence in the colonies. These colleges were used as instruments to export British cultures instead of helping the colonies develop their local cultures.

The discussion thus far has focussed on the development of higher education in the British colonies and the role played by the British government and philanthropic organizations in this process. The next section explores the views held by different constituencies about the institutions of higher education in Anglophone Africa. Such a discussion is of vital importance to the current study for three reasons. First, it shows how these constituencies perceived the Asquith Colleges. Second, it helps us ascertain the ideal university (-ies) envisioned by these constituencies. Third, and most importantly, it demonstrates the tensions inherent in different arguments and thus prepares our mindset for the tensions discussed with regard to the University of East Africa. Nationalism and independence were the driving forces behind the indictment of the Asquith Colleges. It is fitting, therefore, to begin this section by discussing the views expressed by African politicians and establish their vision about African higher education.

⁹⁴ Lloyd Braithwaite, *Colonial West Indian Students in Britain* (Barbados: University of the West Indies Press, 2001), 122-124 and Carl Campbell, *The Young Colonials: A Social History of Education in Trinidad*

1.5 Views on Universities

1.5.1 *The African Vision*

African politicians perceived the new University Colleges in political terms and sustained this perception after getting independence. The achievement of independence by Ghana in 1957 ushered in a new political dispensation in Anglophone Africa. This became the motivating factor to other African leaders to press forward with the demand for the liberation of their own people. By 1960 independence had become a popular phrase among Africans. This prompted Harold Macmillan, British Prime Minister, to talk about the 'Wind of Change'. Most of the former colonial territories had by this time already achieved, or were on the verge of achieving, political liberation from their colonial masters. The year 1960 was not only a watershed but also a vital historical landmark in the African continent's search for its modern identity. It was 'the Year of Africa'.⁹⁵

Once African politicians had achieved political independence for their people, they devoted their time and effort to finding ways in which they could consolidate this newly achieved independence. Uncomfortable with leaving national tasks in the hands of their former colonizers, they resolved to take charge of their own affairs. They soon realized that for their independent territories to replace Europeans and develop into viable modern states they needed more educated people. Speaking during his installation as Chancellor of the University of Zambia, President Kenneth Kaunda expressed his anger about the colonial legacy: ". . . as far as education is concerned, Britain's colonial record in Zambia is most criminal. This country has been left by her as the most uneducated, and

and Tobago, 1834-1939 (Barbados: The University of the West Indies Press, 1996).

unprepared of Britain's dependencies on the African continent.”⁹⁶ For countries like Zambia the need for education was urgent. Naturally, it received high priority. There was consensus among different African countries that more of everything was needed if Africa were to develop: more primary schools, more secondary schools, and more universities. For these goals to be achieved, there was a need for proper planning from the outset.

In 1960, Eric Ashby's Commission on Post-School Certificate and Higher Education, referred to earlier in this Chapter, studied the education system in Nigeria. In making its recommendations, it tied educational policy to social planning and strongly recommended the expansion of science facilities and students at the universities. The Report of this Commission had a profound impact on African education in general although its focus was on Nigeria. African leaders started planning their education system at all levels and stated their vision about the continent's education system.

Two UNESCO-sponsored conferences were organized, one from May 15 to 25, 1961 and another one from September 3 to 12, 1962. The first conference ('Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa') was held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in accordance with resolution 1.2322 adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO at its eleventh session. UNESCO's General Conference decided "to convene a conference of African States in 1961 with a view to establishing an inventory of educational needs and a programme to meet those needs in the coming years, and to invite the United Nations, the other Specialized Agencies and the International Atomic

⁹⁵ T. M. Yesufu (ed) *Creating the African University: Emerging Issues in the 1970's* (Ibadan: Oxford, 1973), 3.

Energy Agency to co-operate with Unesco in the preparation and organization of the Conference.”⁹⁷ The main purpose of the Addis Ababa Conference was “to provide a forum for African states to decide on their priority educational needs to promote economic and social development in Africa and, in the light of these, to establish a first tentative short-term and long-term plan for educational development in the continent, embodying the priorities they had decided upon for the economic growth of the region.”⁹⁸ At this conference an attempt was made to outline both the needs and costs of building a modern educational system in Africa. The African Ministers of Education who assembled in Addis Ababa set themselves three specific goals: (i) six years’ universal, compulsory and free education for all children by the year 1980; (ii) entry of 30 per cent of primary school children into secondary schools; and (iii) provision of higher education for up to 20 per cent of those who completed secondary education. Reflecting on this meeting about four years later, L. Gray Cowan, James O’Connell and David Scanlon had the following to say:

The meeting at Addis Ababa was a milestone in African education. For the first time, African educators were deciding the future of African education. They realized that education had played a major role in bringing about the political independence of most of sub-Saharan Africa. While criticism was leveled at the literary and humanistic quality of British and French education, it was recognized that it had provided (...) an introduction to the liberal political philosophy of the West.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Kenneth Kaunda, Address During his Installation as Chancellor of the University of Zambia. Cited by L. P. Tembo, “Introduction”, in L. P. Tembo (ed) *The African University: Issues and Perspectives. Zambian Papers*, No. 4 (1984), p. xii.

⁹⁷ UNESCO and United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. *Final Report: Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa, Addis Ababa, 15-25 May 1961* (Paris: UNESCO, 1961), Introduction, par.1.

⁹⁸ Ibid., Introduction, par. 7.

⁹⁹ L. Gray Cowan, James O’Connell and David G. Scanlon (eds) *Education and Nation-Building in Africa*, 14.

The second conference, 'The Conference on the Development of Higher Education in Africa', was held in Tananarive (present-day Antananarivo), Madagascar at the invitation of the Government of the Malagasy Republic. It was convened within the framework of resolution 1.14 adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO at its eleventh session "and constituted as such as a follow-up as well as a complement to the Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa held in Addis Ababa in May 1961."¹⁰⁰ This conference was organized by UNESCO in cooperation with the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. It set out: (i) To identify possible solutions to: (a) problems of choice and adaptation of the higher education curriculum to the specific conditions of African life and development, and the training of specialized personnel for public administration and economic development techniques; (b) problems of administration, organization, structure and financing encountered in the creation or development of institutions of higher education both from the point of view of the institutions themselves and from the wider angle of national policy and (ii) To provide data to the United Nations, its Specialized Agencies, and to other organizations and bodies concerned with international co-operation and assistance, for the development of their programs in aid to and use of institutions of higher education in Africa.¹⁰¹

In its Report, the conference plotted targets for the same period (1980) at the level of University education. It resolved that there had to be an expansion of higher education in the African continent as a whole. Inevitably, public expenditure on education among

¹⁰⁰ UNESCO, *The Development of Higher Education in Africa. Report of the Conference on Higher Education in Africa, Tananarive, 3-12 September 1962* (Paris: UNESCO, 1963). Preface. See also: Casely M. O. Mate, "Addis Ababa in Retrospect: An Evaluation of Experience Since the 1961 Conference", in Richard Jolly (ed) *Education in Africa: Research and Action* (Nairobi: East Africa Publishing House, 1969), 7.

¹⁰¹ UNESCO, *The Development of Higher Education in Africa*, Preface.

African countries continued to increase; it increased by 12.5 per cent per annum in African countries against 6.5 per cent per annum in the developed countries.¹⁰² Soon after these conferences, Heads of African Universities assembled in Khartoum, in Sudan to discuss the establishment of an Association of African Universities. This was in response to the recommendation made in Chapter VI of the Report of the Tananarive conference for the African universities to have co-operative planning as well as joint use of specialized facilities to avoid duplication.

As a result of these conferences, schools, colleges, and universities proliferated on the African continent. This set mass education in motion. The student population at tertiary level increased in different regions. At the University of East Africa the number increased from 1, 971 during the 1963-64 academic year to 5, 386 during the 1968-69 academic year. In Nigeria, it increased from less than 2, 000 in 1960 to about 8, 000 in 1967.¹⁰³ This increase in student population raised new fundamental questions for the African leaders. Did these numbers meet the national needs? Would it not be more beneficial to the new nations to produce specific types of graduates that would accelerate development? Another UNESCO conference held by African scholars and politicians in Lagos, Nigeria, in 1964 tried to respond to these questions. It set a target of at least 200 scientific workers and university science teachers per million inhabitants to be achieved between 1965 and 1980. Conference delegates thought that this would speed up the development process by stimulating scientific research. A confluence of factors made it

¹⁰² Arthur T. Porter, "African Universities: Our Needs and Priorities", *African Studies Bulletin*, Vol. XII, No. 3 (December, 1969): 248.

¹⁰³ Arthur T. Porter, "University Development in English-Speaking Africa: Problems and Prospects", *African Affairs*, Vol. 71, No. 282 (January, 1972): 73.

difficult to meet this target.¹⁰⁴ In fact, in some cases the number of these mostly needed scientists declined instead of increasing.¹⁰⁵ What is important to note is that after independence African leaders were determined to develop education at all levels. But why did African leaders invest so much on education? Arthur Porter addressed this question as follows:

Education, to the politicians, was not merely a matter of filling gaps in the leadership cadre; it was not merely a matter of economics. It was almost a religion, a superstitious, if touching, faith in the magic of knowledge itself. In this mood, the African governments were prepared to spend a great part of their national income on education. They passionately believed not only that investment in education would pay off but that it would also generate much needed employment. They even conceived it as a fundamental right for all citizens.”¹⁰⁶

As far as African leaders were concerned, education was not only the means by which centuries of ignorance was to be wiped out, it was also the means to train and develop the skills and high-level manpower to replace the erstwhile colonial official as well as to staff the new and expanded political, administrative, social and economic institutions.¹⁰⁷ These African leaders regarded education as the necessary and indispensable instrument for achieving the goals they had set themselves, that is, nation-building and economic and social development. President Kenyatta intimated: “Any undergraduate could tell you that, to develop a country, it is necessary to increase education and expand welfare and economic services. And this is not a superficial truth,

¹⁰⁴ Firstly, secondary schools were a bottleneck. Unless secondary schools produced more qualifying students to pursue degrees in science, it would take years for the universities to produce more scientists. Secondly, lack of resources created another problem.

¹⁰⁵ According to the 1968 UNESCO estimates, in Middle Africa the percentage of enrolment in science and technology declined from 42 per cent to 36 per cent in the period 1960-1965. See: Porter, “University Development in English-Speaking Africa”: 75.

¹⁰⁶ Porter, “African Universities: Our needs and Priorities”: 28. See also: Arthur T. Porter, “Crisis in African Education”, *East Africa Journal*, Vol. 5, No. 6 (June, 1968): 10.

¹⁰⁷ Yesufu (ed) *Creating the African University*, 3-4.

since it is the basic objective of all our striving.”¹⁰⁸ One thing African leaders were agreed upon was that the educational system they inherited from their colonial masters was unsuited to their requirements. Institutions of higher learning inherited European methods of pedagogy and derived research topics from outside Africa. On attainment of political independence, African leaders resolved: first, to train Africans who would take up those jobs that had previously been reserved for the white colonial administrators; second, to restructure the education system so that it became relevant to the African needs. President Nyerere in his policy document *Education for Self-Reliance* emphasized the need to destroy colonial education inherited by Tanzania and lay the foundation for a new education system that would respond to Tanzania’s needs as a nation.¹⁰⁹

What was the African leaders’ vision about an African university? To address this question adequately, we must consider a list of other questions once posed by Professor Bethwell Ogot about an African University in post-colonial Africa. Ogot asked: “Should it be a repository of western ideas and an enclave of neo-colonialism? What kind of research should it engage in? What should be its relations with the rural areas? What kind of co-operation should it have with African and other foreign institutions?”¹¹⁰ These are some of the questions African leaders such as: Julius Nyerere of Tanzania; Milton Obote from Uganda; Jomo Kenyatta from Kenya; Kenneth Kaunda from Zambia; Kwame

¹⁰⁸ President Kenyatta, Address during the Graduation Ceremony at Makerere University College, 26 March 1965. Cited in Jomo Kenyatta, *Suffering Without Bitterness. The Founding of the Kenya Nation* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1968), 270.

¹⁰⁹ Julius K. Nyerere, *Education for Self-Reliance* (Dar es Salaam: GP, 1967). See also: G. Aforka Nweke, “Political Education for Collective Self-Reliance”, in Abiola Irele (ed) *African Education and Identity: Proceedings of the 5th Session of the International Congress of African Studies held at Ibadan, December 1985* (London: Hans Zell, 1992), 236.

¹¹⁰ Bethwell A. Ogot, “University Co-operation: The East African Experience”, Key-note Address Given at the Fourth General Conference of the Association of African Universities, University of Khartoum, 6th – 9th December 1976, in Toyin Falola and E. S. Atieno Odhiambo (eds) *The Essays of Bethwell Allan Ogot. The Challenges of History and Leadership in Africa* (Trenton and Eritrea: Africa World Press, 2002), 600.

Nkrumah from Ghana and Nnamdi Azikiwe from Nigeria asked themselves. Their overall response was that unlike the colonial universities they had inherited from Europeans, an African university had to reflect an African character – not only in terms of student population but also in terms of its administrative and teaching staff, the curriculum, syllabus and the method of teaching and research.

Dr. Davidson Nicol, Principal of Fourah Bay College, and Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders, member of the Senate Committee at the University of London, met Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe in Cambridge in the early 1950s and asked him what he expected the University College in Ibadan to teach. His reply was that it must teach African history, African music, journalism, and linguistics. Seeing that Ibadan did not meet these needs, Dr. Azikiwe played an instrumental role in the establishment of the University of Nigeria at Nsukka and introduced these subjects. West African nationalists and politicians from Nigeria, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Sierra Leone, Senegal and Gambia argued that University education from the West was outmoded. Others even stated that Europeans promoted this form of education so that they could come to Africa and exploit minerals and other products while Africans learnt subjects like Latin, which were neither relevant nor contributed anything to Africa's development effort.¹¹¹

African leaders used different platforms to outline their vision about an African university in post-independence Africa. Speaking with specific reference to Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the country's first President, maintained:

It is important also that there should be no doubt whatsoever in our minds as to what is the role of a university in a developing country such as Ghana. The role of a university in a country like ours is to become the

¹¹¹ Davidson Nicol, "Politics, Nationalism, and Universities in Africa", Address Before a Joint Meeting of the Royal African Society and the Royal Commonwealth Society, 5 July 1962, *African Affairs*, Vol. LXII, No. 246 (January, 1963): 20-27.

academic focus of national life, reflecting the social, economic, cultural and political aspirations of the people. It must kindle national interests in the youth and uplift our citizens and free them from ignorance, superstition, and, may I add, indolence. A university does not exist in a vacuum or in outer space. It exists in the context of a society and it is there that it has its proper place.¹¹²

President Nkrumah's message was clear: a university that was despondent to the needs of the nation was not welcome in the new political dispensation. President Kenneth Kaunda concurred with President Nkrumah in stating: "The University should be part and parcel of the community it serves. . . the University must act as the custodian of the national heritage which it must help to create."¹¹³ African leaders such as President Nkrumah perceived a neo-colonial institution of higher learning as a threat to Africa's hard-fought independence.

Under the colonial rule, the main concern of the European administrators and academics was the maintenance of academic standards. Indigenous knowledge or input from the local communities was ignored. In President Nyerere's view there had to be a solid line of demarcation between a colonial and a post-colonial university. Addressing Makerere students during a Graduation Ceremony, President Nyerere launched a scathing attack on universities that promoted the stratification of society into 'the haves' and 'the have nots'. He stated:

The problems that beset our countries are many. But I want to mention one which is peculiar to our East African countries and which, I hope will not sound irrelevant to this occasion. One of the legacies of all bad systems, social and political, is the stratification of society into 'the haves' and 'have nots'. Whenever these divisions between 'the haves' and 'have nots'

¹¹² Kwame Nkrumah, "The Role of a University", Speech Delivered at a University Dinner, University of Ghana, Legon, 24 February 1963.

¹¹³ Cited by Aggrey S. Awori, "East African University Must be Africanized to help Create and Safeguard an East African National Heritage", *East Africa Journal*, Vol. 4, No. 8 (December, 1967): 15.

of society are wide, reform becomes imperative; and when this reform is resisted, or is not rapid enough, an explosion can be expected.¹¹⁴

Most national universities in Africa were established at a time when the spirit of nationalism had reached its apogee. Parallel to nationalism was the call for Pan-Africanism. Some African leaders looked to the national universities to assist them in promoting both ideas. Speaking at the inauguration ceremony of President Kaunda as the Chancellor of the University of Zambia, President Nyerere talked about the dilemma facing the Pan-Africanist in post-colonial Africa. On the one hand, the Pan-Africanist was expected to be conscious of and be loyal to Africa as a continent; on the other hand, he had to concern himself with the freedom and development of one of the nations of Africa. While conceding that this was a daunting task, President Nyerere strongly believed that the challenge was not insurmountable. Late in his address he outlined the role an African university could play in promoting Pan-Africanism:

I have not spoken of this dilemma facing the Pan-Africanist without regard to the occasion. I have deliberately chosen this subject because I believe that the members of this University, and of other universities in Africa, have a responsibility in this matter. We present leaders of Africa are grappling with the serious and urgent problems within our own states; and we have to deal with dangers from outside. The time available to us for serious thinking about the way forward to Pan-Africanism is limited in the extreme, and when we do take steps in this direction we are always assailed for 'wasting money on conferences' or being 'unrealistic' in our determination to build roads or railways to link our nations. Who is to keep us active in the struggle to convert nationalism to Pan-Africanism if it is not the staffs and students of our universities? Who is it who will have the time and ability to think out practical problems of achieving this goal of unification if it is not those who have an opportunity to think and learn without direct responsibility for day-to-day affairs?

And cannot these universities themselves move in this direction? Each of them has to serve the needs of its own nation, its own area, but has

¹¹⁴ Julius Nyerere, "Foreword", in J. E. Goldthorpe, *An African Elite: Makerere College Students 1922-1960* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1965). Extract from an Address to Makerere College on Graduation Day, 9 April 1962.

it not also to serve Africa? Why cannot we exchange students – have Tanzanians getting their degrees in Zambia as Zambians get their degrees in Tanzania? Why cannot we share expertise on particular subjects, and perhaps share certain services? Why cannot we do other things which link our intellectual life together indissolubly? These are not things only for governments to work out. Let the universities put proposals before our Governments, and then demand from us politicians a reasoned answer on the basis of African Unity if we do not agree!¹¹⁵

The overall vision of the Anglophone African leaders about national universities was that these institutions had to be Africanized in all respects, not just in terms of their physical location. President Milton Obote highlighted the advantages of teaching localized knowledge thus:

It is not possible to describe fully or to convey in words the importance of indigenous literature and works of art in the development of a young nation. The same is true in the case of the importance of the arts in regard to the daily lives of a people. Apart from the wonderful training which the study and practice of the arts provide, they crystallize the genius of a people and give an outlet to the creative faculty which resides within every human being.¹¹⁶

President Obote further argued that the Dark Continent would only be fully illuminated and reflected effectively by her sons and daughters possessed of the power of originality of expression. If the original force or power of imagination and expression were indigenous and applied to local conditions, the full meaning of that work of art would immediately be recognized even by the people who had never been to university before. Reflecting on his own experience, President Obote demonstrated how disadvantageous it was to imbibe the values of the West. He recalled a poem about daffodils he once studied when he was a student at Makerere. President Obote could not appreciate the poem because its theme was unfamiliar to him. As a result of this alien

¹¹⁵ Julius Nyerere, "The Dilemma of the Pan-Africanist" in *The Inaugural Lectures of the University of Zambia*, *Zambia Papers*, No. 2 (1967): 9.

theme he almost failed his examination. To ensure that other Ugandans did not fall prey to this kind of teaching, President Obote closed his speech by posing a rhetorical question: “May I expect that the Principal at Makerere University College will not continue to give us golden Shakespeare, golden Michaelangelo and golden Beethoven, but Rubadiri, Zirimu and Kakooza and other African writers, musicians and artists?”¹¹⁷

Having experienced colonial domination in politics and education, these African leaders approached higher education with caution. The fear that foreign intrusion into the educational system might compromise the independence of the new states was ever present. African leaders sought to ensure that this did not happen.

Speaking at the dissolution of the University of East Africa in 1970, President Kenyatta expressed his unshaken belief that a university has a major role to play in the development of a nation. He maintained: “The primary object of higher education in the difficult early years of a new country is to produce the technical and professional manpower needed to promote and control all aspects of development.”¹¹⁸

The call for African universities to refrain from being appendages of European academic institutions was not confined to those universities that were once under the ‘Special Relationship’ scheme with the university of London and other European universities. Speaking at the inauguration of Haile Selassie I University, Emperor Haile Selassie made a similar call:

We may pause briefly now to inquire why this university is being established, what goals it is seeking to achieve, what results we may expect of it, and what contributions it can reasonably be expected to make.

¹¹⁶ Milton Obote, “The Soul of a Nation: An Adaptation from a Speech Delivered to the Makerere Arts Festival in November 1968”, *East Africa Journal*, Vol. 6, No.1 (January, 1969): 5.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹¹⁸ Cited by Porter, “University Development in English-Speaking Africa”: 75.

A fundamental objective of the university must be the safeguarding and the developing of the culture of the people it serves. This university is a product of that culture; it is a community of those capable of understanding and using the accumulated heritage of the Ethiopian people. In this university men and women will work together to study the wellsprings of our culture, trace its development, and mold its future.¹¹⁹

The sources discussed thus far show that African leaders had a clear vision about the future of higher education in the African continent. There were specific tasks they expected national universities to perform. However, the idea of ‘an African vision’ about national institutions of higher learning should be treated with caution. While this idea was salient in the 1960s, not all African politicians embraced it. Some fervently believed that imbibing the values of the West would ensure that the revered high academic standards were maintained and that the degrees obtained from African universities were recognized in Europe and elsewhere. Thus, the response by Africans to Western education and their vision about African universities was not always the same. One of the aims of this study is to analyze these tensions.

It must also be mentioned that African universities were established at a time when the debate about regionalism and federation was at its zenith. East African politicians from Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika embraced federation or regional integration. They perceived a regional university as an instrument to bind them together and make autonomy from foreign control more feasible. However, in West Africa, regional consciousness within a single territory had a divisive effect. As discussed earlier, each region in Nigeria aspired to have its own university that would serve the interests of its microcosm. J. F. Ade Ajayi argues that regional competition left an indelible mark on the development of higher education in West Africa. Speaking with specific reference to

¹¹⁹ Emperor Haile Selassie, “An Address by the Emperor of Ethiopia at the Inauguration of Haile Selassie I

Nigeria, Ajayi holds: “In the decade of decolonization and intense regional rivalries, 1955-56, Universities were seen as vital factors in the long-term educational, economic and political power of the regions. While the Federal Government planned its second University for Lagos, each of the three regions sought to control its own University and use it as an instrument of regional development.”¹²⁰ These centripetal and centrifugal tendencies were in tension during the 1960s and they played themselves out in higher education.

This section has shown that the early 1960s marked a new epoch in the development of higher education in the African continent. Beginning with the two UNESCO conferences in 1961 and 1962, African politicians articulated their views and outlined their vision about institutions of higher learning in Africa. Having achieved (or being on the verge of achieving) political independence, these African politicians were determined to ensuring that African universities were not antithetical to the struggle for the consolidation of political independence. They believed that political independence would be incomplete if it were not accompanied by the freedom to control the education system through which high-level manpower would be produced.

What were the views of the people who were directly involved in teaching and in the administration of the Asquith Colleges and, later, post-colonial African universities? Did they share the views articulated by African politicians? Addressing these questions is particularly important because even if African politicians outlined their vision about African universities such a vision would not be accomplished if the people on the spot did not embrace it. The next section discusses the views expressed by the people on the

University”, in the *Voice of Ethiopia*, 18 December 1961.

¹²⁰ Ajayi, “Higher Education in Nigeria”: 421.

spot regarding the university as an educational institution anywhere in the world and with specific reference to Africa with a view to establishing whether or not African politicians and these scholars had the same vision about African universities.

1.5.2 *The People on the Spot*

The scholars discussed in this section worked at the University Colleges and/or at the national universities in post-colonial Africa in the 1960s. One of these scholars is Davidson Nicol, the first African Principal of Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone, who assumed this position following the College's achievement of independent status in 1960. In East Africa, the list of the people on the spot includes: William D. Lamont, Principal of Makerere College from 1946 to 1949; Bernard de Bunsen, who succeeded Lamont at Makerere University College, first as acting Principal in 1949, then as Principal from 1950 to 1963 when he became the Vice-Chancellor of the University of East Africa; Arthur T. Porter, the Principal of University College, Nairobi from 1964; D. P. S. Wasawo, who became his Deputy in April 1965; Cranford Pratt, the first Principal of the University College, Dar es Salaam; and Wilbert Chagula, lecturer in Anatomy at Makerere College Medical School in Uganda from 1955 to 1962, Registrar and Vice-Principal of the University College, Dar es Salaam between 1963 and 1965, and Principal of the University College Dar es Salaam from 1965 to 1970.

These scholars wrestled with a number of issues regarding the institutions in which they were working. Among the topics on which they articulated their views were the following: (i) the role of the university as an academic institution; (ii) the university's relationship with the society in which it is sited; (iii) the need for the Africanization of the

university in terms of staff, curriculum, syllabus and teaching and research methods; (iv) the university's linkages with the West; (v) academic freedom and university autonomy; and (vi) university planning in the new political environment of the 1960s. Each of these themes is discussed separately below with the aim of gauging the essence of the debates that emerged between different scholars on these issues.

(i) The Role of the University

Defining the role of the university was one of the major preoccupations of the people on the spot right from the moment the Asquith Colleges were established in Anglophone Africa. This theme was deemed important by these scholars because only after the role of the university had been defined could further decisions be made regarding the rest of the topics listed above. William Lamont identified two roles any university should play. First, that it should strive for the advancement of learning and dissemination of knowledge. Second, that it should concern itself with the training of young men and women for service in public and professional life. When the debate regarding the role of the university took center stage in the 1960s in the wake of the spirit of nationalism and independence, Lamont's successors echoed his views.

Arthur Porter was one of the first scholars in the 1960s to think aloud about the role of the university in a changing society. Porter argued that African universities, like universities anywhere in the world, should perform two basic functions: (i) they must transmit knowledge from one generation to another through effective teaching; and (ii) they must expand the existing body of knowledge through research.¹²¹ However, Porter

¹²¹ Porter, "African Universities: Our Needs and Our Priorities": 249. See also: Porter, "University Development in English-Speaking Africa": 75.

conceded that the role of the university could not be presented as a standard narrative because it is complex and contested. He demonstrated this complexity by discussing the dual role of the university. Porter argued that the university must be an institution of cultural change and, at the same time, be an institution of cultural preservation. He argued that a university in developing Africa “must on the one hand serve as an instrument for change according to a programme of national priorities determined by the decision-makers, and on the other hand, it must remain, like any true university, a centre of independent thought and critical inquiry.”¹²² In another article, Porter maintained:

In our view, the university in Africa today must be many-faced. It must be a *service* institution, like a public utility training individuals to meet high-level manpower needs, preparing broadly educated men and women for leadership in civic life and providing a general reservoir of informed talent. It must also be perceived by the outside world as an institution which contributes to the advancement of knowledge through the excellence of its scholarship and its research programmes. In short it must strive for international reputation. It must both serve the nation and still remain a member of the international community of scholarship.¹²³

The thrust of Porter’s argument was that the university is multi-faced; it has many identities that could be contested from time to time and from place to place. Secondly, given these multiple identities, the role of the university is multifaceted. This portrayal of the university meant that tensions between different constituencies could not be avoided.

One of the general assumptions in the 1960s, held mainly by African politicians, was that an African university had an obligation to serve the needs of its immediate society and those of the African continent in general. This was mainly because African societies hosted and funded universities. Yet the nature of the relationship between the university and the society was not always clear. This was in part because some

¹²² Porter, “African Universities: Our Needs and Our Priorities”: 250.

¹²³ Porter, “University Development in English-Speaking Africa”: 79.

constituencies defined the relationship with specific reference to an African university while others defined it in terms of the university as an institution anywhere in the world. The next sub-section looks at how the people on the spot addressed this conundrum.

(ii) *University Relations with the Society*

The relationship between the university and the society was another of the themes that preoccupied the mind of the scholars teaching and doing administrative work at the African universities. Key questions on this theme included the following: Would the university concern itself with the maintenance of international standards and ignore its immediate society when deciding on issues such as entrance requirements and degree structure? Would the university focus its attention on the teaching of pure knowledge, which did not solve the problems faced by the society in which it was sited? How much say would the society have on the functioning of the university in terms of administration and teaching? The people on the spot grappled with these questions.

Speaking with specific reference to East Africa, William Lamont stated that it was the responsibility of the university to provide the society with the necessary manpower. Lamont cited the training of teachers for secondary schools, and for the medical, veterinary, and agricultural professions as a direct responsibility of the university. He perceived this training of teachers as reciprocating because the society hosted and financed the university; in his view, the university had a moral obligation to respond to societal needs. Arthur Porter espoused the same view. He argued that universities should serve their societies, contributing in a meaningful and direct way to the social and economic problems of their countries and the African continent as a whole. In Porter's

view, if the society faced a problem on health, politics, or religion, the university had to provide a solution. Unlike Lamont, Porter considered both the immediate and the broader societies.

Wasawo subscribed to the views articulated by Lamont and Porter but went on to argue that the task of the university was more than just producing manpower for the society. On the contrary, he reasoned, “. . . it is necessary not only to examine our own society and make some hard and realistic decisions on our social philosophy, but also to ensure that the kind of high level manpower we are producing is that which is going to be conscious and committed to the African philosophy.”¹²⁴ Wasawo’s view was that the university could not produce manpower in a dispassionate manner. He fervently believed that the university had to strive for the creation of a certain kind of society – one that was committed to an African social philosophy. Wasawo unabashedly stated that East Africa was ready to produce the desperately needed high-level manpower which would not only help the society in its development effort but contribute towards shaping the mentality of the society so that it appreciated and promoted an African philosophy. Wasawo stated: “We accept this charge and are continually conscious of it in the planning of our courses and in the organisation of the life of our students.”¹²⁵ According to Wasawo, producing high-level manpower had to be the short-term objective of the university – the long-term goal being the creation of a society that would embrace an African social philosophy.

De Bunsen did not subscribe to the portrayal of the university as the provider and the society as the receiver of services whereby the former determined the nature of the relationship. Instead, he called for a symbiotic relationship between the university and the

¹²⁴ D. P. S. Wasawo, “The Nation and The University”, *East Africa Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 5 (August, 1965): 4.

society. For the university to remain alive, responsive, and healthy, de Bunsen argued that its members had to study and comment on different aspects of societal activities. Likewise, the society had to freely criticize and applaud the university when necessary. De Bunsen further proposed that the society had to be involved in the administration of the university so that it could have a say in the preparation of the students who would return to serve it after completing their courses. In this regard, de Bunsen applauded Makerere University College for adopting British practices which aimed at strengthening the relationship between the university and the society. He stated: "I believe the practice of the civic universities of England, which we have adopted at Makerere, in having governing councils with a small majority of laymen drawn from the public or local government is a right one. Such councils are in miniature meeting grounds of academics and the public."¹²⁶ In de Bunsen's view, if the relationship between the university and the society was to be sustained and improved, the two constituencies had to work jointly.

The views espoused by these scholars aimed at inculcating trust between the university and the society. However, there were subtle tensions in the views articulated by these scholars. How much influence would the society have on the university? Would the students humbly submit to the university to train them to become its agents that would lead the society towards a specific direction as Wasawo suggested? Would the university have its immediate society as the main focus or would it consider the broader African society and, by extension, the global society? To what extent would an African university be influenced by the broad theoretical assumptions about the nature of the relationship between the university and the society? These were some of the contentious

¹²⁵ Ibid.,5.

issues the people on the spot could not resolve completely. Thus the potential for tensions remained real.

Another area that became the locus of the tensions between different interested parties was the question of the Africanization of the university in terms of the curriculum, syllabus, teaching and research methods, administrative staff, faculty and culture in general. The surveys discussed earlier in this Chapter revealed that Africanization became one of the contentious issues once University Colleges had been established in different parts of Africa. The University of East Africa faced this problem soon after it was constituted. The next sub-section discusses the views articulated by the people on the spot regarding Africanization as a theme in African higher education.

(iii) *Africanization*

For African universities to be able to serve their societies adequately, the faculty and administrators argued that these universities had to be Africanized. These scholars believed that unless the university trained its students on how to tackle practical societal problems obtaining in Africa it would be perceived by the society as an ivory tower. Similarly, a university that looked at African health problems, religions, cultures and political institutions through the Western lens made itself vulnerable to criticisms. It was in this context that the people on the spot espoused the idea of Africanizing the universities.

Arthur Porter argued that one way of making African education at all levels a genuine preparation for African needs was through a rigorous program of Africanization

¹²⁶ Bernard de Bunsen, "University Freedom", in Eric Lucas (ed), *What is Freedom?* (London: Oxford UP, 1963), 6.

of content material as well as of teaching personnel. In Porter's view, this would achieve two objectives. First, it would ensure that the university was not estranged from its society. Second, it would enable the students to adjust easily to the university and, later, enhance their effectiveness when they returned to serve their societies.

Pratt shared Porter's views, intimating that failure to replace expatriate staff and Western curriculum in African universities was a disservice to the students in many ways. Expatriate staff used examples from the metropolitan countries. African students could not easily grasp such content and this had a great impact on the students' overall academic performance. Secondly, the promotion of Western research topics did not arouse students' interest in doing research on topics that were pertinent to Africa. This minimized students' contribution to their societies. Pratt regretted that research and writing of his colleagues at the University College, Dar es Salaam was on topics that were far from modern Africa. One of his colleagues was doing research on Shakespeare. Another one had written a book on the history of political theory. In Pratt's view, such research, though good in terms of broadening the student's mind, did not help him appreciate his African continent.

The rationale for espousing these views was elegantly articulated by these scholars. Yet the problem was that Africanization was discussed simultaneously with the question of whether or not to sustain ties with the West. There were tensions between giving African universities an African outlook in terms of staff and filling these universities up with expatriate staff on the grounds that the latter already had vast experience in teaching and university administration. There were a number of embedded questions in this regard: Would it be possible to run African universities using Western

practices and notions of a university and still achieve the goal of Africanization? Would the expatriate faculty be willing and, if so, be able to use local examples in their teaching and research? To what extent would the African faculty most of whom had received their training from Western universities embrace the idea of Africanization? These questions made tensions on the issue of Africanization inevitable. The next sub-section looks at how the debate regarding the relationship between Africa and the West compounded the problem of Africanization.

(iv) *Linkages with the West*

The relationship between African universities and the West was the locus of a number of tensions. There were two parallel arguments articulated by different constituencies, including the people on the spot. First, that African universities had to reflect an African character. Second, that African universities, like their counterparts anywhere in the world, had to subscribe to internationally accepted practices – be it with regard to admission policy (including entrance requirements) or degree structure. These opposing views meant that African universities had to be simultaneously different from and similar to other universities elsewhere. There were already inherent tensions in these positions. The scholars who had first-hand experience with early African universities grappled with this conundrum at different moments.

Lamont set the tone in 1948 when he stated that university education in East Africa, however unique it may be in certain details, “must clearly conform to the substantial requirements of university education elsewhere.”¹²⁷ An African university

¹²⁷ William D. Lamont, “The Essentials of University Education in East Africa”, Lecture delivered to the Uganda Society on 29th November 1948, *Makerere*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (December, 1948): 9.

envisioned by Lamont had to epitomize universities anywhere in the world. In other words, for Lamont, there had to be a relationship between an African and a Western university. However, Lamont further argued that naturally, a university could not rely on outside guidance to disseminate knowledge. Instead, “it must fall back upon its own depth and breadth of vision, upon its own grasp of the ideal of which it is itself the custodian. If its own vision and wisdom fail, then its enterprise will languish until the vision returns. If the light within it be darkness, then will that be darkness indeed.”¹²⁸ The essence of Lamont’s second view was that it was the task of each and every university to decide on a *modus operandi* that would enable it to fulfill its own vision.

The conspicuous tensions in Lamont’s submissions can also be gleaned from Porter’s argument. Porter suggested that African universities needed a rigorous program of Africanization of content material and of teaching personnel. Yet he conceded a role for experts from outside Africa, arguing: “It seems to me therefore that the University of East Africa and its constituent Colleges need expert professional advice on the form and content of a full plan of co-ordination so that they may provide each country with the trained manpower necessary to permit the most effective leadership.”¹²⁹ According to Porter, although the University of East Africa had to portray an African outlook, it could not abruptly cut ties with the West, which already had vast experience on university affairs. Porter sustained this view in another article where he addressed this theme with reference to Africa in general. He reasoned: “much help is still required from outside by men and women ready and willing to put their skills at the disposal of Africa.”¹³⁰

¹²⁸ Lamont, “The Essentials of University Education in East Africa”: 14.

¹²⁹ Porter, “African Universities in Transition”: 28.

¹³⁰ Porter, “African Universities: Our Needs and Our Priorities”: 251.

De Bunsen's observation of post-World War II developments in African higher education led him to two conclusions: one, that there was much to be gained by continuing the ties with the West; and second, that the new faculty should continue to be trained abroad. De Bunsen's rationale for these positions was twofold. First, he argued that African students had to get exposure and experience different from the one to which they were accustomed in their home institutions. Second, sending students abroad for post-graduate study would ensure that there was continuity between what the expatriate staff had started at the University Colleges and what the young African scholars would teach once they had finished their courses abroad. When the University of East Africa was established two years later, however, most African politicians and faculty did not share de Bunsen's views. They believed that political independence had empowered them to take charge of their own affairs, both on political matters and on education. In their view, Africanization had to be the main priority within the University.

This section has demonstrated that the faculty and administrators on the ground wrestled with the issue of finding an identity for an African university in a changing political climate. Their views were guided by the following questions: Could an African university be *totally* divorced from the West? Was it supposed to be tied to Western universities lock, stock and barrel? The people on the spot came to the conclusion that the African university had many identities: a local identity and an international identity. For this reason it had to be African on the one hand, and international on the other. Deciding on how much emphasis could be put on each of the two adversarial positions caused tensions between different constituencies.

As the discussion in this section has shown, the call for continued relationship with Western universities was sometimes made on pragmatic grounds; Africa lacked experience with university teaching and administration and therefore stood to benefit from linkages with the West. Chapter 4 of the present study shows that when the University of East Africa was established, the question of experience became the locus of the tensions between different interested parties. Even after some African scholars had acquired the necessary qualifications to teach at and to fill the University's different administrative posts they were denied such leadership positions by the expatriate staff on the grounds that they still lacked the necessary experience.

Another site where tensions were located was on the question of academic freedom and university autonomy. Given that any freedom has its limitations, how much freedom could the university's staff and students enjoy? To what extent could the university be autonomous from the state? What would be the nature of the relationship between the state and the university? These are some of the key questions the people on the spot grappled with.

(v) Academic Freedom and University Autonomy

The concepts 'academic freedom' and 'university autonomy' can easily be misconstrued. Yet they are the verve and nerve of the university as an institution; they determine the nature of the relationship between the university and the state and/or the society in which it exists. This section discusses the views of the people on the spot regarding these contentious concepts with a view to introducing one of the many sites in which the tensions regarding the University of East Africa was located.

When these two themes were discussed, the main issues included the following: first, understanding the concepts in their general usage in the West; second, ascertaining the feasibility of applying these broad conceptions to the African context; and third, identifying the uses and abuses of these concepts by university administrators, faculty and students and the possible repercussions thereof.

One of the first questions the people on the spot wrestled with was establishing whether there was a need for the university to be free in the first place. Lamont reasoned: “it is the consciousness of this heavy responsibility for keeping alive the love of learning and devotion to truth which makes the universities so jealous of their freedom, so resolute to defend the right of their teachers to probe and question beliefs ordinarily taken for granted, to search the universe and to report what they see.”¹³¹ In Lamont’s view, universities needed freedom in order to be able to perform their teaching and research duties.

De Bunsen concurred with Lamont and addressed the above question as follows: “Here I think we reach the heart of the matter. The justification for the freedom of the university is that it has a special and distinctive role to play in society, a distinctive *duty* which is concerned not only with the numbers of trained professional men it may send into society, important as that is, but with the cultivation of independent minds leading to free inquiry and to the free discrimination of its results in society through teaching and publication.”¹³² De Bunsen argued that the state and the society should allow universities to perform their task of cultivating independent minds uninterrupted.

¹³¹ Lamont, “The Essentials of University Education in East Africa”: 14.

¹³² De Bunsen, “University Freedom”, 5.

However, in de Bunsen's view, it would be inappropriate to give the university boundless freedom. He argued that university freedom had to operate within certain parameters. De Bunsen espoused the view that for universities to perform their tasks well they needed "constant prodding from without and self-criticism from within."¹³³ In his view, this would deter the university from abusing its freedom. Thus, de Bunsen expected universities to be free to perform their tasks in society but also felt that they had to be subjected to scrutiny by other constituencies such as the state and the society. To this end, he sounded a warning: "Let us beware of hoisting the flag of university *Uhuru* if it is a symbol of immunity from public criticism or pressures. University societies can easily go to sleep and become self-satisfied corporations."¹³⁴

Pratt tackled the relationship between the state and the university. He argued that this relationship is shaped by a number of factors such as trust and respect held by members of each institution of each other. Pratt argued that the teaching staff at Makerere was well-positioned to comment on the functioning of different Ugandan government departments. He invoked Professor Edward Shil's view that men respond both to the encouragement and to the criticism of people whose judgement they respect. According to this trajectory, politicians in government and senior civil servants are likely to give an audience to those they accept as intellectual equals – especially if they are in easy and frequent contact with them. Chapter 4 of the present study demonstrates that the relationship between the states in East Africa and the Federal University was not constant. The sustenance of this relationship was determined by a confluence of factors, including the manner in which the students expressed their concerns on a variety of issues

¹³³ Ibid., 5-6.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 6.

in which the state was involved, and the pace at which the administrative staff at the University's central office or at its constituent colleges implemented the Africanization of the University.

In their quest for an identity, African universities in the 1960s wrestled with the question of whether to subscribe to the Western notions of academic freedom and university autonomy or to modify these concepts so that they could fit the African context. De Bunsen's contribution to this debate was the following:

The new nations of Africa on the other hand are faced with situations of infinitely greater urgency in their political and social development and in their economies and if there is to be similar mutual understanding and co-operation there must be more conscious effort to knit the concerns of the university with those of the nation. The university on its side needs to appreciate the very real problems facing the governments. Similarly there is need for appreciation by the public that only a free university can truly serve its need.¹³⁵

De Bunsen alluded to the fact that Western notions of academic freedom and university autonomy could not be applied to Africa in their pure form. Africa's political, social and economic circumstances ruled out the possibility of pure transplantation. While it was necessary for African universities to be granted freedom by the public and by the state, these universities had to consider the realities of the African continent and respond to them intuitively instead of adhering dogmatically to the general notions of academic freedom and university autonomy.

Wilbert Chagula shared de Bunsen's views. Chagula addressed academic freedom and university autonomy with specific reference to East Africa, drawing a distinction between theory and practice regarding these concepts. Chagula stated *inter alia*:

. . . . Universities and Colleges in most developing countries in general, and the University Colleges in East Africa, in particular, still have a

¹³⁵ Ibid., 4.

predominance of expatriate academic staff some of whom may still hold views on university autonomy and academic freedom which are either strange or totally inapplicable to East Africa. Because of this, and since the governments of all developing countries look up to their universities and university colleges for guidance, advice and, in some cases, direction in the various matters relating to the very intricate and multi-disciplinary problems of development, it is not surprising that in several African countries, in recent times, there have been sharp clashes and misunderstanding between politicians, on the one hand, and the university academics, on the other, some of whose ideas on university autonomy and academic freedom are not in keeping with the stark realities, needs and aspirations of these rapidly developing countries.¹³⁶

In Chagula's view, arguments about academic freedom and university autonomy had to consider different social, economic and political situations obtaining in different continents and in different countries. In a separate article Chagula analyzed the relationship between the university and the government in East Africa. He maintained that University Colleges in East Africa received close scrutiny from the politicians, both from the angle of what they spent and how they spent the money each year balanced against the value of what they produced for the public as well as against the urgent needs of other development projects or social programs for finance. Chagula then concluded: “. . . the traditional western concepts of academic freedom and university autonomy cannot take root in and are totally unsuitable to East Africa.”¹³⁷ Chagula's submission was in line with the political mood in the 1960s. In his view, if it was wrong for the national universities to emulate European institutions of higher education, it was equally wrong to apply Western concepts to East Africa in their pure form.

¹³⁶ Wilbert K. Chagula, “Academic Freedom and University Autonomy in the Economic, Social and Political Context of East Africa”, Presidential Lecture Delivered at the 5th Symposium of the East African Academy, Nairobi, 8 September 1967.

¹³⁷ Wilbert K. Chagula, *The Economics and Politics of Higher Education and Research in East Africa*, the Fourth Foundation Lecture, 16 September 1968, Dar es Salaam (Nairobi: The East African Academy, 1968), 15.

As the discussion in this sub-section has shown, the faculty and administrators expressed three somewhat conflicting views. First, that for any university to be able to perform its duties it needed freedom to make its own decisions on how it would perform such duties. Second, that it was impossible for universities to be granted boundless freedom. Third, that universal definitions of academic freedom and university autonomy could not be transplanted to Africa because the social, economic and political environment was different from that obtaining in the West. These conflicting views are pertinent to the current study because in the East African case study there were proponents of each of them. This became the germ for tensions between different constituencies such as the state, the society, university administrators, faculty and the students.

The precautions made by the people on the spot could not be effective unless they were translated into policy. This realization inspired the people on the spot to comment on various issues which they felt the planners of African higher education had to take into consideration.

(vi) *The Planning Process*

African universities needed thorough planning if they were to develop into credible institutions of academic excellence. There was consensus between different constituencies on this need, both among Africans and between Africans and their European counterparts. Where tensions occurred was on the method and content of that planning. Would African universities be planned with eyes on Europe or would Africa be the main focus? In other words, would these new institutions become 'African

universities' portraying an African outlook or would they be 'universities in Africa' not different from those in Europe? Would African indigenous cultures, forms of knowledge transmission (such as oral histories), languages, religions and healing methods be considered in planning the life of the university? These are some of the crucial questions that preoccupied African politicians and scholars in the 1960s. This section explores how the people on the spot addressed these concerns. Such a discussion will prepare our mindset for similar questions which arose with regard to the University of East Africa.

Porter maintained that one of the many tasks education planners in Africa were faced with was to find a way of making institutions of higher learning fit local needs and purposes without necessarily losing their identity as universities. In his view, education planners had to be mindful of the fact that the university has many identities, a local identity and an international one. Also, Porter warned education planners against rushing changes at African universities. He likened a university to any organism and stated that too drastic a transplantation or change could kill the organism. Porter made a call for the planners of African higher education to adopt a phase-in process that would allow for gradual development of these African institutions of higher learning. Further, Porter cautioned those working in African universities, both as administrators and as faculty, arguing that they had a dual role to play. They had to serve as instruments for change while also remaining promoters of independent thought. They had to maintain the delicate balance between civic involvement and academic freedom. The key issue, however, was for those occupying teaching and research positions to apply pure theory to concrete problems. According to Porter, approaching African higher education with this

mindset would ensure that African universities eventually became centers of academic excellence.

Porter conceded that there was a shortage of African teachers at the institutions of higher learning in East Africa and concurred with the view that more teachers had to be trained. However, he sounded a warning about incipient danger. In the laudable desire to increase the number of teachers, education planners ran the risk of establishing separate teacher education institutes divorced from the university. Such institutions, he cautioned, would compete with the university for students. Chapter 6 of the current study discusses how this problem played itself out with regard to the University of East Africa.

Pratt directed his advice to the African politicians and those entrusted with the task of interpreting statements made by political leaders and refining them into policy. He applauded the fact that President Kaunda, President Nyerere and many other African leaders were determined to better the lives of their people, in part by expanding higher education. Pratt went on to ask: “But what in detail does this mean? Is this a call for technical colleges and training schools in the guise of a university? Does it justify extensive state control? Does it imply large enrolments at lower standards or the high level training of comparatively few?”¹³⁸ Pratt raised these questions for the planners of African higher education but did not provide answers to them.

Pratt concurred with African politicians that the development of university faculties had to be closely related to the specific high-level manpower needs of the new governments. In his comparative study he concluded that developing countries in general had made grave errors with regard to the expansion of educational facilities. They

¹³⁸ R. Cranford Pratt, “University and State in Independent Africa Today”, *The Inaugural Lectures of the University of Zambia, Zambia Papers*, No. 2 (1967), 24.

sometimes produced more graduates in one field and very few in other fields. He cited Uruguay where students in the humanities, fine arts and law were ten times more than those in the technical and scientific fields. In Iran there were seven times the number of doctors as nurses. Pratt advised African leaders to learn from the experiences of some Asian and Latin American countries where there was an over-production of graduates. He proposed an educational system that went beyond the provision of specific talent aimed at already available positions. "If there is not to be an extra-ordinary inflexibility within the ranks of the trained manpower," he reasoned, "the graduate must be able to cope with a variety of possible, related responsibilities and must be equipped intellectually to carry much heavier and wider responsibilities later in his career. He must, therefore be educated rigorously and to some depth in one or several of the fundamental intellectual disciplines."¹³⁹

Time was one of the key variables guiding Pratt's advice to education planners regarding the development of African universities. He recalled that during his time as Principal of Dar es Salaam, he was preoccupied with the early recruitment of a sufficient number of Africans to give the college an effective rapport with the immediate society. He argued that this was no longer a pressing issue. The next preoccupation was to ensure that the quality of the work of the University did not drop. According to Pratt, a university which fails to recognize the role of time in its operation is bound to be criticized for being outmoded. Citing the experience of other developing countries, Pratt identified two reasons why standards had declined at the institution of higher education. Firstly, in many countries governments yielded to political pressures calling for an expansion of university facilities that did not take into consideration the university's

¹³⁹ Ibid., 25.

ability to cope with these numbers or the capability of the country's economy to absorb the graduates. Where this happened, there was low-spirited teaching, impoverished research, as well as frustrated and embittered students. Secondly, Pratt cautioned that declining quality could also occur at an African university quietly, surreptitiously, almost by stealth.¹⁴⁰ He maintained that this was common among academics working in African universities because they were lonely and had no one with whom they could share their views regarding teaching and research topics. Over time they might lose confidence in their work and, consequently, their enthusiasm might flag.

The people on the spot believed that if the planners of African higher education took all these precautions into serious consideration they would be able to produce institutions of high academic excellence and avoid some of the problems to which other countries from different continents had fallen prey. However, as demonstrated in the preceding pages, the views espoused by the people on the spot had inherent tensions. Thus, when the University of East Africa was established it still experienced most of the problems discussed in this section.

L. H. K. Goma, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Zambia from the late-1960s to the mid-1970s, revisited some of the issues discussed thus far. He reasoned:

No matter where they may be, universities are today subjected to considerable pressures, which may vary in their nature and severity from one country to another. . . . Among the most important of the pressures, in contemporary Africa, may be listed the following: the question of relevance and national needs; the pressure of student numbers; the crisis of finance; the dilemma of participatory democracy; and the unripe uncongenial, and sometimes risky environment.¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 28.

¹⁴¹ L. H. K. Goma, "The Pressures on A Developing University in Contemporary Africa", in L. P. Tembo (ed) *The African University: Issues and Perspectives, Part One Graduation Addresses, Zambian Papers*, No. 14 (1984), 9.

Under the topic: ‘Some Considerations on the Role of the African University in the Development of Africa,’ Goma identified three challenges: (i) the challenge of decolonising the mind; (ii) the challenge of rural development; and (iii) the challenge of the demand for high-level manpower.¹⁴² In another address, Goma pinpointed three predicaments of the university in post-colonial Africa: (i) the crisis of identity; (ii) the crisis of confidence and (iii) the quest for institutional integrity.¹⁴³ He argued that all these issues were important but difficult to address since the university is multi-faced.

Goma’s addresses encapsulate most of the problems referred to by a number of scholars who analyze post-colonial higher education in Africa. Like the post-colonial states, national universities had to de-colonize and redefine themselves, that is, look for a new identity. They had to be relevant to African needs by producing the most needed high-level manpower. They also had to define their relationship with the state. Lastly, they had to address the plight of Africa’s rural communities and thus fulfil their social function. The East African experience, especially Chapter 4, demonstrates that these were some of the pressing issues the University of East Africa had to wrestle with.

This section has shown that not only African political leaders were concerned about the role of the national universities in post-colonial Africa. The scholars who were directly involved in the actual teaching, research and administration of these institutions had their own views on a wide range of issues. Sometimes the two constituencies shared the same views. In other instances their views were antithetical to each other. One contentious issue was whether African universities had to subscribe blindly to the

¹⁴² L. H. K. Goma, “Some Considerations on the Role of the African University in the Development of Africa”, in L. P. Tembo (ed) *The African University: Issues and Perspectives, Part One Graduation Addresses, Zambian Papers*, No. 14 (1984), 1.

universal notions of a university as an institution or have a character of their own. As discussed above, there were conflicting opinions on such issues. Thus, the people on the spot could not resolve the tensions regarding the development of higher education in Africa.

For the past five decades African and Africanist scholars have been thinking and writing about African universities. What have been their views about these institutions? What have been their concerns? To what issues have they been addressing themselves? Finding answers to these questions is pertinent to the present study for two reasons. First, it demonstrates the tensions the academy has been grappling with for the past few decades regarding African higher education. Second, it provides the context in which the tensions that occurred with regard to the University of East Africa must be understood.

1.5.3 The Academy

There is vast literature on higher education in Africa emanating from African and foreign scholars over the past four to five decades. One aspect with which the academy has been preoccupied has been to define the role of the university as an institution – both generally and in a specified society. Secondly, authors have been articulating their views regarding the challenges faced by African universities in their quest for an identity. They have been writing about concepts like academic freedom and university autonomy. Thirdly, scholars have been commenting on a wide range of issues, including the Africanization of the universities. This section discusses each of these categories showing how the academy has tackled them, and spells out the tensions enshrined in each

¹⁴³ L. H. K. Goma, “The Predicament of the University in Africa”, in L. P. Tembo (ed) *The African University: Issues and Perspectives, Part One Graduation Addresses, Zambian Papers*, No. 14 (1984), 19.

category. This will foreground the current study since all these issues affected the University of East Africa at different moments in its history.

(i) *The Role of the University*

The first role of the university discussed by the academy is encapsulated in Robert Hutchins' definition of a university. He writes: "The best definition of a university that I have been able to think of is that it is a center of independent thought. It may be a good many other things as well; but, if it is not this, it has failed."¹⁴⁴ According to Hutchins, the university should serve as a center of critical independent inquiry, a view shared, among others, by Bethwell Ogot. The view espoused by these authors is that the university should be nonpartisan in its operation so that it can remain a credible educational institution of academic excellence.

The academy regards the production and transmission of knowledge as some of the key roles of the university. Ogot argues that traditionally, universities, whether in Africa or anywhere in the world, have three main functions: (i) they transmit knowledge and values from generation to generation through effective teaching; (ii) they discover new knowledge through research; and (iii) they serve their societies by participating in various forms of extension programs.¹⁴⁵ In Ogot's view, these extension programs serve as an avenue used by the university to transmit knowledge to the society.

The university as an institution must also serve as a cultural repository. Seymour Martin Lipset argues that the tasks of the universities in the underdeveloped countries are

¹⁴⁴ Robert M. Hutchins, *The Conflict in Education in a Democratic Society* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953), 10.

not fundamentally different from what they are in developed societies. Universities everywhere, he holds, have a responsibility to transmit the cultural heritage – the history, the scientific knowledge, the literature – of their society. Lipset, however, concedes that universities cannot afford to confine themselves to transmitting the cultures of their immediate society. Instead, they must also transmit the cultural heritage of the world of which their society is part. Thus, Lipset's submission is that the university has a dual role to play – one for its immediate society, and another for the world. According to Ogot, in its capacity as a cultural deposit, the university must constantly consolidate its relationship with the society whose cultures it is preserving and transmitting. Ogot reasons: "It therefore follows that the university as a social institution reflects, to a large extent, the social problems of the country in which it is established."¹⁴⁶

Development is another role of the university discussed by the academy. Authors argue that this role demands more commitment from the university. According to Ogot, for African universities to play a positive role in development they must recast themselves instead of reproducing archaic patterns that are not suitable to the needs of independence and the objectives of the contemporary world. Ogot further discusses the role of the university in development with a specific focus on poverty alleviation. He opines: "Put in simplistic and crude terms, I would say that poverty is the problem. Development is the issue. And I believe that education in all its forms (including university education) is the solution."¹⁴⁷ In Ogot's view, the development of the society

¹⁴⁵ Bethwell A. Ogot, "The Role of A University in the Development of National Unity and Consciousness", Key-Note Address to the Seminar for Members of Parliament, at Kisumu, on 19th February 1973, in Falola and Odhiambo (eds) *The Essays of Bethwell Allan Ogot*, 593.

¹⁴⁶ Iconoclastes (B. A. Ogot), "The University: Its Relevance and Legitimacy to the Community in East Africa", *East Africa Journal*, Vol. 5, No.12 (December, 1968): 7.

¹⁴⁷ Bethwell A. Ogot, *Building on the Indigenous. Selected Essays 1981-1998* (Kisumu: Anyange Press, 1999), 25.

in all spheres of life is the responsibility of the university, hence his submission that the university must be in constant contact with its immediate society. In his article, 'The University: Its Relevance and Legitimacy,' Ogot sees the university as an instrument of a social order and argues that it can never be neutral just teaching facts while the society is overwhelmed with problems which retard its development efforts. Gray Cowan, James O'Connell and David Scanlon support the view that the university is key to development. They argue that there is no other institution that can contribute to Africa's social and economic development more than the university.

These authors concur with one another that universities should play a profound role in solving the problems of the societies in which they exist. They argue that universities have to meet the needs of their immediate societies and those of the world, of which they are part. This dual role of the universities makes tensions inevitable between those who expect the immediate society to be the primary focus and the proponents of globalization. The academy has been grappling with these tensions. Some authors suggest tentative solutions without necessarily resolving the tensions or their potential.

Lipset suggests that universities must develop their own systems of operation otherwise they will become parasitic on the university systems of other countries and will thus be unable to cope with the tasks of national development.¹⁴⁸ According to Lipset's trajectory, universities must first and foremost be inward looking if they are to be of any relevance to their societies. Eric Ashby sounds a warning to universities that *always* resist change and to those that are *too* flexible. He argues that universities have to strike a balance between an adaptation which is too pliable and an adherence to tradition which is

¹⁴⁸ Seymour Martin Lipset, "University Students and Politics in Underdeveloped Countries", *Minerva*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Autumn, 1964): 15 and 17.

too inflexible. To achieve this balance, Ashby suggests that universities need to initiate and control their adaptation to society, not to allow it to be imposed on them from outside.¹⁴⁹ While cautioning universities about the dangers inherent in taking extremist positions, Ashby conceded that sometimes universities should take a defensive position against intrusion from outside.

The multi-faceted roles of the university discussed in this section show that the potential for tensions is ever present. When the University of East Africa was established, it could not be insulated from these tensions. As demonstrated in Chapter 4, while certain constituencies defined the University's role in terms of its immediate East African society, others had the macro-society of the world as their focus. Meanwhile, tensions became an ineluctable corollary.

There are a number of issues that have preoccupied the minds of the academy for many years regarding African higher education. The next sub-section discusses two of these issues and shows how the academy has been thinking and writing about them. Discussing these issues at this juncture will provide their history, reveal the tensions intrinsic in them and demonstrate the universality of the problems they create. This will provide the global context in which the East African experience should be understood.

(ii) *Academic Freedom and University Autonomy*

Academic freedom and *university autonomy* are some of the major issues the academy has been wrestling with for the past few decades. African and Africanist scholars discuss these concepts at two levels. First, they juxtapose Africa and the West and argue that the latter must not impose decisions regarding academic matters on African institutions of higher learning. Second, they discuss these concepts by focusing

¹⁴⁹ Ashby, *Adapting Universities to a Technological Society*, 1.

on the relationship between the state and the university within Africa. Commenting on the first level, Mazrui states that if the purpose of academic freedom is in part to create favourable conditions for intellectual activity, that purpose is compromised by the heavy Euro-centrism of the academic culture itself.¹⁵⁰ In Mazrui's view, as long as the balance of power between Africa and Europe is uneven, academic freedom remains a myth. Mazrui argues that academic freedom is up against a dual tyranny: (i) external tyranny – the Eurocentrism of academic culture – the degree to which the whole tradition of universities is so thoroughly saturated with European values, perspectives, and orientations; and (ii) a domestic tyranny – the temptations of power facing those in authority, the political tyranny of governments insensitive to some of the needs of educational institutions.¹⁵¹

Some authors argue that the twin concepts of academic freedom and university autonomy “are among the most important issues concerning the existence, mission and role of the university throughout the world.”¹⁵² Yet authors grapple with the meaning of these concepts. Ashby succinctly articulates inherent tensions in these concepts thus:

Academic freedom and university autonomy are emotive expressions. They include concepts which are essential to a university if it is to fulfil its function in society. They are visceral in the structure of academic man everywhere. Yet there is constant confusion about what the expressions really mean and how they are related to each other. They are sometimes regarded as synonyms, though it is a commonplace of history that an autonomous university can deny academic freedom to some of its members (. . .), and a university which is not autonomous can safeguard academic freedom.¹⁵³

¹⁵⁰ Ali Mazrui, “Academic Freedom in Africa: The Dual Tyranny”, *African Affairs*, Vol. 74, No. 297 (October, 1975): 394.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 393.

¹⁵² J. F. Ade Ajayi, L. K. H. Goma and G. A. Johnson, *The African Experience with Higher Education* (Athens: Ohio UP, 1996), 167.

¹⁵³ Ashby and Anderson, *Universities*, 290.

In Ashby's view, there is no universal meaning for these concepts. Consequently, the potential for tensions among the constituencies that use them is ever present.

Randi R. Balsvik writes: "In the academic world there are strong conventions regarding these issues even when they are not spelled out in characters of constitutions or have not been defined in courts of law."¹⁵⁴ Academic freedom and university autonomy immediately demonstrate centrifugal tendencies. It is imperative therefore to take a quick look at how the academy tackles each concept with a view to foregrounding our discussion on the University of East Africa regarding the usage of these concepts.

Academic Freedom

According to J. F. Ade Ajayi, L. K. H. Goma and G. A. Johnson, academic freedom refers to the immunities that must be enjoyed by the university teacher in his capacity as a professional so that he can execute his duties effectively. In their view, academic freedom is "the academic's right to freedom of thought and expression."¹⁵⁵ These authors argue that the academic must have freedom to think, do research, publish his findings and teach uninterrupted. Balsvik shares the same view, arguing that academic freedom is believed to be essential for teaching, learning, and research. Like these other authors, Eric Ashby has the university teacher(s) as his main focus. He defines academic freedom as *de facto* control of the following functions by the university's academic staff: (i) the admission and examination of students; (ii) the curricula for courses of study; (iii) the appointment and tenure of office of academic staff; and (iv) the allocation of income

¹⁵⁴ Randi Ronning Balsvik, *Haile Selassie's Students: The Intellectual and Social Background to Revolution, 1952-1977* (Michigan: African Studies Center in Cooperation with the Norwegian Council of Science and the Humanities, 1985), 25-26.

¹⁵⁵ Ajayi, Goma and Johnson, *The African Experience with Higher Education*, 242.

among the different categories of expenditure.¹⁵⁶ These authors concur with one another that academic freedom has a narrow focus: the academic or the university teacher. They do not extend this freedom to the university's administrators or to the students.

What is the origin of academic freedom? Balsvik traces the history of academic freedom to nineteenth-century Germany where the term *Lehrfreiheit* meant the privilege of the teacher, and *Lernfreiheit*, the privilege of the student and researcher. The idea entailed in these concepts, he maintains, was that teachers and students ought to be free to teach and learn what and how they wish. Balsvik concedes that the definition of academic freedom has become more complex since the German usage. He attributes this complexity to the broadening and multiple interpretations of this concept. Mohamed Hyder attributes this complexity to the relative nature of the concept's definition. He writes: "After all, 'academic freedom' is a conditioned relativity rather than an absolute entity. It is for the university to condition the state and the public to accept its own concept of academic freedom."¹⁵⁷ These submissions put it beyond doubt that the usage of this concept is contentious.

For Hyder, the tension between the universal and the local usage of the concept 'academic freedom' is another locus of the problem. He cautions: "Parading the banner of academic freedom in its most obviously foreign form and without even attempting to give it local frills, is only doing damage to the justifiable core of the concept. . . . emotional

¹⁵⁶ Eric Ashby, "Self-Government in Modern British Universities", *Science and Freedom*, Vol. VII, No. 7 (December, 1956): 6.

¹⁵⁷ Mohamed Hyder, "The University, The Government and National Development in Kenya", *East Africa Journal*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (April, 1970): 8.

excitement over an uncritically examined issue of 'academic freedom' becomes a diversionary irrelevancy."¹⁵⁸

Sometimes the literature on academic freedom and university autonomy (discussed below) is confusing. The authors discussed above distinguish between the two concepts. Others draw no clear distinction between the meanings. Mazrui writes:

The elements which add up to academic freedom include relative freedom for universities and similar institutions to determine for themselves what they are going to teach; who is going to do the teaching and to some extent, who is going to be taught. This involves autonomy to shape the curriculum and syllabus, relative freedom to recruit teachers, and some freedom to admit students by criteria chosen by universities. Then there is freedom of scholars to decide research priorities and research methods, to publish their research findings, and to publicize their intellectual positions. Finally, there is general freedom of expression for teachers and students as a necessary intellectual infra-structure for mental development and intellectual creativity.¹⁵⁹

Mazrui's submission blurs the meaning of academic freedom as defined above and the meaning of university autonomy discussed below. A similar conception of academic freedom can be gauged from Malcom Crawford's submission. According to Crawford, once the government has provided large sums of money to the university, it becomes extremely difficult for the university to resist government control. In Crawford's view, the university's inability to grant academic freedom to its staff and students is an inevitable corollary of lack of such freedom to the university as an institution. He writes: "It is axiomatic that a university must itself be free before it can grant much freedom to its staff and students."¹⁶⁰ Crawford's analysis leads him to the conclusion that political independence in Africa sounded death knells to academic freedom. Independent

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Mazrui, "Academic Freedom in Africa": 393.

¹⁶⁰ Malcom Crawford, "Government and the Universities in East Africa. 1 – On Academic Freedom in Africa", *Minerva*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (Spring, 1967): 376.

governments felt that it was safe for them to have complete control over all institutions if they were to consolidate their independence. Any institution that was outside their control was labeled ‘colonialist’ or ‘neo-colonialist’. In this context, universities were not supposed to make decisions flouting those of the government. Instead, they had to join hands with the government in implementing national plans. Post-colonial governments wanted to have a say on student admission, fees and adjustment of entry as well as examination standards. They were anxious to see more students being admitted to the university and more passing their examinations. Crawford argues that students’ financial insecurity and their dependence on the government jeopardized chances of promoting academic freedom in African universities. He writes:

To satisfy manpower requirements in their development plans, many governments wish to, and do, direct students into particular courses and give scholarships on an obligatory bonding basis or requirement to undertake national service. In these matters it is difficult to put across the idea of academic freedom to governments, especially if it appears to interfere with their wishes.¹⁶¹

Crawford’s analysis of academic freedom and the problems associated with its application is blurred with that of university autonomy, which other authors treat as a separate entity. This buttresses Ashby’s observation that some authors see academic freedom and university autonomy as synonyms. What does university autonomy entail?

University Autonomy

According to Ajayi, Goma and Johnson, university autonomy can be defined as “the freedom and independence of a university, as an institution, to make its own internal decisions, whatever its decision-making processes are with regard to academic affairs,

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 377.

faculty and student affairs, business affairs, and external affairs.”¹⁶² While academic freedom focuses on the academic staff, university autonomy has the institution as its focus. The literature on university autonomy shows that this concept is even more complex than academic freedom. Firstly, its universality is limited compared to that of academic freedom. According to Ashby, while academic freedom does not vary with latitude, race, politics, or creed, university autonomy does not always and everywhere assume the same pattern. Ashby argues that each and every nation needs to have some concordat between the state and the university to safeguard the autonomy of universities, and that in each nation the concordat is likely to be different from that obtaining elsewhere.¹⁶³ Balsvik shares Ashby’s views. He argues that university autonomy, or self-government, is much more ambiguous than academic freedom. This ambiguity, he holds, is caused in part by the fact that universities call for autonomy, yet most of them depend on the governments for their finances. In Balsvik’s view, an ideal situation would be for the universities to be autonomous in all respects – including financial independence.

Yet authors like Alexander Carr-Saunders allude to the fact that governments can continue financing universities and still respect the autonomy of those universities. Carr-Saunders writes: “About the relations between the governments on the one hand and the universities on the other, three questions can be asked. Have the former given to the latter adequate financial support; have they, when making grants, imposed conditions which are not compatible with university autonomy; have they acted in other ways which infringe autonomy?”¹⁶⁴ According to Carr-Saunders, as long as the state respects the university’s autonomy there is no harm in funding it. Ajayi, Goma and Johnson sustain

¹⁶² Ajayi, Goma and Johnson, *The African Experience with Higher Education*, 243.

¹⁶³ Ashby and Anderson, *Universities*, 321.

this view. They argue that autonomy protects the corporate rights of self-regulation which the state confers upon the university as an institution in the law setting it up. In other words, autonomy does not prevent the university from seeking financial support from the state nor does it forbid the latter from providing such support. These authors neither deny nor acknowledge the possible negative repercussions of such support.

There are two sets of tensions revealed by the discussion in this section. First, there are multiple conceptions of academic freedom and university autonomy; sometimes these concepts are defined independently of each other, in other instances their meanings are obscured. Second, the extent to which each concept can be protected without experiencing any ambiguity is not guaranteed. Thus, there is always a potential for tensions between different parties that use these concepts. Ajayi concedes that the confrontation between the state and the university can be minimized if the university searches for and finds its identity but it cannot be prevented altogether. Ajayi concludes: “There is always potential conflict between universities and political leaders. For the university is at once an ally of government in the production of skilled manpower and, at the same time, a critic of the status quo, in the search for a better society and the greater approximation to truth.”¹⁶⁵

When the university of East Africa was established, it was adversely affected by the tensions inherent in the usage of these concepts. The University was financed in part by the regional governments. Some politicians felt that these governments had the right to determine what happened inside the University. Other East African politicians and

¹⁶⁴ Carr-Saunders, *New Universities Overseas*, 190.

¹⁶⁵ J. F. A. Ajayi, “Towards an African Academic Community”, in Yesufu (ed) *Creating the African University*, 3-4.

scholars called for academic freedom and university autonomy. These tensions continued until the demise of the University of East Africa in 1970.

Another issue with which the academy has been preoccupied for decades is Africanization.

(iii) *Africanization*

The surveys discussed earlier in this Chapter show that the call for the Africanization of institutions of higher education was inspired by the spirit of nationalism and independence. Some African scholars and politicians argued that these institutions, like national governments, had to reflect an African outlook in terms of students, curriculum, syllabus, teaching and research methods, administrative staff and faculty. The academy has been thinking aloud on all these issues.

Okello Oculi holds the view that the movement urging Africanization had three aspects: (i) recognition or awakening to the need to Africanize; (ii) the rejection of both the context and content of a learning process which was constructed to serve the purposes of the colonial system – a process pervaded with the ideology of colonialism; and (iii) the product of the other two. Out of the consciousness which arose to reject what was there emerged a proposing mood. The rejection had to be replaced by African proposals aimed at serving the true African needs. Oculi describes the movement as assertive, rebellious, bold, optimistic and clinical.¹⁶⁶

Authors identify three areas in which Africanization was deemed necessary. These are: (i) staffing; (ii) curriculum and syllabus; and (iii) teaching methods.

¹⁶⁶ Okello Oculi, "East African Intellectuals", *East Africa Journal*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (March, 1968): 31-34.

With regard to staffing, authors argue that it was necessary for African scholars to replace expatriate staff at the universities. The rationale for this submission was provided *inter alia* by J. Ki-Zerbo who argued that without saying that only Africans can teach what is African, there is no doubt that they are more likely to appreciate African society and character than expatriates. In Ki-Zerbo's view Africanization had to be implemented on pragmatic grounds. On the question of time, William John Hanna argues that Africanization of university faculties began before independence but did not become a topical subject until soon after independence.

The literature on the Africanization of the curriculum and the syllabus shows that there were two sets of tensions. First, were African universities supposed to teach only those subjects that were taught in Western universities, subjects like Latin for example, or could they teach subjects like art, which were deemed relevant to Africa? Second, what would be the guiding principle for deciding on the content of those subjects? Would there be room for African innovation or were African universities supposed to draw solely from the Western experience? Authors like Ki-Zerbo and Ashby¹⁶⁷ agree that the syllabus had to be Africanized, except in cases like mathematics.

Method is considered by the academy as key to the Africanization process. Various authors argue that even after the curriculum and the syllabus have been Africanized, if the method of teaching remains foreign, the whole process is doomed to failure. Ki-Zerbo writes: "The saying goes that the manner of giving is more important

¹⁶⁷ Ashby, *African Universities and Western Traditions*, 54.

than what is given. Indeed, there can be no real Africanization of the curriculum without an effective adaptation of teaching methods.”¹⁶⁸

There are two parallel arguments in the academy from which tensions arise. First, authors perceive the university as a societal treasure wherever it exists. Given that societies are different, they suggest that universities must portray a local outlook in terms of staff and be innovative in terms of subject choices and content and with regard to teaching methods. Second, authors perceive the university as an international asset. The local and international dimensions of the university have centrifugal tendencies, thus leading to tensions. Alexander Kwapong writes: “No true university, however deeply committed it may be to its national preoccupations and local concerns, can today afford to ignore what has been called the ‘international dimension’ or to remain in isolation.”¹⁶⁹ The University of East Africa was established in the midst of these tensions. Naturally, it was caught up in these debates soon after its establishment.

Any change, or lack thereof, at African universities would willy-nilly impact on the students. What were the students’ views about African universities? What was their rationale for joining these institutions? The next section addresses these questions with a view to foregrounding students’ perceptions about the University of East Africa when it was constituted.

1.5.4 The Students

Students have been the agents of change in different parts of the world, including Africa. Some played a pivotal role in the struggle for political liberation and continued to

¹⁶⁸ J. Ki-Zerbo, “Africanization of Higher Education Curriculum”, in Yesufu (ed) *Creating the African University*, 22-25.

influence post-colonial policies. Hanna writes: “student demonstrators in Lagos, Nigeria, were instrumental in forcing their country to give up plans for a defense pact with the United Kingdom. Rioting students in Dakar, Senegal, created a governmental crisis which was only weathered by the use of military force. Student protests in the Sudan contributed to the 1964 downfall of the government.”¹⁷⁰ To what extent did African students demonstrate this kind of activism in challenging developments that took place at the Asquith Colleges and, later, at independent African universities? What did these institutions mean to them? These questions are addressed below.

Available literature from the 1960s suggests that given their status as “disproportionately elite in background,”¹⁷¹ “members of an elite in gestation,”¹⁷² or “an incipient elite destined to rule over their countries within the not too distant future,”¹⁷³ African university students had their own perceptions about African universities. Some of their perceptions were similar to and others were different from those of the African political leaders, the people on the spot, and the academy. Most students welcomed their new universities for a number of reasons: the buildings were impressive and the environment different from the one they were used to back home.¹⁷⁴ Those who studied in these institutions enjoyed the conferment of presumptive elite status upon them. They wore academic gowns with pride, the way their counterparts in European universities did.

¹⁶⁹ Alexander Kwabong, “Address to Congregation”: 88.

¹⁷⁰ Hanna, “Students, Universities, and Political Outcomes”, in Hanna et al. *University Students and African Politics*, 2. See also: Abdou Moumouni, *Education in Africa* (New York and Washington: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968), 92 and Lipset, “University Students and Politics in Underdeveloped Countries”: 18.

¹⁷¹ William John Hanna and Judith Lynne Hanna, “Students as Elites”, in Hanna et al. *University Students and African Politics*, 23.

¹⁷² James S. Coleman, “Introduction to Part III”, in James S. Coleman (ed) *Education and Political Development* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton UP, 1965), 353.

¹⁷³ Joel D. Barkan, *An African Dilemma: University Students, Development and Politics in Ghana, Tanzania and Uganda* (Nairobi: Oxford UP, 1975), xii.

Joel D. Barkan, in his survey conducted at Makerere between November 14 and December 1, 1966, discovered that at Makerere University College academic gowns were worn at all evening meals and special lectures, and each residential hall practiced the tradition of high table as in Britain. Barkan concluded: "Life at the College was thus heavily patterned after the English model of higher education."¹⁷⁵ Vincent Ike states that during the early years of University College, Ibadan students proudly referred to it as 'the University of London situated at Ibadan for the sake of convenience'.¹⁷⁶

The majority of the students held overseas tertiary institutions in high esteem and aspired to pursue their studies abroad than in their home institutions. Writing specifically on East Africa, O. W. Furley and T. Watson argue that it was inevitable for East Africans to aspire to travel abroad to pursue higher education at institutions like Oxford and Cambridge where many of the British colonial officials obtained their degrees. They write: "only by obtaining similar qualifications, it was thought, could the African stand up to the European socially and politically and compete for the same jobs."¹⁷⁷ When this primary goal could not be achieved, African students accepted the Asquith Colleges and expected them to assimilate Western practices: curricula, teaching methods and university life in general. This, they thought, would bring them on par with their European counterparts.¹⁷⁸

The literature covering the period from 1945 to the 1960s reveals that African students had high expectations about their universities. Like their political leaders, these

¹⁷⁴ J. E. Golthorpe's study in Uganda shows that some students were frustrated when they visited home during the holidays. They had to fetch water from afar and their homes had no electricity.

¹⁷⁵ Barkan, *An African Dilemma*, 10.

¹⁷⁶ Ike, *University Development in Africa*, 1.

¹⁷⁷ O. W. Furley and T. Watson, *A History of Education in East Africa* (New York, London and Lagos: NOK, 1978), 295.

¹⁷⁸ Goldthorpe, *An African Elite*, 20.

students aspired to Africanize the civil service, commercial institutions, and political institutions, including the government. They deduced that if they were to replace colonial administrators and if they were to compete with expatriates for jobs in the public and private sector, they needed qualifications that would make them competitive. Thus Nigerian medical students aspired to study abroad or have a local medical institution that would offer the same qualifications as the ones offered in Britain. The students' other reason for aspiring to study abroad was self-pride. In 1956, K. A. Busia wrote: 'a popular song already refers to 'been-tos, car-ful, frig-ful,' those who have been educated overseas and own cars and refrigerators, as being the most desirable husbands.'¹⁷⁹ It follows from this citation that African students perceived universities as a means to elevate their social status.

Two surveys, one conducted by J. E. Goldthorpe at Makerere College between 1951 and 1962, and another conducted by Dwaine Marvick at Fourah Bay College in the autumn of 1960 provide a tantalizing glimpse on how the students perceived their University Colleges. The East African case study revealed that "some students saw Makerere as the way to material and social rewards."¹⁸⁰ Responses to the question why the students went to study at Makerere included the following: 'I wanted to increase my knowledge and so get a better paid job'. To such students, Makerere was an answer to their material problems. An analysis of students who attended Makerere University College between 1958 and 1960, as shown in the table below, gives an idea as to what some of those 'better jobs' might be.

¹⁷⁹ Cited by in Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 54.

Table 1: Students at Makerere University College between 1958 and 1960

<i>Year</i>	<i>Medical</i>	<i>Agricultural</i>	<i>Veterinary</i>	<i>Education</i>
1958-9	101	50	37	78
1959-60	121	49	32	66
TOTAL	222	99	69	144

Source: J. E. Goldthorpe, *An African Elite* (1965), Appendix 1, 89.

As the above table demonstrates, only the 'medical' category shows an upward trend. The rest of the categories show a downward trend. Thus according to Goldthorpe's survey the medical profession lured more students who believed that leaving Makerere with a medical qualification would provide them the material rewards it was deemed to be having.

Yet, to the majority of the students, going to Makerere was only a stepping stone. Goldthorpe maintains that a great majority of the sample indicated that they hoped to travel abroad to further their studies after leaving Makerere. To these students Makerere was only a means to an end, not an end in itself.

Marvick's survey at Fourah Bay College demonstrates how West African students perceived their college both as a means for self-elevation and as an instrument to enable them to make the expatriate staff dispensable. Students aspired to become: diplomats, administrators, medical doctors, scientists, entrepreneurs, lawyers and civil servants. However, overall, about two thirds of all students indicated that they wanted to become secondary school teachers. Accounting for this bias, Marvick argues that teachers and civil servants were bound by scholarships and thus could not disappoint their sponsors, in

most cases the sponsor being the government.¹⁸¹ Marvick's survey reveals that most West African students perceived Fourah Bay College as an instrument they could use to fulfill their social, economic and political ambitions.

This section has shown that students' perception of the University Colleges was guided by personal and nation aspirations. Students' aspiration to study abroad had the same rationale. They would elevate themselves and at the same time Africanize different professions when they returned home after finishing their studies.

The views espoused by African politicians, the men on the spot, the academy, and the students about African universities lead to the following conclusions: first, that personal and national aspirations shaped one's perception of the university; second, that territorial and continental (the African continent) needs were not always the same therefore the aspirations sometimes differed; and third, that global and local definitions of concepts were sometimes adversative. These dichotomies created a fertile ground for tensions, some of which engulfed the University of East Africa a few years later.

1.6 A Focus on East Africa

This section provides a critique of the literature on higher education in East Africa as a justification for the present study. It begins by reviewing the works of authors who discuss the development of higher education in East Africa but do not necessarily have East Africa as their primary focus. Further, it reviews the works that focus on East Africa but discuss higher education as a sub-theme. Also, it reviews those sources whose

¹⁸¹ Dwaine Marvick, "African University Students: A Presumptive Elite", in Coleman (ed) *Education and Political Development*, 488.

primary focus is higher education in East Africa. Lastly, the section identifies the lacuna in the academy and spells out what the current study wants to accomplish.

Higher education in East Africa reached its climax with the establishment of the University of East Africa in 1963. While it lasted, the University of East Africa was “a hard-headed and realistic experiment in regional technical co-operation, as well as a dream in the tradition of Pan-East-Africanism.”¹⁸²

For the past five decades scholars have been thinking and writing about the development of education in East Africa. Yet none of these authors provides a comprehensive narrative about the University of East Africa.

Eric Ashby’s ambitious work, *Universities: British, Indian, African: A Study in the Ecology of Higher Education* (1966) locates the discussion on the development of higher education in East Africa into the wider context of the British policy on education since the end of the First World War. Ashby discusses the key documents through which the development of higher education in East Africa evolved. This is useful information to the reader but there are two problems with Ashby’s work. Firstly, he covers a very large ground. This forces him to move swiftly, leaving many questions unanswered. Secondly, his discussion ends with the passing of the 1962 University of East Africa Act by the East African Authority. Therefore, Ashby’s contribution is on the rise of the University of East Africa, not its operation, not the tensions surrounding the University’s history, and not the problems that led to its demise.

Apollos Nwauwa in his work *Imperialism, Academe & Nationalism: British University Education for Africans 1860-1960* (1996) discusses the development of higher

¹⁸² Ali A. Mazrui, *Political Values and the Educated Class in Africa* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978), 240.

education in the British colonies, including those in East Africa. One of the contributions of Nwauwa's work is that it shows how disturbances in the West Indies impacted upon other colonies in the British Empire. The work provides the political context in which the University of East Africa was established. But like Ashby, Nwauwa helps us understand how the University of East Africa came into being. His work is silent on territorial and inter-territorial tensions which dominated the life of the federal University.

J. F. Ade Ajayi, Lameck K. H. Goma and G. Ampah Johnson's work *The African Experience with Higher Education* (1996) provides valuable information regarding the origins of Makerere College, Royal Technical College and the University College at Dar es Salaam. Also, it provides the political context in which the 1932 Zanzibar Conference and the Currie sub-committee should be understood. However, this source is too broad, both in terms of scope and time. It covers Anglophone and Francophone Africa, Belgian Congo, apartheid South Africa as well as Liberia and Ethiopia. It examines the historical background of universities in these countries from the colonial period and discusses the issues faced by these universities in the 1990s. This broad focus prevents the three authors from providing a detailed discussion on any specific region. The book is silent on the University of East Africa.

Within East Africa, certain scholars tap into different moments in the history of the University of East Africa in order to elucidate certain points in their works. John Iliffe's work, *East African Doctors: A History of the Modern Profession* (1998) is "a collective biography of East African doctors, covering many aspects of the experience since Africans first practiced modern medicine in the region during the 1870s."¹⁸³ The

¹⁸³ John Iliffe, *East African Doctors: A History of the Modern Profession* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998), 1.

book focuses on the role played by East African doctors in the medical profession in East Africa. Iliffe makes reference to the University of East Africa but only begins the discussion in the 1950s when the Asquith Colleges were already operational. Iliffe's contribution to our understanding of the University of East Africa is that he demonstrates how nationalism impacted on the life of the University even before it was established. He holds that Tanganyika decided to open its college in 1961 and persuaded Wilbert Chagula, earmarked to be Makerere's first African Professor of Anatomy, to become first its Registrar and then its Principal. Iliffe follows this theme to 1966 when Njoroge Mungai, Kenya's Minister of Health, sought WHO assistance to open an undergraduate Medical School in Nairobi without consulting the University. This, he holds, put pressure on Uganda, "many of whose leaders already saw the federal University as retarding Makerere's development."¹⁸⁴ This observation highlights one important factor that contributed to the dissolution of the University of East Africa – nationalism.

However, Iliffe does not have the University of East Africa as his principal focus. His work is less helpful to readers who do not have background knowledge about this regional University.

The primary aim of Guy Hunter's work, *Education for A Developing Region: A Study in East Africa* (1963), is "to examine the opportunities for education and training which are open to East Africans in their own country, with some indication of the gaps and deficiencies which might be filled by sending students overseas."¹⁸⁵ Hunter's study analyzes education and training opportunities that were available in Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika on the eve (in the case of Kenya) or immediately after independence. The

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 126.

larger part of Hunter's work discusses primary and secondary education. His only mention of the University of East Africa is when he says that three University Colleges—Makerere, the Royal College and the University College of Dar-es-Salaam—together make up the University of East Africa. This source is helpful in analyzing the manpower needs in East Africa in the early 1960s but does little to help us understand the complex history of the University of East Africa.

In her work, *They Built for the Future: A Chronicle of Makerere University College, 1922-1962* (1964), Margaret Macpherson traces the history of Makerere College from its infant stages up to the eve of the establishment of the University of East Africa. This work is important as a background source but it is silent on the politics of the University of East Africa, both in the regional context and in the context of the history of the British Empire. Secondly, Macpherson's work is a case study of Uganda which does not discuss the development of the Royal Technical College and the University College, Dar es Salaam in any significant detail. The same critique goes for J. E. Goldthorpe's work, *An African Elite: Makerere College Students 1922-1960* as well as his dissertation, 'Makerere Students: Studies in the Social Origins and Formations of an Educated Elite,' on which the book is based. Goldthorpe has Makerere students as his primary focus and only makes reference to the University of East Africa in passing. He states that his book "represents an attempt to draw together the various studies which the writer carried out, while on the staff of Makerere College from 1951 to 1962, of former students and

¹⁸⁵ Guy Hunter, *Education for a Developing Region: A Study in East Africa* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1963), x.

students then at the College.”¹⁸⁶ The terminal point of his study is 1962, before the University of East Africa was established.

O. W. Furley and T. Watson have a promising title for their work: *A History of Education in East Africa* (1978) but this book too, provides very little information on the University of East Africa. Out of sixteen Chapters, only two (Chapters 14 and 15) are dedicated to the University. Even these two Chapters provide scanty information on the University. Chapter 14 swiftly addresses the development of Colleges in different parts of Africa, including Makerere in Uganda. The earlier Commission Reports (the Currie, De la Warr and the Asquith Reports) are mentioned in passing. Chapter 15, which looks specifically at the University of East Africa, is condensed. The two authors write: “The conception of the University of East Africa, along with the East African Common Services Organisation, symbolised the potentialities of a federalised East Africa, and many people will argue that its early breakup was a severe blow to the hopes of closer federation in all other fields.”¹⁸⁷ This citation provides a tantalizing glimpse of the political context in which the University of East Africa was established but no detail about that context is provided. Also, the Chapter makes quick references to the inequality that existed among the three constituent colleges but is quiet on the debates that took place in the national parliaments of the three countries, at the East Africa Legislative Assembly, and in the Senate and Council meetings regarding the meaning of inequality to the life of the University. This study provides the context and content of these debates.

Roger Southall’s work, *Federalism and Higher Education in East Africa* (1974) and Svein-Erik Rastad’s Masters thesis, ‘Issues of University Development in East

¹⁸⁶ Goldthorpe, *An African Elite*, viii.

¹⁸⁷ Furley and Watson, *A History of Education in East Africa*, 328.

Africa' (1972), both discuss the politics and the tensions surrounding the rise and fall of the University of East Africa. Roger Southall argues that the University of East Africa was part of the regional integration project. His argument is that the idea of establishing the East African Federation and the University of East Africa was inspired in part by economic factors. The East African economies were weak and this forced the region to pull its resources together. Each territory would develop separately once its economic position allowed it to do so. In Southall's view, the Federal University was "a tool whereby the political ambitions which argued for a university institution in each territory could be reconciled with the economic capabilities of the region; and once the colleges had matured to a level consonant with independent status, and the East African economies could withstand the burden, the Federal University would be succeeded by three full universities."¹⁸⁸ Southall further argues that political and educational federalism were related but somehow different. The ultimate aim of political federation was permanent integration, which, if successful, would result into an eternal loss of sovereignty for each territory of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika. The act of federating the University on the other hand was not intended to be irrevocable. The University's ultimate objective was to disintegrate once it had reached a sufficient state of maturity.¹⁸⁹

Southall's work provides the economic and political context in which the University of East Africa was established. Also, it discusses the role played by independence in the failure of regional integration in East Africa. But Southall only discusses isolated cases where tensions occurred between the different territories in the region. His work is silent on the tensions that occurred within each territory and those

¹⁸⁸ Roger Southall, *Federalism and Higher Education in East Africa* (Nairobi: East Africa Publishing House, 1974), 51.

that occurred between the British government and its Governors in East Africa during the developmental stages of the University. Secondly, Southall does not focus solely on the University of East Africa. His book is about regional integration in East Africa in its broad sense. The current study has the University of East Africa as its focus. It shifts the goalpost by exploring tensions that occurred at different times and between different constituencies regarding the University of East Africa.

Rastad's thesis is a study of the origins of the University of East Africa based on a summary of the key recommendations made in various reports from 1925 to 1962. Rastad refers to the political context in which the idea of establishing the University of East Africa was conceived. Although he first argues that there was a connection between political federation and federation in higher education in East Africa (more especially in the early 1960s), later, however, he emphasizes the influence of London on higher education in East Africa.¹⁹⁰

Rastad does not discuss the tensions surrounding the establishment of the University of East Africa. Even the political context he refers to is not developed in his thesis. Instead, he spends most of his time demonstrating how the six objectives of higher education¹⁹¹ identified by the first British policy document on education in Africa operated.

Thus, while Southall and Rastad's works illuminate our understanding of the history of the University of East Africa, they provide no continuous narrative, and

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 69.

¹⁹⁰ Svein-Erik, Rastad, "Issues of University Development in East Africa", M A Thesis, U. O. N., 1972, 350.

¹⁹¹ These objectives are: adaptation, standards, moral training, vocational training, elite recruitment, and expansion. For details see: Education Policy in British Tropical Africa: Memorandum Submitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies by the Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies (1925). Cmd 2374.

therefore no history of the University of East Africa. It is the aim of the present study to fill that lacuna.

Higher education has been one of Bethwell Ogot's concerns for many years. In his work, *Reintroducing Man into the African World: Selected Essays, 1961-1980*, he provides the skeleton of the University of East Africa. He divides the history of this institution into three phases: (i) the period from 1938 to 1964 when the concept of a unitary University of East Africa considered in the context of other types of inter-territorial co-operation was the colonial ideal; (ii) the period from June 29, 1963 to June 30, 1970 which is the lifespan of the Federal University of East Africa that was owned and run by the three independent states in the region; and (iii) the period from July 1, 1970 when the University ceased to exist and gave birth to three national universities that were established in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. This periodization identifies key moments in the history of the University. Yet Ogot does not discuss these phases. He only provides the dates as signposts.

The critique of the literature on higher education leads to the conclusion that there is a need for a comprehensive study of the University of East Africa. The aim of the present study is to fill this void by doing two things. First, it provides a detailed narrative of the University of East Africa from its infant stages up to its inauguration. Second, and most importantly, it explores the tensions within the history of this institution. These tensions occurred between the British government and its appointees in East Africa; between British authorities and East Africans; between East African territories; and between different constituencies within each territory in East Africa. In a nutshell, the

present study is an exploration of the political factor in the rise and fall of the University of East Africa.

1.7 Method

Webster's New Unabridged Dictionary and *Longman Dictionary* define *method* as 'a way or manner of doing'. *Methodology* on the other hand is, according to *Longman Dictionary*, 'the set of methods used for study or action in a particular subject'. Following these definitions, this section introduces the method or mode of operation used in the present study in order to achieve the above-mentioned aims. The current study analyzes a wide range of documents that talk about the University of East Africa. These documents are the following: (i) *Reports*: Commission reports, reports by Working Parties, newspaper reports and reports by special committees; (ii) *Debates*: Parliamentary debates in Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and Britain; and debates at the East Africa Legislative Assembly; (iii) *Acts*: Parliamentary Acts and University Acts; (iv) *Letters*: Correspondence between different individuals and institutions regarding the University of East Africa and/or its constituent colleges; (v) *Minutes*: Minutes of the meetings of the Academic Boards, University Councils, and Senate Committees at the constituent colleges and at the Central Office of the University of east Africa. By analyzing these documents, the present study traces the rationale for establishing the University of East Africa; identifies the reasons that led to the University's dissolution in 1970 and demonstrates the relevance of the East African experience to contemporary Africa.

PART II

THE RISE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF EAST AFRICA

CHAPTER 2

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF EAST AFRICA, 1937-1963

In writing a general history of a university, one invariably espies intriguing topics which cannot adequately be followed up in a work of that nature.

Howard Phillips, 'Tunnel Vision and the Error of Parallax: Cape Town's Views of the University of Cape Town, 1918-1948,' *History of Universities*, Vol. XIII, 1994

The objective of political federation had the ultimate aim of permanent integration; if successful, it would involve an eternal loss of sovereignty. On the other hand the University had the ultimate objective of disintegration when it had reached a sufficient state of maturation. In other words, the act of federating the University was not intended to be irrevocable, and Obote was able to foresee a time when he could quite feasibly withdraw Makerere from the University while acting quite consistently with the principles on which it was based.

Roger Southall, *Federalism and Higher Education in East Africa*, 1974

Introduction

The establishment of the University of East Africa (hereinafter referred to as the U. E. A. or the University) was a very long drawn-out process. The British government in London, British Governors in East Africa, as well as East African politicians played their role in bringing the University into being. Developments in other parts of the British Empire also contributed significantly to this process.

The history of the University of East Africa can be traced back to the early 1920s. The process began with the conference that was held at the Colonial Office in London in November 1923. On November 24, 1923, subsequent to this conference, the Duke of Devonshire, Secretary of State in the Colonial Office, set up the Permanent Advisory

Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies. The Committee was tasked: "To advise the Secretary of State on any matters of Native Education in the British Colonies and Protectorates in Tropical Africa which he may from time to time refer to them; and to assist him in advancing the progress of education in those Colonies and Protectorates."¹ This Committee, chaired by W. G. A. Ormsby-Gore, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, comprised the following members: The Right Reverend the Bishop of Liverpool (formerly known as Bishop of Edmundsbury); The Right Reverend Bishop M. Bidwell; Major A. J. Church; Sir James Currie, Director of Education in the Sudan and Head of Gordon Memorial College in Khartoum; The Right Honourable Sir Frederick (later Lord) D. Lugard, who had been in charge of education in Hong Kong and Nigeria; J. H. Oldham, the Secretary of the International Missionary Council; Sir Michael Sadler, President of the Calcutta University Commission of 1917-18; and C. Strachey. Hanns Vischer, who had been responsible for a number of educational developments in Northern Nigeria, served as full-time Secretary of the Advisory Committee.

Soon after its establishment, the Advisory Committee was consulted about educational projects that were already underway or still being contemplated in a number of British colonies and dependencies. One such request was to transform Makerere College from a technical trade school into a more advanced training college for East Africa as a whole. This proposal was made in a report written by Eric J. R. Hussey, an education officer in the Sudan. In West Africa, Sir Gordon Guggisberg, the Governor of the Gold Coast, had drawn up an ambitious education plan for the Gold Coast in which

¹ *Education Policy in British Tropical Africa*. Memorandum Submitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies by the Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies,

he proposed the establishment of a model for all levels of education from kindergarten to university.² After discussing and approving requests to give advice to different African colonies, the Advisory Committee embarked on its job. For eighteen months it examined educational activities in the Colonies, Protectorates and Mandated Territories in East and West Africa, paying particular attention to the Gold Coast (Ghana), southern Nigeria and Uganda. The Advisory Committee submitted its Report to the Secretary of State for the Colonies during the first quarter of 1925.

One of the conclusions drawn by the Ormsby-Gore Commission was the following: “the time is opportune for some public statement of principles and policy which would prove a useful guide to all those engaged directly or indirectly, in the advancement of native education in Africa.”³ Convinced of the importance of its findings, the Commission felt confident enough to appeal to the Secretary of State for the Colonies asking him to issue its memorandum as a Parliamentary Paper without any delay. The request was accepted and the memorandum was issued as Command Paper No. 2374 in March 1925. Although the Commission’s focus was not East Africa *per se*, this memorandum laid a solid foundation for higher education in East Africa. It changed the British government’s thinking about the state of education in its Empire and mandated territories.

In June 1932, the Directors of Education from Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar attended a conference in Zanzibar to discuss educational matters in the East African region and the role to be played by Makerere College in the development of education in East Africa. The Report of this conference stated:

March 1925. Cmd. 2374, 2.

² Pattison, *Special Relations*, 7-9. See also: Ashby and Anderson, *Universities*, 188.

The Directors noted with satisfaction that it is intended to start at Makerere in January 1933 a course leading to Matriculation by means of the University of London's School Examination. It was suggested that a syllabus should be drawn up covering the last five years of this matriculation course, and that the first two years of this syllabus should be undertaken in Secondary Schools, and the last three years at Makerere. As soon as a sufficient number of students have reached the stage of entering for the intermediate Arts Examination of London University, the Secondary Schools should undertake the whole matriculation course, and matriculation should become the standard for entry to Makerere.⁴

The Directors of Education from these four East African countries asked for advice from the Colonial Office Advisory Committee as to whether it would be advisable for Makerere to adopt London Examinations so that its leavers could get wider recognition, or to set its own examinations. The Advisory Committee referred the matter to a Sub-Committee under the chairmanship of Sir James Currie. Other members of the Currie Sub-Committee were: F. O. Mann, W. W. Vaughan, Miss Philippa C. Esdaile, W. H. McLean, A. G. Church, Hanns Vischer and A. I. Mayhew. The Currie Committee studied the educational situation in East and West Africa. In its Report,⁵ it expressed concern that Britain had neglected higher education in her colonies, arguing that this was not good, both for the natives and for the British government. The Currie Report "was the first clarion call that Britain should take it as a duty to set up universities in Colonial Africa."⁶ Eric Ashby refers to this Report as "an eloquent and urgent plea for the founding of universities in tropical Africa"⁷ because it called for an immediate and publicly announced program of university development. The Report was adopted by the British Colonial Office and was made available to the public on request. It was also distributed

³ *Education Policy in British Tropical Africa*. Cmd 2374, 2

⁴ *Report of the Conference of Directors of Education of Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, and Zanzibar, held at Zanzibar in June 1932*, par.19.

⁵ *Report of the Sub-Committee Appointed to Consider the Educational Policy Underlying Paragraph 19 of the Report of the Conference of Directors of Education of Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, and Zanzibar, Held at Zanzibar in June 1932*, December 1933 [Currie Report].

⁶ Furley and Watson, *A History of Education in East Africa*, 299.

among the Governors in East and West Africa. For reasons discussed in the next Chapter, the Governors delayed giving their opinions on the Report. While the Ormsby-Gore Memorandum called for a general educational policy, the Currie Report emphasized the need for the development of higher education in Africa. This was the educational situation in Anglophone Africa until the mid-1930s.

The actual process that led to the establishment of the U. E. A. began in 1937 when the De la Warr Commission submitted its Report to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Once the recommendations contained in this Report had been accepted, the implementation process began in 1938 and reached the climax in 1963 when the University was instituted. Therefore, the history of the University of East Africa can be divided into three distinct phases: (i) the period from 1938 to June 28, 1963 when the concept of a unitary University of East Africa was *largely* a colonial ideal espoused by British authorities as part of the East African inter-territorial co-operation project that had been set in motion in 1926⁸; (ii) the period from June 29, 1963 to June 30, 1970 which is the lifespan of the Federal University of East Africa; and (iii) the period from July 1, 1970 when the University was dissolved, giving birth to three national universities: the University of Nairobi in Kenya, Makerere University in Uganda and the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania. The focus of this Chapter is on the first phase. The second phase is discussed in Chapters 4 to 6. The discussion of the third phase is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

⁷ Ashby, *African Universities and Western Traditions*, 17.

⁸ In 1926, the first East African Governors' Conference was held in Nairobi, Kenya following the recommendation made by the *East Africa Commission* in 1925. See: *Report of the East Africa Commission* (London: H. M. S. O., 1925). Cmd. 2387. By the time the University was inaugurated, East African leaders had already embraced the idea of establishing a Federal University. They perceived such an institution as an instrument to accelerate regional integration.

2.1 The De La Warr Commission, 1936

Towards the end of 1936, W. G. A. Ormsby-Gore, who became the new Secretary of State for the Colonies on May 28, 1936, appointed a Commission of enquiry and tasked it to look into the question of higher education in Britain's East African dependencies. This Commission was under the Chairmanship of Earl De la Warr, the Parliamentary Under-Secretary and an ex-officio Chairperson of the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies (A. C. E. C.). The De la Warr Commission or the Commission on Higher Education in East Africa was a high-powered Commission comprising eleven members, ten men⁹ and one woman, Dr. Philippa C. Esdaile. Three of its members (Mr. Hanns Vischer, Dr. Philippa Esdaile and Dr W. Maclean) had all served in the Currie Sub-Committee. The De la Warr Commission was guided by the following three terms: 1) To examine and report upon the organization and working of Makerere College and of the institutions or other agencies for advanced vocational training connected with it in relation to (i) the society which they were intended to serve, and (ii) the educational systems of the territories from which the students are drawn; 2) To make recommendations for the development and administrative control of Makerere College and its allied institutions to this end; and 3) In making such recommendations to consider: (a) the effect of the development of the College upon the educational organization of the territories concerned; (b) the general interest and needs of the communities from which students are, or may in future be drawn, and (c) the educational needs of women.¹⁰

⁹ Earl de la Warr (Chairman); Robert Bernays; B. Mouat Jones; Alexander Kerr; W. H. McLean; Z. K. Matthews; John Murray; Harold Nicolson; Hanns Vischer and F. J. Pedler (Secretary from the Colonial Office).

¹⁰ *Report of the Commission on Higher Education in East Africa* [De la Warr Commission Report], September 1937, Colonial No.142, 5.

In November and December 1936, the Commission held preliminary talks in London and started collecting evidence there from a number of people who had had personal experience of East Africa. At the end of December it left London for Uganda in two groups. The first group arrived in Uganda on January 11, 1937 and the second group arrived two days later. The Commission's headquarters were in Kampala, Uganda. During its stay there, the Commission visited schools and institutions throughout the Uganda Protectorate. By the time it ended its job in Uganda it had listened to over sixty witnesses and depositions. Even though the focus was Uganda, the Commission managed to visit Tanganyika and Kenya by using air services and by dividing itself into small parties. However, it still saw it fitting to consider Uganda in greater detail "since Makerere College the institution to examine which we were primarily appointed, is in that Protectorate and the greater part of our information related to it."¹¹ This is not surprising because the very idea of appointing the Commission came from Sir Philip Mitchell, Uganda's Governor, who requested an independent team to conduct "an educational stock taking and some rails laid down for the next few years."¹² Kenya and Tanganyika were included in the list of places to be covered by the Commission on pragmatic grounds; the Commission realized that it was impossible to make meaningful recommendations regarding the future of Makerere College without also examining the education system in the whole of East Africa.

On September 2, 1937, the Commission presented its findings and recommendations to the Secretary of States for the Colonies in three parts: Part I – The Background for

¹¹ *Report of the De la Warr Commission*, 6.

¹² Iliffe, *East African Doctors*, 63.

Education in East Africa; Part II – Primary, Secondary and Vocational Education; and Part III – Advanced Education.

In its introductory remarks, the Commission made a number of important observations, which, if adequately addressed, would have benefited Africans a great deal. For example, it maintained that one of the main difficulties which hampered co-operation between the African school and the African community was that much of the education of the African was in non-African hands. The Commission then concluded: “in these circumstances the qualities produced in the pupils, while welcome to their teachers, may not commend themselves to the people among whom the pupils have to live.”¹³ Another observation was that African theory of traditionalism and European theory of progress had to interact because the African child needed both theories for his own development.

In its comparative study, the Commission noted that Uganda was unique in the region because it had a school system that was entirely under the control of the missions. Although other territories had missions too, the Government and the Native administrations had co-operated to provide schools in these territories. However, while Uganda’s education was generally in the hands of the missionaries, Makerere College was maintained by the Uganda Government. It was a school where boys¹⁴ from the junior secondary schools in all the territories came to complete their general education. From here they would be considered ready to pursue their professional courses at different institutions. Some of these professional courses were: schoolmasters and engineering foremen – both offered at Makerere; Medical Assistants – offered at Mulago Hospital; Agriculturalists – offered at Bukalasa; and Veterinary Assistants – offered at Old

¹³ *Report of the De la Warr Commission*, 8.

Entebbe. By East African standards Uganda's education system was the most advanced in the region and that is why it received much attention.

The Commission reiterated most of the points made in the Currie Sub-Committee Report but also made a number of new proposals. One of the Commission's main recommendations was that there was a need for the establishment of a University College in East Africa. It stated:

We are proposing the establishment of a University College in the near future, and of a University at no very distant date. We are aware of the present very flimsy foundations of primary and secondary education upon which such institutions will need to be based, and realize the possible risks of too rapid advance and of top-heavy structure. Nevertheless we are convinced that the material needs of the country and the intellectual needs of its people require that such risks as they may be should be taken.¹⁵

A number of issues had to be considered regarding the establishment of this envisioned University College. Among them were: the site of the College, its size, its racial composition, its funding and its entire administration. More importantly, what would be the nature of the relationship between the envisaged College and Makerere? In response to this question, the Commission recommended that secondary work should continue at Makerere and that the new College should focus specifically on post-secondary work. This envisioned Higher College would have departments of Arts, Science, Agriculture, Medicine, Education, Veterinary Science and Engineering. Regarding the site, the Commission suggested that these courses should be taught at a new site located between Mulago and Kololo hills. The proposed College would first be known as the Higher College of East Africa, and later become the University College of East Africa. It would first award Diplomas, then affiliate to the University of London for

¹⁴ There was no secondary education for girls. That is why one of the terms of this Commission was specifically on this issue.

some time before becoming an independent fully-fledged University of East Africa. The Commission envisaged that the Government of Uganda ‘and perhaps other governments’ would contribute to the College’s endowment fund. Setting up this fund was deemed one of the prerequisites for the College’s establishment.

The tone of the De la Warr Commission Report leads to the conclusion that at this time there was nothing cut in stone. The Commissioners were only looking at some possibilities. For example, they suggested: “In making the grants the Protectorate Government, and any other Governments which *may* [emphasis mine] participate, should pledge themselves to contribute a fixed sum annually for at least five years. . . . The heads of *certain* [emphasis mine] government departments should be afforded the opportunity of maintaining close contact with the work of the College.”¹⁶ The Commission could not say with precision which governments would be willing to join hands with the Ugandan Government in footing the bill. Although the Commission seemed certain that the government(s) had to play an active role in the envisaged College, it was still uncertain which departments would link the College to the government or governments.

With regard to the College’s federation with other institutions, the Commission was somewhat ambiguous. On the one hand, it argued that it was premature for the College to enter into any relationship with other Colleges. But on the other hand, it felt that it was necessary for this College to have co-operation with the Kitchener School of Medicine at Khartoum. Even more importantly, the Commission maintained: “The Higher College must therefore develop an outlook which embraces not merely Buganda

¹⁵ *Report of the De la Warr Commission*, Chapter 30, 118-119.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 81-82.

but Uganda, not merely Uganda but East Africa, and not merely East Africa but the wide lands beyond.”¹⁷ The most intriguing question then becomes: How could a young College play all these multi-layered roles? In other words, how could it remain individualistic on one hand because it was still deemed to be young and yet be a national, inter-territorial, and even a continental institution at the same time? These questions eluded the Commissioners.

Overall, the De la Warr Commission felt that education in East Africa had to be based upon the needs of the African community. It also had to be closely related to their environment. As a result of this Commission, Higher Education in East Africa thereafter received more attention than ever before. The De la Warr Commission Report “constituted a landmark not only in the history of the development of Makerere as a Higher College of East Africa, and later, as a University College, but also in providing the impetus for the foundation of University Colleges in other parts of Africa in the post-war period.”¹⁸ When Eric R. J. Hussey reviewed the De la Warr Report soon after its publication, he maintained: “This Report will surely mark a new epoch in the educational history of East Africa and have repercussions in every part of our Colonial Empire.”¹⁹ This, it did. In November 1937, Mr. Creech Jones asked Ormsby-Gore, Secretary of State for the Colonies, whether any steps were under contemplation at the time to carry out the recommendations of the Commission on Higher Education in East Africa. Ormsby-Gore responded that the Report of the Commission would first have to be considered by the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies and by the Governments of the East

¹⁷ Ibid., 83.

¹⁸ Apollós O. Nwauwa, *Imperialism, Academe & Nationalism. British University Education for Africans 1860-1960* (London: Frank Cass, 1996), 91-92.

African Dependencies and therefore could not make any definite announcement. However, Ormsby-Gore continued: “but I am hopeful that the Commission’s main recommendations will prove acceptable.”²⁰

Not everyone hailed the De la Warr Commission Report. Dr. John Murray, one of the members of the Commission, was not happy with some of its recommendations. He subsequently submitted a Minority Report. The thrust of Dr. Murray’s criticism was that the Report was of a highly general and abstract character. He argued that in general, the Report was a replica of British practice. “The scheme for the Higher College, for instance,” he maintained, “transcribes closely and faithfully the build of the new university institutions in England. The sections on College residence are based, similarly, on up-to-date English practice.”²¹ The thrust of Murray’s criticism was that the De la Warr Commission moved from a wrong premise that what worked in Britain would also work in East Africa.

There were instances where Dr. Murray took the Commission to task for its wrong interpretation of the local situation. He argued that such action made the Commission propose wrong solutions to East Africa’s problems. For example, Murray argued that there was no lack of initiative or of agencies for education in Uganda as the Report claimed. He also recommended that the functional continuity of Makerere College had to be preserved through the transitional period. This recommendation was a deviation from the Commission’s proposal (Chapter 10) that Makerere should continue as a secondary school and pass its advanced functions to a new Higher College.

¹⁹ Eric R. J. Hussey, “Review of the Report of the Commission Appointed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies”, *Journal of the Royal African Society*, Vol. XXXVI, 30 November (1937): 3.

²⁰ Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, 5th Series. Official Report, Vol. 328 (London: H. M. S. O., 1937). Col.919.

Like any report, the De la Warr Commission Report was not impeccable, as Dr. Murray demonstrated, but in general it was deemed an impressive document that brought hope and optimism about the future of higher education in East Africa. Sir Philip Mitchell who had requested the Commission was delighted by its Report and looked forward to the quick implementation of what he considered to be the Commission's very promising and forward-looking recommendations. The Uganda Government shared Mitchell's impressions. Once the Report had been published, the Uganda Government took immediate steps to prepare itself for the construction of the envisioned College. The country's Director of Public Works was on leave at the time and was thus deputed to visit a number of English Universities with the aim of studying the plans of their buildings. The Government Architect was sent to South Africa to consult the university authorities in the Union and to study the plans and layout of its various universities and colleges. When these two officials returned to Uganda, local discussions were held to debate and compare different plans. Those plans that looked durable were chosen. Subsequently a Consultant Committee in England was asked to provide detailed professional advice on the College's construction.²² By this time the long journey towards establishing the University of East Africa had begun.

Governor Mitchell and the Uganda Government were not the only ones who found the De la Warr Commission Report appealing. After studying its content very closely, the A. C. E. C. suggested that the Report be implemented instantaneously. Naturally, the recommendations could not be implemented all at the same time. Therefore a phased-in program had to be put in place.

²¹ *Report of the De la Warr Commission*, 123.

²² Press Bulletin No. 19 of 1938, 5th July 1938. KNA. ED. 52/4/6/1.

Before that happened, an inter-territorial conference was called to consider and “to examine the practical steps necessary to implement the recommendations of the Makerere Commission [De la Warr Commission] with regard to the Higher College.”²³ Delegates who attended this conference (Africans, Asians and Europeans) came from: Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Central Africa and the Sudan. To ease its job, the conference divided itself into three sub-committees, with each sub-committee focusing on specific issues: (i) the name, site and building plans of the College; (ii) the financial arrangements; and (iii) the status and organization of the College.

The conference approved most of the recommendations made in the De la Warr Commission Report. It approved Makerere as the College’s site and further suggested that buildings around the site should be secured to ensure that the College’s future expansion would not be hampered. The conference also endorsed the name of the College, ‘Makerere College’. Conference delegates agreed that secondary education had to be carried out at the College until such time that students with matriculation standards were available. With all these plans in place, the implementation process began in earnest in 1938. Mr. Barr, a Member of Parliament in Britain, asked Malcom MacDonald, Secretary of State for the Colonies, whether he could make any statement on the detailed proposals for the establishment of a higher college for East Africa; whether the inter-territorial conference called by the Governor of Uganda resulted in any constructive proposals; and whether the Government of Kenya showed its sympathy with the proposed College by making a grant similar to the grants made by the Governments of Uganda and Tanganyika. MacDonald responded: “I am glad to be able to state that the proposals for

²³ The Higher College of East Africa. Proceedings of the Inter-territorial Conference held at Makerere on 21st to 24th May 1938 (Entebbe: GP, 1938). Introduction.

the establishment of the higher college have now reached an advanced stage, and the answer to the second part of the question is in the affirmative. I am sending the hon. Member a copy of the report of the Conference. A substantial proportion of the money for the endowment fund has already been promised, and plans for the new college buildings are at present being studied by experts in this country.”²⁴

In November 1938, the first Makerere Ordinance was drafted to come into effect the following year. In an attempt to show regional ownership, the Ugandan Government handed the College over to a Representative Council comprising members from all three East African countries. The regional Governments and the British government made their financial contributions to the endowment fund proposed by the De la Warr Commission. Britain contributed £100, 000 after the three territorial governments had made their respective contributions. Uganda contributed £250, 000; Tanganyika – £100, 000; and Kenya – £50, 000.²⁵ A grant of £170, 000 from the Uganda Government and an additional £7, 550 from various local governments in Uganda, as well as a grant of £10, 000 from the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation met Makerere’s immediate building needs. In November 1938, the Duke of Gloucester cut the first sod. Soon thereafter, construction began.

Britain’s declaration of war against Germany on September 3, 1939 disturbed the building process in many ways. Shipping in building materials became very difficult. The girder to support the gallery in the main hall did not arrive and this delayed construction. The College’s library had to be occupied without steel shelves because they had not

²⁴ Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, 5th Series. Official Report, Vol. 337 (London: H. M. S. O., 1938). Col.1061. See also: Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, 5th Series. Official Report, Vol. 336 (London: H. M. S. O., 1938). Cols. 870-871.

arrived yet. Furniture for the main building and the two chapels had to be made locally – a compromise solution and forced deviation from the original plan. One classroom was used as a mosque due to the shortage of the buildings. The men’s hostel had the site excavated but construction was postponed indefinitely. The money allocated by local governments for the building of the women’s hostel at the College could not be used and, therefore, had to be laid aside until the war was over. The central building, whose construction began in 1938, was only completed in 1940, “work being continued upon it, despite the war, at the personal insistence of the Governor of Uganda, Sir Philip Mitchell.”²⁶ Overall, construction work at Makerere was either suspended or, continued at a snail’s pace.

Teaching was not spared by the war. Teachers and members of the Education Department as well as lecturers from Makerere were called up. Ronald Stuckey, one of the lecturers at the Makerere College, who was concerned with agricultural biology, “took over the organization of air raid precautions in the College – at that stage the possibility of attack not being so remote as to warrant no precautions at all. Nearly all members of staff had by now joined the Uganda Volunteer Reserve and wore khaki – to the students’ regret, since they had enjoyed the varying fashions of dress, particularly of the younger members.”²⁷ By 1940 Makerere College was feeling the effects of the war. The College’s Department of Engineering could not admit new students because it was difficult to get teaching staff, many of them serving in the war.

²⁵ At first the Kenya Government was reluctant to approve this sum, arguing that it had not seen the site nor the building that would become Makerere College. Perhaps that is why it voted such a small contribution.

²⁶ Goldthorpe, *An African Elite*, 11.

²⁷ Macpherson, *They Built for the Future*, 32 and 35.

The Kabaka of Buganda and the Mukama of Bunyoro were the first kings in Uganda to announce that they were ready to support the Allied forces, and urged their subjects to enlist in the Uganda Volunteer Reserve Force.²⁸ By the time Britain passed an Ordinance making service in the army compulsory for all British subjects and British Protected persons between the ages of 18 and 45 years in 1940 many Ugandans had already enlisted. Thus, the Second World War resulted into constrictions of educational progress in East Africa, both in terms of the construction of Makerere College and with regard to teaching and learning in general. As long as the war was in progress, Makerere's future remained in limbo.

2.1.1 Channon's Memorandum and the Channon Report, 1940 -1943

While the war continued, some British authorities started thinking about the future of the British Empire in the post-war era. Others put their thoughts into action. In 1940, Liverpool University's Professor H. J. Channon, a member of the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, started preparing proposals for a network of colonial universities that would train the leadership required for self-rule by British colonies. Channon produced a memorandum²⁹ in which he assessed the Advisory Committee's thinking about higher education in the colonies. The memorandum argued that it was not enough for post-secondary education to aim at producing manpower for the current needs only; higher education had to go beyond offering technical education. Colleges offering technical education had to establish a relationship with British universities that would help them develop into fully-fledged universities. Channon

²⁸ K. Ingham, *The Making of Modern Uganda* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1958), 213-214.

suggested that the association of Makerere with the University of Oxford, in which the latter gave advice to Makerere regarding the curriculum and also sent visiting lecturers, could be used as an example.³⁰

Driven by the optimism that the allied forces would eventually win the on-going war, Mr. (later Sir) Christopher W. M. Cox, the new Advisor to the Colonial Office on educational matters, decided to put Professor Channon's Memorandum before the Advisory Committee for consideration. The Advisory Committee discussed Channon's Memorandum at its 110th and 111th meetings. At the end of the latter meeting in April 1941, it resolved as follows:

The Committee desires to express its appreciation of Professor Channon's Memorandum and its deep sense of the importance and urgency of the issues which it raises. The Committee is in general agreement with Professor Channon's analysis of the character of the problems to be faced and strongly recommends that a suitable body should be constituted to advise the Secretary of State on the means whereby the universities of Great Britain could best assist in the development of Higher Education in the colonies.³¹

When, on November 23, 1942, Oliver Stanley became the new Secretary of State for the Colonies, he appointed Professor Channon to be his advisor on higher education. Meanwhile, the Advisory Committee appointed a Sub-Committee to give advice on how to implement Channon's Memorandum. Professor Channon chaired this Sub-Committee. Other members were: Mr. Christopher Cox, Sir Fred Clarke, Mr. Eric R. J. Hussey, Dr. Julian Huxley, Mr. B. Mouat Jones, Professor W. M. Macmillan, and Miss Margery Perham. The main focus of the Sub-Committee was East Africa, West Africa and

²⁹ *The Channon Memorandum. Some Observations on the Development of Higher Education in the Colonies*, 1940.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, par.25.

³¹ Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, *Report of the Sub-Committee on Higher Education [The Channon Report]*, May 1943. Introduction. par.1.

Malaya. For two years the Sub-Committee conducted its investigation and presented its Report to the Advisory Committee on May 15, 1943. The Report stressed the need for the University of London to assist in the development of higher education in the British colonies by sending staff, awarding degrees and drawing up the curriculum.³² It further recommended curricula adaptation to the local circumstances. The Advisory Committee accepted the Report on May 20, 1943. Nine days later, the Secretary of State wrote to the Vice-Chancellors of all British universities informing them that he was setting up a Commission of inquiry and asking for their co-operation. On July 13, 1943, the Secretary of State informed the House of Commons that he would be announcing the names of the members of the Commission in August.³³ This marked the beginning of the next phase in the development of higher education in East Africa.

2.2. The Asquith Commission, 1943

On August 13, 1943, Oliver Stanley, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, addressed the House of Commons: "I am accordingly setting up a Commission of Inquiry. I am glad to say that Sir Cyril Asquith – Mr. Justice Asquith – has agreed to be its Chairman. He will bring to the task not only an honoured name and a great academic record, but the qualities of intellect and judgment which will be required."³⁴ Stanley appointed a powerful³⁵ Commission of enquiry to make recommendations regarding the development of higher education in the colonies in the light of the Channon Report.

³² The University of London was chosen because of its experience in running the external degree program and in guiding University Colleges in Britain towards becoming fully-fledged universities.

³³ Pattison, *Special Relations*, 17-22.

³⁴ Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, 5th Series. Official Report, Vol. 391 (London: H. M. S. O., 1943), Col.54.

Justice Cyril Asquith was the Chairman of the Commission. Other members were: Sir Donald Cameron; Sir Alexander M. Carr-Saunders; Professor H. J. Channon; Sir Fred Clarke; James F. Duff; The Lord Hailey; Sir James C. Irvine; Sir Richard W. Livingstone; R. Marrs; Professor Lillian M. Penson; Miss Margery Perham; Sir Raymond E. Priestly; Professor J. A. Ryle; Sir Richard V. Southwell and J. A. Venn. Mr. D. W. Malcom served as the Commission's Secretary until May 1944, when he was replaced by Mr. S. Robinson. The Asquith Commission was instructed: "To consider the principles which should guide the promotion of higher education, learning and research and the development of universities in the colonies; and to explore means whereby universities and other appropriate bodies in the United Kingdom may be able to co-operate with institutions of higher education in the colonies in order to give effect to these principles."³⁶

As the guidelines indicate, the scope to be covered by the Asquith Commission was much wider than that covered by the De la Warr Commission. For example, unlike the previous Commission, which confined itself to East Africa, the Asquith Commission commented on East and West Africa, as well as the West Indies. The Commission noted that conditions in (West) Africa were similar to those obtaining in the West Indies and stated: ". . . we felt that the considerations which had prompted the decision to direct a special enquiry in respect of West Africa, applied with equal force to the West Indies, or to be more accurate, to the Caribbean area. If any general principles we could formulate

³⁵ Sir James Irvine was the Vice-Chancellor of the University of St. Andrews; Raymond Priestley was Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Birmingham; and Margery Perham was a Fellow of Nuffield College and a reader in Colonial Administration at the University of Oxford.

³⁶ *Asquith Report*, 3.

called for a special application in one area, then equally, in our view, they called for a special application in the other.”³⁷

The Commission held its first meeting on September 21, 1943. It soon discovered that the terms under which it was asked to operate were very broad and simplified them by setting its main objective as follows: “to formulate, as we were enjoined to do, principles applicable generally to the colonies; not to elaborate in detail higher educational programmes for particular colonies.”³⁸ This objective made the Commission’s job manageable but once it started collecting evidence it realized that some areas were larger than others. For this reason elaboration became inevitable.

Another way in which the Commission simplified its job was by appointing Committees. Professor H. J. Channon and Professor J. F. Duff, already members of the Asquith Commission, also served in a separate Commission whose task was to advise on West Africa specifically. The Commission on Higher Education in West Africa was under the Chairmanship of Colonel Walter Elliot. Its other members were: Arthur Creech-Jones, who later became the Secretary of State for the Colonies; Sir Geoffrey Evans, Acting Director of Kew Gardens, Dr. Julian Huxley, a prominent scientist, Miss E. C. Martin, Vice-Principal of Westfield College in London; Professor B. Mouat Jones, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Leeds, Dr. Margaret Read, Acting Head of the Colonial Department at the University of London Institute of Education and Dr. A. E. Trueman of the University of Glasgow. Three West Africans were included: K. A. Korsah from the Gold Coast, Reverend Ransome Kuti from Nigeria and Dr. E. H. Taylor-Cummings from Sierra Leone. After considering that the West Indies needed Special

³⁷ Ibid., 4.

³⁸ Ibid., 5.

attention, the Asquith Commission set up a separate Committee for the West Indies in January 1944. Sir James Irvine served as its Chairman. Other members were Miss Perham and Dr. Raymond Priestley. Two members from the West Indies were added: P. M. Sherlock, Secretary of the Institute of Jamaica; and H. W. Springer, a member of the House of Assembly in Barbados. W. D. Innis and J. A. Lukkhoo served in the Commission when it was in Trinidad and British Guiana respectively.

By the time the Asquith Commission completed its job in May 1945 it had met thirty-one times, interviewed a wide range of people (students and education officers), and accepted written views from various individuals and organizations. It then submitted its Report to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The latter presented the Report to Parliament (House of Commons) in June 1945. Subsequently, the Report was published as Command Paper No. 6647 in July 1945.

The Asquith Report has four parts. Part I deals with the general principles the Asquith Commission felt had to determine an adequate provision of higher education in a colonial context. It also identifies problems that stood on the way of these principles. These problems include staffing and finance. Part II deals with special problems associated with the provision of professional and vocational courses at the tertiary institutions. One such problem is medicine. The Asquith Commission noted that there was an urgent need to train men and women who would be employed in the field of curative and preventive medicine and in medical research. Part III summarizes the Report of the West Indies Committee. Part IV is a summary of the principal recommendations made in the entire Report.

In its recommendations (Part I, Chapter III) the Asquith Commission proposed the establishment of Colleges in the colonies where they were non-existent and the upgrading of those that had already been put in place. The ultimate goal was to see these colleges become regional universities. Irvine's Committee on the West Indies shared the same view and reported:

After a careful consideration of the evidence put before us and after enquiry into the needs and conditions of the West Indies, the number of potential candidates for higher education and the absorptive capacity of the colonies, we have come to a unanimous decision.

We recommend the establishment of a single University of the West Indies at the earliest possible date.³⁹

There were objections to this idea by different individuals who argued that the economic status of the British West Indies would not support the expense. The Committee's response was that since the colonies were British possessions, the Imperial Government was morally obliged to foot part of the bill. Another concern was that the islands were small and isolated and therefore students had to be sent out into the wider world so that they could broaden their intellectual horizons. The Committee did not totally object to this view but felt that students needed to undertake their first degrees in the West Indies and only go abroad for post-graduate education. On that note the Committee insisted that there was therefore a need for the development of higher education in the West Indies.

With regard to Makerere, the Asquith Commission indicated that it found the idea of promoting this institution to the status of being an inter-territorial university more appealing and reasonable. Consequently, the Commissioners endorsed the earlier proposal made by the De la Warr Commission of 1937. The Asquith Commission also

³⁹ *Report of the Irvine Committee*, pars. 21 and 22. See also: *Asquith Report*, Part III, Chapter XXI, 94.

proposed that these Colleges be established earlier than the De la Warr Commission had contemplated. However, the Commission strongly believed that no rush was necessary for the premature granting of degrees by the Colleges. For these Colleges to be credible academic institutions they would first be linked to well-established British universities through what later became known as the 'Special Relationship.'⁴⁰ This relationship would continue until such time that the Colleges were mature enough to become self-reliant universities when they could claim their independence.

After discussions, the University of London agreed to have a Special Relationship with any of these University Colleges which would provide the features sought by the Asquith Commission. The University of London issued the following statement: 'It may be of assistance to colleges who may desire to seek association with the University if the Committee (of the Senate of the University appointed to administer these new arrangements) express its agreement with the general underlying assumptions as to the characteristics of a university contained in the Report of the Asquith Commission and in particular with the following points: (1) A university should encourage the pursuit of a regular and liberal course of education; promote research and the advancement of science, and learning; and organize, improve and extend education of a university standard; (2) It should be ready to accept the responsibilities of intellectual leadership in the community it serves and should endeavour to promote within that community a culture rooted in scholarship and knowledge. To this end it should establish and maintain close relations with other forms of educational activity within its area; (3) It should seek to attract to its services teachers of the highest quality who are able and prepared to

⁴⁰ Roger Southall (1974) argues that the idea of 'Special Relationship' came as a result of persuasion by Carr-Saunders, one of the members of the Asquith Commission.

contribute to the advancement of their respective subjects. To this end it should offer appropriate conditions of service and remunerations: in particular it is of primary importance that the members of its staff should not be so burdened with teaching duties that they have not adequate time to devote to research; (4) It should make provision for the encouragement of corporate and social life among its students; (5) It should provide equipment and laboratories and build up a university library adequate not only for the needs of its undergraduate students but also for research needs of its teachers and senior students; and (6) The constitution of its Governing Body and its Charter, Statutes, or other instruments of government should be such as are appropriate to an autonomous university capable of controlling the development of its academic policy'.⁴¹

The rationale behind linking Colleges in the colonies to the University of London was that university institutions in the colonies had to maintain high academic standards and be able to offer their students 'education in the fullest sense' and be confident enough to take their place as equal partners among the universities of the world. This view was based on the understanding that "an institution with the status of a university which does not command the respect of other universities brings no credit to the community which it serves."⁴² The Commission stated that universities in the colonies had to maintain high quality if they were to do justice to their graduates.

According to the Asquith Commission, University Colleges would serve as centers of learning where research would be promoted. Since students attending these Colleges would come from different areas, the Commission recommended that they be wholly residential institutions paying particular attention to liberal Arts and Science;

⁴¹ Statement made by the University of London. Cited by the *Report of the Working Party on Higher Education in East Africa, 1955*, 4-5. par.15.

professional and vocational studies would be given less attention. No specific reasons were provided for this decision. However, there are two possible explanations: first, the Colleges were considered to be 'young' institutions which therefore had to focus on basic skills; secondly, professional courses were deemed to be more expensive than basic courses in the Arts and Sciences.

The university structure proposed by the Asquith Commission would be as follows: the University Council would serve as the supreme governing body and would appoint the Vice-Chancellor and fill all non-academic posts; then there would be a Senate whose task would be to look at academic matters relating to curricula and examinations; and also control and discipline university students. This was the gist of the Asquith Commission's recommendations about higher education in the British colonies.

For the whole process to work the University system had to be monitored and supervised. To this end, the Commission recommended the establishment of a number of bodies. One such body, the Inter-University Council for Higher Education Overseas (hereinafter referred to as the I. U. C. H. E. O. or simply I. U. C.) was established on March 8, 1946 in Burlington House, London. The I. U. C. had big names such as: Alexander Carr-Saunders, Director of the London School of Economics; James Irvine, Vice-Chancellor at St. Andrews University; Raymond Priestly, Vice-Chancellor at Melbourne then Birmingham; James Duff, Warden, Durham College; William Hamilton Fyfe, Vice-Chancellor, Aberdeen; Ivor Evans, Royal University, Malta; and Professors J. G. Wirth and L. E. S. Eastham from Liverpool and Sheffield respectively. I. C. M. Maxwell argues that the reason for having big names in the I. U. C. was to ensure that the I. U. C. could speak with authority on the policy and practice of university development

⁴² *Asquith Report*, 13.

and could give a balanced overview rather than a medley of specialist opinions. In effect the I. U. C. was made up of one representative from each of the British universities, except the University of London which had two members. Colonial universities in Ceylon, Hong Kong, Malta and Palestine were also represented.⁴³

The Inter-University Council was charged with two tasks: (i) to co-operate with existing colonial universities; and (ii) to foster the development of colonial colleges in their advance to university status. Its main purpose was “to promote the foundation and expansion of universities in the British colonial territories as comprehensive institutions offering both liberal education and professional training.”⁴⁴ It had to assess the Colleges and advise when a College was ready to be raised to university status. The I. U. C. was also responsible for the allocation of funds after getting advice from relevant committees. The processing of advertisements of posts available at different University Colleges and the recruitment of staff to fill those vacant positions also fell within the ambit of the I. U. C. The Inter-University Council did not want to accelerate the rate of expansion. Instead, it planned to foster a steady development.

A parallel body was the University Grants Advisory Committee (U. G. A. C.) whose primary task, inferred in its name, was to advise the Secretary of State on financial matters, relating to the expenditure of British funds on higher education in the colonies. Its duty was “to estimate the needs of the universities and colleges for capital grants over a period and to communicate its views to the Secretary of State, to set aside for each institution a portion of such sum as he may allocate, and to advise him on the merits of each particular scheme submitted by an institution as one to be paid for, whole or in part,

⁴³ Maxwell, *Universities in Partnership*, 10-11.

out of its allocation.”⁴⁵ The I. U. C. was represented by two nominated members in this Committee. The rest of the members were directly appointed by the Secretary of State.

In addition the Advisory Committee on Colleges of Arts, Science and Technology (A. C. C. A. S. T.) was formed in October 1949. It was instructed: (i) to advise the Secretary of State and any other responsible authorities in the colonies on the development of the colonial colleges of Arts, Science and Technology and to advise on expenditure of Colonial Development and Welfare Funds allocated for this purpose; and (ii) to maintain close liaison with the Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies and with the colonial University Grants Advisory Committee. These measures gave a better shape to Britain’s policy on higher education in the colonies. Thus, the Asquith Report was “a tremendous stride forward.”⁴⁶

The defeat of the British Conservative Party by the Labour Party in 1945 did not disturb the implementation of the recommendations of the Asquith Report.⁴⁷ The new administration, in which George Henry Hall was the new Secretary of State for the Colonies (with Arthur Creech Jones serving as Under-Secretary), put the university question high on its agenda. Therefore, the implementation process continued unabated. This process began in 1946 with the establishment of bodies like the I. U. C. From July 21 to August 9, 1946, a delegation of the I. U. C. under Carr-Saunders visited Makerere College to make an assessment of its progress regarding higher education. Another delegation, under Sir William Hamilton-Fyer headed for West Africa to consider the

⁴⁴ Martin Kolinsky, “The Demise of the Inter-University Council for higher Education Overseas: A Chapter in the History of the Idea of the University”, *Minerva*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (Spring, 1983): 37.

⁴⁵ Carr-Saunders, *New Universities Overseas*, 46.

⁴⁶ James Duff, Review Article. “The Ecology of Higher Education”, *Minerva*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (Autumn, 1966): 41.

⁴⁷ Except in the case where the new leadership attempted to replace the majority with the minority Report.

provision of university education in that part of Africa. Carr-Saunders and his team concluded that Makerere College was ready to move to the next level.

In September 1947 the Registrar of the College wrote to the Makerere College Council informing it that the College intended to apply for the 'Special Relationship' with the University of London. The College Council approved the idea and Makerere sent its first application to the University of London asking for admission to the 'Special Relationship' program. Soon thereafter preparations were made to raise Makerere College's status into a University College as recommended and outlined in the Asquith Report, that is: an institution of higher education at a university level which is not empowered to grant degrees.⁴⁸ In 1948, Dr. William D. Lamont, the Makerere College Principal, visited Britain and held discussions with members of the University Council and Senate Committee at the University of London. They agreed on many issues except that Art and Social Studies would not be acceptable for the award of degrees. The Makerere College Academic Board did not take kindly to this view. The Board asked Dr. Lamont to write a letter to London's Senate Committee asking for a full explanation. Once the Senate Committee had discussed the issue, Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders, the Chairman, responded to Lamont's letter as follows:

We have always recognized that the department of Art is doing pioneer work in providing opportunity for the development of creative ability on interesting and valuable lines . . . Our discussion on this question was not concerned with the value of the work which is being done, for we are all agreed that it is excellent, but simply as to the position of the subject in the general academic programme. The practice of Art in its creative aspect is not normally regarded as part of a degree course in Arts or Science; it is provided for in universities by the grant of a Diploma in Fine Art and in other ways . . . The suggestion was made to you while you were over here that it might be desirable to explore the possibilities of a treatment at Makerere similar to that obtaining elsewhere either in relation to a College

⁴⁸ *Asquith Report*, 12.

Diploma, or in relation to a university diploma for which naturally the University would finally be responsible.⁴⁹

In deciding the fate of the Social Science course, London's Senate Committee relied on information provided by members of the University who had visited Makerere College. According to their reports the teaching of this course at Makerere had not yet attained the required degree standards. The other proposals made by the London Senate to Makerere College were not affected by these decisions.

During the summer of 1949, another delegation of the I. U. C. visited Makerere College to see how much progress had been made. Lamont met the delegation at Entebbe and told them that he had resigned as Principal.⁵⁰ This, however, did not prevent the I. U. C. delegation from doing its work, nor is there any sign that Lamont refused to co-operate with it. Back in London, the Inter-University Council delegation reported that constitutional changes suggested by the University of London had been made, the staff had been strengthened and the library expanded. Moreover, a considerable amount of research was going on at Makerere. The I. U. C. then proposed that Makerere be accepted to the 'Special Relationship' scheme. London University accepted the proposal and Makerere was admitted into the scheme in November 1949.

Meanwhile, the 1949 Makerere College Act passed by the East African Central Legislative Assembly officially made Makerere a University College.⁵¹ The Act stated

⁴⁹ Minutes of the Special Committee of the Senate on Higher Education in the Colonies, 12 July 1948. Cited by Pattison, *Special Relations*, 55.

⁵⁰ According to Goldthorpe (1965), Lamont's resignation came as a result of the difficulties he experienced in implementing the 'Special Relationship' scheme. It is not clear though whether the difficulties Goldthorpe is talking about were the ones caused by the London Senate or if there were other problems experienced by Lamont at Makerere. Whatever the source of the problems was, Lamont resigned in 1949 and was succeeded by Mr. (later, Sir) Bernard de Bunsen.

⁵¹ This Act was subsequently amended by: (i) the Makerere College (Membership of Council) Order, 1954; (ii) the Makerere College (Quorum of Council) Order, 1954; (iii) the Makerere College (Amendment Act), June 1957; and (iv) The 1967 Act. See: East African High Commission. Proceedings of the Central

that Makerere College would be “governed and administered with a view to providing in East Africa facilities for higher education, facilities for professional training, and facilities for research.”⁵² The same Act established a sixteen-member Council with representatives from the East African High Commission, the Inter-University Council, and of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar. The position of Visitor (Chancellor) was to be taken by one of the Governors of the three East African territories. Thus, from 1949 Makerere became the University College of East Africa – a status that was later confirmed by the Makerere College Amendment Bill, 1961.⁵³ Its physical location remained at Makerere against the wishes of the De la Warr Commission, which suggested a site between Mulago and Kololo, arguing that the current one was not good for present and future development. Governor Mitchell was pleased because he wanted the site to remain at Makerere.

Professor Bernard de Bunsen from the Department of Education at Makerere was appointed as the first Principal of the University College. He took over from Dr. William D. Lamont who had been Principal of the College in its previous status since the departure of Mr. G. C. Turner.⁵⁴ A total of £1, 250, 000 was granted to the College by the Colonial Development and Welfare Act. Subsequently, courses approved by the University of London began in 1950 and the first examinations for B. A. and B. Sc.

Legislative Assembly, Third Assembly, Second Session, First Meeting, 2-5 April 1957. Official Report, Vol. X, No. 1 (Nairobi: EAHC, 1957), Cols. 396-398 and 489-490; Makerere College. The University College of East Africa. Calendar for 1958-9, 73; and Special Issue. Official Gazette of the East African Common Services Organization, Vol. 6, No. 10, 30 September 1967, 220.

⁵² Makerere College Act, 1949. See also: William D. Lamont, “The Constitution under the Makerere College Act, 1949”, *Makerere*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (June-August, 1949): 6.

⁵³ East Africa High Commission. Proceedings of the Central Legislative Assembly, Fourth Assembly, Second Session, Second Meeting, 08 November 1961. Official Report, Vol. XIV, No. 2 (Nairobi: EAHC, 1962), Cols. 617 and 783.

⁵⁴ G. C. Turner became Makerere’s Principal when D. G. Tomblings left the College in 1938 to start another college in Fiji.

Degrees under the Asquith Scheme were held at the College in 1953. In the same year (1953) the College's Medical Diploma was recognized as a qualification authorizing its holder to practice medicine in East Africa.

In 1952 Makerere University College had fifty-two members of staff all of whom were white. It was hoped that Africans would join as soon as they met the necessary requirements.⁵⁵ These expatriates taught an all-black student population. In 1953 the College had about 400 male and 20 female students, all Africans. This situation changed gradually so that in 1957 the 'White Paper on Higher Education in East Africa' noted that Makerere College was inter-racial and serving the whole of East Africa. But even by this time no significant change had taken place yet: the College had a total of 44 Asians and only 6 white students. What was more conspicuous was the College's inter-territorial outlook. "Its student body has a strong inter-territorial flavour," observed the White Paper. "This is ensured by a quota system which guarantees at least 25% of the places to each of the three mainland territories."⁵⁶

Since this was a regional University College, each one of the three East African Governments contributed a block grant to it. In exchange, the governments were assured of a quota of around 26 percent of student places – which amounted to 78 percent in all. Ten percent of the places were kept as a 'free pool.' Students competed for these places regardless of which one of three territories they came from. The remaining twenty-two percent became available for students who came from Zanzibar and any other countries. All places that remained unclaimed by the territory (-ies) to which they had been

⁵⁵ But as discussed in Chapter 4, the so-called requirements -for example, possession of an M. A. or Ph.D degree – was just an excuse for shutting Africans out because even some of those who possessed these degrees were either not employed or were employed but not promoted to senior positions.

⁵⁶ *White Paper on Higher Education in East Africa* (Entebbe: GP, 1957), 6.

allocated were added to the 'free pool.' The distribution of the 558 registered students in 1955 is shown in the following table:

Table.2: Students at Makerere University College in June 1955

<i>Country</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Total</i>
Kenya	193	10	203
Uganda	173	16	189
Tanganyika	146	04	150
Zanzibar	9	-	9
Other	7	-	7
TOTAL	528	30	558

Source: Report of the First Working Party, 1955:27.

The De la Warr Commission was a pioneer for the development of higher education in East Africa. But as shown above, the Asquith Commission Report went a long way towards addressing higher education in the British colonies in general. It therefore out-classed the De la Warr Commission by covering a much wider ground. The implementation of its recommendations was a giant stride towards the development of higher education in British colonies in Africa and the West Indies but more particularly towards the development of the federal University of East Africa. Meanwhile, other developments that would contribute to the establishment of the University of East Africa were taking place elsewhere. The next section discusses these developments.

2.3 Other Developments, 1947-1962

A number of developments took place between 1947 and 1962 that accelerated the process of establishing the University of East Africa.

2.3.1 *The Royal Technical College*

One of the major developments that took place between the late 1940s and the mid-1950s was the establishment of the Royal Technical College [R. T. C.] in Kenya. The history of this College goes back to 1947 when the idea of establishing an institution for Higher Learning was conceived by the colonial government in Kenya. During this year, the Kenya Government drew up a plan for the establishment of a Technical and Commercial Institute. By 1949 this plan had become an East African concept aimed at providing higher technical education for all the territories of East Africa.⁵⁷ In 1949 a Commission under G. P. Willoughby (the Willoughby Commission) recommended that the Kenya Government should be urged to establish such an institution. Initially the proposed college was meant mainly for the benefit of European and Asian students.⁵⁸ That the College should be inclusive and inter-territorial was an after-thought.

Another sense in which the proposal was initially exclusive was with regard to its territorial particularism. The envisaged College was meant for Kenyans only. However, as plans got underway for the College's construction, Dr. F. J. Harlow, then Secretary of States' Assistant Educational Advisor for Technical Education, was tasked to advise on the general proposals, and particularly on the possibility of this envisaged institution being made available to students from the entire East African region. It was after this

⁵⁷ University of East Africa: University College, Nairobi, Calendar for 1967-68, 45.

development that the proposal was modified so that it became more encompassing. In his recommendation, Dr. Harlow recommended that the College could serve two specific purposes: “it would meet Kenya’s needs for all forms of technical education and, during the earlier stages of the development of technical education in East Africa generally, would provide higher level courses available to students from Tanganyika, Uganda and Zanzibar as well as Kenya.”⁵⁹ This recommendation had political significance because it promoted the idea of regional federation. With these modifications the proposal to establish a technical and commercial College in Kenya was accepted by the East African governments.

In February 1951 the Kenya Government applied for financial assistance from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund to start the College. It also invited the governments of Uganda and Tanganyika to lend a hand in the initial capital expenditure. The Secretary of State for the Colonies, James Griffiths, responded to Kenya’s request by making a grant of £150, 000 on the understanding that the College’s courses would be available on an inter-territorial basis and that this College “would be the apex of a broadly based system of instruction and education throughout East Africa.”⁶⁰ On September 7, 1951, the Governor of Kenya granted a Charter to the Royal Technical College of East Africa (R. T. C. E. A.). It was originally thought that this legislation would take the form of a Kenya Ordinance, “but as the conception of the functions to be performed by the College broadened it was considered that the College would be more

⁵⁸ Gershom N. Amayo, “Co-operation in the Development of University Education in Africa, 1922-1970”, Paper Presented at the Historical Association of Kenya Annual Conference, August 1977, 2.

⁵⁹ *Report of the Working Party on Higher Education in East Africa*, July-August, 1955, 8.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

suitably governed under High Commission legislation.”⁶¹ With this official permission and with funding from the three East African territories and Britain, the College was set to go. The stone-laying ceremony took place on April 25, 1952 and the construction of what would become the Royal Technical College began. Commenting on this historic moment (stone-laying ceremony) the *East African Standard* had the following to say:

Among the many foundation stones of future policy and practice which His Excellency the Governor of Kenya, Sir Philip Mitchell has laid during the latter period of his service to the Colonial Empire in Africa few will have greater importance in the long run for East Africa and all its peoples than that of the Royal Technical College which he will place in position this morning. The ceremony will mark the climax of a long and often weary struggle to secure early and adequate recognition for technical education as an educational change and advancement necessary in the conditions of the East Africa of today, and particularly important to the future of the African.⁶²

Indeed, this ceremony was one of the most important occasions in the history of East African education because it raised the region’s higher education system by laying emphasis on technical education. Sir Philip Mitchell in his address opined: “The institution of which we are laying the foundation stone today aspires to become in the near future the Royal College of Science and Technology for the whole of East Africa and I hope that the day will come when it will qualify for the grant of a Royal Charter and so achieve the equivalent of University status.”⁶³

At the beginning of 1952 the East Africa High Commission (E. A. H. C.) had agreed that institutions of higher education in East Africa had to be inter-territorial in character. Being one such institution, therefore, the R. T. C. had to meet this requirement. As happened with Makerere, the R. T. C’s administration was put under a regional

⁶¹ East African High Commission. The Royal Technical College of East Africa Act, 1954. Memorandum of Objects and Reasons, 23.

⁶² *East African Standard*, 25 April 1952.

structure, except that this time it was the East African High Commission, not the Representative Council to which Makerere was handed over by the Uganda government. Like Makerere, the R. T. C. ceased to be directly linked to the Kenya Government as soon as Dr. Harlow's recommendation had been accepted. By 1953 it was clear that there would be no impediment in the establishment of the R. T. C. In March 1953, the High Commission made the Royal Technical College of East Africa Order, 1953 with the approval of the Legislative Councils of each of the three territories. Major-General C. Bullard was appointed as the College's first Principal. In April 1954 the East African Central Legislative Assembly passed an Act establishing the R. T. C. This Act repealed the Charter granted to the College in September 1951. In April 1954 the Gandhi Memorial Academy, an institution founded by the Gandhi Memorial Society in memory of Mahatma Gandhi, and the R. T. C. merged so as to offer better service to the people of East Africa. The Gandhi Memorial Society subsequently provided £200, 000 towards the cost of the College buildings.

The E. A. H. C. Act that set up the R. T. C. in April 1954 authorized it to provide: (i) facilities for higher technological training; (ii) facilities for professional training; (iii) facilities for research; and (iv) facilities for vocational training, either in conjunction with any other training or separately therefrom, in engineering, science, laboratory technology, sanitary science, pharmacy, domestic science, industry, commerce, accountancy, economics, arts, art and artistic crafts, either directly or through the medium of connected schools or connected institutes.⁶⁴ The Act discouraged duplication of facilities and encouraged consultation among different academic institutions in the region.

⁶³ *East African Standard*, 26 April 1952.

⁶⁴ *Report of the Working Party on Higher Education in East Africa*, July-August, 1955, 10.

The R. T. C. opened its doors to new students in 1956 at the edge of Nairobi city. It had six departments: Department of Architecture, Department of Arts, Department of Commerce, Department of Domestic Science, Department of Engineering and Department of Science. Princess Margaret formally opened the R. T. C. on October 24, 1956. The College had 215 students (105 Africans, 100 Asians and 10 Europeans). Between 1956 and 1961 it provided technical and commercial education in East Africa. It also prepared students for examinations such as the Royal Institute of British Architects, the Royal Institute of Chartered Surveyors, and the Institute of Chartered Secretaries.⁶⁵ At long last the idea of establishing a second college in East Africa had become a reality. There was still a long way to go before the U. E. A. would come into being, but each step forward increased the hopes of establishing such an institution. One of those steps was the appointment in 1955 of a Working Party on Higher Education in East Africa.

2.3.2 The First Working Party, 1955

Once Makerere had become a University College and entered into a 'Special Relationship' with the University of London in 1949, higher education in East Africa received more attention than had been the case before. In the autumn of 1954 the E. A. H. C. suggested the appointment of a Committee to review higher education in East Africa and assist in planning Makerere College's further development. This suggestion was made following the visits made to East Africa by representatives of the I. U. C. and the A. C. C. A. S. T. The proposed Committee would re-examine the existing blueprint for higher education in East Africa in light of previous recommendations. The Committee

⁶⁵ S. E. Migot-Adholla, "The Evolution of Higher Education [Kenya]", in L. Tembo et al. (eds) *The Development of Higher Education in Eastern and Southern Africa* (Nairobi: Hedaya Educational Books,

had to be independent and objective, consisting of persons not themselves directly involved in East African education.⁶⁶

The Secretary of State for the Colonies, Allan T. Lennox-Boyd, asked the I. U. C. and the A. C. C. A. S. T. to appoint representatives to a composite Working Party. In July 1955 a Working Party under Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders, then Director of the London School of Economics was appointed. Other members of this first Working Party were: Sir David Lindsay Keir, Master of Balliol College in Oxford; Dr. F. J. Harlow, Assistant Educational Adviser to the Secretary of State on Technical Education; and Prof. E. Giffen, Professor of Civil and Mechanical Engineering at Queen Mary College, London University. The Working Party was guided by the following terms: (i) To bring under review the existing provision for all post-secondary education in East Africa taking note of the plans in view for the development of the existing higher education institutions; (ii) To bring under review the estimated requirements of higher education in East Africa for the next ten years; and (iii) To make recommendations arising out of paragraphs (i) and (ii).

The Working Party's members left for East Africa in two groups. Keir and Harlow arrived in Nairobi on July 16, 1955. Carr-Saunders and Giffen joined them on July 18. By the time the Party arrived plans had already been put in place to facilitate its work. Under the headline: 'Review of East Africa Education,' the *East African Standard* reported: "A comprehensive tour of advanced education institutions in Kenya has been arranged for the Working Party on higher education, led by Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders, Chairman of the Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies, which begins its

1985), 3.

⁶⁶ *White Paper on Higher Education in East Africa* (Entebbe: GP, 1958), 2.

inquiries in Nairobi on Monday. The Party was appointed by the Colonial Secretary after consultation with the East African territorial Governments.”⁶⁷ Academics and politicians looked forward to the Working Party’s findings and recommendations.

While in Kenya, members of the Working Party held discussions with the Administrator of the East Africa High Commission, Kenya’s Ministers of Education, Land and Labour as well as Directors of Education and deputy and Assistant Directors of Education. Between July 19 and 26, 1955, the Working Party visited different schools in Kenya and talked to school principals and other education authorities including Mr. G. P. Willoughby (Chairman of R. T. C. Governing Council). They also held discussions with representatives of the Association of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in East Africa. Before leaving Kenya, the Party interviewed ex-students of Mombasa Institute of Muslim Education and also talked to some of the institution’s officials such as the principal and the bursar.

On July 27 and 28, 1955, the Working Party was in Zanzibar where it interviewed the Director of Education and other education officers before visiting local schools. It also held discussions with Directors of different institutions such as medicine, agriculture and finance. The Party then interviewed two members of the Legislative Council, the Principal of the Muslim Academy and representatives of the Indian Community. From July 29 to August 8, 1955 it was in Tanganyika where it met education officials (Principals, Headmasters and Directors of Education) and government officials from different ministries.

From August 10 to 17, 1955 the Working Party was in Uganda. Here, it interviewed the Governor of Uganda, Sir Andrew Cohen, and held discussions with Directors of

⁶⁷ *East African Standard*, 13 July 1955.

different departments, school principals, representatives of parents' associations, representatives of the Uganda Chamber of Commerce, Indian Merchants Chamber and Uganda African Chamber of Commerce, the President and Secretary of the Progressive Party and members of the Uganda National Congress. Having spent a total of four-and-a-half weeks traversing the East African territories, the Working Party left Entebbe (Uganda) on August 17, 1955 and returned to London.

In its Report, which was submitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in January 1956, the Working Party recommended that drastic steps be taken to accelerate the pace towards the establishment of the U. E. A. As seen above, by this time Makerere was no longer the only center of attraction in East African higher education. The R. T. C. had made its presence felt. However, Makerere still enjoyed more popularity. The Working Party observed: "Makerere is the only institution of university status yet established in East Africa; judged by academic standards it is fully entitled to rank alongside the other university institutions of the British Commonwealth, and it is a possession of which East Africa has every reason to be proud."⁶⁸ The R. T. C. may have had a regional outlook but it did not match Makerere's status. To be sure, the Working Party was not in East Africa to judge one college against the other. Its task was to find ways in which higher education could be improved in the region as a whole. It is for this latter reason that it steadfastly upheld the belief that the provision of university education in East Africa had to continue to be the concern of all three territories acting as a unit. This proposal was premised on the understanding that time was not ripe yet for each of the three territories to support its own university institution. Therefore,

⁶⁸ *Report of the Working Party on Higher Education in East Africa*, July-August, 1955, 21.

until that time arrives it would be folly to cripple the development of Makerere College by the diversion of funds, now needed to build up that college, to the foundation of new institutions for which financial support would be inadequate. This does not mean. . . that it is premature to make plans for the provision of university studies elsewhere in East Africa and to take steps in the direction of carrying them out; but it does mean that funds needed for the beginning of university institutions elsewhere should not be obtained by diverting to these new purposes money needed to complete the development of Makerere College.⁶⁹

In a nutshell, the First Working Party put its weight behind Makerere's case.

All three East African Governments accepted the Working Party's overall recommendation that higher education in East Africa needed immediate reorganization. "With these views in mind," they maintained, "the Governments consider that all recognized institutions of University College status in East Africa should be closely associated. This association might with advantage be put on formal basis and the desirability of carrying out further University College development within the scope of a single University of East Africa, of which all present and future colleges territorially situated would be constituent units, should be considered. . . ." ⁷⁰ While being optimistic about the University, the three East African Governments conceded that it would be some time before such a university could become a reality. But that did not mean that the process of its establishment had to be halted. The Working Party agreed, for example, that University Colleges had to be established both in Kenya and in Tanganyika on the understanding that they would be complementary to, not competitive with the already existing ones. The colleges would be inter-territorial and would be the subject of consultation between the Governments with regard to both their scope and timing.

To set educational inter-territoriality in motion, the three Governments recommended to the Governing Councils of Makerere and the R. T. C. that they had to establish an

⁶⁹ Ibid., 24.

Academic Liaison Committee on which representatives of both academic boards would sit. The Committee would meet alternately at these two institutions and the Principal of the hosting college would chair the meeting.

One of the impediments to speeding up the process of establishing the University was the very fact that East Africa was not a single territory but three, or four if we include Zanzibar. In its Report, the Working Party expressed its concern about this fact and said that this situation made it difficult to decide where and when to plan a second University College once the development of Makerere had been completed. But from the above discussion it is clear that Kenya was already far ahead of Tanganyika and this made her an obvious successor to Makerere. In spite of this almost obvious fact, the details on how to proceed to the next stage were left to Dr. John F. Lockwood's Working Party. It was hoped that the recommendations of this Second Working Party would help tighten the loose ends and accelerate the process.

2.3.3 The Second Working Party, 1958

As seen above, the East African Governments were very much impressed by the Report of the First Working Party. In their joint White Paper, 'Higher Education in East Africa,' the governments conceded that no one would repudiate the fact that the need for higher education in East Africa was on the increase. It was for this reason that they approved the 1955 Working Party's recommendation on promoting regional integration in higher education. But before implementing any resolutions outlined in the White Paper, the governments needed an independent opinion to confirm theirs. They therefore

⁷⁰ *White Paper on Higher Education in East Africa* (Entebbe: GP, 1958), 5.

approached the Secretary of State for the Colonies⁷¹ and asked him to appoint a Working Party to examine the proposals set out in the White Paper. In July 1958 a six-member Working Party under Dr. John F. Lockwood, Master of Birkbeck College and Vice-Chancellor of the University of London, was appointed. Other members of the Party were: Dame Lillian Penson, Professor of Modern History, Bedford College, University of London; Professor C. T. Ingold, Professor of Botany, Birkbeck College, University of London; Mr. D. H. Alexander, Principal of Municipal College of Technology, Belfast; Sir David Lindsay Keir and Professor E. Giffen, both of whom were members of the First Working Party.

The Second Working Party was guided by the following three terms: (i) To examine and advise on the proposals for the creation of new institutions of higher education in East Africa and to advise on their desirability and scope and on the timing of their establishment. (ii) To examine and advise on the pattern of future development of higher education in East Africa, and to examine the desirability and practicability of carrying out any such development within the scope of a single university or University College of East Africa of which all colleges situated in the region would be constituent units and (iii) To examine and advise on the additional facilities (if any) for higher technological as well as professional training which are required in East Africa.

Lockwood's Working Party conducted its business between July and August 1958. Thorough preparations were made before the Working Party's arrival in East Africa. Members of the public were invited to submit memoranda for the Working Party's consideration. More than fifty such memoranda were submitted. Writing to the

⁷¹ The Secretary of State for the Colonies was still Allan T. Lennox-Boyd. He took over from Oliver Lyttelton, who resigned on November 25, 1954, and remained in this position until 1959. He was

Permanent Secretary for Local Government, Health and Town Planning at the beginning of July 1958, the Permanent Secretary for Education in Kenya informed his colleague that the Working Party would be visiting Nairobi during the week beginning on July 17. He continued: "It is considered it will be of value to the Party if they can be given the opportunity of meeting the heads of Departments particularly interested in the employment of men trained at the Royal Technical College and Makerere College, together with the Director of Establishments and the Labour Commissioner who are concerned with the placing, in Government posts and commercial employment respectively, of students who have completed their higher education. . . ."⁷²

The Working Party arrived in East Africa in separate groups. Dr. Lockwood and the Secretary arrived in Nairobi on July 4 and left for Uganda on July 7. On July 6 and 7 they held discussions with the Acting Minister and the Acting Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Education, Labour and Lands in Kenya. They also held discussions with the Chairman of Council and the Acting Principal of the R. T. C. On July 8, Professors Giffen and Ingold and Mr. Alexander arrived in Uganda. They interviewed the Governor and the Acting Chief Secretary. Between July 9 and 16, the Working Party visited different institutions and individuals in Uganda and held discussions with them. These included: education officials (Ministers, Directors and Principals), Councils of Ministers from the Kabaka's Government, members of the Advisory Council on African, Asian, European and Goan Education, as well as Secretary and representative members of the Uganda National Congress.

succeeded by Iain Macleod.

⁷² Permanent Secretary for Education in Kenya to Permanent Secretary for Local Government, Health and Town Planning (ED.52/9/4. IV), 1 July 1958. KNA. BY/27/2.

From July 17 to 24 the Working Party was in Kenya. Sir David Keir joined it on July 18. While in Kenya, the Working Party met former students of Makerere College and R. T. C. It also met education officials and representatives from different Ministries, the Permanent Secretaries as well as the Administrator of the E. A. H. C. From July 25 to 26 it visited Zanzibar and held discussions with education officers and directors of different Ministries. The Working Party met representatives of teachers, parents' Associations and the African Association, Arab Association, Comorian Association, Indian National Association, Muslim Association and Shirazi Association. It also had a meeting with graduates from Makerere College and overseas universities.

Between July 28 and August 3 the Working Party visited Tanganyika. It first interviewed the Governor and the Chief Secretary before holding discussions with different Ministries and representatives from different associations and organizations such as the Unofficial Members' Organization of the Legislative Council. The Working Party also had a meeting with Makerere College graduates and concluded its visits by traveling back to Kenya; it was in Kenya from August 4 to 7. Members of the Working Party left East Africa in three groups. Penson left on August 7 while Lockwood, Giffen, Ingold, Alexander and the Secretary left the following day. Sir David Keir was the last to leave on August 9.

The Working Party submitted its final Report to the Secretary of State for the Colonies on November 26, 1958. Its recommendations were both bold and optimistic. In paragraph 83 of the Report, members of the Working Party maintained that they had no doubt whatsoever that within a period of ten to fifteen years the idea of associating several colleges in the framework of a single university would become a reality and that

such a university would best serve the interests of East African Higher Education. The rationale behind this recommendation is contained in paragraph 89 of the Report of the Working Party which states:

All the colleges should be interterritorial wherever they are located. The principle of interterritoriality is fundamental to our recommendations. It is not only that the financial support needed from Governments should be obtained from all the Governments—important as that is. There are other reasons for our emphasis. Unless the colleges are interterritorial, there is bound to be needless and expensive duplication. It will be a long time, for example, before a second college will need or will be able to afford another medical school. Mulago can adequately serve all the territories. The college in Nairobi will be the centre for higher engineering courses in East Africa for some time to come. Apart from this, however, it is important that students all over East Africa should have a measure of choice as to the college at which they wish to study. Each college will develop individual characteristics; even in common faculties there will be difference of emphasis. A college in a territory other than the student's own may suit his needs better. There is yet another reason for our emphasis. Both the senior and junior members of the college will profit by the wider and more varied outlook which interterritoriality involves. Each college will be concerned with the needs of East Africa as a whole.⁷³

The Working Party recommended that the R. T. C. should be upgraded to a University College status providing courses of training in technology as well as courses leading to university degrees. The reasoning behind this idea was to combine technological and professional training in one institution. Students who completed their studies in such a college would secure employment in administrative, educational, commercial and industrial institutions throughout East Africa. The close association between professional and academic training would equip them for these jobs. Members of the Working Party were convinced that this was an excellent idea, hence their recommendation: "We, therefore, recommend that by measure of reconstruction and by the addition of appropriate facilities the Royal Technical College should be transformed

⁷³ *Report of the Working Party on Higher Education in East Africa*, July/August 1958, par.89.

into the second interterritorial University College in East Africa, and we strongly urge that immediate steps be taken to effect this transformation.”⁷⁴

Like Makerere, the R. T. C. had to enter into a ‘Special Relationship’ with the University of London. Such a change had to be effected expeditiously to ensure that the development of higher education in the region became a reality. Members of the Working Party were acutely aware of problems like the training of the academic staff, strengthening of the administration, physical expansion and rearrangement of the space available in the existing buildings. However, they still felt that remodeling the college was a necessity since the results would far exceed the problems experienced in effecting these changes.

Arguments in favor of the establishment of a University College in Tanganyika left the Working Party convinced about the merits of this idea. Their Report urged that the necessary preparatory measures be undertaken so that such a college could be opened in 1965/66, “or as soon thereafter as possible.”⁷⁵ Each of the colleges had to maintain inter-territoriality. This recommendation was premised on two closely related reasons: (i) financial support needed by each college came from all three governments, and therefore paying for an inter-territorial institution and local institutions offering the same facilities would over-stretch the governments unnecessarily; (ii) unless the colleges were inter-territorial, there would be unnecessary and costly duplication of facilities. According to Lockwood’s Working Party, the U. E. A. had to be established not later than 1966. The three colleges (two already existing and one being planned for Tanganyika), and any other college which might be founded thereafter, would become constituent colleges of

⁷⁴ Ibid., par.28.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 13. See also: *East African Standard*, 26 February 1959.

the envisaged U. E. A. To ensure that these plans were carried out speedily, the Working Party (paragraph 89) advised that no additional institutions offering facilities already offered by the colleges had to be contemplated since that would cause unnecessary delays in the implementation process. In its review of the Report, the *East African Standard* concluded: "In general, the recommendations may be described as bold, imaginative and practical, for they clear away much that has tended to clog progress and development, and point to great potentialities."⁷⁶

The implementation of the recommendations of Lockwood's Working Party began as soon as the three governments and the E. A. H. C. had studied the entire Report and were convinced by its contents. Late in 1960 the East Africa Legislative Assembly drafted the Royal College, Nairobi Bill, 1960. The Bill was read for the first time on November 30, 1960, and was read for the second time on December 3, 1960. Reading the motion regarding this Bill, The Administrator, Mr. David maintained: "I feel Sir, that the relatively brief life of the Royal Technical College Act is symbolic of the pace of educational development in East Africa. This is one field in which we can never be satisfied; one field in which we must ever be striving after higher aims and greater achievements."⁷⁷ He continued to state that higher education was not the responsibility of the E. A. H. C. and the policies were decided by the East African Governments in consultation with one another. In conclusion, he reasoned: "It is, however, because of the accepted East African basis of higher education that this Assembly has been charged with

⁷⁶ *East African Standard*, 26 February 1959.

⁷⁷ East Africa High Commission. Proceedings of the Central Legislative Assembly, Fourth Assembly, First Session, Second Meeting. Official Report, Vol. XIII, No. 2, 29 November 1960 (Nairobi: EAHC, 1961), Col. 565.

the duty of legislating for the two colleges which at present exist in this field.”⁷⁸ The Royal College, Nairobi Bill made provision for the transformation of the R. T. C. into a University College. It repealed the 1954 Royal Technical College Act. On June 25, 1961 the E. A. H. C. Act upgraded the R. T. C. into the status of a University College. Its name was subsequently changed to ‘Royal College, Nairobi’ (R. C.). Thus from 1961 Royal College, Nairobi officially became the second constituent college of the envisaged University of East Africa.

Like Makerere, the new College prepared students for the University of London examinations. In 1962 the faculty of Veterinary Science was transferred from Makerere to R. C. In 1963 the College of Social Studies, Kikuyu, formed part of the R. C. In 1964 the name of the College was changed again to become ‘University College, Nairobi’. It remained that way until the collapse of the University of East Africa.

The idea of inter-territoriality was retained in the aims of the College, which were stated as follows: (i) To provide facilities for University Education, including technological and professional education, and for research either directly or through the medium of connected schools or connected institutes. (ii) To assist in the preservation, transmission and increase of knowledge, and in the stimulation of the intellectual life and cultural development in East Africa. (iii) To preserve academic freedom and, in particular, the right of a college of the University of East Africa to determine who may teach, what may be taught, how it may be taught and who may be admitted to study.⁷⁹ These aims were similar to those of Makerere as they were stated in the 1960-61

⁷⁸ East Africa High Commission. Proceedings of the Central Legislative Assembly, Fourth Assembly, First Session, Second Meeting. Official Report, Vol. XIII, No. 2, 29 November 1960 (Nairobi: EAHC, 1961), Col 569.

⁷⁹ University of East Africa. The Nairobi Royal College, Calendar for 1963-64, 70-72.

Calendar: "It is hereby declared that Makerere College shall be governed and administered, in accordance with provisions of this Act, with a view towards providing in East Africa facilities for University education and for research either directly or through the medium of connected schools and connected institutes."⁸⁰ Both institutions were conscious of their responsibility to promote regionalism through higher education.

As the R. T. C. was going through its metamorphosis, developments in Higher Education were also taking place in Tanganyika. When Makerere became a University College it did not offer courses in Law and Engineering. The R. T. C. filled one gap by offering the latter. There was still a need for a regional institution to offer Law. It was partly⁸¹ due to this reason that the University College, Dar es Salaam was established. The Working Party once contemplated recommending that a University college to be established in Tanganyika could offer Geology, particularly in view of the impressive organization of the Geological Survey in Dodoma. However, this idea had to be abandoned because

a good nucleus of Geology department is already in existence at the Royal Technical College, and it seems, therefore most reasonable to develop and expand that nucleus so that it can teach for the B. Sc. General Degree and also make its specific contribution to geological research in East Africa. Furthermore, the importance of Geology in the training of civil engineers renders peculiarly appropriate the location of the department in the college which provides for degrees and higher professional qualifications in engineering.⁸²

According to the recommendations of the 1958 Working Party, the estimated date for the establishment of a College in Tanganyika was 1965/1966, or as soon thereafter as possible. But for reasons discussed in Chapter 6, the college came into being on October

⁸⁰ Makerere College. The University College of East Africa, Calendar for 1960-61, 146. See also: Makerere College. The University College of East Africa, Calendar for 1958-59, 75.

⁸¹ I say 'partly' because even if Law courses were offered in one or both of the already existing institutions, a need would still exist for Tanganyika to have a University College.

25, 1961. It was opened in a borrowed four-storey building leased by Julius Nyerere's Tanganyika African National Union (T. A. N. U.). The first intake of Law students was 14. The establishment of a University College in Tanganyika completed one of many phases leading to the establishment of the University of East Africa. The end was nearer but there were still a few miles to go.

2.3.4 The Final Touches

The recommendations made by the two Working Parties provided answers to most of the questions that needed to be addressed before the University of East Africa was established. But there were still a few outstanding issues. Between 1960 and the first half of 1963 concerted efforts were made to do the final touches in a bid to usher in the long-awaited University. This section discusses how those final touches were made by paying particular attention to the Quinquennial Report, the Nicol Report and the functioning of the Provisional Council of the U. E. A.

The Quinquennial Report, 1960

In 1960, the three East African Governors appointed the Quinquennial Advisory Committee and tasked it to study the Lockwood Report and advise them on the financial and other implications of the recommendations made in this Report. The Committee had to give the Governors specific advice on how the suggested phased program could be implemented. Specifically, the Quinquennial Advisory Committee was tasked: "to consider the proposals for, and the estimated cost of Higher Education in East Africa in

⁸² *Report of the Working Party on Higher Education in East Africa, July/August 1958*, 14, par.64.

the five years from 1961 to 1966.”⁸³ Its terms of reference were stated as follows: to advise the East African Governments generally in the light of: (i) the Report of the 1958 Working Party on Higher Education; (ii) the needs of the Colleges concerned; and (iii) the finance likely to be available. The Chairman of the Committee was E. B. David. Other members were: Yusuf K. Lule, W. Wenban-Smith, W. A. C. Mathieson, E. W. Russel, J. E. Richardson, R. Milnes Walker and C. R. Morris.

The Committee assembled at Entebbe on July 9, 1960 and drew up its itinerary. After holding preliminary meetings with the Principal of Makerere College, it flew to Nairobi on July 10. From July 11 to 14 it studied the development proposals and estimates submitted by the R. T. C. It also held discussions with the Chairman of the Governing Council, the Principal-Designate, the acting Principal and Heads of Departments. It then flew to Dar es Salaam on July 15 where it discussed proposals for the establishment of a new University College there. The Committee met with the Minister for Finance and with representatives of the Elected Members' Organization. On July 19 it flew back to Nairobi and visited the Makerere Veterinary Faculty at Kabete. The Committee then returned to Uganda on July 21 where it examined the proposals made by Makerere College. It also held discussions with the Principal, Heads of Departments and Administrative staff before holding an informal meeting with the Minister of Health. The Committee finished its job on July 28, 1960 and submitted its Report to the three East African Governors.

In its Report (paragraph 6), the Quinquennial Advisory Committee concluded that there were very strong educational reasons for the establishment of a central university in the East African region. Its members unanimously agreed that there would be an inter-

⁸³ *Report of the Quinquennial Advisory Committee*, 1960,1, par.1.

territorial college in each of the three territories. Each college would offer courses in the basic studies in Arts and Science. With regard to professional courses, the Committee advised that these would have to be divided between the colleges. This recommendation was inspired by the need to maintain inter-territoriality and the need to save money for the region.

Concerning the establishment of the U. E. A., the Committee maintained that such an institution would not come into full academic activity and authority until such time that was agreed upon by various stakeholders. The date would have to be determined in relation to the rhythm of the academic work of the colleges, considered both internally and in relation to the University of London to which they were affiliated.⁸⁴ The colleges could continue their relations with the University of London until the U. E. A. was established as an independent institution. With regard to the University College in Tanganyika, the Committee suggested that this college be established earlier than the date suggested in the Lockwood Report. It recommended that the college's Principal be appointed in the 1961/1962 academic year. The Committee also endorsed the 1958 Working Party's recommendation that a college in Tanganyika had to offer Law courses.

The Governor of Tanganyika was upbeat about the prospect of having a University College in Tanganyika. He addressed the Legislative Council as follows: "In the sphere of higher education it is this Government's wish that very early steps should be taken towards the setting up in Tanganyika of a University College. This proposal accords with the recommendation of the Advisory Committee which recently reported on

⁸⁴ Ibid., 2, par.8.

the development of higher education in East Africa for the five-year period 1961-66.”⁸⁵ The Minister for Education expressed the same feeling. Presenting the University College, Dar es Salaam (Provisional Council) Bill, 1961, he reminded the House about the recommendations made by the Quinquennial Advisory Committee: “Among these recommendations were a number of particularly close interest to this country, for the Committee advised that immediate steps should be taken towards the establishment of a University College of Tanganyika which would join with Makerere College and the Royal College, Nairobi, in a University of East Africa.”⁸⁶

On the financial aspects, the Committee recommended that grants be given to the different colleges and the Central Office of the envisaged University of East Africa. The following table shows how these grants would be distributed.

Table 3: The Distribution of Grants at the University of East Africa

<u>Institution</u>	<u>Amount (in Sterling Pounds)</u>
Makerere College	4, 304, 000
Royal College	1, 921, 000
Tanganyika College	255, 000
University of East Africa	30, 000
TOTAL	6, 510, 000

Source: *Report of the Quinquennial Advisory Committee*, 1960, p.7, para.22.

⁸⁵ Council Debates (Hansard) Tanganyika Legislative Council, Thirty-Sixth Session, First Meeting. Official Report (Dar es Salaam: GP, 1960), Col. 13.

⁸⁶ Council Debates (Hansard) Tanganyika Legislative Council, Thirty-Sixth Session, Third Meeting, February 1961. Official Report (Dar es Salaam: GP, 1961), Cols. 88-89.

The Quinquennial Advisory Committee recommended that a Provisional or Development Council for the University be established as soon as possible so that it would start putting in place the necessary administrative structures as well as guiding rules. This recommendation was in line with the 1958 Working Party's proposal that before the date for the establishment of the University was set, the terms of the constitution of the University would first have to be laid down. Once all the rules had been put in place then the date for the opening of the University would be decided. Students admitted to any of the Colleges after that date would subsequently work for the degrees of the University of East Africa. However, students who were already in the process of finishing their degrees for the University of London would be allowed to finish them – subject to the approval of their respective colleges. By this time there was no doubt that the University of East Africa would indeed become a reality. The next subsection takes a closer look at the Provisional Council and shows its contribution towards speeding up the process.

The Provisional Council of the University of East Africa, 1961

The establishment of the Provisional Council of the University of East Africa marked an important phase in the history of the University. The draft enactment for the Provisional Council of the University of East Africa stated: "It is hereby declared that there shall be established on the appointed day a University of East Africa, of which Makerere, the Royal College and the University College, Dar-es-Salaam shall be members, and for the furtherance of this purpose there shall now be established a body to

be known as the Provisional Council of the University.”⁸⁷ The Provisional Council of the University of East Africa was subsequently established in June 1961 under the Chairmanship of Sir Donald MacGillivray. It was a product of an agreement reached by the three East African Governments and their colleges to set up an interim administrative structure.

The principal task of the Provisional Council was to establish the University of East Africa. This task involved: (i) consultation with the University Colleges and with the authorities of the proposed college in Tanganyika so as to co-ordinate the colleges’ development plans; (ii) consultation with governments on matters affecting higher education in East Africa; and (iii) the preparation of a draft charter and statutes for the University of East Africa.⁸⁸ The functions of the Provisional Council of the University of East Africa were summarized as follows: (a) The preparation of a draft charter and statutes for the University; (b) The making of regulations for entrance to the University for courses of study, for the duration and number of University terms, for the award of degrees, certificates and diplomas of the University and for the revocation of such awards, such regulations to be in force for the first year after the establishment of the University or until such later date as they were amended or revoked by the authorities of the University; (c) The coordination of the development plans of the colleges and the establishment of common standards and principles in the structure of courses of study and examinations; (d) The approval of the establishment of new Departments or Chairs; (iv) Advising the East African Governments and the Government of Zanzibar on matters

⁸⁷ Draft Enactment for Provisional Council of the University of East Africa. U. O. N. Archives. UEA University Council. PUEA/1A/78.

⁸⁸ Council Memorandum, 61/5A (Makerere Memorandum c/600 – 61/27). Provisional Council of the University of East Africa. U. O. N. Archives. UEA University Council. PUEA/1A/78, 23.

affecting University policy; and (v) The making of provisions with regard to the relationship with the University of other institutions of higher education and of research institutions.⁸⁹

The Provisional Council held its first meeting at the Royal College, Nairobi on June 21 and 22, 1961. Its task was a daunting one, but those to whom such a task had been assigned seemed ready for it. Sir Donald MacGillivray, in his opening address, remarked that the first meeting was a very exciting occasion because it was “the first meeting of a body charged with the task of bringing a new university into being in the stimulating and rapidly changing circumstances of East Africa.”⁹⁰ He looked forward to a challenging but necessary task lying ahead of the Council and prayed that God would guide the deliberations so that the Council could create an instrument that would truly serve the people of East Africa. The Chairman used this opportunity to assure his colleagues that the University they were about to establish had the backing of a wider community from beyond the boundaries of East Africa. He pointed out that the Conference on Education in East Africa which was held at Princeton, New Jersey in the United States in December 1960, had noted with pleasure the decision to establish the U. E. A.⁹¹ Commenting on East Africa’s three University Colleges, the Princeton meeting stated: “They will be strengthened academically by their integration into a common University of East Africa.”⁹² The conference urged that immediate steps be taken to

⁸⁹ Minutes of the Meeting of the Promotional Committee at Makerere College on 1st March 1961. U. O. N. Archives, UEA University Council. PUEA/1A/60 ,3.

⁹⁰ Minutes of the First Meeting of the Provisional Council of the University of East Africa, Royal College, Nairobi, 21st and 22nd June 1961, U.O.N. Archives, PUEA/1A/52.

⁹¹ The conference was sponsored by the Africa Liaison Committee of the American Council on Education, a committee that served as a link between Africa and America.

⁹² Supplementary Notes to: The Press Release. U. O. N. Archives. UEA University Council, PUEA/1A/57.

ensure that this idea was put into practice. This piece of information left Council members convinced that they were not alone in their endeavour.

The envisaged University's inter-territoriality had to be demonstrated by the Council itself. To this end, it was agreed that the Provisional Council would not have any specific meeting place of its own. Instead, there would be a rotation of meetings between Nairobi, Dar-es-Salaam and Kampala. However, the Council's Headquarters were opened in Uganda since the Uganda Government had made office space available immediately and promised to have other buildings ready within a year. After the meeting, a press statement was prepared and arrangements made for simultaneous release in Nairobi, Kampala, Dar es Salaam and London on June 23, 1961.⁹³ These developments show the level of caution exercised by the Provisional Council. It wanted to set the tone by making it known that the envisaged University would indeed be for the entire region and not just one territory. Another press statement, released in March 1962, referred to the Chairman's announcement that the Provisional Council had been enlarged by the addition of three co-opted members: Mr. L. G. Sagini from Kenya, Chief A. S. Fundikira from Tanganyika and Dr. M. J. Alier from Uganda. According to the statement, these additions to the Council's membership reflected the Council's desire to make itself more representative of public opinion in different parts of the East African region.⁹⁴

Once the Provisional Council went into full gear with the deliberations, it was agreed that the Provisional Council would address the most urgent issues such as drafting the University Charter and Statutes. Other issues would be addressed by the University Council which would be appointed as soon as the University of East Africa had been

⁹³ Ibid., Minute No.9/61 and Minute No.29/61.

constituted. In its 5th meeting, held at the University College, Dar es Salaam on June 27, 1962, the Provisional Council approved of the suggestion that the East African Central Legislative Assembly should be requested to pass the Act establishing the University such that it left the function of statute-making to the University Council. For the time being, the University would operate under the Statutes made by the Provisional Council. The Provisional Council recommended that the transitional period be limited to a maximum of six months in order to ensure that the Statute was made soon after the University Council had been put in place.⁹⁵ It was hoped that by that time the University Council would have had sufficient time to make its own Statute.

The Provisional Council performed its duties to the best of its ability. By the end of March 1962 it was almost certain that the proposed University would come into being in the middle of 1963. The overall thinking of the Provisional Council can be gleaned from a Draft Letter which appears in its files. The letter reads thus:

Dear

As a result of discussions in which scholars of many countries have engaged, it is now a widely accepted proposition that the orderly and successful development of higher education in East Africa depends upon three closely related factors. These are the provision of effective local institutions, with modern facilities and equipment, the recruitment, in Africa and abroad, of well qualified academic staff, and a programme of overseas scholarships in those areas where opportunities in East Africa are for the time being lacking.

The provisional Council of the University of East Africa has publicly recognized the great assistance given to education in East Africa, and to higher education in particular, by the programmes of scholarship – aid which have permitted certain students to proceed to overseas colleges and universities. It was specially concerned, however, to point out that a programme of overseas scholarships should be designed to supplement

⁹⁴ Press and Radio Release Issued by the Secretary of the Provisional Council on its Authority, Monday 26 March 1962. U.O.N. Archives, PUEA/IA/54 Vol.2.

⁹⁵ Minutes of the Fifth Meeting of the Provisional Council of the University of East Africa, University College, Dar-es-Salaam, 27 June 1962. U.O.N. Archives, PUEA/IA/54 Vol.2.

and strengthen the basic and essential responsibility for which there is no substitute, that of building strong and effective local institutions.

The Provisional Council wishes now to place the most earnest emphasis upon the great need of the constituent colleges of the University for an adequate supply, either through secondment of personnel, or through financial provision, of well trained expatriate staff during the period that African scholars and teachers are being prepared to take over responsibility for these institutions. Indeed, it cannot escape the conclusion that the most direct and effective road to developing institutions of genuine academic repute is by providing them with teachers who can build the departments and develop the curricula for the training of future generations of Africans.

The Provisional Council draws attention, therefore, to the enduring results that can be purchased at relatively small cost by financial aid given to its recruitment needs.

Yours⁹⁶

The contents of this letter, especially the point about bringing in expatriate staff to level the ground for the not-yet-ready African staff, was to become the source of confrontation among African politicians and scholars once the University had been established. The debates on the Africanization of staff at the colleges are discussed in Chapter 4. What needs to be highlighted at this juncture is that when the Provisional Council was appointed, different committees were also set up to address specific issues and report back to the Council. The rationale behind setting up these ad hoc committees was to ease the Provisional Council's job while at the same time making sure that the Provisional council remained in charge of the entire process of setting up the University of East Africa. One of those committees was under the chairmanship of Dr. Davidson Nicol, the Principal of the University College of Sierra Leone in West Africa.

The Nicol Committee Report, 1962

After the Provisional Council had been instituted, one of its many tasks was to try to understand the manpower needs in the East African region. Such information would assist the Council in making informed decisions about the role the University could play in regional development. The Provisional Council asked Mr. Guy Hunter to conduct a manpower study for East Africa. With the assistance of Professor Frederick Harbison, Mr. Hunter carried his study in 1962 and wrote a Report entitled 'High-Level Manpower in East Africa: A Preliminary Assessment'. Although the Report was never published, Mr. Hunter included its data in a book he published the following year, whose immediate purpose was to examine educational and training opportunities open to East Africans in their region and to highlight deficiencies which might be filled by sending students abroad.⁹⁷ Hunter's study called for massive educational expansion aimed at satisfying the requirements of the East African region's ambitious development plans.

During the second half of 1962, the Provisional Council appointed a Committee and tasked it: "To review the needs and priorities of higher education in the three East African University Colleges, in view of new circumstances which have arisen since the Report of the Quinquennial Advisory Committee, of the intention to establish a University College of East Africa, of such findings of any East African manpower survey that may be available and of the desirability that each college should be able as soon as possible to play its full part in the university structure; and to recommend accordingly."⁹⁸

This Committee of five members was a very powerful Committee comprising renowned

⁹⁶ Draft Letter. Provisional Council Minutes, 29 March 1962, Annexure H, U.O.N. Archives. PUEA/IA/54 Vol.2. The same letter also appears as Annexure F. in the Provisional Council Minutes of 24 October 1962.

⁹⁷ Hunter, *Education for a Developing Region*, x.

scholars from Britain, Canada, America and West Africa. Three of its five members had just returned from the UNESCO Conference on the Development of Higher Education in Africa that was held in Tananarive in September 1962. The Committee's Chairman, Dr. Davidon Nicol, served as Chairman of the above Conference on: 'The Choice and Adaptation of the Higher Education Curriculum'. Another member of the Committee, Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders from the I. U. C., had been one of the consultants of the Tananarive Conference and also submitted a background paper on 'Staffing of Higher Education in Africa'. Alan Pifer from the Carnegie Corporation had been one of the consultants of the Tananarive Conference, which he also attended. The other two members of the Committee were H. J. Seddon and N. A. M. Mackenzie.

Nicol's Committee arrived in East Africa in September 1962 and only had three weeks within which to collect evidence. This meant that it had to move at a very high speed. The obvious implications of working at such a speed will not be discussed here. Within that short time, the Committee managed to visit all three East African territories. But firstly it visited Mr. Hunter to get more insight about his survey. The Committee stated afterwards: "we found the manpower survey useful in several respects and we are grateful to Mr. Hunter and Professor Harbison for their work."⁹⁹ Nicol's Committee then conducted interviews with College, University and Government officials in East Africa. It subsequently reported to the Provisional Council in January 1963.

The Report of the Committee on Needs and Priorities resulted in the establishment of the University Development Plan (U. D. P.). This is the plan that was going to guide the administrators of the University of East Africa for the first triennial

⁹⁸ *Report of the Committee on Needs and Priorities* (Entebbe: GP, 1963), Introduction.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 74.

period ending in 1967. After studying the financial position of all three colleges, the Nicol Committee came to the conclusion that a total cut of £150, 000 had to be made from Makerere's grant for 1963-1966. This money would be redistributed as follows: £60, 000 would go to the Royal College, Nairobi; £50, 000 to Dar es Salaam; and £40, 000 to the Faculty of Veterinary Science. Before the Committee's arrival, a total sum of £85, 000 for the extension of Makerere's Northcote Hall had been frozen by the College's authorities after realizing that the number of students it had expected to come to the college would decline drastically as some of them joined the new colleges in Kenya and Tanganyika. Nicol's Committee recommended that £40, 000 from this fund be transferred to Dar es Salaam. Mitchell Hall (already under construction) had to be left as it was so that whatever remained of the £250, 000 allotted for it could be given to Dar es Salaam.

One of the key recommendations of the Nicol Report was 'parity' or 'equity.' The objective was: "to bring the colleges as quickly as possible to a rough degree of parity. By Parity we mean equality in teaching facilities in number of student places in basic faculties of Arts, Science and Education common to all colleges, and in the spread of intellectual quality."¹⁰⁰ There was a conscious decision to bring Dar es Salaam (and to a certain extent the Royal College) on par with Makerere – already at an advanced stage of development. Some scholars believe that Crawford Pratt, Principal of the University College, Dar es Salaam, pushed the objective of parity on behalf of his college.¹⁰¹

Unsurprisingly, this proposed idea of 'parity' or 'equity' between the colleges did not go down well with Ugandan academics and politicians. Mr. F. X. B. Mugenyi, a

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

politician in Uganda, later recalled in Uganda's National Assembly: "I could not imagine, Sir, a time when Makerere University should mark time until the Dar es Salaam University or Nairobi reached the same status."¹⁰² Naturally, Dar es Salaam was thrilled with the Committee's recommendations since it would be the main beneficiary. In fact, even before Nicol's Committee arrived, Dar es Salaam had asked Makerere to transfer to her the funds referred to above but Makerere's Council refused and resolved that:

the University College, Dar es Salaam, be informed that the Council views with great sympathy its problems in financing a capital development programme. The Council, however, was not in a position to assess the needs and resources of the other East African University Colleges against its own pressing capital requirements and considered that such an assessment could only be justly made by an independent advisory body; the council therefore felt unable to enter bilateral negotiations on this subject.¹⁰³

Nicol's Committee served as that independent body. Kenya was not adversely affected by the recommendations of the Nicol Report and thus decided on a diplomatic silence when the Nicol Committee released its Report. Overall, Davidson Nicol's Committee "was the embodiment of a first attempt to centralise the allocation of resources."¹⁰⁴ The Report of the Nicol Committee marked the last phase in the process of establishing the U. E. A. Five months after its publication the long-awaited University of East Africa was inaugurated.

2.3.5 The Establishment of the University of East Africa, 1962-1963

In 1962 the Governors-General of Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda – with the advice and consent of the East African Central Legislative Assembly – enacted the

¹⁰¹ Rastad, "Issues of University Development in East Africa", 204.

¹⁰² National Assembly Debates (Uganda), Official Report, Second Series, Vol.50 (July 6, 1965), Col. 2766.

¹⁰³ Southall, *Federalism and Higher Education in East Africa*, 62.

University of East Africa Act. This Act officially set up the Federal University of East Africa with three constituent colleges: Makerere University College in Uganda, Royal College, Nairobi in Kenya, and the University College, Dar es Salaam in Tanganyika.

Part II 3(1) and 4(1) stated:

There shall be established, upon a day to be appointed by the Authority by notice in the Gazette, a university to be known as the University of East Africa, hereinafter referred to as 'the University' The University shall comprise the constituent colleges thereof and such other colleges as may, from time to time, be recognized as constituent colleges in accordance with the provisions of this section.¹⁰⁵

The objects and functions of the University of East Africa were stated as follows:

(i) to assist in the preservation, transmission and increase of knowledge and in the stimulation of the intellectual life and cultural development of East Africa, to preserve academic freedom and, in particular, the right of a university, or university college, to determine who may teach, what may be taught, how it shall be taught and who may be admitted to study therein; (ii) to assume responsibility for university education within East Africa, to co-operate with governments or other appropriate bodies in the planned development of higher education and, in particular to examine and approve proposals for new faculties, new departments, new degree courses, or new subjects of study submitted to it by the constituent colleges; and (iii) to conduct examinations for, and to grant, degrees, diplomas, certificates and other awards of the university.¹⁰⁶ It was agreed that President Nyerere should become the first Chancellor of the University. Sir Bernard de Bunsen was appointed Vice-Chancellor while Sir Donald MacGillivray and Dr. Lindsay M. Young became Council Chairman and Registrar respectively. Accepting his position,

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 59.

¹⁰⁵ EACSO. East African Common Services Organization Gazettes, 1962 (Nairobi: EACSO Printer, 1963), 320-321.

President Nyerere wrote: “. . . I would like to say how pleased I am to receive the honour of being made first Chancellor of the University of East Africa. I am very anxious that our University should become renowned for the quality of its graduates and for its services, through them and the staff, to the development of the whole area.”¹⁰⁷

The establishment of the federal University of East Africa was an event many constituencies had been eagerly waiting for. When the day of its inauguration eventually came on June 28, 1963, it was greeted with excitement. In Nairobi, the *Daily Nation* had an eight-page supplement exclusively on the University. It reported: “Three solemn ceremonies will today bring to Nairobi’s Royal College the traditional pomp of learning as the University of East Africa is officially inaugurated, its Chancellor installed and a whole bevy of new buildings at the College opened.”¹⁰⁸ The reporter was very optimistic about the new University, predicting that it would produce generations of graduates whose degrees would hold their own against overseas universities. Looking at the history of the University of East Africa in hindsight we can see that this prediction was right. Individuals, institutions, governments and different companies all had good wishes for the University. One company based in Kenya wrote: “To the University on its inauguration and to Dr. Julius Nyerere the first Chancellor, sincere congratulations from UNITED AUTO TOOLS LTD, Suppliers of Aircraft. . . Marine Automobile and Engineering Tools.”¹⁰⁹

The inauguration ceremony of the University of East Africa took place in the *Taifa* (kiSwahili for ‘nation’) or Gloucester Hall at Royal College, Nairobi. It was

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 321-322.

¹⁰⁷ Provincial Council Minutes, 12 February 1963, Annexure D, Letter by President Nyerere to Mr. MacGillivray, dated 29 January 1963. U.O.N. Archives, PUEA/IA/58, Vol.3.

¹⁰⁸ *Daily Nation Supplement*, 28 June 1963.

preceded by the first meeting of the Senate, held in the Council Chamber of this University College. Sir Bernard de Bunsen, the Principal of Makerere College, led the procession to the Hall and constituted the congregation. He officially installed President Nyerere as Chancellor of the University and he was in turn officially installed by him as the University's Vice-Chancellor. It had been previously agreed that for the sake of regionalism the Vice-Chancellorship would be a rotating position among the three colleges. So, President Nyerere and Sir Bernard de Bunsen knew that they would hand over to their successors when the right time came. At long last the British and the East African dream of having a regional University became a reality!

Chapter Summary

The purpose of this Chapter has been to trace the history of the University of East Africa from the time the idea of establishing a Federal University in East Africa was conceived up to the inauguration of this institution in June 1963. A few conclusions can be drawn at this juncture. The first conclusion is that agency in the history of the University of East Africa cannot be attributed to any single constituency; various constituencies, local and global, played their role in bringing the University into existence. Nor can the establishment of this institution be attributed to any single causal factor. The British government had espoused the idea of establishing the University of East Africa as part of its general education policy since the end of the First World War. British Governors in East Africa asked successive Secretaries of State for the Colonies to set up Commissions, Committees, and Working Parties that would help them develop higher education in East Africa. East African politicians, too, through the East African

¹⁰⁹ *Daily Nation Supplement*, 28 June 1963.

Authority, embraced and promoted the idea of a Federal University by debating issues and passing Acts.

The second conclusion is that the process of establishing the University of East Africa did not unfold smoothly. This was because of two reasons. First, global events such as the outbreak of the Second World War reduced the pace at which the process of establishing the University was advancing. Second, and most importantly, there were tensions between different constituencies. The University of London worked on the assumption that University Colleges established in the colonies had to assimilate London's practices, a view Makerere College Board did not embrace. Thus London University's epistemology of homogenizing institutions of higher learning, already entrenched in Britain, did not always work in East Africa. Another locus of these tensions was between the would-be constituent colleges of the University of East Africa. Sometimes each college put its own needs before those of the region. This became another germ for tensions. Some of these issues will be further explored in Chapters 5 and 6.

This Chapter has also alluded to the fact that the establishment of the University of East Africa was politically inspired. The next Chapter demonstrates the role played by politics in the establishment of the federal University of East Africa.

CHAPTER 3

POLITICS AND THE UNIVERSITY OF EAST AFRICA

... however strong the desire to divorce education from politics,
it cannot be done; for as the Greeks so clearly appreciated,
education and politics are inextricably interwoven. . . .

B. de Jouvenel, cited in W. K. Chagula, *The
Economics and Politics of Higher Education
and Research in East Africa*, 1968

Introduction

The establishment of the inter-territorial University of East Africa in 1963 was, to a large extent, politically inspired. In a way this is not surprising because, as a norm, “inter-territorial organizations are political in their inception, termination, and basic arrangements even if the conflict factor is minimized in their daily operations.”¹ Thus, the University of East Africa, conceived of and established as an inter-territorial institution, could not be insulated from politics. Between 1919 and 1930, East African students persistently agitated for higher education and demonstrated their preparedness to travel abroad to obtain it. This gradually became unsettling to the British colonial governments in East Africa and to the Colonial Office in London, both of which were worried about the possible political outcome of these travels. Officials from these British institutions resolved to develop higher education in East Africa mainly for two reasons: first, to pacify East African youths who were thirsty for higher education; and, second, to

¹ Donald Rothchild, “The East African Community”, An Extended and Updated Version of a Paper Published in the *East African Economic Review*, Vol. III, No. 2 (December 1967), in Donald Rothchild (ed) *Politics of Integration: An East African Documentary* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1968).

‘protect’ these youths from exposure to political influence to which they were likely to fall prey if they traveled abroad in pursuit of their education. During the 1930s and 1940s, the British Colonial Office planned the establishment of the University of East Africa as part of the British imperial policy on higher education in the colonies. In both instances, political considerations were among the causal factors for the establishment of the University of East Africa.

The purpose of this Chapter is to show how a confluence of political factors contributed to the establishment of the University of East Africa in 1963. The Chapter demonstrates that British imperial policies on higher education in the colonies were largely influenced by political factors, as were the reactions from East African constituencies such as politicians, students and organizations; British Governors; and Directors of Education in the East African territories. The thrust of the argument in this Chapter is that the tensions that occurred between different constituencies in Britain and in East Africa regarding the establishment of the University of East Africa were largely politically motivated. This submission is buttressed by undertaking two investigations: first, by analyzing the statements articulated by different constituencies in Britain and in East Africa from the moment the idea of establishing an East African University was conceived to the time when this institution was inaugurated in 1963; second, by analyzing the different reports discussed in Chapter 2. This analysis will achieve two objectives: (i) it will help us understand the rationale for establishing the University of East Africa; and (ii) it will place the history of the University of East Africa in the wider context of British imperial policy on higher education in the colonies.

This Chapter is chronologically organized in five sections. The first section analyzes the political thinking in Britain and in East Africa in the early 1920s regarding the education (or lack thereof) of East African youths and its impact on British government opinion. This section explores the tensions that occurred between British Governors in East Africa and various East African constituencies regarding access to higher education. Also, it discusses the tensions which occurred at the British Colonial Office in London regarding the mode of operation in response to East African demands for higher education. Lastly, the section demonstrates how these different tensions paved the way for the establishment of a Federal University of East Africa.

The second section discusses the political tensions which occurred between the British government and its Governors and Directors of Education in East Africa regarding British imperial policy on East African higher education. These tensions are discussed with specific reference to the Currie Report of December 1933. This section analyzes the politics behind the delay in implementing the recommendations of the Currie Report, and also provides the political context in which the De la Warr Commission was appointed in 1936.

Section three addresses the political thinking in Britain during the course of the Second World War and shows how politics influenced the decisions made by the British government and its appointees regarding higher education in the British colonies in general and in East Africa in particular during the course of the Second World War. The fourth section analyzes political tensions between different constituencies in East Africa and in Britain between 1945 and 1960. The last section discusses these tensions between 1961 and 1963 when East African territories achieved their political independence from

Britain. The terminal point of the present Chapter is 1963, the date in which the University of East Africa was constituted. The political tensions which occurred once the University began its operation are discussed in Chapter 4. The impact of political independence on inter-territorial relations in East Africa and on the life of the University of East Africa is discussed in Chapter 6.

3.1 Politics and East African Education in the 1920s

The end of the First World War in 1918 left the British government and its officials totally convinced about the need to develop African education. This necessity presented itself in three ways. First, a postmortem of the First World War by the British government revealed that Africans could have been more useful during the war had they been offered the kind of education that would teach them certain skills. Second, as soon as the war ended, British Governors working in East Africa realized that there was a chronic shortage of artisans to rebuild the infrastructure that had been destroyed during the war. Third, the socio-economic and political climate in Britain during the post-war period was not stable. During the course of the war colonial subjects had been urged by the British government to travel to Britain so that they could lend a hand in the war effort. This did not last long – partly because of the race riots that broke out in Britain in 1919. These riots resulted in the repatriation of a number of colonial subjects from Britain to the colonies. Although students from the Caribbean and Africa were exempted from such measures, “they could not be insulated from the prevailing racist climate in Britain. The potential repercussions in the colonies of the exposure of members of the educated West

Indian and African elite to racism on the streets of Britain were all too obvious.”² Under these circumstances the British government resolved to educate East Africans locally. Thus politics became a determining factor in the formulation of British imperial policy on education in East Africa after the First World War.

From the 1920s onwards, British policy was governed by the assumption that political independence was a foreseeable endpoint³ at some remote future time; thus colonial subjects had to be prepared for the time when they would be expected to run their own affairs. This British thinking paved the way for the eventual establishment of the University of East Africa.

Similarly, Africans in general stressed the need for higher education because they believed that this level of education would enhance and, later, consolidate their political independence. In East Africa, this thirst for education contributed, however little, to the need for the establishment of the University of East Africa. Therefore, both the British government and its appointees on the one hand and African constituencies on the other shared the same view that there was a need for higher education in East Africa. The locus of the tensions that subsequently emerged between these constituencies was over the manner in which this education could be acquired without having a negative impact on political stability in East Africa. It is here that the political wrangling ensued.

There was considerable pressure exerted by the chiefs and African political groups on the colonial government to establish schools of full secondary status with the hope – in the cases of Budo in Uganda and the Alliance High School in Kenya – that these schools might develop into universities and thus quench East Africa’s thirst for

² Cobley, “The Historical Development of Higher Education in the Anglophone Caribbean”, 7.

higher education.⁴ Meanwhile, East Africans were determined to acquire higher education wherever it was available using different means. Molonket Olokorinya ole Sempele, a Keekonyokie Maasai, sold his cattle in 1908 and left for North Carolina with his missionary friends who had been working for the Africa Inland Mission (A. I. M.) in East Africa. Parents who had the money, especially East African chiefs, sent their children abroad to pursue their education. These students include *inter alia*, Peter (who later went by the name Mbiyu) Koinange, the son of Chief Koinange. Mbiyu Koinange did his undergraduate work at Hampton and Ohio Wesleyan University and then proceeded to the Universities of Columbia and Cambridge for his post-graduate studies before returning to Kenya where he held several ministerial portfolios. Some students from poor families secured overseas scholarships and traveled to any country where the scholarships were obtainable. Some of these East African students traveled to Tuskegee, Alabama in the Southern United States of America.

The Tuskegee Institute was popularized by Marcus Garvey's publication called the *Negro World*. This newspaper found its way to Uganda and, later, to Kenya.⁵ Through the *Negro World* "Garvey's voice reverberated inside Africa itself."⁶ The arrival of this newspaper in East Africa was, according to one witness, a new 'sensational development'.⁷ The *Negro World* had a 'beautiful' portrayal of outstanding African Americans and played a pivotal role in advertising 'Negro colleges'. Consequently more

³ L. J. Lewis, *Education and Political Independence in Africa: and other Essays* (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1962), 2.

⁴ Furley and Watson, *A History of Education in East Africa*, 294.

⁵ It is not clear when the *Negro World* first arrived in East Africa. It first circulated in Uganda and arrived in Kenya late in 1921. See: King, *Pan-Africanism and Education*, 77 and Tony Martin, *Race First: The Ideological and Organizational Struggles of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association* (Massachusetts: The Majority Press, 1976).

⁶ C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint l'Overture and the San Domingo Revolution*, 2nd Edition (New York, 1963), 396.

Ugandans developed an interest in African American education and aspired to travel to America to further their education. In 1921, Joswa Kamulegeya, Secretary of the Young Baganda Association, secured a place for his younger Brother, Danieri Kato through Robert Moton, President of Tuskegee Institute with whom he had been corresponding for two years. Another Ugandan student was Hosea Nyabongo, nephew of the Omukama of Toro, who entered Tuskegee at the beginning of 1922.⁸

By 1922, the interest expressed by the young East Africans in American education made both the British government and the colonial governments apprehensive about the possible political repercussions of these travels abroad. In the case of Uganda, the colonial government, concerned about the prospects of political agitation among the youths, was forced to think about approving a school in a country where young Africans from Uganda were not likely to be imbued with the spirit of disaffection or disloyalty.⁹ The appointees of the British government working in different departments resolved to control the movement of the young East Africans to ensure that they were not exposed to 'dangerous' ideas while studying abroad. Furley and Watson summarize the disapproval of overseas education by East African colonial governments as follows:

They much preferred to deal with Africans who had received a home-grown education, and thought a foreign product might prove to have evolved too suddenly in a different world, becoming impatient with the conditions he found on his return.

America was frowned on, also Britain and West Africa, because in both places the East African student might encounter politicians and political movements considerably more militant than any in his own country, and he might realise that educational standards in his own country were very low by comparison. Politically, India or South Africa were

⁷ E. B. Kalibala, cited by King, *Pan-Africanism and Education*, 71.

⁸ For a detailed discussion on East African students in America see: King, *Pan-Africanism and Education*, especially Chapters III and VIII.

⁹ Nizar A. Motani, "Makerere College 1922-1940. A Study in Colonial Rule and Educational Retardation", *African Affairs*, Vol. 78, No.312 (July 1979): 360.

thought less dangerous, and there was less opposition to students going there. The fact that there was such a movement prompted the first official admission that there ought to be a higher college in East Africa.¹⁰

One revelation made by this citation is that the British government was in a dilemma. On the one hand it needed educated East Africans whom it could use to develop the region, yet East Africa lacked educational facilities to produce such people. On the other hand the British government did not want these young East Africans to travel abroad in pursuit of higher education fearing that they might be vulnerable to political influence while overseas. Meanwhile, East Africans aspired to travel abroad to further their education. Each of these constituencies could not divorce education from politics. The next few pages will analyze these political tensions with a view to demonstrating how they contributed to the establishment of the University of East Africa.

East African Agitation for Higher Education

Soon after the end of the First World War, East Africans used different forums to articulate their views regarding the benefits which were deemed to accrue from higher education. The Young Baganda Association (Y. B. A.), which was formed in Uganda in 1919, became the mouthpiece of the young Baganda on political and educational matters. Soon after its establishment, this Association invited Reverend C. F. Andrews, a British clergyman who was visiting Uganda, to address it at Assembly Hall in Kampala. The Secretary of the Y. B. A., Joswa Kamulegeya, stated after introducing the Association and thanking Reverend Andrews for honoring the invitation despite his hectic schedule: "Now, Sir, Uganda is a country which is growing amongst the civilized people and races

¹⁰ Furley and Watson, *A History of Education in East Africa*, 297.

and is in very bad need of high education to enable her people to meet the modern affairs.”¹¹

Kamulegeya asked Reverend Andrews to help the Young Baganda Association in any way he could so that the Association could make higher education accessible to the youths of Uganda. In his view, Britain’s reluctance to develop higher education in Uganda had a political motivation – the fear that once these young Baganda obtained their education they would use it to challenge British policies either on education or on political administration in general. The Secretary of the Young Baganda Association continued: “Now, Sir, we are proud to say that we are true friends to the British Government, far better than any other colony, because the famous King Mutesa invited them and preferred the protection of British Government to any other Government but on the other hand Government [British] do not trust us as they should.”¹² According to the Secretary of the Young Baganda Association, lack of higher educational facilities in Uganda was a deliberate British imperial policy premised on the assumption that once the young Baganda obtained higher education they would challenge the status quo.

Two years later, the Young Baganda Association wrote to its friends, the Negro Farmers’ Conference in Tuskegee Alabama, in the Southern United States of America explaining why it believed that the need for education in Uganda was so urgent. The letter stated: “You know, dear brothers, that unless we Negroes get proper education and understand modern civilized ways, we will never be advanced and enjoy all the privileges

¹¹ Secretary of the Young Baganda Association to the Reverend C. F. Andrews, 22 December 1919, par. 1. Cited in D. A. Low, *The Mind of Buganda: Documents of the Modern History of an African Kingdom* (London, Ibadan and Nairobi: Heinemann, 1971), 52.

¹² The Secretary of the Young Baganda Association to the Reverend C. F. Andrews, 22 December 1919, para. 3. Cited in Low, *The Mind of Buganda*, 53.

of the citizens of today. . . .”¹³ These young Baganda understood that education was a sine-qua-non to their political and economic freedom and that without it they would remain perpetual minors under British domination.

It was this belief that inspired the Young Baganda Association to submit a memorandum to the colonial government authorities in the Uganda Protectorate in 1921 requesting, *inter alia*, that the government should establish a department of education; introduce secularized education; and provide scholarships for Africans to study abroad.¹⁴ The views espoused in the memorandum echoed the three objects of the Young Baganda Association, which were stated as follows: (i) “To improve Uganda in every possible way; (ii) To give a helping hand to deserved Muganda who may be in distress; and (iii) To see the best way to enable us to get and maintain our education.”¹⁵ This African initiative had a long-lasting effect on the overall development of higher education in East Africa and made a significant contribution to the establishment of the federal University of East Africa.

Responses by the Colonial and the British Governments

Sir Robert Coryndon, Uganda’s Governor between 1918 and 1922, was highly impressed by the memorandum from the Young Baganda Association and resolved to improve the existing educational facilities in Uganda. Governor Coryndon envisaged prospects for some form of technical and vocational education for Africans. However, his

¹³ Letter from the Secretary of the Young Baganda Association, to the Negro Farmers’ Conference, Tuskegee Industrial and Normal Institution, Alabama, U. S. A., 13 September 1921. par.4. Cited in Low, *The Mind of Buganda*, 53.

¹⁴ Nizar A. Motani, “Makerere College 1922-1940”: 4.

¹⁵ Letter from the Secretary of the Young Baganda Association, to the Negro Farmers’ Conference, Tuskegee Industrial and Normal Institution, Alabama, U. S. A., 13 September 1921. par.3. Cited in Low, *The Mind of Buganda*, 53.

reaction was not a gesture of altruism; the rationale behind his resolution to develop local educational facilities in Uganda was mainly “to curb the growing Baganda hunger for advanced [secondary] education in Ceylon, South Africa, the Sudan and Tuskegee College in America.”¹⁶ Governor Coryndon feared that if these young Baganda traveled abroad they would be exposed to political agitation and, later, cause him problems when they returned home after finishing their courses. Governor Coryndon, in his correspondence with Winston Churchill, Colonial Secretary, stated that he regarded with special anxiety ‘a desire, which has become more marked of late, on the part of several chiefs of different tribes, to send their sons to America, and notably to the great institution of Tuskegee for education’.¹⁷ Governor Coryndon’s greatest fear was that these young men¹⁸ would fall prey to Marcus Garvey’s Universal Negro Improvement Association (U. N. I. A.).¹⁹ Governor Coryndon confided in his letter to the Colonial Secretary, that he was not comfortable about the migration of East African students to schools like the Tuskegee Institute because leaders of Negro political aspirations in the Southern states of America might seize the opportunity to influence and educate the sons of the African chiefs politically.

Yet Governor Coryndon was not alone in expressing these fears. A District Commissioner in Lango, Uganda, espoused the same view. The District Commissioner warned British education officers in Uganda against sending the native abroad for further education. He confided: “I am not happy about his going to a more advanced course

¹⁶ Nizar A. Motani, “Makerere College 1922-1940”: 4.

¹⁷ Coryndon to the Colonial Secretary, 30 May 1922. Cited by King, *Pan-Africanism and Education*, 71. See also: Furley and Watson, *A History of Education in East Africa*, 296.

¹⁸ At this time girls’ education received very little attention. The majority of East African students who traveled abroad were males.

¹⁹ For details about Garveyism, Pan-Africanism and U. N. I. A., see: Martin, *Race First*.

Certainly I feel that the Political intrigues would be most . . . unfortunate for him and I feel that probably you would feel the results when he returned.”²⁰

The colonial government in Uganda was in a predicament. On the one hand it was determined to see the young East Africans from Uganda acquire higher education so that they could be of better service in their Protectorate. On the other hand it was mindful of the possible political implication of allowing young East Africans to travel abroad to pursue higher education, fearing that the students’ political agitation could cause anarchy in the region at a later stage. Consequently, Governor Coryndon gave a negative response to the requests for overseas scholarships made by the Young Baganda Association. He subsequently consulted the British Colonial Office to obtain its consent to refuse all passports for Ugandans who wished to travel to the Southern States in America. Churchill, in his capacity as Colonial Secretary, accepted Coryndon’s request and the ban began soon thereafter. The fear of the British Government was that if these youths were allowed to travel abroad for their education, they “might fall into the wrong company – critics of the colonial system – or, at least, be exposed to certain streams of thought which, although allowed expression at home, would be dangerous if they fell into the ears of colonial subjects.”²¹

Governor Coryndon and Churchill’s decision to prevent students from traveling abroad to pursue their education was only a short-term solution; it did not resolve the tensions between East Africans and the colonial governments. Confining students to East Africa without providing the necessary educational facilities caused political agitation between East African youths and representative bodies such as the Young Baganda

²⁰ Cited in Joseph Okello-Oculi, “Motives of Foreign Scholarships: The Race for Cold War Infiltration of African Politics”, *East Africa Journal*, Vol. 4, No. 7 (November 1967): 15.

Association. In response to this conundrum, the British Colonial Office recommended that East African students should be allowed to travel abroad to further their education but must be restricted to study in Britain and should be placed under the Colonial Students Scheme to ensure that they were kept under control.

This proposal shifted the locus of the tensions from East Africa to the British Colonial Office in London. Mr. Cecil Bottomley at the Colonial Office strongly supported the idea of bringing East African students to Britain, arguing that this would provide the students with the kind of education they needed to develop their colonies while at the same time insulating them from political contamination to which they were likely to be exposed in other countries. Mr. H. J. Read, another Colonial Office official, was not impressed by this proposal. Instead, he proposed the establishment of a higher education college in East Africa for all the British dependencies in the East African region.²² This proposed college, he thought, would serve two purposes. First, it would provide the necessary educational facilities in East Africa. Second, and most importantly, it would insulate young East Africans from the possible political influence in other countries. Winston Churchill directed that the Ugandan natives who were eager to travel to Alabama should be restricted to Britain and that their numbers should be kept to the minimum. The rationale behind Churchill's directive was to ensure that East Africa would not have more trained students than it could employ, fearing that this might lead to political turmoil caused by the frustrated graduates. However, Churchill's directive only provided a temporal solution to Uganda's educational problems. Moreover, Churchill, unlike Read, did not consider East Africa as a region but only focused particularly on

²¹ Ibid.

²² Nizar A. Motani, "Makerere College 1922-1940": 361.

Uganda. Thus, even if the Ugandan problem was resolved the potential for tensions in East Africa in general would still remain unabated.

Mr. Ezechiel, Director of the Colonial Scholars who was responsible for the supervision of private students in Britain, implemented Churchill's directive by bringing Ugandans under his control. This development set Churchill's plan in motion. When the students arrived in Britain, the political factor played itself out once again. Mr. Ezechiel discouraged them from taking courses in law or general arts so as to avoid politicization. Instead, he urged the students to do medicine and engineering, in part because these skills were desperately needed in Uganda, but mainly because these courses had no political influence to the students. Nizar Motani writes: "Liberal education could result in frustration for such Africans, who would then begin to question the colonial set-up. African education would have to be compatible with the security of British rule in Uganda."²³

Geoffrey Archer, Uganda's Governor between 1922 and 1925 and William Gower, Uganda's Governor from 1925 to 1932, worked towards the development of educational facilities in Uganda. Governor Archer invited Eric Hussey, an educational officer who was involved in educational development in Sudan,²⁴ to advise him on the development of educational facilities in Uganda. Hussey suggested that the technical school at Makerere should be transformed into a central training college for East Africa. According to Hussey, the envisioned training college would produce the urgently needed manpower in East Africa while at the same time containing the young East Africans. In

²³ Ibid., 362.

²⁴ Eric R. J. Hussey's visit to Uganda was facilitated by the Advisory Committee on Education.

1925, Hussey became Uganda's first Director of Education and had to implement the proposals he had made the previous year.²⁵

Thus, the British government temporarily succeeded in preventing East Africans from being politicized at overseas institutions such as Tuskegee Institute. Therefore the British government, the colonial government in Uganda under Governor Coryndon, and East Africans themselves all played their various roles in bringing about the inter-territorial higher college at Makerere. Kenneth King writes: "In its own way, however, this African enthusiasm for education in the American South was one of the reasons that led the Uganda Government to establish a form of higher education locally, in the new Makerere College."²⁶

One of the British authorities with a keen interest in the tensions that occurred between East Africans and the colonial government in Uganda regarding Tuskegee's role in the development of higher education in East Africa was Mr. E. L. Scott. He conceded that preventing East Africans from going to Tuskegee was not a long-term solution to the problem. Scott articulated his views on higher education in his memorandum as follows: "I think we may be able to prevent young men going abroad for education, at any rate to Alabama, for the next two or three years, but each year will become more difficult, and there will come a time when we shall no longer be able to do so. We must if possible anticipate this time by providing an advanced course of study locally."²⁷

It is clear from the discussion thus far that from the early 1920s there were tensions between different constituencies in Britain and in East Africa regarding the

²⁵ Macpherson, *They Built for the Future*, 9.

²⁶ King, *Pan-Africanism and Education*, 72.

²⁷ E. L. Scott, "Memo on Higher Education", 30 June 1922. Cited by King, *Pan-Africanism and Education*, 72.

development of higher education in East Africa. The first locus of the tensions was on whether or not it was right to provide higher education for young East Africans. One view was that there was a need to educate East Africans for their own benefit and for the benefit of the colonial governments and the British government. An opposing view was that it was dangerous to educate young East Africans because they would become radicals afterwards. Another locus of the tensions was on whether this education could be obtained anywhere, or from meticulously selected countries overseas, or locally. There were proponents of each view. The idea of establishing an East African college emanated from the political context outlined above. The second Phelps-Stokes Commission Report of 1925 leads to the conclusion that tensions regarding East African education were inevitable because there were many constituencies, each of which had its own expectations from and held its own assumptions about the East African natives. In 1925, Thomas Jesse Jones, the editor of the Phelps-Stokes Report, summarized these diverse positions thus:

The attitude of the missionaries has been determined by their desire to impart their religious ideas to the Native people and to win them to a Christian way of life. The government officials have naturally thought of the colonial administration and have felt the necessity for clerical help and such skilled workers as are needed for the surveying of roads and other means of transportation. Settlers and traders have been concerned for the various needs of their special occupations. The traders have joined the Government in a demand for clerks. The settlers' demand has been primarily for laborers to till the soil and to carry on the varied activities of the farms. These diversities of view have been further intensified by the attitude taken toward the native people. Some have recognized the principle of trusteeship and desire to assist the Natives to realize their full capacities as human beings; others have thought of them as economic assets to be exploited for the satisfaction of the party in control.

In all the Colonies visited the first responsibility of the Commission has been to eliminate aims that are obviously antagonistic to the best interests of the Natives and of the Colony and to harmonize those

aims that are natural, reasonable and desirable in the development of Africa and Africans.²⁸

The rationale behind the British Government's development of higher education in East Africa and, later, in other colonies in the British Empire, was threefold: first, to pacify radical indigenous youths who showed thirst for knowledge; second, to confine these youths to their respective colonies so that they could not be exposed to political agitation abroad; and third, to preserve its own image in global politics by proving to the world that it was responsive to the needs of its colonial subjects and that the British colonial Empire was peaceful.

The idea of a peaceful Empire popularized by the Colonial Office in London and by its appointees aimed at portraying the British government as a capable political institution in control of the British subjects. In reality there were tensions between different constituencies in the British Empire throughout the 1920s as demonstrated in the preceding pages. The next section discusses the politics of higher education in East Africa during the 1930s.

3.2 Political Tensions in the 1930s

The 1930s constitute a significant signpost in the history of higher education in Africa in general and in East Africa in particular. By this time "perceptive observers began to see that future constitutional development in Africa depended more on the educated elite than on the hitherto favoured traditional rulers. As a result, the demand for higher education began to be listened to with better understanding."²⁹ From the early 1930s, there was an unprecedented drive by the British Government to formulate a

²⁸ Jones (ed) *Education in East Africa*, 7.

consistent policy with regard to university education for Africans. During this time there was the first attempt by the British Government to use the “*sacred*” taxpayers’ money to fund a scheme of higher education in Africa.³⁰ The question becomes: Why was there such a change of mind?

Some answers to this question could be found from the preceding section. One of the main reasons for this change of mind by the British government was that Britain’s colonial policies were being criticized both domestically and internationally. Gradually, this became unsettling both to the Colonial Office in London and to British imperial thought in general. The British Government had two options at its disposal: either to overhaul its higher education policies in the colonies or remain unresponsive to the criticisms which had become ubiquitous. The British government realized that the latter option would be to its own peril because if Britain aspired to remain a dominant figure in the international scene she could not turn a deaf ear to the criticisms leveled against her. Thus, under these circumstances the British colonial policy on higher education had to be overhauled so as to bring it in harmony with Britain’s broad and long-term imperial objectives.

Yet British constituencies in London and those in East Africa had divergent opinions on the mode of operation and the pace at which the development of East African higher education could be carried out. The British Prime Ministers, the Secretaries of State for the Colonies, and the British Members of Parliament perceived themselves as the sole custodians of the East African territories. The overseas appointees of the British government on the other hand, especially the Governors and the Directors of Education,

²⁹ Ajayi, Goma and Johnson, *The African Experience with Higher Education*, 49.

³⁰ Nwauwa, *Imperialism, Academe and Nationalism*, 68.

worked on the assumption that they were closer to the reality on the ground and therefore understood the educational needs in East Africa better than their counterparts in London. Naturally, they felt that they were better qualified to decide both the future of East African higher education and the pace at which that future should be nurtured. Inevitably, this disjunction between the center and the periphery meant that the development of higher education in East Africa would continue to be characterized by latent tensions.

The purpose of the next sub-section is twofold: first, to demonstrate how political factors influenced the recommendations made in the Currie Sub-Committee Report of December 1933; second, to identify and discuss the tensions that occurred between the British government and its East African Governors and Directors of Education regarding the development of higher education in East Africa.

The Political Influence on the Currie Report

The Currie Report was initiated by the Conference of the Directors of Education from Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, and Zanzibar held in Zanzibar in June 1932 to discuss the state of education in East Africa. At the end of the Conference the Directors were uncertain about whether Makerere should adopt London examinations or continue to set its own. They approached the Advisory Committee for advice, and the latter responded by appointing the Currie Sub-Committee which subsequently produced the Currie Report in December 1933.

The recommendations contained in the Currie Report regarding the development of higher education in Anglophone Africa were largely politically motivated. A closer analysis of these recommendations reveals that the Currie Sub-Committee, while acutely

aware of the current educational situation in East and West Africa, had its eyes focused on the future. It was particularly concerned about the image of the British government; it anticipated the political repercussions of the failure by the British government to address the educational needs of its African communities and extrapolated how this would tarnish Britain's image in the global scene. The political influence on the recommendations made by the Currie Sub-Committee can be gleaned from paragraph IV of the Currie Report, which stated:

There is a grave danger, as we see it, of the Africans' zeal for education being neglected and ignored by the Government to whom they ought to be able to look for its reasonable satisfaction. There appears no prospect – nor is it in any event a prospect that can in the least be wished or desired – that the present vehement demand for higher education will slacken off. It follows then, that, if that demand is not adequately met by a natural development in Africa itself under the wise control, which only British Government and experience can afford, it will spend itself in all sorts of individual and group educational enterprises, which can hardly fail to be eccentric, often self-defeating and sterile, and attended by social and political phenomena harmful alike to the prestige of this country and the true well-being of the Africans.³¹

This citation puts it beyond doubt that Britain's prestige and global political image was at stake. The Currie Report, in its bid to save Britain's face, recommended that the only right policy for the British government was to decide on a scheme of developing selected institutions in Africa up to a real University standard. Such a policy had to be publicly announced as officially adopted as soon as it had been decided upon. The Currie Report recommended that the envisaged African University Colleges had to proceed through the same stages by which specific University Colleges in England such as Birmingham, Leeds, Manchester, Liverpool, and Reading had gained university status. It

³¹ *Report of the Sub-Committee Appointed to Consider the Educational Policy Underlying Paragraph 19 of the Report of the Conference of the Directors of Education of Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, and Zanzibar, held at Zanzibar in June 1932 [The Currie Report], December 1933, par. IV.*

recommended that as the African students already had a close relationship with London University, and considered the degrees granted by London as 'the hall-mark they require', it would be prudent to approach the University of London and find out if it would be willing to guide African University colleges.

The Currie Sub-Committee was always mindful of the political implications of its recommendations. Its consciousness is encapsulated in the following paragraph:

In making any such announcement, we regard it as of the highest importance to avoid any action that might excite African suspicion. We think it should be made clear at the outset that the adoption of such a scheme does not involve the Government putting any hindrance whatever in the way of any Africans who might still determine to proceed to Europe for University training, though no doubt (in such a case) the Government might reasonably decline to grant any financial assistance. It should be emphasized too that nothing in the scheme is meant in the slightest to discourage post-graduate students from proceeding overseas: on the contrary the proposals would envisage a steadily increased stream of such students directed upon Europe from the new African Universities, though at a riper age, and with a previous training better calculated to enable them to take advantage of European facilities than is the case at present. The immediately important point is that largely increased and improved facilities at infinitely lower cost would be made available to young Africans in their home country. Above all, it would be necessary to clear the native mind of any suspicion that the African Universities were a sham, designed merely to side-track native ambitions. This can only be effectively demonstrated in our view by a Government declaration that the degrees and diplomas granted by such Universities would rank equally with those of extra-African Universities in respect of Government, and by the full and conscious implementing of that declaration in administrative practice.³²

The Currie Report stressed the need to involve local African communities when planning these University Colleges. The rationale for making this recommendation was to ensure that the new African institutions of higher education did not in any way arouse political agitation among the local African communities by being unresponsive to their immediate needs. Further, the Report recommended that there was a need for the co-

ordination of effort between different territories to ensure that the few resources available in the region were consolidated and used to provide education same in quality to that obtaining at Western universities. The Report stated: "It is encouraging in this connexion that, in East Africa, Kenya and Tanganyika are looking definitely to Makerere to meet the need in higher education of the whole East African area."³³

The overall vision of the Currie Sub-Committee can be gauged from one of its concluding paragraphs which stated: "We believe that the passion of the African for higher education, properly guided, may prove a boon to the economic, social and cultural development of the country, and an advantage, support and ornament to British rule. Neglected it must create social and political confusion."³⁴

It is clear from these recommendations that the members of the Currie Sub-Committee were acutely aware of the politics which characterized the 1930s and thus ensured that the political mood of the time was reflected in their recommendations. Ajayi, Goma and Johnson succinctly provide the broad political context and the emerging tensions within Britain as follows:

It appears, therefore, that a major consideration with the Sub-Committee was the political implications of the new interest in studying in America which the return of Aggrey and the doctrines of Marcus Garvey and the Pan-African movement had generated not, as in the past, among would-be African pastors and missionaries, but among young radical nationalists like Nnamdi Azikiwe, Kwame Nkrumah and others, especially in West Africa. It also appears that some members of the Advisory Committee may have begun to question the wisdom of basing British imperial policies so firmly on ideas generated in the United States. At any rate, the Committee seemed to have begun to distance itself from orthodox Phelps-Stokes ideas and to move towards accepting the necessity for an African educated elite. However, unlike the French, they preferred to have such an

³² Ibid., par.VI.

³³ Ibid., par.XI.

³⁴ Ibid., par.XII.

elite trained in African institutions where they could be better influenced than at British or American universities.³⁵

According to Furley and Watson, James Currie was an imaginative, farsighted man with much sympathy for African aspirations, and “a more down-to-earth awareness that political demands should be met wherever possible, otherwise trouble would follow.”³⁶ The two authors base their submission on the fact that the Sub-Committee under Currie’s guidance preempted political tensions between Africans and the British government and anticipated all the main phases through which universities in Anglophone Africa would pass before gaining an independent status. However, despite this alertness the Currie Report received mixed reactions.

The Tensions Caused by the Currie Report

The British Colonial Office adopted the Currie Report in 1933. The Report was never published, but was made available to the public on request. It was circulated to all British Governors in East and West Africa for their comments and, soon thereafter, tensions emerged between the British government on the one hand and its Governors and Directors of Education in East and West Africa on the other. While the British government found the Currie Report impressive and forward-looking, the Governors and Directors of Education on the other hand did not think that the Currie Report deserved urgent attention as, in their view there was no educational crisis in Africa and therefore no urgent pressure to address the question. These tensions delayed the development of higher education in East Africa.

³⁵ Ajayi, Goma and Johnson, *The African Experience with Higher Education*, 50.

³⁶ Furley and Watson, *A History of Education in East Africa*, 299.

East African Governors received the Currie Report from the Colonial Office at the beginning of 1934 and did not find it impressive; nor did they get the feeling that its recommendations deserved urgent attention. Therefore they showed no enthusiasm in pursuing its recommendations. However, persistent reminders from the Colonial Office forced the Governors to come forward with their reactions to the Currie Report. East African Governors subsequently referred the Report to their Ministers of Education for consideration. The Directors of Education in East Africa met in Nairobi in January 1935 to consider the recommendations of the Currie Report. These Directors did not agree with the Currie Sub-Committee's conclusion that the demand for higher education in East Africa was "vehement," nor were they prepared to stimulate it to a stage where it could be considered vehement. Educational representatives from West Africa convened a special meeting in Lagos in May 1935 to examine the recommendations of the Currie Report; like their counterparts in East Africa, they did not feel that the demand for higher education was urgent, which is one explanation for the delay in making their views on the Currie Report known to the British Colonial Office in London.

Eric Ashby states that the delay in responding to the Currie Report was indicative of local official opinion. It was, according to him, "a symptom of the indifference of white administrators on the spot."³⁷

Why were the British local administrators in Africa so reluctant to accept and implement the recommendations of the Currie Report? Furley and Watson address this question by arguing that despite his political consciousness, Currie "had not reckoned with one issue which his proposal was bound to raise: the political one, that a rise in the

³⁷ Ashby, *African Universities and Western Traditions*, 17. See also: Ashby and Anderson, *Universities*, 195.

number of African graduates would be a major contribution to political evolution and the demand for self-rule – a prospect which most colonial administrators of the time were unwilling to promote.”³⁸ This submission underscores the importance of analyzing the role played by politics in the history of the University of East Africa.

The Currie Report aroused political tensions at both ends of the power equation. The British Colonial Office embraced the idea of developing East African higher education so as to prevent young East Africans from travelling abroad where there was a potential for political influence which the British Colonial Office and the colonial governments in East Africa feared would disturb the political equilibrium in the East African region. The East African Directors of Education opposed the recommendation on the fear that its implementation would produce radical graduates who would challenge the colonial governments on the ground. These adversarial views caused tensions between the two parties.

In September 1935, Mr. H. Jowitt, the Director of Education in Uganda left for Britain on leave. While he was there the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies invited him to meet with the Currie Sub-Committee so that he could explain the source of the negative attitude of East African Directors of Education to the idea of establishing a University in East Africa. Mr Jowitt informed the Sub-Committee that East African Directors of Education were neither apathetic nor opposed to the idea. They were particularly concerned about a possible vicious circle that could result – with Makerere waiting on the development of secondary schools, and the secondary schools waiting on expansion at Makerere. Whether Jowitt articulated the views of his colleagues from all

³⁸ Furley, and Watson, *A History of Education in East Africa*, 300.

three colonial governments in East Africa, or represented Uganda's position, or was only expressing his own personal opinion remains a moot point.

The meeting between Jowitt and the Currie's Sub-Committee nevertheless recommended the appointment of a small influential Commission that would be sent to Uganda to study the existing educational situation, and advise the Colonial Office in London on the prospect of developing Makerere College into a University College for the whole of East Africa. The British Colonial Office approved this recommendation. Governor Philip Mitchell³⁹, alone among his colleagues warmly accepted the recommendation contained in the Report regarding the development of Makerere College into a regional University College; and accepted in principle the idea of appointing a Commission to visit Uganda. However, the final decision to appoint the Commission had to wait for the next meeting of the Directors of Education in East Africa scheduled for May 1936. After that meeting, W. G. A. Ormsby-Gore, Secretary of State for the Colonies, appointed the De la Warr Commission towards the end of 1936.

Kagenda Atwoki in the early 1970s described Governor Mitchell as "the most instrumental colonial governor in the formulation of the policies on which Makerere was launched into university activities."⁴⁰ To what extent were Governor Mitchell's relentless efforts to establish an East African institution of higher learning influenced by politics? Why did he differ with his two counterparts from both Kenya and Tanganyika? What were his motives for developing Makerere? Some answers to these questions can be gleaned from Governor Mitchell's address to the Higher College Conference held at Makerere in May 1938 in which he stated:

³⁹ Philip Mitchell became the Governor of Uganda towards the end of 1935.

No civilization in the world has arisen, nor can our civilization be established and take root in these countries . . . upon any other foundation than what I may call an aristocracy of culture which must necessarily be very small in numbers

. . . there is only one civilization and one culture to which we are fitted to lead the peoples of these countries – our own: we know no other and we cannot dissect the one we know and pick out this piece or that as being good or bad for Africans. . . .⁴¹

For Governor Mitchell, Britain stood to gain from the establishment of a University College in East Africa because he envisioned that such an institution would, in addition to providing educational facilities for East Africans, serve as a center for the promotion of British culture and civilization.

When Governor Mitchell agitated for the development of Makerere College, he considered both the short-term and long-term effects of such an enterprise. One of Governor Mitchell's aims was to sustain British influence in East Africa; the political developments in Uganda created a conducive atmosphere in which he could fulfill his aims: “. . . the chasm between indirect rule and the colonial civil service was far less deep in Uganda because the demand for a university arose within the personnel of the indirect rule system. Primarily the Baganda chiefs desired personnel for the Buganda government, seeking the ‘leaven’ which in theory the British appeared to desire. Ugandan colonial officials therefore felt less threatened than their compatriots elsewhere.”⁴²

It is clear from the above discussion that the recommendations of the Currie Report were politically motivated. Secondly, the divergent views held by different British officials about the recommendations of the Currie Report were also inspired by political factors. Two views ran parallel to each other. First was the view that higher educational

⁴⁰ Kagenda Atwoki, “Makerere University: The Crisis of Identity”, in Yesufu (ed) *Creating the African University*, 92.

⁴¹ Philip Mitchell, Address to the Higher College Conference, Makerere, Kampala, Uganda, May 1938.

facilities had to be made available to East Africans so as to prevent them from traveling abroad and be exposed to political agitation. Second was the view that it was dangerous to educate young East Africans, at home or abroad, because once they obtained their education they might challenge British administration and thus tarnish the image of the British government in the global scene. These tensions meant that the process of establishing the University of East Africa would be characterized by political wrangling.

The outbreak of the Second World War had a dual impact on the history of the University of East Africa. As discussed in Chapter 2, the war slowed down the pace of the construction work that had just begun at Makerere College. On the other hand, the war ushered in a new phase in the history of higher education in East Africa by inspiring the British government to develop educational policies that accelerated the pace of establishing the University of East Africa. The next section explores the role played by the political factor on the British imperial policy during the Second World War.

3.3 Political Developments During WW II, 1939-1945

The declaration of war on Germany by Britain on September 3, 1939 marked the beginning of a new phase in British imperial policy on higher education in Anglophone Africa. Edward Shils writes: “The coming of the war of 1939 to 1945 changed much in the world; it had its effects on universities too.”⁴³ The political factor played a significant role in influencing British imperial policy on education during this time. The Colonial

⁴² Nwauwa, *Imperialism, Academe and Nationalism*, 86.

⁴³ Edward Shils, “Universities: Since 1900”, in Burton R. Clark and Guy R. Neave (eds) *The Encyclopedia of Higher Education, Vol. 2 Analytical Perspectives* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1992), 1267.

Development and Welfare Act of 1940⁴⁴ placed more emphasis on education and provided funds for research on subjects such as Agriculture, and Science. Different constituencies in Britain interpreted this move in political terms. The Fabian Colonial Bureau and other critics of the Empire argued that this 'generous' Colonial Development and Welfare Act was like a bribe to the colonial peoples whose support was desperately needed by the British government in its war effort. The Colonial Development and Welfare Act "served as a good weapon of defence against those particularly Americans, who insisted that Britain was running a 'slummy' empire by ignoring measures that would advance the prosperity and social welfare of the colonial subjects."⁴⁵ The British government had to prove to the world that its Empire was intact and progressive. As the war continued the British government considered its political and economic position in the post-war era and started planning accordingly for the envisaged post-war peace. In June 1941, Lord Moyne, Chief Secretary, wrote:

It is the desire of His Majesty's Government that Colonial Governments should on the one hand also prepare for rapid action after the war and on the other hand do all they can, without interference with the war effort, to improve standards even during the war. . . .

I have spoken of the desirability of laying plans now to make rapid progress possible after the war. I attach particular importance to the training of local personnel as rural teachers, health workers, agricultural demonstrators and so on since it is on an adequate supply of such subordinate staff that the rate of progress after the war may largely depend.⁴⁶

When the war ended in 1945, Ugandan authorities seriously turned to the needs of technical education. They were inspired by the fact that hundreds of Ugandan men had

⁴⁴ See: Stephen Constantine, *The Making of British Colonial Development Policy 1914-1940* (London: Frank Cass, 1984), Chapter IX.

⁴⁵ Apollos Nwauwa, "Creech Jones and African Universities, 1943-50", in Chris Youe and Tim Stapleton (eds) *Agency and Action in Colonial Africa: Essays for John E. Flint* (Palgrave, 2001), 128.

⁴⁶ Circular No.20, 5 June 1941 by Moyne, Chief Secretary. K. N. A. PC/NZA/2/19/11. pars. 13 and 16.

been demobilized, and the colonial government was compelled to find them employment. Also, with the end of the war, there was demand for expansion in public works and social services. Uganda needed people with medical and commercial training. The development of technical training thus became necessary.

The purpose of this section is to demonstrate how political factors became the driving force behind policy decisions that were made by the British government and its appointees during the course of the Second World War. This section demonstrates the political influences behind the Channon Memorandum of 1940, the Channon Report of 1943, and the Asquith Report of 1945. Also, it analyzes the debates that took place in the British parliament during this time. The relevance of this analysis to the present study is twofold. First, it broadens our understanding of the political context in which the University of East Africa was established; and, second, reveals the tensions which occurred between British constituencies regarding the development of higher education in the British colonies, including the ones in East Africa.

3.3.1 The Channon Memorandum and Tensions Between British Constituencies

The Channon Memorandum of 1940 was not sanctioned by the Colonial Office in London and, therefore, did not have terms of reference; it was an individual effort by Liverpool University's Professor H. J. Channon, a Member of the Colonial Office Advisory Committee, to ruminate about British thought regarding colonial education. The primary aim of the Channon Memorandum is encapsulated in its sub-title: 'Some Observations on the Development of Higher Education in the Colonies'. The Memorandum was inspired by Channon's visit to Malaya, University of Hong Kong and

University College, Colombo; his attendance at the meetings of the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies and; his reading of various reports on education in the British colonies. Channon stated his aim thus: “These experiences leave me perplexed about many things, and *in order to clear my own mind*, I have thought it worth while to piece together *my thoughts* on the various problems to see if they would fit together to give a composite whole, or if any of them were in conflict with each other [emphasis mine].”⁴⁷

The role played by the Channon Memorandum in the appointment of the Channon Sub-Committee and the Asquith Commission, and its impact on the recommendations made by the two bodies has been discussed in Chapter 2 of the current study. The purpose of this section is to analyze the Channon Memorandum by discussing the tensions it identified between British constituencies regarding the development of higher education in the colonies and by demonstrating that although Channon argued that the purpose of the Memorandum was to clear his own mind it eventually became a blueprint for the development of higher education in the British colonies after the Second World War.

Channon argued that there were tensions between British constituencies regarding the development of higher education in the colonies and identified two parallel positions: one conceding that the development of higher education in the colonies was inevitable; another postulating that such development would have serious negative political and economic effects because it would produce an educated class that would squeeze colonial economies by demanding high pay and cause political instability because the graduates might challenge colonial policies. Channon summarized these tensions thus:

⁴⁷ *Channon Memorandum*, par.1.

In the first place, the attitude of mind often found in government and commercial circles regarding university development in the Colonies appears to be somewhat reluctant recognition that universities must ultimately be created; but this is usually combined with a hope that the day of achievement may be postponed for as long as possible. There is, in fact, a genuine fear of the political and economic consequences of the production of a highly educated class among the native populations, and in this connection the example of India is usually and understandably quoted.⁴⁸

According to Channon, the fears expressed by certain interested parties about the possible ill-effects of the envisioned mass production of university students were understandable but groundless. He argued that they were based on wrong assumptions and that those who spread such fears failed to realize that the difficulties in the past had arisen because the fundamental principles underlying the conception of university education had not been carefully thought through by British imperial thinkers. Channon suggested that a university should desist from being “a mass production vocational machine through which are passed, regardless of their future livelihoods, students of different mental calibre but of great capacity for memorising facts; it should be a place where carefully chosen young people of adequate mental attainments are fitted to take their places in the different professions, but at the same time are given the outlook necessary for them to play their part as citizens in the much wider sense.”⁴⁹ Channon sustained this view in paragraph 7, arguing: “If we are to develop universities in the colonies, their vital objective at this stage must not be the production of large numbers of men and women with no more than a highly specialised technical knowledge; it should be

⁴⁸ Ibid., par.2.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

the production of smaller numbers who, while they must be adequately prepared for their future professional livelihoods, must go further and be prepared for wider service.”⁵⁰

Channon suggested that British universities should guide University Colleges towards achieving an independent status; that they should second staff to the University Colleges for up to three years and; that such staff should conduct research on special subjects (which he did not specify) until there were sufficient funds to allow for research in other subjects. Channon concluded his Memorandum as follows: “My concern is that we should take a broader view of the problems of Higher Education in the Colonies and direct our policy accordingly. We should endeavour to control future events rather than wait until the pressure of events makes it necessary to take action.”⁵¹

As mentioned above, Channon began his Memorandum by stating that it had been inspired by his own curiosity. However, his recommendations were geared towards formulating a clear policy on higher education in the colonies, suggesting the phases colonial colleges should go through. Further, Channon considered the possible political effects of British policy on higher education (or lack thereof) on the image of the British government hence his reiteration of Churchill and Governor Mitchell’s view that few colonial subjects should be given access to higher education. Therefore, the political factor played a profound role in shaping Channon’s thoughts.

The significance of the Channon Memorandum to British imperial policy on higher education was twofold. First, it revealed the intrinsic tensions between different British constituencies and identified the source(s) of those tensions. Second, it made recommendations on the way forward, thus initiating a process whose saturation point

⁵⁰ Ibid., par.7.

⁵¹ Ibid., par.26.

was the establishment of University Colleges in the British Empire after the Second World War. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the Channon Memorandum led to the appointment of the Channon Sub-Committee and, later, the Asquith Commission, both of which retained Channon's basic recommendations on how University Colleges should develop into independent universities.

3.3.2 Politics and The Channon Report

The political context in which the establishment of the University of East Africa was planned during the course of the Second World War is elegantly articulated in the Channon Report of May 1943. The present sub-section explores this political context by analyzing specific paragraphs in the Channon Report and by demonstrating the tensions which occurred between different British constituencies regarding Britain's post-war imperial policies.

Channon's Report was concerned particularly with the development to full university status of institutions in East Africa, West Africa and Malaya. This focus bolsters the relevance of the analysis of the Channon Report in discussing the history of the federal University of East Africa. The preemptive nature of the Channon Report is encapsulated in paragraph 6, which states:

During the present war the British Government has emphasized that the guiding principle of its colonial policy is that the Colonies shall become increasingly self-governing as the degree of their development makes the carrying out of this policy possible. These public pronouncements of policy will lead the colonial peoples rightly to expect that active help in their own development will come from Great Britain after the war. There is no doubt that there will be a spontaneous and vigorous impulse for self-development among the colonial peoples in the immediate post-war period and preparations must be made to satisfy this impulse. Long-term plans must be made now so that the course of future events may as far as

possible be pre-determined. Unless such plans are so prepared, pressure of events will later compel action to be taken, and action taken under pressure lacks the ordered sequence necessary to success.⁵²

In making their recommendations on post-war education policy in the British colonies the Members of Channon's Sub-Committee⁵³ were influenced by the possible political advantages of such recommendations and expressed their views as follows:

We begin by emphasizing that there is no doubt whatever that the immediate post-war period will provide a unique opportunity for a vivid demonstration of the seriousness of our intentions towards development of the Colonies. It is an opportunity which it would be both shortsighted and dangerous to lose, for the particular combination of circumstances will not recur. Wisely taken, it would not only bring inspiration to the Colonies themselves, but the results would be of great political value within the Empire as a whole, and might even provide a pattern to other countries.⁵⁴

Channon's Sub-Committee had no doubt whatsoever that planning universities like the University of East Africa would need more money. However, it felt that there would be a greater return in the end. The Sub-Committee endorsed the point made in Channon's Memorandum regarding the need to avoid political agitation among colonial students. Paragraph 30 of the Channon Report stated that it was essential to educate the governments in the colonies, academic staff teaching in colonial universities, and the general public about the aims and objectives of a university in the colonies, 'for there is much misconception on this subject'. The Sub-Committee envisaged tensions that would arise between the British government which did not want colonial universities to produce large numbers of graduates and national governments that would expect such institutions to produce sufficient numbers of graduates needed to develop the new nation states. It

⁵², PART 1, par.6.

⁵³ See Chapter 2 for the membership of the Channon Sub-Committee.

⁵⁴ *Channon Report*, PART 2, par.24.

was for this reason that the Sub-Committee felt there was an urgent need to state in explicit terms the goals of the British government regarding colonial universities.

Another site of possible tensions envisaged by the Channon Sub-Committee was between the students in the colonies and their governments, whereby the governments would want to retain their students at the University Colleges while the students on the other hand aspired to travel abroad to pursue their education. The Sub-Committee considered the possible political impact of sending students abroad at an early stage and recommended as follows:

Having considered the broad aspects of a possible Imperial machinery, we now turn to discuss the question of study in British Universities by students from the Colonies. All experience shows that the sending of students from the Colonies to Great Britain for undergraduate study is often unfortunate in its effects, for on their return to their home country their outlook may have been changed far too radically; inevitably they compare what they saw in Great Britain with what they find at home, and whereas before leaving their country they were satisfied, they subsequently find only discontent. . . .⁵⁵

The Channon Sub-Committee recommended that post-graduate students should be encouraged to travel abroad to further their education. The assumption guiding this recommendation was that such students would be older and more mature and therefore less likely to fall prey to 'disillusionment and worldly temptation' than undergraduates. In the Sub-Committee's view, it might be desirable to award scholarships to students who had spent at least a year as junior members of staff in their home institutions because this would enable such students to emerge from their student outlook and respond to new situations obtaining abroad like adults. Channon's Sub-Committee conceded that politics was indeed the motivating factor in its recommendations when it stated: "Throughout this Report, we have emphasized our opinion that it is vital both from the educational and

political point of view that the home Universities should now undertake to give active help in the development of Universities in the Colonies.”⁵⁶ The Sub-Committee reiterated the relationship between politics and education in the last few lines of the concluding paragraph, stating: “We ourselves are incapable of doing more than to provide a sketch of the problem as a whole; its solution must lie in more expert hands, and its political and educational importance with their wide implications are such that we consider an authoritative enquiry to be essential.”⁵⁷

The tone of the Channon Report suggests that the authors were mindful of the political climate under which they were working. Secondly, in making their recommendations they anticipated political tensions that were likely to occur soon after the war. Overall, the Channon Report demonstrates that higher education could not be divorced from politics and that educational policies had to reflect the political climate of the time and preempt possible future political developments after the war.

An analysis of British parliamentary debates reveals that British politicians discussed political issues like self-government concurrently with higher education because they believed that the two were related to each other. These politicians espoused the view that institutions of higher education were indispensable in the consolidation of political institutions. Oliver Stanley, Secretary of State for the Colonies, argued in 1943 that if the goal of the British government regarding self-rule was to be achieved at all colonial universities and colleges would have to play an immense part in that process. He maintained that universities would meet the enormously increased need for trained professionals which the increased social and economic services would necessitate. They

⁵⁵ Ibid., PART 3, par.92.

⁵⁶ Ibid., par.98.

would have to provide agriculturalists, engineers, doctors, teachers, veterinary surgeons and specialists technicians that would be in demand once self-rule had been achieved.

Stanley continued:

Our problem here is to encourage the constructive growth of these Colonial universities and colleges and to accelerate their wise development. It is clear that in that task we have to look to our home universities for guidance and help. Those universities have already done a great deal for the Colonies. They have already done a great deal of indirect service by training the men and women who have gone out to the Colonies in various capacities. I believe that much as they have done in the past, they can do a great deal more in future.⁵⁸

Creech Jones argued that there was a relationship between politics and education in general and gave the impression that if Britain were to compete with other world powers like Russia, she had to develop education at all levels in the Empire. Creech Jones lamented: “When one meets Africans, what do they say? – ‘The Russians have abolished illiteracy in their country. What are you doing about it inside the British Empire?’ It is difficult for us to answer that question. Therefore I ask that there should be a great drive for the provision of educational facilities for the colonial peoples.”⁵⁹ This self-introspection among British politicians augured well for the development of higher education in East Africa.

Yet as the need for the establishment of regional universities like the University of East Africa gained momentum the potential for tensions between British interested parties also increased. The British government sustained the perception that it was the sole custodian of the British colonies and assumed that planning the future of these

⁵⁷ Ibid., par.103.

⁵⁸ Lieutenant Colonel Oliver Stanley, Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, 5th Series. Official Report, Vol. 391 (London: H. M. S. O., 1943). Col.53.

⁵⁹ Creech Jones, Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, 5th Series. Official Report, Vol. 376 (London: H. M. S. O., 1942), Cols.550-551.

colonies was its prerogative. Mr. John Dugdale, one of the British Members of Parliament, asked Winston Churchill, who was now the Prime Minister, about the policy of the British government regarding the colonies. Churchill responded: “. . . His Majesty’s Government are convinced that the administration of the British Colonies must continue to be the sole responsibility of Great Britain. The policy of His Majesty’s Government is to plan for the fullest possible political, economic and social development of the Colonies within the British Empire. . . .”⁶⁰

This approach to colonial administration increased the potential for tensions between the British government on the one hand and its Governors on the other as had happened with regard to the implementation of the recommendations of the Currie Report in the 1930s. Concerns about these tensions can be gleaned from the parliamentary debates in Britain. Sir H. Morris-Jones asked George Hall, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, what change there had been in recent years in the relationship between the Governors and officials in the colonies and the Home Department; and to what extent this had resulted in depriving such colonial servants of the power of adaptability, resource and initiative. The Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies responded:

It is difficult to generalize in a matter of this kind. The trend in recent years is for the Secretary of State to formulate broad lines of policy in close consultation with Colonial Governors, and to provide them with all possible assistance and guidance, but to leave the local application of policy to the Colonial Governments. So far from the qualities referred to in the second part of the Question being impaired, there is every opportunity for their exercise. Of course war imports new conditions and it is necessary for instructions to be issued to Colonial Governments, as to other authorities, on many matters formerly left to their discretion which have now become of military or other war-time importance.⁶¹

⁶⁰ John Dugdale, Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, 5th Series. Official Report, Vol. 387 (London: H. M. S. O., 1943), Col.1181.

⁶¹ H. Morris-Jones, Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, 5th Series. Official Report, Vol. 370 (London: H. M. S. O., 1942), Cols.568-569.

A closer analysis of the parliamentary debates reveals that sometimes there was lack of trust between some British Members of Parliament and the colonial Governors. Mr. Sorenson, one of the Members of Parliament in the House of Commons, asked Stanley to explain to the House: upon what qualification Governors were appointed to His Majesty's colonies; how many they were; and did they all have previous experience of the colonies in which they were now serving as Governors? When Stanley told Sorenson that the answer to his questions would be long and therefore would have to be circulated in the Official Report, Sorenson continued: "Can the right hon. and gallant Gentleman state in that reply how many of these Governors either belong to the Labour party or have opinions similar to the Labour party?"⁶² Questions like these provide a tantalizing glimpse on the nature of the relationship between different British constituencies. They also explain in part the 'schism' between the British government and its East African Governors regarding the Currie Report.

Another locus of the tensions regarding the establishment of colonial universities was between the British Colonial Office and the University of London, although these tensions were ephemeral. In March 1943, Stanley endorsed the recommendation made in the Channon Sub-Committee Report regarding the setting up of a general Commission on higher education in the colonies. One month later, the University of London became somewhat apprehensive when it was rumoured that the Asquith Commission was being appointed and yet the University of London had no substantial information to that effect. The University of London was concerned that its traditional role in the colonies, through its external degree programs which had become its source of pride, might be disregarded

by the Colonial Office in the new venture. Harold Claughton, Principal of the University of London, wrote to Alexander Carr-Saunders of the University of London School of Economics and confessed that he was 'rather perturbed about our relationship with the Colonial Office.' His fear was that 'matters may be maturing too fast in other directions whilst we are being left in the cold.'⁶³

According to Nwauwa, this suspicion was not unfounded; it derived from two sources. First, the University of London and the University of Oxford were rivals. Nwauwa argues that the aim of the derisory Oxford-Makerere links in 1940, referred to in Chapter 1 of the current study, had been to challenge London's dominance in colonial education. Thus the rumour about the appointment of the Asquith Commission made Claughton suspicious that the Colonial Office might have approached the University of Oxford clandestinely and asked it to assist in planning colonial education. Second, Professor H. J. Channon from the University of Liverpool had built himself a name in the early 1940s and thus became popular in the Colonial Office and the Advisory Committee of Education in the Colonies. Channon had deeply criticized the London external degree system. Thus, Claughton's fear was that Channon might use his influence to sideline the University of London.

This apprehension was allayed when Stanley wrote a letter to all British universities asking them to assist the government in implementing its policy of extending university facilities to the colonies. The University of London was delighted to co-operate. Professor Frank Horton, Vice-Chancellor of the University of London, assured Stanley that 'this University, itself the pioneer through its External side in extending

⁶² Mr. Sorenson, Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, 5th Series. Official Report, Vol. 385 (London: H. M. S. O., 1942), Col.714.

facilities for higher education throughout the Colonial Empire, would not be backward in its interest in any agreed schemes planned in the cause of higher education in the colonies and for the wise development of Colonial universities'.⁶⁴

The discussion in this sub-section leads to the conclusion that intermittent political tensions between different British constituencies characterized the early 1940s. Post-war planning preoccupied the minds of British politicians as the Second World War progressed. The Asquith Commission was part of this planning. The next sub-section explores the political influence in the Asquith Report.

3.3.3 Politics and The Asquith Report

The British government redefined its relationship with the Empire during the course of the war. Oliver Stanley reminded the British parliament that the central purpose of the colonial administration had been stated as being the doctrine of trusteeship. He then argued that the word 'trustee' was rather too static in its connotation and suggested: "we should prefer to combine with the status of trustee the position also of partner But we are pledged to guide Colonial people along the road to self-government within the framework of the British Empire. We are pledged to build up their social and economic institutions, and we are pledged to develop their natural resources."⁶⁵ The Asquith Commission was set up within this context. Consequently its Report did not divorce politics from higher education.

⁶³ See: Nwauwa, *Imperialism, Academe and Nationalism*, 136.

⁶⁴ Frank Horton to Oliver Stanley, 1 June 1943. Cited by Nwauwa, *Imperialism, Academe and Nationalism*, 139.

⁶⁵ Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, 5th Series. Official Report, Vol. 391 (London: H. M. S. O., 1943). Col.48.

The Asquith Commission worked on the assumption that University Colleges in the colonies would perform two functions: political and educational. The Asquith Commission's Chapter on the place of universities and University Colleges in the development of higher education urged the early creation of universities in the colonial Empire and stated the rationale for making this recommendation as follows:

The main consideration in our minds in making this decision is that His majesty's Government has entered upon a programme of social economic development for the Colonies which is not merely the outcome of a desire to fulfil our moral obligations as trustees of the welfare of Colonial peoples, but is also designed to lead to the exercise of self government by them. In the stage preparatory to self government universities have an important part to play; indeed they may be said to be indispensable. To them we must look for the production of men and women with the standard of public service and capacity for leadership which self rule requires. It is the university which should offer the best means of counteracting the influence of racial differences and sectional rivalries which impede the formation of political institutions on national basis In short, we look on the establishment of universities as an inescapable corollary of any policy which aims at the achievement of Colonial self-government. We believe that there can be no more welcome proof of the sincerity of this policy than the provision at an early date of facilities for university education in the Colonies themselves.⁶⁶

This recommendation leads to two conclusions. The first conclusion is that the main aim of the universities envisioned by the Asquith Commission would be to produce leaders that would assist the British government in implementing self-rule in the colonies. The focus of these universities was going to be a selected group of people who would be groomed for specific tasks, not the masses. Thus, the Asquith Commission, like Churchill in the early 1920s and Governor Mitchell in the mid-1930s, was elitist in its approach to higher education and mindful of the possible political implications of developing higher education in the colonies. The second conclusion is that the proposed universities would pay particular attention to basic disciplines such as the humanities and the sciences – the

underlying assumption being that these disciplines would be urgently needed by the new nation states so as to consolidate their self-rule.

The recommendations of the Asquith Commission captured the political mood of the 1940s and echoed the British colonial policy which blurred the distinction between politics and higher education. One government source stated: "The general policy of the United Kingdom towards its dependencies is to help them to attain self-government within the Commonwealth, furthering social and economic development to keep pace with political advance The colonial university is an essential feature of British colonial policy, because it is an essential condition of and preparation for the self-governing institutions which are the object of that policy."⁶⁷ There was, at this time, a realization by the British government that its mode of operation regarding African education before the war had created problems and that this had to change. Captain Gammas, a Member of Parliament in the House of Commons, reminded the House: "We have transplanted our own educational system into a tropical setting, and on the whole it has not been a great success. One of the worst things we ever did was to introduce the Cambridge local examinations as a sort of standard of gentility. We made the African a dissatisfied African without making him a satisfied anything."⁶⁸ Captain Gammas agitated for an overhaul of the British imperial policy on education to avoid repeating the mistakes of the past.

⁶⁶ *Asquith Report*, Chapter III, par.2

⁶⁷ British Central Office of Information, Reference Division, *Education in the United Kingdom Dependencies* (London: H. M. S. O., 1955), 1 and 38. This document discusses the broad aims of the British government regarding the development of its dependencies and identifies the role to be played by colonial universities in that process.

⁶⁸ Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, 5th Series. Official Report, Vol. 402 (London: H. M. S. O., 1944). Cols.452-453.

Three conclusions can be drawn in this section. First, that the British government resolved to develop higher education in its colonies as soon as the Second World War had ended but started drawing the plans for that development during the course of the war. Second, that arguments for and against the development of higher education in Africa ran parallel to each other and thus created fertile ground for tensions between various British constituencies. Third, that the nature of the relationship between the British government and the colonial Governors was unstable, hence the divergent views on policy issues. Overall, the discussion above has demonstrated that the political factor was the driving force behind the recommendations made in Channon's Memorandum, the Channon Report, and the Asquith Report.

The focus of the next section is on the period between 1945 and 1960. The section analyzes the process of establishing the Asquith Colleges with a view to establishing whether or not the tensions discussed thus far were reduced in Britain and in East Africa after the Second World War.

3.4 Politics and the Asquith Colleges in East Africa, 1945-1960

The end of the Second World War in 1945 ushered in a new political dispensation in East Africa. By 1945 concrete plans for higher education in the British colonies had already been drafted; when the war ended the British government found an opportunity to implement the recommendations made by the committees and commissions that had been able to gather evidence despite the war. Yet the British Government, now under the Labour Party, sustained the view that the British Colonial Office, not the Governors, was responsible for the development of the British Dependencies. To this end, Creech Jones

issued Colonial Paper No. 191 of 1945, in which he outlined the British government's vision about the future of East Africa. Creech Jones, while recognizing the work done by the Governors' Conference in East Africa, insisted that the Governors could not take decisions independently regarding the East African Dependencies.⁶⁹

In July 1946, Creech-Jones traversed East Africa so as to familiarize himself with the region. He also visited Makerere College, the nerve center for higher education in East Africa. Creech Jones, believing that a class of well-educated Africans would prove beneficial to Britain, "courted the African elite"⁷⁰ and strongly favoured the continued expansion of this class through the provision of institutions for higher education such as Makerere and, later, the University of East Africa. George Hall, Secretary of State for the Colonies, told the British parliament that it was pleasing to note that in the ten years programs of development being submitted, education occupied an important place. Hall maintained: "Great stress is laid on every phase, whether it be primary or secondary, technical or adult, mass education or higher education. Every part is considered important to every other part as a basis of social and economic progress. Following upon the three valuable reports presented last year, higher education in the Colonies has progressed along several lines. . . ."⁷¹

Ajayi, Goma and Johnson's exploration of the development of higher education in Africa after WW II led them to the following conclusion: "Thus, the colonial University Colleges were established partly in response to African demand, especially in West and

⁶⁹ Pressure from Kenya's settlers forced the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies to change the tone of his Paper. Creech Jones subsequently issued Colonial Paper No.210 with a few modifications.

⁷⁰ Nwauwa, "Creech Jones and African Universities, 1943-50", in Chris Joue and Tim Stapleton (eds) *Agency and Action in Colonial Africa: Essays for John E. Flint* (Palgrave, 2001), 126.

⁷¹ Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, 5th Series. Official Report, Vol. 425 (London: H. M. S. O., 1946). Col.249.

Southern Africa, partly in response to the demand of European officials and settlers, especially in central and Eastern Africa, but generally in pursuit of laid down colonial policies and objectives.”⁷² The Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies conceded the political motive behind the development of higher education in Africa, arguing that it was more dangerous to British imperial prestige, politically and socially, to deny Africans access to university education than to satisfy that urge.⁷³

The period between 1945 and 1960 when the Asquith Colleges were established was dominated by politics. In East Africa this period was eventful. The Second World War had brought home the lack of technical skills amongst the African population in East Africa, resulting into the establishment by the Kenya government of a Development Committee that would look into the foundation of a Technical and Commercial Institute to be based in Nairobi. This was followed by the appointment in 1947 of the Willoughby Committee discussed in Chapter 2. In 1948, the East Africa High Commission was established and tensions arose on whether or not the development of Makerere into a regional university would be the responsibility of the E. A. H. C. Sir Philip Mitchell, now Chairman of the E. A. H. C., addressed the Central Legislative Assembly: “Although Makerere College does not come under the jurisdiction of the High Commission, this Assembly is empowered to pass legislation relating to the College.”⁷⁴

The Willoughby Committee presented its Report in 1949, the year in which Makerere was accepted into the ‘Special Relationship’ program with the University of London. The recommendation by the Willoughby Committee that the Technical Institute in Kenya

⁷² Ajayi, Goma and Johnson, *The African Experience with Higher Education*, 67.

⁷³ Nwauwa, *Imperialism, Academe and Nationalism*, 68.

⁷⁴ East Africa High Commission. Proceedings of the Central Legislative Assembly, Second Assembly, First Session, 29-31 January 1952. Official Report, Vol. V, No. 1 (Nairobi: EAHC, 1953), Col. 18.

should develop to a University ended Makerere's monopoly in offering higher education and caused political tensions between Kenya and Uganda and between the Kenya government and the British Colonial Office. Southall writes:

... there was ambition in Kenya for an institution of University status, despite the fact that official Colonial Office policy was that Makerere should develop into a unitary inter-territorial university. Now Makerere had never been held in the same respect by settler opinion as by either the African community or by the Uganda Administration, for its avowed intention of providing a liberal education was held in some vague manner to be subversive of colonial order. Perhaps this explains the readiness with which the scheme for a Royal Technical College was greeted by settler opinion. ...⁷⁵

The mode of operation adopted by the Colonial government in Kenya contradicted with the educational policy for East Africa drawn up by the Colonial Office. While the Colonial Office put its weight behind the development of Makerere as an inter-territorial College, the Colonial government in Kenya resolved to start another institution in Kenya, arguing that "it should be left to each territory to start any institution that it liked on its own and that, at a later date, if it was considered that the time had come to propose it for adaptation as an East African institute, that could be done. ..."⁷⁶

The tensions regarding Makerere and the R. T. C. provide the political context in which the First Working Party of 1955 was appointed. The uncontrolled developments at the Royal Technical College "were rapidly making nonsense of the concept of a unitary University of East Africa;"⁷⁷ so the Working Party had to clear this confusion. The First Working Party considered the vision of the Colonial government about higher education in the colonies and recommended as follows: "At the outset of this part of the discussion we wish to emphasize with all the strength at our command that the provision of

⁷⁵ Southall, *Federalism and Higher Education in East Africa*, 30.

⁷⁶ *East African Standard*, 26 April 1952.

university education in East Africa should continue to be the concern of the three territories acting together.”⁷⁸ However, it is of particular interest to note that the First Working Party did not dismiss the proposal to develop the R. T. C. The three main recommendations of the Working Party were that: (i) a new University College should be established in Nairobi; (ii) university planning should be at the inter-territorial level so as to avoid unnecessary duplication between new institutions and Makerere; and (iii) the University College to be founded in Tanganyika should be delayed until the completion of the development of Makerere. Ogot in his biography recalls: “The second important factor, which influenced the deliberations of the Commission, was political. There was what it called ‘a growing territorial consciousness and consequential ambitions’, one which was to possess a university institution.”⁷⁹ In a nutshell, the appointment of the First Working Party was inspired by political factors and its recommendations were influenced by post-World War II politics.

Failure by the First Working Party to spell out the manner in which inter-territorial co-operation would be effected necessitated the appointment of the Second Working Party of 1958. The Report of the Second Working Party endorsed the recommendation that Kenya and Tanganyika should establish their own University Colleges because such institutions were deemed to be symbols of territorial consciousness. The Second Working Party commenting on Kenya argued:

We feel that the only practical method of combining the full promotion of technological and professional studies with the due honouring of the pledge given to the Gandhi Memorial Academy Society and with the initiation of a university college is to adopt the bold plan of transforming the Royal Technical College into

⁷⁷ Bethwell A. Ogot, *My Footprints on the Sands of Time. An Autobiography* (Kisumu: Anyange Press and Canada: Trafford Publishers, 2003), 127.

⁷⁸ *Report of the Working Party on Higher Education in East Africa*, 1955, par.78.

⁷⁹ Ogot, *My Footprints on the Sands of Time*, 127.

a college which will provide not only courses of training in technological and other professional subjects to the highest professional standards but also courses leading to university degrees.⁸⁰

Members of the Second Working Party considered the political context in which they were operating and interpreted their task to be that of constructing a model of growth that would reconcile political demands with economic rationality.⁸¹ They considered the fact that the three East African Colleges would be at different stages of development when the University of East Africa came into being and proposed that the University would exist in the colonies, which would be empowered to take key decisions.

The political significance of the Asquith colleges in East Africa became more pronounced in the late-1950s. The *East African Standard* newspaper, commenting on the Report of the Second Working Party on higher education in East Africa stated: "The report stresses that the inter-racial and inter-territorial character of the colleges are indispensable elements. Although there has perhaps been some initial disinclination to accept these prerequisites, there is now general agreement that they offer advantages which should be evident to East Africa in the efforts to narrow divisions and shape common purposes."⁸²

The reaction of Makerere College Council to the recommendations of the Second Working Party demonstrated that there was a relationship between politics and higher education in East Africa. The Council regarded the creation of a Federal University of East Africa as, among other things, the best way to ensure the maintenance of inter-territoriality. Yet the Council also anticipated tensions and stated:

⁸⁰ *Report of the Working Party on Higher Education in East Africa*, 1958, par.27.

⁸¹ Ogot, *My Footprints on the Sands of Time*, 128.

⁸² *East African Standard* (Kenya), 26 February 1959.

At the same time, Council desires to put on record its opinion that the timing of these developments, particularly the creation of the East African University and the remodeling of the Royal Technical College into a second university college, must be exactly judged in relation to the supply of students of suitable quality, to the availability of funds, and to Makerere College's emergence from its Special Relation with the University of London. If this timing is not most carefully weighed, damage may be done to the cause of Higher Education, and success already achieved may be imperiled.⁸³

In 1960, Makerere College Council found it hard to divorce education from politics when thinking about the development of higher education in East Africa and about the envisioned Federal University. The Council noted in one of its meetings that "the most satisfactory form of legislation appeared to be in the form of an Order in Council made by Her Majesty the Queen and applicable to all three Territories."⁸⁴ Politically, East Africa was still under British rule at this time; therefore the Council felt that it was appropriate for the Queen to have an authoritative voice in the region's political and educational affairs. However, not all East African constituencies shared this view. The spirit of nationalism and the independence euphoria of the 1950s and 1960s made tensions inevitable on such issues.

Some of these tensions occurred at the East Africa Central Legislative Assembly during the debate regarding the naming of the College in Kenya. Mr. Laurence Oguda, one of the Members of the Kenya Legislature was not happy with the name 'Royal College, Nairobi' and suggested that the name should be changed to 'Nairobi College'. Some white Members of the House were not impressed by this suggestion, which, they

⁸³ Makerere College. The University College of East Africa. Comments of the College Council on the *Report of the Second Working Party on Higher Education in East Africa*, 9 April 1959. U. O. N. Archives. UEA Makerere University College, PUEA/12/8

⁸⁴ Makerere College. The University College of East Africa. The 60th Meeting of the College Council, 24 August 1960, 6. U. O. N. Archives. UEA Makerere University College, PUEA/12/12.

thought, was politically motivated. Mr. Bruce Mackenzie, one of the white Members of the Legislature, opined:

I think Sir, that most members of this Assembly will realize what a very great honour Her Majesty has given us by allowing the College to be called the Royal College, and will agree with me that the hon. Member's reference to this was entirely uncalled for and was extremely ungracious. I hope Sir, that the hon. Member – and I am sorry, Sir that he comes from my territory – I hope that he will think this matter over and realize that his suggestion is, to say the least, ungracious.⁸⁵

The Central Legislative Assembly of East Africa tried its utmost to ensure that the envisioned University of East Africa did not become a political battlefield. Mr. David, the Administrator, reasoned:

A University is a free and independent corporation able to follow the paths of truth and learning in the widest context without being subject to pressure or control from Church, State or any other authority. In its internal organization it presents the fellowship of scholars working on a democratic basis and not an authoritarian basis from the top down. The faculty boards present matters to the academic boards and the academic boards to the council or senate. The picture, then, is one of academic autonomy enabling the college authorities to decide on purely academic ground what may be taught in the college, how it may be taught, who may teach, and who may study. Provided this academic freedom, which has been characterized in the universities of the Western world for centuries and which has made them what they are today, is maintained and preserved in the future University of East Africa, then, Sir, I look forward to the day when the University of East Africa will take its place by the side of the older foundations as a revered and respected home of learning and truth and knowledge.⁸⁶

The remainder of this Chapter and the next Chapters show that the University of East Africa was a political and racial battlefield throughout its history.

This section has shown that the end of the Second World War marked a new epoch in the history of higher education in East Africa by setting in motion the process of

⁸⁵ East Africa High Commission. Proceedings of the Central Legislative Assembly, Fourth Assembly, First Session. Official Report, Vol. XIII, No. 2, 29 November 1960 (Nairobi: EAHK, 1961), Col.575.

implementing the recommendations made by different committees and commissions during the course of the Second World War. Secondly, this section has shown that there was a very thin line between politics and education, thus making tensions between different interested parties inevitable.

The achievement of political independence by Tanganyika at the end of 1961 gave the political factor an urge. The last section of this Chapter explores political tensions which occurred in East Africa between 1961 and 1963 with a view to presenting the political context in which the University of East Africa was instituted.

3.5. Independence and Political Tensions, 1961-1963⁸⁷

The line between politics and education in Africa became thinner in the early 1960s due to the spirit of nationalism and independence that swept through the continent. Many African politicians and scholars expected political and educational institutions to reciprocate each other. The same is true for East Africa. Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika looked to their educational institutions to assist them in developing the East African region. The prospects of having a Federal University increased hope that East Africa would develop even quicker as a result of joint effort by the three East African territories. These assumptions plunged the University deep into politics before it was even formally constituted. The meeting of the Academic Board of Makerere College conceded that politics played a cardinal role in the establishment of the University of East Africa when

⁸⁶ East Africa High Commission. Proceedings of the Central Legislative Assembly. Fourth Assembly, First Session. Official Report, Vol. XIII, No. 2, 29 November 1960 (Nairobi: EAHC, 1961). Col.569.

⁸⁷ The discussion in this section is confined to the exploration of the nature of the relationship between East African constituencies and the Colonial government following the achievement of political independence by the East African territories. The role played by independence in the demise of the University of East Africa (inter-territorial tensions) is discussed in Chapter 6 below.

it argued that the Provisional Council of the University of East Africa was recommended partly for political reasons: to establish a University that would transcend the frontiers of the three East African countries and inculcate the spirit of Pan-East Africanism.⁸⁸

By 1961 there was already mounting pressure to promote inter-territoriality in East Africa through economic, political and educational institutions. A memorandum sent to the Provisional Council of the University of East Africa by Stratmore College, in Kenya, stated:

The College is under some pressure to receive students from the other territories of East Africa, mainly because this is the viewpoint of some of the other entities that have contributed towards capital costs. The Board of Trustees feels that inter-territoriality would benefit the College In view of all the foregoing, the Board of Trustees and the Academic Board of the College feel that Stratmore should be closely associated with the new University of East Africa. Through this memorandum, the Board of Trustees wishes to place before the Provisional Council a request that it consider in Principle the possibility of Stratmore College being affiliated directly to the future University as a 'Junior College'.⁸⁹

The achievement of political independence by the East African territories between 1961 and 1963 led to increased tensions between East African leaders and the British government or its Governors in East Africa. The British government had been in charge of East African political and education administration until 1960. East African constituencies vowed to take charge of their own affairs and this caused tensions between East African politicians, scholars and students on the one hand, and the British government and/or its appointees working in East Africa.

⁸⁸ Makerere College. The University College of East Africa. Minutes of a Special Meeting of the Academic Board, 11 February 1959. U. O. N. Archives, UEA Makerere University College, PUEA/12/8.

⁸⁹ Memorandum to The Provisional Council of the University of East Africa from Stratmore College, Kenya, 15 October 1961. U. O. N. Archives. UEA. University Council. PUEA/1A/60, 2. In a subsequent meeting, The Provisional Council of the University of East Africa decided that the request could not be entertained until the University was established. When the University of East Africa was finally constituted in 1963, this request was never pursued. Only the Royal technical College from Kenya formed part of the Federal University of East Africa.

When the Provisional Council of the University of East Africa was formed in June 1961, political wrangling continued unabated. The Provisional Council had to acquire legal personality before it could operate. Two proposals were made: (i) Order-in-Council; (ii) The formation of a company Limited by Guarantee or by incorporation of Trustees. Mr. J. S. Fulton, an expatriate nominated to the Promotional Committee by the Chairman of the Inter-University Council, suggested the second option. His suggestion was based on the fact that a company Limited had been used with success to acquire legal personality by the London School of Economics, by the University College of North Staff, and by the University College of Sussex.⁹⁰ Fulton's proposal was accepted. However, instead of the company being registered in one of the three East African territories, which was one of the available options, it was registered in the United Kingdom and enabled to operate throughout East Africa.⁹¹

This caused tensions between different interested parties, some arguing that it was unjustifiable for Britain to continue deciding the educational and political future of East Africa. These concerns were considered by the Draft Committee charged with the task of drawing a Charter of the federal University of East Africa. The Draft Committee, after considering the Third Draft of a Charter setting up the University of East Africa, came to the conclusion that "an Act of the Central Legislative Assembly of East Africa would be more acceptable to East Africa than would be a Royal Charter. In addition, it was felt that there would be advantages in having the University's basic legislation discussed in, and

⁹⁰ Minutes of the Promotional Committee, Makerere College, 1 March 1961, 2. U. O. N. Archives, UEA University Council. PUEA/1A/60.

⁹¹ Minutes of the Meeting of the Promotional Committee at Makerere College, 1 March 1961. U. O. N. Archives. UEA University Council, PUEA/1A/60. See also: The Companies Ordinance, 1958. Company Limited by Guarantee and having a Share Capital. Articles of Association of the Provisional Council of the University of East Africa, 1961. U. O. N. Archives. UEA University Council, PUEA/1A/57.

receiving the endorsement of, a legislature in East Africa. This should help to foster the impression that the University was an indigenous institution.”⁹²

Political, economic, and educational freedom was deemed inseparable by East African constituencies. President Kenyatta, reflecting on the transition from colonial rule to independence in East Africa, argued that there was no point in winning freedom from the shackles of colonialism only to find oneself in an economic and political bondage of a subtle kind.⁹³ President Kenyatta represented the voice of East African constituencies which steadfastly believed that time was opportune for East Africans to determine their economic, educational, and political future independent of Britain.

The role played by political factors in the establishment of the University of East Africa can be gauged from one of the documents left behind by The Provisional Council of the University of East Africa, which states:

The University of East Africa is, perhaps, a unique experiment, in the sense that, from birth or early infancy, it will exist in three independent countries, each with perfectly understandable and justifiable national aspirations, but nevertheless resolved, in the sphere of higher education, to enjoy the fruits of mutual association. It comes into being at a time of great change in East African life, when the normal impulse might well be towards the choice of an East African as the first Chancellor of the University. Those in whose hands, under the proposed constitution, this choice is left, may conceivably think otherwise. They may rightly adjudge an East African candidate possessed of the criteria enunciated earlier in this paper. Yet their desire to ensure that national aspirations and loyalties are transcended in the office of Chancellor of the new University may lead them to look beyond the borders of East Africa, while bearing in mind, however, the desirability of the first Chancellor being able to appear in person at the inauguration of the University, and, perhaps, at least once more during his term of office, to preside over congregations for the conferring of degrees.

It is precisely because of the state of flux in East Africa to-day that the provisional Council is asking the East African Common Services

⁹² Memorandum by Lindsay Young to all Members of the Provisional Council, 14 March 1962. Annexure D. Prov. Co. Agenda/29. 3. 62. U. O. N. Archives. UEA University Council, PUEA/1A/53.

⁹³ *East African Standard* (Kenya), 27 March 1965.

Authority to invite the first Chancellor to take office for a period of three years. It is felt that, when three years have elapsed after the establishment of the University, East African life will have attained sufficient stability for future Chancellors to be elected by a constituency in which the graduates of the University (...) are the dominant element.⁹⁴

The political factor played an instrumental role in the appointment of officers at the East African Colleges. A meeting of The Provisional Council of the University of East Africa held in Nairobi in April 1963 noted that the Makerere Legislation would name the Governor-General of Uganda as the Visitor and the Dar es Salaam legislation, the President of Tanganyika. Existing Royal College Legislation left the choice of Visitor to the East African Common Services Organization. The meeting noted that The Royal College Council might be asked to move in the direction of the Head of State as Visitor.⁹⁵ It is of particular interest to note that politicians, not scholars, were considered for these positions. The appointment of President Nyerere by the East African Common Services Organization as the first Chancellor of the U. E. A. was inspired by the political mood of the early 1960s. President Nyerere was perceived as an epitome of African freedom in East Africa, following his guidance of Tanganyika towards independence in 1961. The *Daily Nation* newspaper in Kenya was quick to notice this significant appointment and opined: "It is fitting that today the architect of the first nation to become independent in East Africa should be the Chancellor of East Africa's first University."⁹⁶

There was general consensus between different constituencies in East Africa about the need to create a good relationship between institutions of higher education and

⁹⁴ Papers about the University of East Africa left by Donald MacGillivray. Provisional Council of the University of East Africa, Ref. U/37, July 1962. K. N. A. GH/11/31, 3.

⁹⁵ Report of a discussion on College Legislation which took place in the Registrar's Office, Royal College, 1 April 1963. U. O. N. Archives. UEA University Council. PUEA/1A/77, 1.

⁹⁶ *Daily Nation Supplement*, 28 June 1963.

political institutions. The East African Common Services Authority decided in December 1962 that the East African Common Services Organization would assume a measure of responsibility for higher education in East Africa. E. A. C. S. O's responsibility began in the fiscal year commencing on July 1, 1963 when it provided £410, 000 for the central University organization and the three Constituent Colleges although the details regarding the nature of the relationship between the University, E. A. C. S. O. and the three East African governments had not been clearly defined yet.

Mr. A. L. Adu, Secretary General of the East African Common Services Organization, wrote a letter to the Permanent Secretaries of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika, stating:

Preliminary reactions from all three Governments to my letter No. 5/29/3 of the 8th January, 1963, would appear to favour the proposal that relations between the University of East Africa and its Constituent Colleges and the Governments should be regulated through EACSO. In anticipation of agreement on this proposal, the Finance Ministerial Committee of EACSO has proposed the inclusion in our Estimates for 1963-64 of provision for the inter-territorial component of the grant to the University of East Africa organisation itself.⁹⁷

Among the proposals made in the letter were the following: (i) the need to amend the constitution of the East African Common Services Organization by an addition of a clause to the first schedule in the following terms: 'services for the co-ordination of relations between the University of East Africa, its constituent colleges and the contracting Governments, including such services for the administration of finance relating to such University and constituent colleges as may be agreed between the Authority and the contracting Governments'; (ii) the East African Common Services Authority should assume responsibility for relations between the University of East

Africa (and its Colleges) and the Governments, including responsibility for financial development, and negotiations on the grant contributions to be made by E. A. C. S. O. and the Governments. By the end of May 1963, the idea of an inter-territorial University was entrenched in the minds of the people of East Africa. When the University was finally constituted it was perceived not only as an educational institution but also as a political institution. As discussed in Chapter 6, it was the latter reason that led to its demise in 1970.

Chapter Summary

Two broad conclusions could be drawn in this Chapter. First, the establishment of the federal University of East Africa was mainly inspired by political factors. Second, the developmental stages of this University were characterized by tensions between different constituencies. East African constituencies – students, politicians and the Young Baganda Association; British colonial governments in East Africa; and the British government in London all played their part in bringing the University into existence. The chronological analysis of the statements and documents in which the history of the University of East Africa is contained reveals that political factors dominated the history of the University from the 1920s to the first half of 1963. By the end of May 1963, it was already evident that the much-anticipated University would become the battlefield between different interested parties.

The present Chapter has placed the history of the University of East Africa in the broader context of British imperialism by demonstrating that the establishment of the

⁹⁷ A. L. Adu to Permanent Secretaries of Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika (Ref. 5/29/3), 8 April 1963. U. O. N. Archives. UEA University Council. PUEA/1A/2.

University of East Africa was part of the British imperial policy on higher education after the Second World War. While it cannot be repudiated that “changes in the colonial education, particularly after 1948, were to a large extent responses to political and economic changes that were taking place in the colonies in general,”⁹⁸ it is clear from the above discussion that although the economic factor played its role in influencing British imperial policies the rationale behind the British government’s decision to develop higher education in East Africa (and in the Empire) before and after the Second World War was mainly politically motivated; the British government used higher education to insulate the students from political influence that would tarnish its international image.

The fact that different constituencies played their role in the establishment of the University of East Africa raises the following question: Who were the custodians of the University of East Africa? This question is explored in the next Chapter with a view to demonstrating that the tensions that characterized the history of the University of East Africa from the 1920s to the first half of 1963 would be sustained after the University had been constituted.

⁹⁸ Migot-Adholla, “The Evolution of Higher Education [Kenya]”, 4.

CHAPTER FOUR

WHOSE UNIVERSITY?

The University Colleges which comprise this University cannot be islands filled with people who live in a world of their own, looking on with academic objectivity or indifference at the activities of those outside. East Africa cannot spend millions of pounds, cannot beg and borrow for the university, unless it plays a full and active part in the urgent tasks of East Africa. Even if it were desirable, we are too poor in money and educated manpower to support an ivory tower existence for an intellectual elite. Our problems will not wait. We must, and do, demand that this University take an active part in the social revolution we are engineering.

President Nyerere, 1963. Cited by Paul P. P. W. Achola et. al.
Trends & The Future of Education in Kenya, 1990

Introduction

The question posed in this Chapter is very crucial but difficult to answer precisely because the African University Colleges established after the Second World War were a replica of metropolitan universities; when African universities were established in the early 1960s they, too, portrayed a European outlook. Idrian N. Resnick in his article 'The University and Development in Africa' argued that Universities in Africa "are part of the development syndrome: every country wants one, most countries have one, and all governments are more or less puzzled as to just what they have once the university is in operation. This is because most universities in Africa are very foreign to the way of life in the country; they do not fit in, they are not African."¹

The University of East Africa had many identities and, therefore, many claimants. Some regarded the University as an agent of academic imperialism and thus part of neo-

¹ Idrian N. Resnick, "The University and Development in Africa", *Pan-African Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Winter, 1968): 30.

colonialism; others perceived it as a repository of Western ideas; for some it was a guarantor of academic standards of the work done at the regional colleges in Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika while others regarded the University as an integral part of the East African Federation movement and an instrument for promoting a pan-East African consciousness.² Each view considered at least one of the many identities of the University of East Africa, hence Roger Southall's submission that the University of East Africa "was, perhaps, all of these things at the same time, and this was possibly why it was an object of such controversy."³

Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 have shown that British and East African constituencies played their role in bringing about the University of East Africa. Once established, the University displayed both local and global features. Its physical location was in East Africa and the student population was predominantly black and East African yet the administrative staff and the faculty at the University's Central Office in Uganda and at the constituent colleges were predominantly European. Further, the curriculum of what the expatriate staff taught at the University and the methods they used was foreign too. Moreover, the University was funded in part by the East African national governments and by the British government. Each of these sponsors aspired to have an authoritative voice in the affairs of the University of East Africa thus making it a site for conflicting interests. Some British politicians unabashedly espoused the view that it was their right to comment on any institution that was funded, in part or in full, by the British Government. For example, when Mr. Frank Bowles asked Members of the House of Commons in

² For different perceptions about the University of East Africa see: Southall, *Federalism and Higher Education in East Africa*, ix-x.

³ Ibid., x.

London not to talk about higher education at the University College in Salisbury (present-day Zimbabwe) Mr. James Griffiths, Member of Parliament, responded:

May I ask you, Mr. Bowles, to bear in mind that the university in Rhodesia is being helped financially by this country and by this Parliament and since we are contributors towards it under the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund for which Parliament has to vote the money, may I respectfully submit that reference to that university is in order because we have our responsibility towards it. . . .⁴

Thus the fact that the University of East Africa was funded in part by the British government left some British politicians convinced that it was their right to have a say in the affairs of the University. East African constituencies on the other hand held the view that they were the sole custodians of the University of East Africa because it was sited on the African soil and populated by African students. Also, the University came into being soon after, or just before (in the case of Kenya), the three East African territories achieved their political independence. Presidents Nyerere, Obote and Kenyatta worked on the assumption that political freedom meant that they could now run their institutions independently of Britain. In their view, the three national governments in East Africa, not the British government, had to work with the administrators and faculty at the University of East Africa to decide how the University could collaborate with the three governments in the development of the East African region. The tensions regarding the ownership of the University of East Africa are enshrined in the documents in which the history of this University is preserved. One of the documents states:

The fact that the Provisional Council has chosen to ask the Central Legislative Assembly to enact the legislation which will call the University of East Africa into legal being, rather than to seek the device of a Royal Charter for its foundation, is itself indicative of the Council's desire to ensure that from its inception, the University will be accepted as

⁴ Parliamentary Debates (Hansard) House of Commons. Official Report, Fifth Series, Vol. 571, Series 1956-57 (London: H. M. S. O., 1957), Cols. 1122-1123.

an indigenous East African institution. On the other hand, its founders do not believe that the University of East Africa can, or should, stand outside of the international academic community from which its three constituent colleges are such obvious inheritors.

The draft constitution of the new University inevitably bears resemblances to the constitutions of Universities in other countries with which, for the supply of academic teachers and the provision of degrees for its students, East Africa has had such strong links in the past.⁵

The first paragraph in this citation leads to the conclusion that the Provisional Council of the University of East Africa was aware of the possible tensions regarding the ownership of the University by the East African people. Yet the last line of the first paragraph and the whole of the second paragraph allude to the fact that the University of East Africa could not be solely an East African institution; it also had to reflect its international character. This dual identity, one local and the other global, of the University was the germ for the tensions between different constituencies. As far as East African politicians, scholars, students as well as the general public were concerned the University was an East African asset that had to reflect an African character not only in terms of the student population and its physical location but also in terms of its teaching and administrative staff, curriculum, syllabus, teaching methods and research topics as well as the manner in which the University organized its cultural and academic activities. All these perceptions were articulated and demonstrated by East African constituencies at different moments in the history of the University. Wilbert Chagula, then Vice-Principal of the University College, Dar es Salaam stated in his public address during the Graduation Ceremony held in Dar es Salaam on August 21, 1964:

Before I mention the other events which were part of the ceremony, I should briefly add that attendance of the Tanganyika Police Band, the Band Dancers of the National Union of Tanganyika Workers (NUTA) as

⁵ Papers about UEA left by Donald MacGillivray. Provisional Council of the UEA (Ref. No. U/37), July 1962. K. N. A. GH/11/31.

well as the contribution of indigenous dances such as 'Mganda' and 'Gombe Sugu' by the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) all went to provide the warm and African atmosphere that was essential to the success of such an important function as this.⁶

This was a Graduation Ceremony conducted at an African University College where all twelve African graduates of the University College, Dar es Salaam came to receive their degrees in person, in front of a predominantly African audience. The organizers of this event felt that giving the Ceremony an African flavor would remind the congregation that this was indeed an African event, taking place at an African institution. But this claim for ownership did not go unchallenged as discussions below show.

The purpose of this Chapter is to demonstrate that the University of East Africa had many identities and thus many claimants and that this led to tensions between different constituencies, both in East Africa and in Britain. The key questions addressed in this Chapter are the following: How did British constituencies perceive the University of East Africa? How did African perceptions about the University differ from those of their British counterparts? What did each party do to stamp its authority over and demonstrate its ownership of this newly established University? Which tensions occurred between East African constituencies as they made indefatigable efforts to find an identity for the University of East Africa?

The present Chapter is organized into four sections. The first section discusses the University of East Africa as an international asset like any other university. The second section demonstrates that the University was perceived as a regional asset aimed at binding the different East African territories. The third section discusses the University as confirmation of *uhuru*. The emphasis of this section is on Africanization; it demonstrates

⁶ *News From the Hill*, Number Five of a Bulletin Designed to Keep the East African Public Informed About the Progress of the university College, Dar es Salaam, 3. K. N. A. KA/2/17.

how East African constituencies proposed to reorganize the University so that it reflected the political mood of the 1960s. The last section explores the relationship between the University of East Africa and the East African society.

4.1 The University of East Africa as an International Asset

We agree with the Report of the Needs and Priorities Committee that our University cannot afford to be a withdrawn, esoteric, institution. We should wish to be firmly planted in the African world and not only the East African countries which we particularly serve.

Second Draft, Development Plan for the
U. E. A., 1964 -1967 March 1963

The university is a multi-faced institution. It has a local and a global identity. The above epigraph captures the predicament in which the planners of the future of the University of East Africa found themselves as they finalized the preparations for the establishment of this institution. On the one hand they had to think of the University they were setting up as being primarily an East African asset. On the other hand they had to perceive the University as an international asset belonging to the entire African continent but sited in East Africa. The Draft University Development Plan for the first triennium of the University stated: “The University of East Africa, a federal university transcending three international boundaries, is an experiment in international co-operation. The awareness of an underlying unity and the urge to give it effective expression, are important and encouraging features of contemporary Africa.”⁷ The 8th meeting of the University Council noted with gratification the assurances of the East African Governments that “they are committed to the support of local institutions and to the

⁷ UEA. Draft University Development Plan for the Triennium 1964/67, 29 June 1963, 4.

maintenance of the constituent colleges of the University of East Africa as inter-territorial and international institutions.”⁸ The perception of the University as an East African asset meant that East Africans would determine its operation and outlook. Conversely, the perception of the University as an international asset meant that it would be guided by international rules and assumptions about the university as an educational institution. These potentially conflicting perceptions created a fertile ground for tensions. David Court asks: “If ‘university’ has a universal meaning, where should modification begin?”⁹

The federal University of East Africa was an international institution in three senses: (i) it dismantled the artificial boundaries that divided Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika; (ii) its African outlook had to transcend East African borders by reflecting the aspirations within Africa as a continent; and (iii) the University was international in the global sense, it was an epitome of a university as conceptualized by the international community. The international character of the U. E. A. was portrayed from the very first day when it was inaugurated. The *Daily Nation* newspaper reported the following day: “The grandeur of the ceremony was no less dignified and no less traditional than are such occasions at the old-established universities of Britain, Europe and the United States.”¹⁰ The multi-faceted nature of the University of East Africa was demonstrated by the fact that while the students were predominantly African its architecture bore no resemblance to the local structures; the medium of instruction was English, not Luganda or any of the indigenous East African languages; the administrative staff and the faculty was

⁸ Extracts from the 8th Meeting of the University Council, U. O. N. Archives, UEA Senate Meetings, PUEA/2B/17.

⁹ David Court, “East African Higher Education from the Community Standpoint”: 273.

¹⁰ *Daily Nation* (Kenya), 29 June 1963.

predominantly British; and the University's culture reflected, *inter alia*, through sports, music, and dress was different from the East African indigenous cultures.

The editor of President Nyerere's writings and speeches published in 1966 under the title *Uhuru na Umoja: Freedom and Unity* introduced the Chapter on the inauguration of the University of East Africa thus: "The University of East Africa is both federal and international consisting of the University Colleges of Makerere (Uganda), Nairobi, and Dar es Salaam."¹¹ A. G. Shaper in his article 'Studies in Heart Disease in Uganda' stressed the fact that the University of East Africa was an international asset, arguing that although heart disease was a problem in Uganda: "Work in this field is not just of importance to Kampala or even to East Africa, it might be important in a more international sense providing basic information on such vital problems as high blood pressure, rheumatic heart disease and atherosclerosis and its complications."¹²

Some East African scholars acquiesced in the fact that the University could not afford to ignore its identity as an international asset. Washington A. J. Okumu and Thomas R. Odhiambo were among such scholars. While arguing that East Africans should not be told by foreigners how they should run the University, the two authors conceded:

. . . we are quite aware of the fact that the white man, the blue man, and the black man everywhere is going to look at our university and judge us; they are not merely going to see how we run and control it, but they are going to see what products we can turn out because the world is a shrinking world . . . unless the stuff we give our student in East Africa is the stuff that can be matched by the stuff in other places, our university will have no place in the community of nations.¹³

¹¹ Julius K. Nyerere, *Freedom and Unity: Uhuru na Umoja: A Selection from Writings and Speeches 1952-65* (London: Oxford UP, 1966), 218.

¹² A. G. Shaper, "Studies in Heart Disease in Uganda", *Uganda Journal*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (1966): 189.

¹³ Washington A. J. Okumu and Thomas R. Odhiambo, *Africanisation and Staffing Policy in the University of East Africa: A Study*, Series No.1, 1964 [unpublished], 10.

Okumu and Odhiambo argued that the University of East Africa, like universities elsewhere, had the responsibility to advance the frontiers of knowledge through teaching and research.

Chapter 1 of the present study demonstrated that the development of higher education in Africa followed a similar pattern; that University Colleges in Anglophone Africa first had a 'Special Relationship' with the University of London before they assumed an independent status. Similarly, the University of East Africa was, to a very large extent, the brainchild of the University of London. In theory, British politicians and British scholars acknowledged the independence of the University of East Africa. In practice, they conceived of and treated it as an international asset obliged to maintain international standards and subscribe to internationally accepted notions of a university, in the same way as British universities purported to. C. Arnold Anderson writes: "East Africa, along with most of the third world, has inherited conventional specifications of training for each high-level occupation, specifications which are cherished but seldom questioned. Unwitting acceptance of these (often extravagantly expensive) standards combines with the understandable determination of the University to adhere to a world standard."¹⁴ The University of East Africa was placed between the rock and a hard place. On the one hand, the University could not simply adhere to international notions of a university because that would earn it the label 'an ivory tower'. On the other hand, it could not be solely an East African institution because its academic standards would be questioned. This international identity of the University of East Africa portrayed the

¹⁴ C. Arnold Anderson, "University Planning in an Underdeveloped Country: A Commentary on the University of East Africa Plan, 1967-1970", *Minerva*, Vol. 7, Nos. 1 and 2 (Autumn-Winter, 1968-1969): 39.

University as a foreign institution, thus setting the scene for tensions. Ashby's broad study of African universities in the 1960s led him to the following conclusion:

If African universities are to retain their quality, they will have to rely on support from expatriate teachers for a long time to come. And this means that the indigenous self-sustaining intellectual community which Edward Shils regards as indispensable for a viable national system of higher education, is not likely to appear in African countries for many years. So long as large numbers of university professors working in Africa look to Europe or America as the centre of gravity of their intellectual life, Africa will remain intellectually a province of Europe or America. The price of premature intellectual independence would be a deterioration in quality. The psychological problem is to persuade African countries to accept this filial position while they establish their own intellectual style and their own techniques, until they reach maturity by becoming not only recipients, but donors, of world knowledge.¹⁵

East African politicians conceded that East Africa in general could not completely divorce itself from the international community. Addressing a seminar on Mass Media, held in Kampala, Uganda, President Obote argued that before independence, English was the language of the oppressor but that his government stressed it because "we find no alternative to English in Uganda's present position."¹⁶ President Nyerere told African historians at a congress held in Dar es Salaam that Western interest in post-colonial Africa was not an aspect of neo-colonialism; on the contrary, it was a recognition that the people of Africa were now equals whom the world could not disregard but consider as its part. President Nyerere argued that it was up to the Africans themselves to show the world what they had to offer and that "it is natural and right that Africa's new universities and institutions should from now on take a leading part in this work."¹⁷ In President

¹⁵ Ashby and Anderson, *Universities*, xii.

¹⁶ Milton Obote, "Language and National Identification", Opening Address Before a Seminar on Mass Media and Linguistic Communications in East Africa, Kampala, 31 March – 3 April 1967, *East Africa Journal*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (April, 1967): 4.

¹⁷ Julius Nyerere, Opening Speech at the International Congress of African Historians, The University College, Dar es Salaam, October 1965, in T. O. Ranger (ed) *Emerging Themes of African History* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1968), 3.

Nyerere's view, Africans had a responsibility to position themselves in the international scene and could use the university to achieve that goal.

The majority¹⁸ of East Africans held the view that the University of East Africa was their institution. They perceived it in two ways: first, they saw the University as a regional asset; second, they conceptualized it as confirmation of political independence from the British colonial rule. These two perceptions are discussed separately below.

4.2 The University of East Africa as a Regional Asset

Regional cooperation had been a basic feature of higher education in East Africa ever since the objective of developing higher education for Africans had been agreed in 1929. Regional consideration had also been an important feature in the pressures to upgrade the Royal Technical College into a university college. Regional cooperation was to become even further emphasized as a basic principle in the development of higher education in East Africa.

Svein-Erik Rastad, 'Issues of University
Development in East Africa, 1972

In 1972, Roger Southall argued that the relationship of the federal University of East Africa to the politics of federation in East Africa had never been adequately defined yet "the relationship was an intricate one."¹⁹ Southall based his argument on the fact that

¹⁸ I use the word 'majority' purposely because, as discussed later in this Chapter, not all East Africans shared the view that the University of East Africa had to refrain from prioritizing the portrayal of its international identity at the expense of being relevant to the local (East African) needs. Some, like their British counterparts, felt that the U. E. A. was not supposed to be different from the University of London or any European University for that matter because it was an international institution. In their view, any deviation from the 'tried and tested' European perception of a University would jeopardize the University's image.

¹⁹ Roger J. Southall, "The Federal University and the Politics of Federation in East Africa", *East Africa Journal*, Vol. 9, No. 11 (November, 1972): 38.

the question of the federal University and the issue of regional integration were discussed concurrently. As far as some East African constituencies were concerned, the University of East Africa was “only one aspect of inter-territorial co-operation;”²⁰ it was regarded as “an indicator of that hoped-for wider unity.”²¹ Court maintained that in East Africa, the growth of higher education “has *always* been justified in terms of its potential contribution to regional and national development [emphasis mine].”²² In his view, it was not surprising that the U. E. A. was perceived as a regional asset.

East African politicians, scholars, students and the general public perceived the federal University as a regional asset even before it was officially constituted. The University of East Africa Act of 1962 did not only set up the University but also reminded the people of East Africa that regional co-operation was extending its boundaries beyond the amalgamation of economic institutions; it now included higher education as one of its organs. According to Pratt, Principal of the University College, Dar es Salaam, the University was expected not only to affirm that the academic standards of each College were equivalent, it was also to achieve the integrated planning of higher education in East Africa. Pratt reasoned: “The conception is a grand one, a federal University transcending three international boundaries with constituent colleges in each country but with all the professional faculties being shared so that each serves the whole of East Africa.”²³ In his view, the University of East Africa was an experiment in regional planning.

²⁰ One of the Kenyan members of the University Council speaking during the session of the University Council in 1965. Cited by Southall, “The Federal University”: 41.

²¹ Roger J. Southall, “The Politics of Medical Higher Education in East Africa”, *Social Science & Medicine*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (June, 1972): 414.

²² David Court, *The Experience of Higher Education in East Africa: Prospects for a Developmental Role*, Working Paper No. 206, December 1974, 2.

²³ R. C. Pratt, “East Africa’s University Problem”, *East Africa Journal*, Vol.1, No.5 (August, 1964): 3.

Hyslop, Principal of Royal College, Nairobi was upbeat about the inter-territorial University. He wrote to President Nyerere congratulating him on his appointment by the East African Authority as Chancellor of the University of East Africa and expressed his jubilation that the inauguration ceremony of the University would be taking place at his College. Hyslop was mindful of the regional context in which the University was founded and concluded his letter as follows: “. . . May I send you our best wishes for your happiness and success in this appointment, together with our grateful thanks for your acceptance of this additional responsibility, *and may I also express the hope that you may find time to visit the various constituent Colleges of the University during your term of office?* You may be assured of a very enthusiastic welcome here in the Royal College [emphasis mine].”²⁴

Some East African politicians were more conscious than others about the regional character of the University as revealed by the debates at the Kenya National Assembly. Mr. Ronald Ngala asked the Education Minister, Mr. Otiende, how much Kenya had contributed to the University College, Dar es Salaam between July 1, 1961 and June 30, 1963, both in current and in development expenditure. On hearing that the answer to the second question was nil, Mr. Ngala inquired: “Mr. Speaker, Sir, arising from the reply, why is the answer to the second part of the question nil, whereas development in this University and buildings are going on?”²⁵ The issue was laid to rest when Mr. Otiende stated that they were expecting a formal request from Dar es Salaam. This debate demonstrates that the idea of Pan-East Africanism had been entrenched in the minds of East African constituencies. The University was seen as pointing the way for political

²⁴ Hyslop to President Nyerere, U. O. N. Archives, Daily Letter Files, 1963, U. I February 8th 1963.

²⁵ Government of Kenya. The National Assembly, House of Representatives, June 1963. Official Report (Nairobi: GP, 1963), Col.109.

relations; it “reinforced the feeling of mutual aid and regional identification. . . .”²⁶ The East African Common Services Organization contributed £1, 486, 000 to the colleges directly and another £200, 000 through the Central University organization during the first triennium as a gesture that the University was a regional institution.²⁷

The speeches made by politicians and scholars during the inauguration ceremony of the University of East Africa demonstrated that the University was indeed perceived as a regional asset. President Nyerere, in his inaugural speech as the first Chancellor of the University, reminded the audience that the Royal College and the University College, Dar es Salaam had been founded on the same East African principle as Makerere College. President Nyerere continued: “and through the partnership of our three colleges we in the University will seek to maintain and strengthen that principle and so we hope to do our part to make the federation a reality in the lives of many young East Africans.”²⁸ The crowd welcomed President Nyerere’s reference to federalism with a round of applause. He expressed his belief that the students who would come from the three territories and converge at the University of East Africa would contribute to the ongoing effort to unite the region. President Nyerere continued: “It will be one of the functions of this University to foster this spirit of federal unity.”²⁹ He concluded his address thus: “Most of all, the University, its members and its students, must join with the people of East Africa in the struggle to build a nation worthy of the opportunity we have

²⁶ Bernard J. James, “The University of East Africa in Retrospect”, *Mawazo*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (1970): 3.

²⁷ Forward Planning for the University of East Africa. Confidential and Unofficial Paper, 28 January 1965, U. O. N. Archives. UEA Makerere University College, PUEA/12/42.

²⁸ *East African Standard* (Kenya), 29 June 1963.

²⁹ *Uganda Argus*, 29 June 1963. See also: *East African Standard* (Kenya), 29 June 1963.

won. May God be with us all.”³⁰ This perception of the University led Southall to the conclusion that “it was manifestly a political institution in its own right.”³¹

The Principal of Makerere College, de Bunsen, held the same view as he told the jubilant crowd that the University of East Africa was “a venture for co-operation in the region.”³² De Bunsen argued that the mere presence of delegates representing several universities from different parts of Africa was a clear indication that there was a growing sense of common purpose and co-operation among the African Universities. In his address, Dr. Noble viewed the University of East Africa as a great experiment. He argued that through the University “a sense of unity could be realized.”³³ The mood at the inauguration ceremony was that the distance that separated the colleges was insignificant. The speakers felt that regional co-operation would transcend territorial boundaries. They invoked Lindsay Keir’s Report of 1954 which had concluded that although the Royal Technical College in Nairobi and Makerere College in Kampala were 400 miles apart, they were both inter-territorial and were intended to serve the East African region as a whole because: “To some extent, of course, these territorial divisions are arbitrary and unhelpful. They arise mainly from historical accidents due to the way in which colonisation has been carried out. . . .”³⁴ Porter recalled a few years later that the East African Governments in 1963 “came to the conclusion that their endeavours in the field of higher education could best be served through the establishment of the University, with one college in each of its three capitals for a period of at least three years from 1964

³⁰ Nyerere, *Freedom and Unity*, 221.

³¹ Southall, *Federalism and Higher Education in East Africa*, xi.

³² Cited by Amayo, “Co-operation in the Development of University Education in East Africa”, 10.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ D. Lindsay Keir, Chairman’s Report on Visit to East Africa July – August 1954, 6 September 1954, 9.

to 1967.”³⁵ Gershom N. Amayo recalled nine years after Porter that the presence of a University represented from many parts of East Africa was “a sign of growing sense of common purpose and co-operation.”³⁶

The Draft University Development Plan captured the mood and the spirit of regional integration that had filled Taifa Hall (the venue for the inauguration ceremony) the previous day, stating:

Here, in the University of East Africa, is an effort to give concrete evidence of the will in East Africa to solve common problems through joint action. More than that, because each of the constituent colleges of the University will draw its students from all over East Africa, the University will increase the awareness amongst East Africans of their underlying unity. . . .

We venture to assert that the long tradition of co-operation between the countries of East Africa in higher education has greatly strengthened the close ties between them which have made Federation possible, and that its University will prove to be one of the Federation’s major assets.³⁷

Once the University of East Africa was in full operation, East Africans sustained the spirit of regional integration, in part by singing different national anthems during the Graduation Ceremonies,³⁸ and in part by having inter-territorial representation in the College Councils. Chagula wrote to the Prime Minister of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta, stating: “Since the University College, Dar es Salaam, Act, 1963 has now been passed by the Central Legislative Assembly, I should be grateful if your Government would nominate the three Kenya representatives on the Council of the College as soon as possible. . . .”³⁹ East African politicians and scholars promoted the idea of regional

³⁵ Arthur T. Porter, Speech delivered at the Faculty of Veterinary Science during the visit of American Vice-President, Hubert Humphrey, 8 January 1968, 2.

³⁶ Amayo, “Co-operation in the Development of University Education in East Africa”, 10.

³⁷ UEA. Draft University Development Plan for the Triennium 1964/67, 29 June 1963, 4 and 5.

³⁸ See, for example: UEA University College, Nairobi. Graduation and Presentation Ceremony, 06 November 1964, Order of Proceedings. K. N. A. GH/11/24.

³⁹ W. K. Chagula to the Premier of Kenya (Ref. 1R/4/1), 11 September 1963. K. N. A. KA/2/17.

integration because they believed that a degree from a regional institution would carry more weight than one from a national university. This belief derived, in part, from the realization that the three countries were not big enough to be able to run individual institutions with a sizeable student population. East African politicians and scholars felt that compartmentalizing higher education in the region would result into many but very weak faculties and departments. As mentioned in Chapter 2, when Dar es Salaam opened the Law Faculty the first intake was only 14 students and yet this was an inter-territorial College. Had there been three Law Faculties in East Africa operating at the same time, the student population would have been even much smaller.

The establishment of the University of East Africa gave more East Africans an opportunity to interact with their counterparts from the neighbouring territories. Each of the three constituent Colleges attracted students and scholars from all East African territories. Also, the University introduced the Staff Exchange Program whereby staff members from one institution could visit the other institutions and teach for a specified period. Through these academic arrangements regional integration widened its horizons.

What also made East Africans perceive the University as a regional asset was that it fulfilled their dream which started way back in the 1920s. Makerere was an institution that did not only serve Ugandans but the whole of East Africa. Although the Royal Technical College in Kenya was initially driven by racial and territorial thinking, it soon dawned in the minds of the proponents of these ideas (Kenyan settlers and the colonial government alike) that planning the College as a regional institution would be more beneficial to all three countries. As discussed in Chapter 2, when the Royal Technical College was opened in 1956, it was an inter-territorial academic institution.

East African students too perceived the University as a regional asset and as a unifying force. The constituent colleges were physically located in different territories but the spirit of East African unity was inculcated by the University. When students at the University College, Dar es Salaam protested against President Nyerere's National Service the Makerere Tanzanian Students' Union pledged solidarity with them, arguing: 'If we unite we will have nothing to lose except the dictatorship and persecution'.⁴⁰ The Makerere Students Guild sent a delegation to President Nyerere to plead with him to give amnesty to the well over 300 students he had suspended from the University College, Dar es Salaam. Although these suspended students were not immediately re-admitted to the University College, the Makerere students had registered their voice.

Also, when defiant students were expelled from the Royal College, Nairobi in 1969, following the eleventh-minute cancellation of Oginga Odinga's address by Dr. Kiano, Kenya's Minister for Education, Makerere students associated themselves with their fellow students in Kenya. The Makerere Students Guild sent an open letter to President Kenyatta in which they expressed their concern over the closure of the College. Mr. J. R. Butime, President of the Students Guild, showed his organization's unequivocal support to Nairobi students, stating: "We are wholly behind our brother-students at Nairobi."⁴¹ Josephat Karanja, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Nairobi, recalled a few years after the dissolution of the University of East Africa that Education succeeded in instilling the spirit of unity among the students since the days of Makerere College. Karanja argued that students from Kenya, Tanganyika and Zanzibar who went to Uganda to further their education perceived themselves as a unit and did not consider themselves

⁴⁰ Cited by Hugh Dinwiddy, "The Ugandan Army and Makerere under Obote 1962-71", *African Affairs*, Vol. 82, No. 326 (January, 1983): 47. See also: *Makererean*, Vol. 6, No. 43, 1 November, 1966.

⁴¹ *Uganda Argus*, 28 January 1969.

to be foreign students studying in a foreign country; that they considered Makerere as their University and Uganda as their home.⁴²

East Africans did not only conceive the University's goal as being that of developing higher education in their region. They had a stern belief that as a federal institution the University also had an additional function – that of nurturing regional integration on a wide scale. While focusing on higher education, the University was expected to fit its *modus operandi* in the broader framework of regional integration. According to the *East African Standard* the University's function was “to promote the development of university education in the three East African countries and Zanzibar on a regional basis.”⁴³

As far as some of the East African politicians and scholars were concerned, these regional *integration* and regional *co-operation* concepts meant the same thing and were therefore deemed interchangeable. Others drew a clear distinction between the two. President Nyerere sternly believed that regional integration was the primary goal which the University had to help the East African region achieve and that regional co-operation was the means to that end. In President Nyerere's view, East Africa aspired to form an East African federation that would automatically entail co-operation. However, not all East African constituencies shared this view. In 1967, Uganda's Education Minister, Dr. Luyimbazi-Zake cautioned the delegates who attended the conference on the future of the University of East Africa, asking them not to invest too much in trying to force centralized control of the University of East Africa but to promote co-operation between

⁴² Opening Address of the Second Meeting of the Regional Conference of Eastern African Universities held in Nairobi from 2 to 4 May 1974 by Dr. N. J. Karanja, Chair and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Nairobi, 6.

⁴³ *East African Standard* (Kenya), 28 June 1963.

the University's constituent colleges and other institutions that would be built later. In his view, it was unnecessary to force centralized control of the University because East Africa was never going to be a single country but a region with three territories working in co-operation. Dr. Luyimbazi-Zake concluded his address by stating:

Finally, and perhaps most important, I would like to call upon those of us who are East Africans to work together with a greater sense of co-operation. . . . I would like to say here that the key from now on must be co-operation and co-ordination rather than centralized control, and I believe that given this greater sense of co-operation and co-ordinated activity for common ends we are likely to achieve far more than we would through centralized control for common ends, these ends themselves being centralised.⁴⁴

The views espoused by Dr. Luyimbazi-Zake raised questions about the idea that the University of East Africa was a regional asset, a view that had been taken as a given by some other commentators in the East African region. It is particularly important to note that regional *co-operation* in higher education, not regional *integration*, became the focal point during the latter part of the 1960s. For example, it was agreed at a conference held in Addis Ababa on December 5 and 6, 1968⁴⁵ that co-operation and collaboration between researchers in the same field in different universities in Eastern Africa would be encouraged. The scholars who had experienced regional co-operation first-hand at the University of East Africa shared their experience with other colleagues. James Cook, Vice-Chancellor of the University of East Africa, drew from this experience and reminded conference delegates about the importance of consultation among specialists in order to avoid duplication. Chagula emphasized the importance of retaining the University of East Africa Staff Exchange Program and hoped that it would continue even after the Constituent Colleges of the University had become national universities.

⁴⁴ *Report of the Conference on the University of East Africa*, Nairobi, Kenya, 23-26 October 1967, 34.

⁴⁵ *Report of the Inaugural Conference held at the Haile Selassie I University, Addis Ababa on 5th and 6th December 1968, to discuss areas and forms of co-operation among universities in Eastern Africa.*

The national universities that were established at the dissolution of the University of East Africa in 1970 sustained the idea of regional co-operation. The dissipation of the spirit of regional integration in East Africa had a great impact on the functioning of the University and thus changed one of the many faces of the University.

This section has shown that East African constituencies and some expatriates perceived the University of East Africa as a regional asset. Its focus was primarily on higher education but the University's overall objective was to promote regional integration already taking place at the economic level, political integration still being negotiated. The University of East Africa fulfilled this role by increasing the number of people who crossed national boundaries between Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika to perform different tasks in the sister countries as students and academics. However, during the second half of the 1960s certain constituencies in East Africa became more vocal⁴⁶ in questioning the idea of federalism in higher education and, by extension, questioned the very notion that the University of East Africa was a regional asset. The irony is that the East African Community was established in 1967 thus putting a seal on East African Co-operation at the same time as the University of East Africa was already falling apart.

The University of East Africa was, to most East African constituencies, confirmation of political independence from Britain, the underlying assumption being that if East Africans were now free to plan their political future, they were also free to plan the future of higher education in the region. East African politicians and scholars perceived the University as one of the sites where they could exercise their freedom. This perception of the U. E. A. as confirmation of *uhuru* [freedom] brought higher education

⁴⁶ As argued in Chapters 5 and 6, sentiments against establishing a regional university did not begin in the late 1960s. They accompanied the University from its infant stages to its demise.

and politics in East Africa much closer by inspiring East African politicians and scholars to agitate for radical changes at the University so that it could portray an African outlook. This conception of the University of East Africa is explored in the next sub-section.

4.3 The University of East Africa as Confirmation of *Uhuru*

[But] behind the thrill of traditional spectacle was something that Britain's Oxford, Germany's Heidelberg and America's Harvard have not experienced for years. It was the added thrill of knowing that East Africa was embarking on a path to self-sufficiency a not-entirely suppressed tingle of excitement that bubbled just below the surface of university dignitaries and spectators alike.

Daily Nation, 29 June 1963. Comment
on the inauguration ceremony of UEA

The federal University of East Africa was established at a time when the independence euphoria was sweeping across East Africa. Different constituencies in East Africa interpreted the University's inauguration to signify the end of British domination on higher education in East Africa. They felt that terminating political domination but allowing academic subordination to continue would make a mockery of their hard-fought independence. East African constituencies resolved to terminate both forms of colonial domination and agitated for the Africanization of different East African institutions. Initially, politicians focused on the Africanization of regional political institutions such as the East African Authority while academics focused specifically on the University. But as discussed later in this Chapter, national governments intervened when politicians felt that the Africanization process was advancing at a snail's pace at the University. The general feeling in East Africa was that both the national governments and the University should

reflect an African outlook now that they were independent. A seminar attended by East African scholars and politicians felt that “independence at the political level should be reflected by a new independence of thought and practice at the academic level. The new East Africa and its needs should be reflected in a reassessment of courses, the syllabi, textbooks, fields of research and teaching methods.”⁴⁷ Terence Nsaze, Burundi’s Ambassador to the United Nations, shared this view, arguing that independent Africa needed a new ideology best suited to Africa’s needs.⁴⁸ George E. Urch writes: “in the attempt to decolonize and move away from a world dominated by whites, the educated African has endeavored to convey a sense of uniqueness and to declare ideological independence. In this attempt he has redefined the term ‘Africanization’.”⁴⁹

For Africans, argues Urch, the term *Africanization* was a direct opposite of ‘Europeanization’ or ‘Westernization’. For those East African scholars and politicians involved in the affairs of the University the concept meant a regeneration of that which they perceived to be good and respected in the African cultures. They rejected any form of subservience to foreign domination and asserted those African rights and interests that they wished to see being promoted by the University. George Urch in his study on post-colonial education in Kenya made the following observation: “while political expediency necessitated an expansion of the educational structure inherited from the metropolitan power, it was soon realized by the new leaders that an educational system which reflected colonial values would neither satisfy the social aspirations of the people nor lead to

⁴⁷ Summary of the Seminar on the Role of the University, *East Africa Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 5 (August, 1965): 44.

⁴⁸ Terence Nsaze, “In Search of an African Ideology”, *Pan African Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Winter, 1968): 26.

⁴⁹ George E. Urch, “Africanization, Socialization and Education in Kenya”, Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, New York, 1968, 1.

greater economic wealth.”⁵⁰ The same epistemology guided East African constituencies. Politicians and scholars joined hands in the struggle to change the face of the University of East Africa. They resolved to Africanize the University and identified three areas where the Africanization process would be carried out: (i) the curriculum and the syllabus; (ii) the administrative staff and faculty; and (iii) the teaching methods. These areas are discussed separately below.

4.3.1 The Africanization of the Curriculum and the Syllabus

From the beginning, African higher education has been influenced from abroad. Perhaps more than in any other part of the world, African universities are dependent on academic policies and practices elsewhere and follow curricular and other patterns abroad.

Philip G. Altbach, “African Higher Education and the World”, 2003

It is said that changing a university curriculum is like moving a cemetery. But beginning a university in which new traditions must be established . . . and new approaches to courses, degree programmes, entrance requirements, administrative structure, academic organization, finance, personnel management, teaching techniques, research methods, and relations with its various public . . . all must be tailor-made to fit a unique situation . . . this is like moving the earth itself.

George M. Johnson, ‘The University of Nigeria’
in Murray G. Ross, *New Universities in the Modern World*, 1966

Hon. A. C. Mwingira from the Education Ministry in Tanzania provided a succinct diagnosis of the teacher’s predicament when he stated that one of the toughest problems which face teachers is “to know what to teach.”⁵¹ The faculty at the University

⁵⁰ George E. Urch, “Africanization of Schools in Kenya”, *Educational Forum*, Vol. 34 (March 1970): 371.

⁵¹ A. C. Mwingira, “The Role of the University: Solving the High Level Manpower Problem in East Africa”, *East Africa Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 5 (August, 1965): 42.

of East Africa faced this problem as they drew up the curricula and the syllabi and selected topics and themes for their respective subjects. This section demonstrates how they did that and which problems they encountered.

The curriculum and the syllabus to be followed at the envisaged University of East Africa became topical subjects on the eve of the University's inauguration. Mr. Hilary Ng'weno, editor of *The Nation* newspaper in Kenya, opined in his thought-provoking article published about two months before the University was instituted:

The University of East Africa can ill afford the luxury of teaching such subjects as Latin, Greek, British Empire history, the economic history of Britain and a host of other subjects which are considered indispensable in the academic curricula of British universities but have little bearing on the immediate needs of the African society. . . . What appears necessary is a revision of the heavy Britishness, if I may so call it, of our educational system.⁵²

Three days later, Mr. Ng'weno posed an intriguing rhetorical question: "Transplant Oxford, Cambridge and Harvard with all their traditions and accentricities to the three East African capitals and what do you have?"⁵³ A commentary in the *East Africa Journal* echoed these views a few years later, stating: "it is the duty of any university community to study, carry out research, publish and propagate all possible aspects of African art, culture, history and other subjects in the humanities instead of leaving these to people from abroad. . . ."⁵⁴

Those politicians and scholars (local and expatriate) who delivered speeches during the University's inauguration ceremony stressed the very urgent need for the Africanization of the curriculum at the constituent colleges of the federal University of East Africa. In his address, President Nyerere reminded students and lecturers that their

⁵² *Daily Nation* (Kenya), 23 April 1963.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 26 April 1963.

⁵⁴ Commentary, "Task of a University", *East Africa Journal*, Vol. 3, No. 7 (October, 1966): 35.

natural environment was rich and varied in fauna and flora, in mineral and agricultural resources. He continued: "Your chemists, botanists, zoologists, geologists, agronomists have magnificent natural stores at their disposal just waiting to be exploited."⁵⁵ In President Nyerere's view, it would be unnecessary to teach students at the University of East Africa by drawing examples from Europe. He stressed that the University was an African institution of higher education and thus had to reflect an African character by Africanizing its curricula and syllabi. Dr. Thomas R. Odhiambo, Lecturer in the Zoology Department at University College, Nairobi, echoed President Nyerere's words a few years later, arguing: "East Africa is not a poor region in regard to natural resources. Its main difficulty is, first of all, to master science and technology, and then to utilise this knowledge in exploiting these natural resources."⁵⁶

P. S. Noble, Vice-Chancellor of the University of London, concurred with President Nyerere's view and noted that Westernization, with its science and technology, had swept in upon most emerging nations of Africa and that imitation and adaptation had been proceeding at an ever-accelerating speed that far outstripped the growth and development of the indigenous foundations in which they should take root. Noble suggested that the universities of Africa, including the University of East Africa, had to devote themselves in the Africanization project more than they were doing or had done up to that point. He urged African universities to apply themselves both studiously and assiduously to the searching examination of their material environment as well as to their moral and spiritual inheritance, their ideas of law and order, their riches of song and dance and the plastic and pictorial arts. Noble continued: "There is a rich and still largely

⁵⁵ *East African Standard* (Kenya), 29 June 1963.

⁵⁶ T. R. Odhiambo, "The Crisis of Science in East Africa", *East Africa Journal*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (April, 1966): 5.

untilled field awaiting exploration and rich indeed will be the harvest it will yield, if it is properly tilled and exploited.”⁵⁷ He concluded his address by making a plea to the people of East Africa: “You must investigate by research the purely East African heritage of indigenous culture, tradition, law, psychology and philosophy.”⁵⁸

These speeches set the Africanization project in motion and gave the impression that the University of East Africa was deemed to be an [East] African asset. Two days after the inauguration ceremony *The Sunday Post* maintained that the character of education within the University of East Africa would be colored by political, economic and cultural factors *that were peculiar to East Africa* [emphasis mine]. The article argued that it would be erroneous for the federal University of East Africa to mimic European universities and suggested that the new institution “must gain local character.”⁵⁹

Two general criticisms were leveled against universities in Africa by the academy during the 1960s. First, that research in these institutions tended to give disproportionate attention to esoteric subjects that had little practical importance to the African situation; second, that even in cases where the topic seemed relevant, the language and methodology used was indecipherable to policy makers and therefore failed to solve the problems faced by African societies.⁶⁰ Amadou-Mahtar M’bow argues that when African countries became ‘masters of their own destiny’ they realized that the educational system they had inherited at independence was at odds with their national interests and subsequently agitated for the inclusion in the curriculum of subjects like: geography, history, culture, agriculture, environmental and scientific technology – all of

⁵⁷ *East African Standard* (Kenya), 29 June 1963.

⁵⁸ *Daily Nation* (Kenya), 29 June 1963.

⁵⁹ *The Sunday Post* (Kenya), 30 June 1963.

⁶⁰ David Court, “East African Higher Education from the Community Standpoint” [unpublished], 278.

which had to be adapted to the African situation.⁶¹ The inaugural speeches summarized above aimed at initiating the same Africanization process in East Africa. Soon after the University began its operation, different constituencies pressurized it to focus on relevant courses such as: African history, music, medicine, religion, literature, and art. There was a realization that the British curriculum could not be retained simply because it was deemed excellent by the expatriate staff. Mazrui intimated: “What is relevant even if not excellent is to be preferred to what is excellent but not relevant.”⁶² In another article, Mazrui called for a new perception on the humanities, arguing that education in the humanities could be oriented towards a life of exertion rather than leisure as it was generally assumed, and that “it might be even more suited to an underdeveloped country”⁶³ than to a highly complex society.

African medicine and science received more attention, in part because there was a general assumption that “development depends to a considerable extent on science and technology.”⁶⁴ Some East Africans emphasized the urgency for scrutinizing the herbs and other material used by the traditional African ‘medicine man’ in his practice so that they could improve healing practices. They also thought that the “active ingredients of some of those herbs would supply some drugs”⁶⁵ that could earn East Africa foreign exchange. Odhiambo summarized his call for the Africanization of scientific and technological knowledge thus:

⁶¹ Amadou-Mahtar M'bow, “Education in Africa”, *Africa Today*, 3rd Edition (United Kingdom: Africa Books, 1996), 171.

⁶² Mazrui, *Political Values and the Educated Class in Africa*, 202.

⁶³ Ali Mazrui, “Education and Elite Formation in East Africa”, *Pan-African Journal*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (Fall, 1970): 221.

⁶⁴ J. Reuben Olembo, “Science, Scientists and Society: Bridging the Development Gap Through Science”, *East Africa Journal*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (March, 1968): 14.

⁶⁵ G. B. A. Gemo Okelo, “Talk and Act African”, (Letter), *East Africa Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 8 (December, 1965): 4.

It is not enough merely for East Africa to keep informed of scientific and technological advances of foreign countries. At the lowest level, East Africa must adapt technological innovation to the conditions of soil, climate and society, prevailing here. At a higher level East African research centres must attack East Africa's own problems – problems peculiar to its particular environment, its natural resources, and its resources of energy. At the highest level, East Africa must create its own know-how.⁶⁶

Seawright W. Anderson concurred with Odhiambo and advised Africans as follows: "Africanize your program, i.e. combine what Africa has been doing traditionally in the past with what Africa learns presently from other countries, with Africa's future goals and plans."⁶⁷

For years, Makerere remained the only University College offering medical courses. When another medical institution was established in Nairobi during the second triennium, Hillary Ojiambo, Consultant Physician at King George VI (Kenyatta) Hospital in Kenya, welcomed the gratifying news and reminded the public about the need to Africanize health institutions by identifying factors that should be noted when planning a medical school. One of those factors was the necessity to incorporate in the curriculum the disease patterns obtaining in the locality.⁶⁸ Anderson shared the same sentiment a year later, arguing: "The medical and psychiatric needs of Africa should be focussed and based on the needs of the masses rather than on what a few physicians, administrators or other professionals feel are needed."⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Odhiambo, "The Crisis of Science in East Africa": 6.

⁶⁷ Seawright W. Anderson, "African Medicine and Psychiatry", *Pan-African Journal*, Vol. 1, No.1 (Winter, 1968): 8.

⁶⁸ Hillary Ojiambo, "New Perspectives in Medical Education", *East Africa Journal*, Vol. 4, No. 5 (August, 1967): 33.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 7.

The call for the promotion of African literature became louder in the early 1960s throughout Africa.⁷⁰ In the case of East Africa, concerted efforts were made to encourage the production of African literature. The *East Africa Journal* published special issues on literary works. David Rubadiri concluded his article 'Why African Literature' thus: "Our literary young men can now begin to write prose and verse that flows from the wells of the creative spirit, untied by the desire to justify African conflicts by mere surface solutions. Colour is important. But a painter is needed to create a true masterpiece."⁷¹ Such emphasis on African Literature put pressure on the University to produce these 'painters' by tailoring its curriculum and syllabus accordingly. As mentioned in Chapter 1, President Obote asked Makerere College to replace the works of authors like Shakespeare by those of Rubadiri, Zirimu, Kakooza and other African writers. President Obote opined: "For it cannot be disputed that the soul of a nation is to be found in the temple of its literature and arts."⁷² Ogot in his biography recalls that a major debate emerged at University College, Nairobi on what kind of literature should be taught at an African University. He states that the saturation point of these debates was the abolition of the English Department at University College, Nairobi, which was later replaced by the Department of Linguistics and African Languages.⁷³

For the Africanization of the curriculum and the syllabus to be a success each of the three constituent colleges and each of the national governments had to play an active role. East African politicians and scholars responded to this call in part by agitating for

⁷⁰ Two conferences were held at Dakar University in Senegal and Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone between March 26 and April 9, 1963 to discuss the integration of African Literature in French and English in university and pre-university teaching syllabuses. For details about these conferences see: Ezekiel Mphahlele, "African Literature and Universities. A Report on Two Conferences to Discuss African Literature and the University Curriculum", *Transition*, Vol. 4, No.10 (September, 1963): 16-18.

⁷¹ David Rubadiri, "Why African Literature?", *Transition*, Vol. 4, No. 15 (1964): 42.

⁷² Obote, "The Soul of a Nation": 5.

⁷³ Ogot, *My Footprints on the Sands of Time*, 169-173.

the introduction of the African Studies program at the University's constituent Colleges. University College, Nairobi put its weight behind this cause in part by building a library of African Literature, using the funds provided by the Rockefeller Foundation and other sponsors. This was in realization that it would be impossible for the constituent Colleges of the University of East Africa to promote African Studies without having the necessary African literature as a collection.

The African Studies program developed at a different pace in each College. As early as 1963 Mr. Nicholas C. Otieno, Lecturer in the Department of Botany at the University College in Nairobi wrote a letter to Hyslop, the College's Principal, in which he registered his support for the African Studies program. Hyslop conceded in his response that the African Studies program was a necessity in all University Colleges in East Africa and applauded the University College, Dar es Salaam which had already made provisions to offer this course.⁷⁴ In 1965, University College, Nairobi in its Africanization cause established the Institute for Development Studies, which was divided into: the Social Sciences Division and the Cultural Division.

The African members of the academic staff at University College, Nairobi submitted a Memorandum to the College's Principal in which the question of the Africanization of the curriculum and the syllabus at the University College was the focal point. These staff members highlighted a number of areas in which the University of East Africa had been challenged by different constituencies in East Africa and argued: "... we are anxious to put across our views about an aspect that requires urgent consideration by

⁷⁴ J. M. Hyslop to Nicholas C. Otieno, 3 January 1963. U. O. N. Archives, Daily Letter Files, 2nd June to 3rd December 1963, c.9.

the University.”⁷⁵ They called for the training of African women to fit them into an East Africa that was changing very rapidly and argued that reference to Home Economics as Domestic Science resulted into the course being associated with women chores like cooking, sweeping, needlework and child-care. They proposed that the course should be developed as a specialized subject leading to a degree on similar lines as Medicine, Law and Engineering. Moreover, they argued that East Africa needed more locally trained women Home Economists and Dieticians to work in hospitals and pointed out that there was a dire need for research that would make the course really (East) African, stating: “East Africa is rich in local foodstuffs the potentialities of which very little is yet known and could only be ascertained through research.”⁷⁶

The Annual Report for the year 1964/65 at University College, Nairobi gave the impression that the project of Africanizing the curriculum and the syllabus at the University of East Africa bore fruits within a short space of time. The Report gleefully stated: “our courses reflect greater content material from Africa, and our increasing volume of research is directed to solving East Africa’s problems.”⁷⁷ This was deemed a great achievement since the University had only been inaugurated in the middle of 1963. But Ogot in his autobiography demonstrates that Africanizing the curriculum and the syllabus was a daunting task. He recalls that when he arrived in Nairobi in 1964 the level of historical studies was rudimentary and that Professor Hanna, Chair of History had no interest in pursuing the Africanization cause. Ogot recounts his experience with the Africanization of the history syllabus as follows:

⁷⁵ Memorandum Submitted to College Authorities by the Members of the Academic Staff of the Royal College, Nairobi in Support of the Retention of Home Economics as a Degree Subject in the College, 1. K. N. A. GH/11/24.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁷⁷ UEA. University College, Nairobi, Annual Report and Accounts for the Year 1964/65, 8.

The important question in drawing up our syllabi at this time, besides emphasizing African history, was to decide on what kind of non-African history to be taught in our Universities. I strongly felt that the 1960s world cried out for a new kind of world history education for African students. The belief in Western history as the 'high history' of mankind had now to be replaced with the oneness of history and in the potential of the historical method to integrate human experience. I therefore felt that there was a need to introduce large numbers of University freshmen and women to a world history not shackled to the old western civilization paradigm. African students, I believed, had to be told in clear terms that western tradition was not world history. It was therefore necessary to deal with the histories of the various regions of the world in accord with an integrated, globally oriented approach. And that is what I tried to do in the Department of history in Nairobi.⁷⁸

Ogot in another article writes: "Following the attainment of political independence in 1963, it soon became obvious that Kenya needed *a new past of her own*. It became clear that political independence could only have meaning if it was accompanied by *historical independence*."⁷⁹

On January 13, 1965, the meeting of the regional African Studies Committee of the federal University accepted, as part of Africanization, that African Music would be introduced as a course option at Makerere University College. Delegates envisaged that this course would benefit students doing Sociology because they would know more about the societies they were studying. The conference felt that the goal was achievable because Kampala was situated in musically the richest area of East Africa. The conference noted:

Excellent facilities in Uganda exist at the Uganda Museum for studying instruments whilst the Ministry of Education and Mr. Peter Cooke of the Makerere College Demonstration School are in process of planning and providing instrumental training in African Music at several Uganda schools. It is hoped that co-operation would be possible to the mutual advantage of the Faculty of Education, the Museum and the Ministry of

⁷⁸ Ogot, *My Footprints on the Sands of Time*, 135-136. See also: Bethwell A. Ogot, "Three Decades of Historical Studies in East Africa, 1949-1977", *Kenya Historical Review*, Vol. 6 Nos. 1-2 (1978): 22-33.

⁷⁹ Bethwell A. Ogot, "Towards a History of Kenya", *Kenya Historical Review* (Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, 1976): 1.

Education which would allow instrumental training to form an integral part of the course work of the proposed option.⁸⁰

Initially, there was a problem in finding a suitable academic musicologist who would provide the planning of a suitable syllabus as well as the lecture core. The University solved this problem by approaching Dr. John Blacking, an Englishman who was a Senior Lecturer in Anthropology specializing in the teaching of African music at the University of the Witwatersrand in South Africa and asked him to assist Makerere by coming to East Africa for the greater part of the second term of 1965-6 to design the course. Dr. Blacking accepted the invitation.

The idea of teaching African music was not new in Uganda. Mr. Mbabi-Katana, a Rockefeller Lecturer in the Institute of Education for the study of African Music in East Africa, had laid the foundation when he started the first Program in African Music at Makerere University College in October 1961. This Program had a guaranteed five-year grant of £17, 930 from the Rockefeller Foundation and it helped in the teaching of musically talented teachers in the area. Mr. Mbabi-Katana collected songs in African languages from Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika and made use of Radio Uganda as a means of communication in order to reach schools, colleges and the general public. He stated in his 1964 report:

Lectures on African music were broadcast on National Service in English during the Academic Year 1963-64. Throughout the Academic Years 1962-64. I made several illustrated broadcasts on the subject of East African Vocal Music in vernacular programmes on Saturday evenings.

Uganda Government proposes to inaugurate Educational Television Service. I have the intention of extending my activities to cover

⁸⁰ Proposal to Introduce African Music as a Course Option in the African Studies Programme for 1965-6. Paper SSB/16/5. U. O. N. Archives. UEA Executive Senate Committee, PUEA/2A/4.

this field of communication, especially, if I am relieved of some work through appointment of an assistant.⁸¹

The Africanization of the curriculum and the syllabus continued at the University of East Africa during the second triennium period beginning in 1967. A draft syllabus for an Economics Course on 'East African Society' proposed by the University College, Nairobi demonstrates East African consciousness about the need to focus on African topics and themes. The course was divided into the following five sections:

- | | |
|--------------------|---|
| I. Population | -Population history of East Africa. |
| II. Ethnic Groups | -The concept of 'race', and cultural differences. |
| III. Rural Society | -Traditional social organization of selected East African tribes. |
| IV. Social Change | -The pattern of urban industrial society contrasted with traditional social organization; impact of Western culture on East Africa. |
| V. Urban Society | -Towns as the loci of culture, clash and assimilation. ⁸² |

The History Department at University College, Nairobi introduced a new syllabus in September 1967. First year students had to take two papers in African history. Options at second year level included: History of Political Ideas; Europe, Africa and the New World Since 1492; History of the United States of America since 1763; Russia in the Modern Era; Archaeology; and the Development of the International Economy.

⁸¹ A Report of the First Programme in African Music Being Developed at Makerere University College of East Africa by S. Mbabi-Katana, July 1964. K. N. A. KA/2/17. It is not clear why Mbabi-Katana was not approached to teach African music at Makerere University College.

⁸² Arts Faculty Board Memorandum 21/11. Draft Syllabus for Examinable Course, 'East African Society' (3-1-1 in Economics) B. A. Students, 11 June 1968. U. O. N. Archives. UEA Executive Senate Committee, PUEA/2A/4.

In curriculum development the content of a course is always geared towards achieving specific goals. A District Commissioner in Kenya wrote: "If it is conceded that the economic progress of the Nandi is to be on a stock farming and dairying basis then education should be directed towards this end."⁸³ This idea of outcomes-based education was the guiding principle for East African politicians and scholars in the 1960s.⁸⁴

The argument by East African constituencies was not that their University should teach its students solely African themes but that political independence had to be reflected at the University through the incorporation of East African themes previously ignored by expatriates. African scholars argued that themes derived from the West had to supplement African themes, not to dominate the syllabus. When the three East African Colleges had a 'Special Relationship' with the University of London there was little they could do to achieve their own goals. The syllabus was approved in London, so were the examination questions and the quality of students' results. With the independence of the University of East Africa came the responsibility to make all decisions that would shape the future of higher education in the East African region. This spirit of independence was alive among the students too. Mazrui recalls:

One serious manifestation occurred in the Faculty of Law on the campus at Dar es Salaam where there was a student outcry against the Americanization

⁸³ District Commissioner. Memorandum on Post War Development, 15 May 1943, p.3. K. N. A. PC/NKU/2/1/47.

⁸⁴ However, the East African case is not an anomaly. When the Church Mission Society founded Fourah Bay College in West Africa in 1827, the aim was to produce ministers and lay-workers. The content was tailored for this purpose. The aim of Prince of Wales College at Achimota in the Gold Coast was the production of the type of student who is western in his intellectual attitude towards life but who remains African in sympathy, and it seeks to preserve and develop what is deserving of respect in African life. At Ibadan in Nigeria, controversy arose over the curriculum of the degree in English, which from the very beginning included culturally alien material. The aim of the college – at least as Africans saw it – was to train Africans so that they could serve their own people, not to produce 'black Europeans.' African politicians, scholars, and students challenged the aims of the curriculum that did not have Africans as its target group. Independence in Nigeria, Ghana and Sudan, as discussed in the surveys in Chapter 1, was followed by calls for the Africanization of the institutions of higher education. Therefore, East African constituencies were not the first to agitate for the Africanization of the curriculum at an African University.

of the law syllabus. A new syllabus which had already been passed by the Senate of the University, and which in some ways was more sensitized to local issues than the old one, was nevertheless denounced by the student body as an alien American intrusion into the academic process at Dar es Salaam.⁸⁵

Yet the Africanization of the curriculum and the syllabus was characterized by various tensions. Kenneth Prewitt maintained: "I agree with Joseph Okello when he writes that Africanization is one of those slogans attractive to a newly independent country but dangerous because it is situationally right."⁸⁶ Some constituencies feared that Africanization would result into the lowering of the University's academic standards and limit the student. When African and European scholars called for the Africanization of Literature, for example, Ezekiel Mphahlele responded: "Are we like tethered goats? What shall we do when that patch of ground is cropped bare?"⁸⁷ In East Africa, Okello-Oculi intimated: "It would be risky to stick out one's neck and claim that knowledge can be African. Rather it is more useful to talk about the congruence between the type of knowledge disseminated and the immediate needs of Africa."⁸⁸ Chagula, while agitating for the Africanization of the curriculum and the syllabus at the University, argued that East Africa had to think about the future too. He reasoned:

Although it is essential for the University of East Africa to be pre-occupied with the manpower problems facing East Africa today, it is equally important for the university to train for tomorrow. This can be done, for example, by the inclusion of such subjects as pure mathematics and theoretical physics in the curriculum, subjects which may appear to be

⁸⁵ Mazrui, *Political Values and the Educated Class in Africa*, 205.

⁸⁶ Kenneth Prewitt, "Makerere: Intelligence vs Intellectuals", *Transition*, Vol. 6(ii), No. 27 (April, 1966): 37. For Joseph Okello-Oculi's submission see: J. Okello, "Africanization and the University", *Makererean*, Vol. 5, No. 32, 22 January, 1966.

⁸⁷ Ezekiel Mphahlele at the Conference of African Writers held in Berlin, 1965. Cited by J. F. Povey, "How Do You Make a Course in African Literature?", *Transition*, Vol. 4, No. 18 (1965): 39-40.

⁸⁸ Okello-Oculi, "Africanization and the University."

of no immediate utility now. We must prepare our graduates now for living in and serving the East Africa of tomorrow.⁸⁹

At times the Africanization of the curriculum and the syllabus caused tensions between scholars and the politicians. Mazrui recalled his ordeal at Makerere where he Africanized the curriculum and the syllabus of Political Science. President Obote felt that Mazrui had become a politician, not a scholar and asked him: 'Do you teach Politics or do you practice Politics?' Mazrui wondered:

And yet is there really an alternative if the syllabus is to be changed towards local orientation? I indicated to the President that I could teach Political Science in a most neutral way if I concentrated on topics as distant from the local scene as the committee system in the American congress, or relations between the Civil Service and the British Cabinet, on methods of political recruitment in the Soviet Union. But the price of Africanizing the syllabus, especially in the humanities, was to sensitize the syllabus.⁹⁰

Mazrui cites another incident where a lecturer in the Department of Law tried to localize the syllabus and suddenly found himself in trouble. Mazrui recalls that the new syllabus in law at Dar es Salaam in 1969 included a course on military law. When the member of staff was challenged about teaching such a course he defended it in terms of relevance, arguing that the military in Africa had become increasingly important as a factor of influence in political and social processes. According to Mazrui, strictly from the point of view of relevance, "a course in military law might therefore be regarded as pre-eminently defensible. But this was an area of relevance which merged into political sensitivity. It was *too* relevant!"⁹¹

⁸⁹ W. K. Chagula, "The Role of the University of East Africa in the Solution of the High Level Manpower Problem in East Africa", *East Africa Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 5 (August 1965): 36.

⁹⁰ Mazrui, *Political Values and the Educated Class in Africa*, 207.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 206.

With regard to the politicians, Mr. Vincent Rwamwaro, Member of the Uganda Parliament from East Toro, supported the Africanization project in principle but made contradictory statements when he contributed to the debate on Africanization during a parliamentary session. Rwamwaro referred to a pamphlet advertising an M. A. course in African Studies offered at Makerere College and regretted that on the cover of the pamphlet there were two leopards, which he found both insulting to Africans because it portrayed them as 'primitive' and irrelevant to the course being advertised. Yet it turned out that the two leopards were examples of art from Benin, Southern Nigeria, dating to the 14th century and thus reflected the richness of African history. Most importantly, Rwamwaro challenged the very idea of having an M. A. course in African Studies, arguing that British universities did not have degrees in British Studies – so why should Africa have one? For a moment, Rwamwaro seemed to have forgotten that the primary aim was to Africanize the curricula and the syllabi at the University of East Africa, not to emulate British universities or Western universities in general.

This section has demonstrated that arguments for the Africanization of the curriculum and the syllabus at the University of East Africa were inspired by the political mood of the 1960s when Africans resolved to take charge of their own affairs by changing the face of their political, economic and educational institutions. However, as the discussion has shown, the Africanization project did not go unchallenged.

Meanwhile, East African politicians and scholars realized that Africanizing the curriculum and the syllabus was not enough to change the character of the University; equally important was finding the right people to do the actual teaching and conduct the kind of research envisioned by the proponents of Africanization. Also, they realized that

there was an urgent need to Africanize the administration of the University so as to ensure that University policies were not antithetical to the Africanization project. This realization inspired East African constituencies to agitate for the Africanization of staff.

4.3.2 The Africanization of Staff

Progress in education, as in every other field of human endeavour in East Africa, will be achieved through the recruitment of better people, introduction of improved practices and the development of a system which encourages the ablest in the profession to exercise the widest possible influence. . . .

Proposals for the Localization and Upgrading of Teacher
Training Tutors in Kenya Tanzania and Uganda.
UEA Academic Board

Deciding what to teach is as important as finding the people who will do the teaching. Mazrui argues that the Africanization of the syllabus is inseparable from the Africanization of staff and that there are times when it is assumed that “the curriculum and syllabus cannot effectively be localized unless the staff itself is local.”⁹² This relationship between the curriculum, the syllabus, and the staff echoes Chagula’s submission that decisions on who should be admitted as students, which curriculum will be used, and who should be appointed as staff is the prerogative of the University as an institution yet “these are subjects of public interest and thus become macropolitics.”⁹³ Hon. A. C. Mwingira, referred to earlier, shared the same view, arguing: “I know that this question of choice of research topics is inextricably linked with the appointment of staff,

⁹² Ibid., 203 and 204.

⁹³ Chagula, *The Economics and Politics of Higher Education and Research in East Africa*, 2.

and in particular of senior teaching staff, at any university.”⁹⁴ As mentioned in Chapter 1, Ki-Zerbo’s contention was that without going so far as to maintain that only Africans can teach what is African, it is indisputable that Africans are better placed to appreciate that which is African.

The Africanization of staff at the University of East Africa received more attention than the Africanization of the curriculum and the syllabus mainly because the predominance of the expatriate staff at the University was more conspicuous than what happened in the lecture theatres and laboratories. Secondly, the replacement of European staff by Africans had already started at the offices of the East African Common Services Authority. Therefore, when politicians and scholars in East Africa agitated for the Africanization of staff at the University Colleges they were continuing a process that had already been set in motion at other regional institutions. It is for these reasons that the Africanization of administrative staff and faculty seemed to be radical.

Calls for the Africanization of staff in East Africa became stronger on the eve of independence. By 1961 members of the Central Legislative Assembly of East Africa were already agitating for the Africanization of regional institutions. Sir Edgeworth David, the Administrator, reported to the House during the sitting of the second session of the fourth Assembly that two African officers had been promoted to the B and C salary scales in an attempt to Africanize middle-level administrative positions. Some members of the House, especially the white Members, appreciated the move. However, many African Members were not impressed. Mr. Francis Khamisi from Kenya immediately took the Administrator to task and inquired: “. . . would the Administrator tell us that out

⁹⁴ Mwingira, “The Role of the University”: 43.

of all the African serving officers, only two were eligible for promotion to these posts?"⁹⁵

The Administrator replied that the process had just begun and that more Africans would be promoted soon. Mr. Khamisi then provided concrete reasons why he and other Members of the House felt it was necessary to Africanize the staff at the East African regional institutions. Mr. Khamisi addressed the House as follows:

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move that: Be it resolved that this Assembly do urge the East Africa High Commission to exert every endeavour to expedite now the Africanization of staff employed in all its services so as to ensure continuity of all projects after independence. . . .

Sir,. . . it is the wish of Her Majesty's Government to do whatever is possible to step up the Africanization of the services in all the departments of Government in these Territories prior to independence. Now I do not believe that there is anybody who can deny that it is very imperative, indeed very essential, that when these Territories finally become independent they will be served by people of all races; but the majority of the people who shall serve these Territories must be African natives. For that reason, Sir, the building up of Africanization is most essential at this stage, first of all in the interests of the country, because it will be very much more economical to run these countries if they are staffed by the indigenous Africans. There would be no inducement allowances, no expatriate privileges, no great amount of money to be spent on passages and educational facilities, and so on, which at present is being spent in order to attract expatriate staff in to the country. Secondly, it is essential to speed up Africanization of the country for the sake of the indigenous Africans themselves, because, as we progress towards responsible government and towards independence the Africans want to see changes in the services of the Government. It is no use telling the Africans, 'This is your Government now,' if they go round these Government offices and find that in actual fact it is not so because they are not sufficiently represented in the services of the Government. Now, Sir, one of the reasons why the Africans have been pressing their demand for independence is because they want to be served by their own kith and kin, and this is the right of the citizens of this country, to demand that the Government which governs them is being handled by their own people.

The other reason why it is essential to speed up Africanization of the services is for the benefit of the immigrant races themselves, because if the then African Government makes any mistake, it will be no blame on the

⁹⁵ EAHC. Proceedings of the Central Legislative Assembly, Fourth Assembly, Second Session, 10 November 1961. Official Report, Vol.XIV, No.2, (Nairobi: EAHC, 1961), 474.

immigrant officer who is there; the blame will have to be borne by the African officer. . . .⁹⁶

In the same meeting, Mr. Wilberforce Nadiope, another Member of the House, accused the High Commission for treating the matter of Africanization lightly and intimated that there was a need to synchronize the services in such a way that the gears of a car were synchronized, otherwise there would always be a screech. He continued: "I am sure, Mr. Speaker, that Africans will never learn any business or take up responsible posts unless they are tried out. We have got several Africans who are capable of doing the job but they are not being given a chance. It is no good trying to say that we can learn to swim by looking at the water."⁹⁷

The East African Common Services Authority responded to these calls by appointing a Commission on December 4, 1962 under the Chairmanship of Mr. J. O. Udoji from Nigeria.⁹⁸ The four terms of reference of this Commission were: (1) to ascertain the present and probable availability in East Africa of suitably qualified Africans for recruitment to the services of the E. A. C. S. O., either by direct appointment to the various grades in which non-Africans are employed or for training for such grades; (2) To consider in what cadres and in what numbers there is a need for the continued employment of expatriate staff, and the rate at which such staff can be replaced by African officers; (3) To review the current training programmes, and facilities, both local and overseas, provided by and for the various Services of the East African Common Services Organization with the object of scertaining whether adequate arrangements are

⁹⁶ East Africa High Commission. Proceedings of the Central Legislative Assembly, Fourth Assembly, First Session, Second Meeting. Official Report, Vol. XIII, No. 2, 29 November 1960 (Nairobi: EAHC, 1961), Cols. 491-492.

⁹⁷ Ibid., Col.500.

⁹⁸ Other members of the Commission were: W. W. Kalema, C. M. Kapilima and C. W. Rubia.

in train for Africanizing the East African Common Services as soon as possible, having due regard to the maintenance of standards of service; and (4) to consider what further measures may be necessary or desirable to accelerate the appointment or promotion of African officers, having regard to the need to maintain standards.⁹⁹

African leaders wanted to change E. A. C. S. O's outlook to reflect its African character. Where there were no suitable Africans to take leadership positions, it was suggested that individuals would be identified and trained for such positions. The University of East Africa was part of the regional federation project and therefore could not be insulated from the 'winds of change' cutting across the region. It is partly¹⁰⁰ for this reason that the Africanization of staff at the University received more attention.

The Africanization of staff at the University of East Africa was already a topical subject during the planning stages of the University. De Bunsen stressed the need for Africanization at Makerere College when he presented the report for the year 1961-1962. He reported that a fund was being created, with the assistance of the Rockefeller Foundation, for supernumerary posts aimed at making it possible to appoint "specially selected East Africans at the time when they become qualified without waiting for established posts to fall vacant."¹⁰¹ De Bunsen argued that it was important that the priorities Makerere College set itself within the overall planning of the University of East Africa should have relevance to the needs of East Africa, especially in the professional

⁹⁹ Report of the Africanisation of the Public Services of the East African Common Services Organization, March 1963.

¹⁰⁰ I say 'partly' because even if Africanization did not start at the East African Common Services Authority's offices the University would have initiated it, although it is possible that the process might have been slower if there was no pressure from other institutions.

¹⁰¹ Makerere University College. Report for the Year 1961-62, 1-2.

fields. In April 1963, only 9 per cent of the faculty in the entire University were Africans, thus making Africanization one of the most contentious issues at the University.

The Africanization of staff continued to dominate the discussions, both at the Constituent Colleges and at the inter-territorial meetings, soon after the University of East Africa had been officially constituted. The meeting of the University Council held at Makerere College on August 2, 1963 recorded: (i) That Council fully accepted the necessity and desirability on social and academic grounds of a rapid rate of East-Africanization, and considered that this could be achieved more expeditiously in administrative than in academic posts; (ii) That in general the term 'East-Africanization' should be taken to refer to the appointment of persons holding citizenship of East African countries; (iii) That in taking steps to maintain an increase in the rate of East-Africanization, it should be ensured that attempts in this direction should not only be made but should be seen to be made, and (iv) That it should always be borne in mind as a primary consideration that in the interests of East Africa the high standards which had been built up in the College should be maintained.¹⁰²

In the same meeting, the Makerere University College Council resolved: (i) that the Executive Committee should be charged with the responsibility of producing a comprehensive scheme for East-Africanization, especially of the administrative staff with recommendations as to a compensation scheme and invited to consider co-opting additional members for this purpose with a view particularly to the representation of

¹⁰² Minutes of the 69th Meeting of the Makerere University College Council, 02 August 1963, 4. K. N. A. KA/2/17.

African opinion; and (ii) that no general compensation scheme be introduced for academic staff.¹⁰³

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the Provisional Council of the U. E. A. initiated the University's Development Plan. The Plan was subsequently discussed at the Como Conference in October 1963. The Como Conference approved the plan to transform the University into one manned and led by local staff *of the highest caliber* [emphasis mine], and to bring it some way forward to achieving this by the end of the first triennium.¹⁰⁴ The Draft Plan had set a target of 18 percent East Africanization of academic staff by the end of 1967. The conference concluded after considering a number of factors¹⁰⁵ that this target would be easily met and subsequently set a new target of 40 percent by the same period. The delegates were optimistic. They looked back in time and concluded that the potential for the Africanization of the University and other regional institutions was much greater than it had been in the 1950s. In 1955, the East Africa Royal Commission¹⁰⁶ raised concerns that at that time East Africa only had one University College, Makerere and felt that there was a need for more centers of higher learning to address the dearth of Africans capable of rising to the highest positions in the public service and in commerce and industry. By 1963 this situation had changed significantly. The number of skilled East Africans had increased, thus validating a case for Africanization.

¹⁰³ Minutes of the 69th Meeting of the Makerere University College Council, 02 August 1963, p.4. K. N. A. KA/2/17.

¹⁰⁴ *Report of a Conference on the University of East Africa*, Villa Serbelloni, Bellagio, Italy, 21st to 25th October 1963, 20.

¹⁰⁵ For example, the fact that some East Africans already had qualifications and some were about to finish their degrees in overseas universities.

¹⁰⁶ The East Africa Royal Commission of 1955 was an investigation of the necessary conditions for the promotion of economic development of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika. See: *East Africa Royal Commission, 1953-1955, Report* (June, 1955). Cmd.9475. Andrew Hood provides an analysis of the work of this Commission, see: Andrew James Hood, "Developing the East African: The East Africa Royal Commission, 1953-1955, and its Critics", Ph.D. Thesis, Rice University, 1997.

The Press Release issued at Bellagio on October 28, 1963 after the Como Conference stated: "The recruitment of increased numbers of Africans to the staff of the University was recognized as one of the most important and immediate problems. Representatives of the University described their plans for Africanisation and substantial offers of technical assistance were made by outside donors to enable this to go forward."¹⁰⁷ Government and University delegates returned from the Como Conference reinvigorated and thus resolved to implement Africanization at the federal University as agreed at the Conference. Subsequently, the Development Committee of the University of East Africa agreed to set up, as a Sub-Committee of the Development Committee, an East Africanization Committee consisting of two members of the academic staff of each college, one of them the Senate representative on the Development Committee and the other to be nominated by the Principal of the College, with the University Registrar as Chairman. The proposals of the East Africanization Committee would be communicated for decision to the Development Committee.¹⁰⁸

The East Africanization Committee began its task soon after the Como Conference. It noted in its Memorandum that public opinion, government opinion, and college intramural opinion in East Africa seemed to agree that the most intensive efforts at East-Africanization had to be exerted in the administrative sphere, adding that this opinion derived from two reasons: (a) Governments and the public firmly believed that administrative officers wield power, and influence policy to a much greater extent than academics of corresponding grade; (b) There were a good many more East-Africans with

¹⁰⁷ Telegram No. 207 From C. R. O. London to UKREP, Dar es Salaam, 31 October 1963. K. N. A. GH/11/31.

¹⁰⁸ Minutes of the Third Meeting of the University Development Committee, Nairobi, 8 November 1963, 4-5. U. O. N. Archives, UEA Academic Board. PUEA/3/2.

high-level administrative experience than with high academic qualifications; yet the University had only a few administrative posts and a great many academic ones.¹⁰⁹

In the meantime, each of the three Constituent Colleges of the University made individual efforts to accelerate Africanization. The Academic Board of Makerere University College recommended, *inter alia* that the College Council resolve as follows: (i) That every effort be made to accelerate the rate of East-Africanization in the college staff at all levels and in all functions; (ii) That in functions where it is unlikely that candidates with suitable qualifications will present themselves, earnest consideration be given to the preparation of East African candidates by further study, courses of training, in-service training or any other means; and (iii) That in advertising all vacant posts, special consideration be given to East African candidates.¹¹⁰

Africanization could only work at the expense of the expatriates. This reality sometimes caused tensions between different constituencies. Hon. Mwai Kibaki, a Member of the Kenya Parliament, pointed out in the Central Legislative Assembly that the University College in Nairobi was run by ‘a few gentlemen who are determined to resist any change. The expatriate staff (with a few outstanding exceptions which simply prove the rule) feel insecure about their positions. . . .’¹¹¹ Two of the many issues that became the locus of the tensions were: (i) whether the Africanization project would maintain or lower the revered international academic standards; and (ii) whether the expatriate staff would be compensated for losing their positions. Politicians and scholars,

¹⁰⁹ The East Africanisation of Senior Administrative, Senior Library and Technician Posts by East Africanisation Sub-Committee. Draft III, EC Memo 5/2/1, Document BI. U. O. N. Archives. UEA East Africanisation Committee, PUEA/16/1, 24 December 1963.

¹¹⁰ Makerere University College. Sixty-fifth Meeting of the Council, Paper AB/62/1, East Africanisation. U. O. N. Archives. UEA Makerere University College, PUEA/12/18.

¹¹¹ Cited in Commentary, “U. of East Africa: Local Malaise”, *East Africa Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (June, 1964): 28.

both East Africans and expatriates, had divergent views on these issues. With regard to the first issue, one argument was that the University needed expatriate staff who already had the required experience and expertise needed by the University if it were to maintain international standards. An opposing view, held mainly by East African scholars and politicians, was that qualifications had to take precedent over experience. Politicians like E. M. K. Mulira from Uganda argued that East Africans who had the necessary qualifications could be appointed as assistant professors and as Deputies in administrative posts so as to accumulate experience and be appointed straight into leadership positions whenever they met the requirements. Aggrey S. Awori, the University's Liaison Officer, insisted that East Africans should be used in policy-making within the University.

Posts filled from 1963 where an expatriate and an East African qualified, revived the embedded tensions. A. J. Hanna from Southampton in Britain was appointed to the Chair of the History Department at the Royal College, Nairobi in 1963. This appointment sparked a debate within and outside the University. One newspaper launched a scathing attack on the University administration for appointing Hanna, stating:

Now, let us make one thing clear. We do not question the intellectual honesty of Professor Hanna nor the competence of his work nor the distinction of his qualifications What we question is the wisdom of those responsible for the appointment. And, beyond that, we are bound to ask what purpose they believe the University of East Africa is intended to serve? He [Hanna] looks at Africa through European eyes.... Can he reflect a view of African history which is indigenous to Africa?¹¹²

Ogot in his autobiography recalls rather sadly his experience with Hanna and how he [Hanna] perceived Africans. Ogot argues that Hanna's book, *The Story of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland* (1960) recorded the rise and fall of British supremacy and its effects upon the African population, from the coming of the missionaries and traders to

¹¹² *Pan Africa* (Tanzania), 28 August 1963.

the dissolution of the Central African Federation. Hanna also recorded in the book his attitude towards Africans and their history. He “refers to nineteenth century Central Africa as ‘these impulsive children of nature’ who lacked prudence and forethought This was a man who was appointed to provide leadership in the young, and hardly established Department of History in Nairobi.”¹¹³ According to Ogot, when his appointment was regularized in January 1965 and was promoted to Senior Lecturer position in the History Department Hanna resigned.

The planners of the University were caught up in the war of words between different constituencies and made relentless efforts to incorporate some of the views espoused by different constituencies in their plans. For example, regarding the fate of the expatriate staff, the Council of the University of East Africa resolved on February 13, 1964 that officers who lost their posts in the interests of East Africanization or reorganization would be fairly compensated.¹¹⁴

From 1964, the Africanization of the constituent colleges of the University of East Africa began in earnest. S. H. Ominde, who had been working at Makerere, moved to Nairobi where he was appointed Chair of Geography and became the first African Professor at the University College in Nairobi. Ogot followed him and joined the History Department; he later recruited Saulo Were. The 1964/65 Annual Report of University College, Nairobi stated that the Special Lectureship program had been given a boost by the Rockefeller Foundation, whereby promising young Africans could be appointed to supernumerary positions in the colleges for up to three years, while

¹¹³ Ogot, *My Footprints on the Sands of Time*, 134. See also: Ogot, “Three Decades of Historical Studies in East Africa, 1949-1977”, 25.

¹¹⁴ East Africanisation of the Administration (G.P. 25/3/64) RC Memo 18/8 Document H., U. O. N. Archives. UEA University Council, PUEA/1A/16.

established positions were being created or became vacant.¹¹⁵ The Report was optimistic that the target of forty percent East Africanization by 1967/68 that was laid down in the revised University Development Plan would be reached (this optimism, as it later turned out, was not farfetched¹¹⁶). According to the Report, senior and middle management had also been shaken significantly. From April 1965, David Wasawo took up his appointment as Deputy Principal of the University College. Mr. Sam Waruhiu was elected to the Vice-Principalship. Mr. Solomon Karanja replaced Mr. Eustace as Registrar while Mr. Peter Cege replaced Mr. Tovell as Finance Officer. These developments brought optimism.

The new incumbents had a heavy task on their shoulders. They had to service the whole of East Africa. What made their assignments even more challenging was that they had taken over from expatriate staff. The *Makererean*, a student weekly newspaper at Makerere University College maintained: “it is common experience in Africa that whenever Africans try to change any institutions left by the colonial regime, the colonial elements and reactionaries come out and warn of the dangers of change. All imaginary excuses come up. You are reminded of civilisation, charitable deeds, of the utility of conservatism and what have you.”¹¹⁷ To some of the University authorities, Africanization was non-negotiable. Aggrey Awori opined: “In any University, it is academically, politically, culturally and economically desirable that a majority of those who teach and run the institutions should be of the same nationality as their students. Valuable though the services of expatriate teachers are and will continue to be the

¹¹⁵ UEA. University College, Nairobi. Annual Report and Accounts for the Year 1964/65, 8.

¹¹⁶ The 1967/68 Report of University College, Nairobi alone shows an increase of East African Staff from 36 to 56 – which was 28 percent of the total teaching staff.

¹¹⁷ *Makererean*, Vol. 6, No. 45, 02 December 1966. See also: *Makererean*, Vol. 6, No. 48, 28 February 1967.

University of East Africa cannot rely indefinitely on persons not of East African citizenship.”¹¹⁸

East African politicians took a vanguard position in championing the Africanization cause and this raises an important question: How did East African politicians respond to the way in which the federal University was implementing the Africanization process? As mentioned earlier in this Chapter, East African politicians first looked to the University’s administrators to implement Africanization and only put pressure when they realized that the process was advancing at a slow pace. An analysis of territorial and inter-territorial parliamentary debates will reveal the tensions that occurred in parliamentary circles regarding the Africanization of the University of East Africa.

Mr. Rwamwaro, referred to earlier in the present Chapter, asked the Uganda Parliament to intervene in the affairs of Makerere University College regarding the pace in which the College implemented Africanization. He argued: “We must seriously think of direct Government intervention in this college. I do not mean to say the university should be a Government department – far from it. But I feel there is room for the Government to go in. . . .”¹¹⁹ Rwamwaro went through the list of predominantly European staff at Makerere University College and argued that the Government could not just look on while this trend continued at Makerere. He found it unacceptable that the expatriate staff could dominate an African University College. Rwamwaro, in his long speech, cited a comment made by William Lamont, former Principal of Makerere College in which he said that the College should produce many graduates to serve not only Uganda, but the whole of East Africa. Governor Sir John Hall was not impressed by the

¹¹⁸ Awori, “East African University Must be Africanised”, 15.

¹¹⁹ *Uganda Argus*, 20 July 1963.

idea and the two officials clashed, resulting into Lamont's resignation in 1949, at which time he was subsequently replaced by "a civil servant who had worked in Palestine."¹²⁰ Some African politicians believed that the political influence was the main reason why Makerere was so slow in Africanizing itself. They accused de Bunsen for being Governor Hall's agent who had been given instructions to ensure that Makerere University College produced very few African graduates and that it became as unattractive to prospective candidates as possible by delaying the Africanization of staff.

Rwamwaro contradicted himself at times. He blamed Governor Hall for interfering with Lamont's vision while at the same time calling on the government of Uganda to step in at the College to accelerate the Africanization process. This submission did not remove the political influence from the College's affairs. Rwamwaro was acutely aware of this tension in his submission as he later opined:

Although members should accept the idea of the university being independent, we as the Government should have some say in the higher institutes of learning. The Government should now start taking a serious view. Our Government should be very serious with Makerere but I do not mean the Government should interfere with the academic courses of students but I feel the Government should go in especially where we feel that our aspirations are being trampled under foot by the so called university council. . . .If the colonial government had a say why should we not have a say.¹²¹

Hon. J. M. Okae, MP raised a motion for a speeding up of Africanization at Makerere. The House passed the motion, thus authorizing the Uganda government to exert pressure on Makerere College to accelerate the Africanization process.

¹²⁰ Rwamwaro was referring to Bernard de Bunsen who was appointed Acting Principal of Makerere College in 1949 and took over as Principal in 1950. He later became the first Vice-Chancellor of the University of East Africa in 1963. As it turned out later in the debate, de Bunsen did not become Makerere's Principal straight from Palestine. He first became lecturer in the Education Department at Makerere College and assumed the Principalship position soon after becoming a Professor in the Education Department.

¹²¹ *Uganda Argus*, 20 July 1963.

When the University of East Africa was established there were few Africans who qualified to take up senior positions. Africans and Europeans took extreme positions when addressing this issue. Europeans exaggerated the shortage of trained Africans and failed to promote those who qualified for senior positions, using as a justification for their action the mundane argument that there were few qualified Africans. An East African seminar on the role of the University noted *inter alia* that although East Africa needed expatriates, “we tend to exaggerate the need and to receive expatriates too readily and without discrimination. We should evaluate the need and the type of post to be filled by any expatriates. We should not accept the ‘free’ man, unless: 1. he is of experience and quality; 2. we have been involved in his selection; 3. his proposed post is one we have decided we need.”¹²² T. R. Odhiambo recalled the early years of the University of East Africa thus: “At that time, the senior administrative and academic staff in the University was overwhelmingly expatriate; and one heard the argument that although the University was keen to Africanise, it was finding it extremely difficult to get suitably qualified and experienced East Africans to occupy University posts. . . .”¹²³ East Africans on the other hand over-emphasized the Africanization issue and expected to see the University of East Africa and its constituent Colleges Africanized almost overnight. However, there were instances where realistic proposals were made. Delegates concluded at a conference held in Oxford that curriculum development units should be staffed by nationals and proposed: “where expatriates are needed, they should be people who have not only the required

¹²² Summary of the Seminar on the Role of the University, 30.

¹²³ T. R. Odhiambo, “The Crisis of Science in East Africa”: 20.

expertise, but also the empathy needed to enable them to see the problem from the point of view of the host country.”¹²⁴

Parliamentary debates in the national governments and at the East Africa Legislative Assembly were characterized by tensions. Mr. Joseph Kiwanuka, MP from North Mubende in Uganda’s Parliament, cautioned the House not to lose sight of the issue at hand and reminded Members that the question was not one of standards but of Africans at the University College being regarded as junior staff even if they qualified for senior positions. According to Kiwanuka there were Europeans who held senior positions at the College even if they had the same or even lower qualifications than those held by Africans. He cited the Geography Department to buttress his assertion, arguing that a white Professor had an M. A. degree while there were two African lecturers – one with an M. A. and another with a Ph.D. yet neither of them was a Professor. This evidence refuted de Bunsen’s claim that no suitably qualified African had ever been denied a position.

According to the figures cited by Members of Parliament for 1963, out of a total of 144 academic staff at Makerere, there were only 20 Africans. Some Members found this situation disturbing and argued that the near absence of African members of the teaching staff was detrimental to the students since many of these students found it easier to talk to an African member of staff than an expatriate faculty whenever they had problems, both academic and personal. Thus, according to these Members, flooding the College with expatriate faculty was a disservice to the African students.

¹²⁴ *Report of a Conference on African Educators Education Development Centre and Curriculum Renewal & Educational Development Overseas*, Queens College, Oxford, 10-16 September 1967. Part I: The Conference and its Findings, 5.

The tensions regarding Africanization were not confined to race per se; the proponents of the Africanization project attacked all statements against Africanization regardless of the person or persons who uttered them. When Dr. Paul Kigundu sustained the argument that there were very few Africans with the requisite qualifications to be lecturers and professors, he found himself heckled by his own Government side to the extent that part of his speech was inaudible. At times emotions were exceedingly high during the debates on Africanization. Mr. Humphrey Luande unabashedly told the Uganda Parliament that Africanization was a national birthright in Uganda and therefore non-negotiable. *Anyone* [emphasis mine] who tried to impede it was 'only looking for trouble'. Mr. Luande endorsed the view that European lecturers only came to East Africa for money; they were not interested in the well-being of the Africans. He suggested: "the sooner they go so that we can start afresh the better."¹²⁵ Mr. Luande then broke his generalizations down into specifics by identifying positions that could be Africanized overnight. He argued that the College Principal could be easily replaced because he did very little other than going to ceremonies. The personnel officer received the most severe criticism from Mr. Luande who accused him of knowing nothing about negotiation.

The view expressed by Dr. Kigundu that Makerere students had to be sent abroad for further study and then return to take employment at Makerere did not receive a warm welcome in the House. Mr. William Kalema, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Education, burst out: "To the Africans, Africanisation must come right now and to the non-Africans it should never come at all, because the standards would fall."¹²⁶

¹²⁵ *Uganda Argus*, 21 July 1963.

¹²⁶ *Uganda Argus*, 19 July 1963.

If Europeans thought they were the only ones who had 'standards' to be maintained, Mr. Kalema's statement forced them to revisit that assumption.

The call for Africanization at Makerere was not unexpected. Even before the sitting of parliament Mr. Kalema told the media that the Government was planning to Africanize its Departments and that it was going to say to Makerere: "You have heard the feelings of the people of the country on Africanisation and it means bold step is required of you. . . . It does not mean that the Government is going to persuade Makerere to Africanise every post, but we are going to persuade the College Council – of which fortunately the chairman is an African and some Members of the House are members of the Council – to give good advice to Makerere College to Africanise in all those areas that are unduly sensitive to the public."¹²⁷ As it turned out, there was a long list of the 'sensitive areas' which needed immediate Africanization. These were: College Secretary, registrar, personnel training officer, chief clerk, wages clerk, all six assistant bursars, four domestic bursars, superintendent of works and estate officer. What forced the Government to take drastic action was that the College as it stood was "a model of a good English university that is situated in Africa."¹²⁸

Ogot recalls the tensions that occurred among East African scholars and politicians regarding the Africanization of the University of East Africa when he was teaching at Makerere University College.¹²⁹ He writes: "One of the most important debates that shaped the futures of the university colleges in East Africa occurred in 1963, following the publication of the *Rogers' Report on Salaries and Terms of Service in the*

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Bethwell Ogot joined the Department of History at Makerere University College in 1959 and became the first professional East African historian to teach at the University College.

University of East Africa.”¹³⁰ The Report recommended that the salary structure and terms of service at the University should be related to those found in the civil service and in industry; proposed different salary structures, one for the local staff and one for the expatriates, proposing more pay to the expatriate staff¹³¹; argued that there would be accelerated localization of University posts; and asserted that the new terms of service would ensure that standards were maintained.

The Makerere University College Academic Staff Association (A. S. A.) was not impressed by the Report and subsequently drafted its response entitled: ‘Comments and Recommendations of Makerere College Academic Staff Association Concerning the Draft New Terms of Service and the Rogers Committee Report, June 1963’ in which they expressed concern that the terms of service and the proposed salary scales would scare prospective East African specialists away from the University and thus delay the Africanization project.

Ogot, Lecturer in the Department of History; S. H. Ominde, Senior Lecturer in the Department of Geography; Semei Nyanzi, Lecturer in Economics (and an Acholi from Northern Uganda) felt that the Memorandum written by the A. S. A. had only raised concerns but did not recommend the course of action. They subsequently drafted a separated Memorandum entitled: ‘Africanisation of Administrative Posts in Makerere College, June 1963’ in which they stated the responsibilities of each expatriate senior officer in the hierarchy of university administration; outlined the training required for

¹³⁰ Ogot, *My Footprints on the Sands of Time*, 118. The racial tensions caused by Rogers’ Report are discussed in Chapter 5 of the current study.

¹³¹ The East African seminar on the role of the University held in 1965 made a diametrically opposed argument, stating that staff salaries should be consistent with the rest of the economy and that as part of the solution to the high cost arising through staff salaries, “staff localisation should proceed as rapidly as possible.” See: Summary of the Seminar on the Role of the University, in *East Africa Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 5 (August, 1965): 17.

each position; and provided the names of East Africans already working at Makerere College who possessed the necessary qualifications for each post. The three scholars concluded that it was possible to Africanize administrative posts at the College overnight.

Ogot summarizes the tensions caused by the second Memorandum as follows:

The reaction to our memorandum was varied. The expatriates were shocked and warned that the implementation of such a policy would undermine standards and possibly lead to mass exodus of staff. Most Uganda members of staff, even senior academic staff, encouraged by expatriates, thought they could detect a conspiracy hatched by Kenyan Nilotic lecturers to disrupt the smooth development that had been taking place at Makerere in order to divert attention and resources to the Royal College, Nairobi. Ominde and myself, in particular, were faced with all kinds of threats and insults, demanding our resignation or transfer to Nairobi. Eventually, both of us moved to Nairobi on promotion in 1964, but not before we had accomplished our mission.¹³²

The Memorandum sparked the debate within and outside the University. It aroused public curiosity about what was going on at Makerere University College. Members of parliament were also eager to know from their colleagues how the process of Africanization at Makerere College was progressing. Mr. Kalema responded by saying: (i) Makerere could not find highly qualified East Africans for senior academic and administrative posts at the College; (ii) East Africans were being attracted to other posts outside the University and therefore could not be attracted to or retained by the University; (iii) Localization in East Africa had to be accelerated without compromising existing standards or jeopardizing the position of existing members of the college staff; and (iv) Makerere provided supernumerary posts for openings in regard to first-class East African graduates. This response sustained tensions. The Ministry of Education conceded that Makerere College was experiencing problems in obtaining qualified East Africans who could accelerate the Africanization process by filling senior academic and

¹³² Ogot, *My Footprints on the Sands of Time*, 121.

administrative posts but concluded: “however, it is not correct to say that the College cannot find such people.”¹³³

Ominde, Nyanzi and Ogot issued a rejoinder affirming that the College had not done enough to Africanize itself. In their view, the assertion that there was a dearth of qualified East Africans to Africanize university posts was unfounded and they argued that administrative posts, including that of the Principal, could be Africanized immediately. The Makerere College Employees Union subsequently challenged the authorities of the University to advertise all the posts which, according to the University authorities, could not be Africanized. The Union recommended that applicants should be interviewed by an independent body set up by the Parliamentary Secretary in the Ministry of Education. The College Administration took up the challenge by advertising all those vacant senior administrative posts. Ogot gleefully recalls: “The response was excellent, and all these posts were immediately Ugandanized.”¹³⁴ Dr. Yusuf K. Lule sealed the Africanization of administrative posts at Makerere College by becoming the College’s Principal. The three scholars (Ominde, Nyanzi and Ogot) who had been labeled by their colleagues as the ‘conspirators’ were vindicated at the end of this long episode.

Change is traumatic because the new world remains a mystery until it is discovered. Clark Kerr (1963) argued that change comes in different forms. Sometimes it takes the form of the slow process of persuasion; sometimes it comes as a result of subversion and dominance or the use of force. People’s response to change takes two main forms: they either accept or resist it. The third group falls somewhere in the middle and agitates for modifications to the proposed changes but neither accepts nor rejects the

¹³³ *Uganda Argus*, 5 July 1963.

¹³⁴ Ogot, *My Footprints on the Sands of Time*, 122.

changes entirely. Washington A. J. Okumu and Thomas R. Odhiambo, in their study on Africanization and staffing at the University of East Africa, fell on the third group. They maintained: “We are not opposed to change per se, particularly when a society or an institution is to be improved in one way or the other, where excess or defect is evident; but we are opposed to the type of change in which, while putting one thing ‘right’, something else is put wrong, and to the detriment of the whole institution.”¹³⁵

Some Ugandan politicians shared Okumu and Odhiambo’s view by refusing to endorse the idea of rushing the Africanization of staff at the University of East Africa without necessarily refuting the idea altogether. Mr. Basil Bataringaya, leader of the Opposition in the Uganda Government, asked Members of Parliament to calm down and ruminate about any possible step to be taken by government regarding Africanization. Bataringaya, while endorsing the idea of Africanizing the University, cautioned the House against closing the door to international staff who came to the University to do research and teaching. He asked the Government to be careful how much it got involved in the College’s affairs. Bataringaya cited the case of Ghana, arguing that President Nkrumah tried to intervene in Ghana’s universities but found it difficult and changed his position. Mr. J. S. Mayanja-Nkangi addressed himself to the question of expatriates at the University and dismissed as unfounded the view that Europeans had no interest in Africans. He warned that such views could break the heart of some very great people and reminded parliament that when he was a student at Makerere he was not taught by an African but by expatriate staff.

Dr. Kigundu too, told Uganda’s parliament that he accepted Africanization in principle but was opposed to indiscriminate Africanization of the University. When

¹³⁵ Okumu and Odhiambo, *Africanisation and Staffing Policy in the University of East Africa*, 1.

other Members of the House heckled him he retaliated by asking how many B. A's and B. Sc's and how many Doctors of Philosophy Uganda had. He received no answer. When parliament finally calmed down Dr. Kigundu sounded a warning: "Some people believed that because Uganda was independent they should Africanise *ipso facto*. This was nothing but childish thinking, blindness, and narrow-mindedness."¹³⁶ Dr. Kigundu maintained that it was a norm in independent Africa to promote people regardless of their ability and suggested that this was opportune time for Uganda to set a good example and not fall on the same trap. He acceded: "I agree that we should Africanise wherever possible and where we have suitable applicants but I don't agree with Mr. Luande who says we should Africanise all at Makerere. That is complete nonsense."¹³⁷ This submission echoed the words of Tanganyika's Minister for Education, Solomon Eliufoo, who warned his colleagues, arguing: "I know the hon. Members are interested in Africanisation. Africanisation does not mean only to go into the street and pick up somebody only because he is African. It means you have to provide him with the necessary equipment, with the necessary qualifications, so that he can handle the responsibility to your own satisfaction."¹³⁸

Mr. E. M. K. Mulira took a neutral position in Uganda's parliament. He found it outrageous that the qualifications for the warden post at Makerere were very high and alluded to the fact that this was aimed at shutting Africans out but conceded that there were insufficient Africans with the required experience to take over from their white counterparts immediately. Mulira then suggested that more Africans should be

¹³⁶ *Uganda Argus*, 19 July 1963.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹³⁸ Council Debates (Hansard) Tanganyika Legislative Council. Official Report, Thirty-Sixth Session, First Meeting, 1960 (Dar es Salaam: GP, 1960). Col.315.

appointed as assistant professors and deputies so that they could gain the required experience and later take up the relevant positions.

The issues debated at the national governments of the three East African territories were also tackled at the East Africa Legislative Assembly. The question of the expatriate staff became a pertinent issue during the proceedings of the East Africa Legislative Assembly, forcing the Administrator to return to it late in the debate, stating:

Sir, there was a small remark dropped by Mr. Kamaliza which I think might be misconstrued if I do not draw attention to it. He said that the expatriate officers in the High Commission Services were serving the Colonial Government and not the East African Governments. I am not quite sure what distinction he intended to draw here but I am sure he did not mean that the expatriate officers had not to the best of their ability been serving the interests of the people of East Africa. . . .¹³⁹

Other Members of the House at the East Africa Legislative Assembly insisted that Africanization could not be divorced from political independence and thus called for radical changes. Mr Kamaliza told the House that Britain was obliged to help East Africa, adding: "In fact it is not a matter of assistance, it is a matter of paying back what has been ripped from the Colonial Territories."¹⁴⁰ This statement did not go down well with European members of the House. Mr. Bruce Mackenzie, a Member of the House representing Kenya, failed to control his emotions and burst out: "Nonsense!"

In a nutshell, the Uganda Government was not satisfied with the pace at which Makerere College was implementing Africanization. Ugandan politicians felt that as the leaders of an independent state, they were duty bound to take the initiative if the College's authorities seemed to have forgotten that East African higher education was no

¹³⁹ EAHC. Proceedings of the Central Legislative Assembly, Second Session. Official Report, Vol. XIV, No. 2 (Nairobi: EAHC, 1961). Col.510.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

longer in the hands of the British and that the University of East Africa belonged to an independent East African region.

So far, this section has focused on Uganda. However, this should not create the impression that only Uganda was serious about the Africanization of the University of East Africa. Kenya and Tanzania were engaged in the same struggle. The Department of Education in Kenya pushed University College, Nairobi to speed up the process of Africanizing its staff. Edwyn Isaac, Acting Principal at Nairobi College, wrote a letter to the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Education in which he stated: “. . . . I can assure you that we at the College share your concern that Kenyanisation of the Administrative posts here should proceed with the utmost urgency. . . .”¹⁴¹ The tone of this letter suggests that the Education Ministry had contacted the Nairobi University College on this subject. The Nairobi College was determined to make its contribution in changing the outlook of the University of East Africa but the Kenya Government still felt it necessary to satisfy itself that the Africanization process was being implemented by the College’s authorities.

Different departments at the College took giant strides in the implementation of the Africanization process. Correspondence between Hyslop and Miss E. Ricketts, Head of the Department of Domestic Sciences, referred to three Africans who had been identified for appointment as Assistant Lecturers in the Department.¹⁴² Wasawo wrote to Porter during his [Wasawo] first month in office as Deputy Principal of Nairobi College and opined: “. . . . I do not know what the Vice-Chancellors and Principals normally talk about but it seems to me that one of the things that would be useful to discuss would be

¹⁴¹ Edwyn Isaac to the Permanent Secretary, Kenya Ministry of Education, 10 September 1963. U. O. N. Archives, Daily Letter Files for 1963, C.7/14.

¹⁴² The letter does not provide the names of these Africans.

the methods of rapid Africanisation of the academic staff.”¹⁴³ Although Wasawo had just assumed his new position he had no doubt that Africanization was one of the pertinent issues at the time and thus qualified to be included in the agenda of the Principals and Vice-Chancellors’ meeting. East African politicians and scholars worked without stint in an effort to Africanize the University staff with the hope that the latter would change the curriculum. But as Taban Liyong argued in 1969: “The very fact that we are Africans is no guarantee that we are authorities on things African. Knowledge about Africa can only be gained, as indeed knowledge on anything whatever, through hard study.”¹⁴⁴ Mazrui echoed these words nine years later, arguing: “the Africanization of the staff is not by itself a guarantee of accelerated Africanization of the syllabus and the curriculum.”¹⁴⁵

The Africanization process moved very slowly, prompting Chagula to state in his Presidential Lecture in 1967 that “Universities and Colleges in most developing countries in general, and the University Colleges in East Africa, in particular, still have a predominance of expatriate academic staff. . . .”¹⁴⁶ Idrian Resnick held the same view a year later, arguing that universities in Africa “are typically staffed by expatriates or ‘black Europeans’ whose ideas are, at best, non-African.”¹⁴⁷ Ogot’s assessment of the Africanization project in East Africa in 1968 led him to the following conclusion: “Already, the University has done much to reorient itself to an African environment. Most of the syllabuses have been radically changed; the East Africanization of staff is being pursued vigorously; and much of the research done in the University is relevant to

¹⁴³ David P. S. Wasawo to Arthur T. Porter, 30 April 1965. Internal Memo. U. O. N. Archives, UEA Conferences, Lectures and Papers. PUEA/13/3.

¹⁴⁴ Taban Liyong, “The Role of the Creative Artist”, *East Africa Journal*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (January, 1969): 29.

¹⁴⁵ Mazrui, *Political Values and the Educated Class in Africa*, 204.

¹⁴⁶ Chagula, “Academic Freedom and University Autonomy”: 408.

¹⁴⁷ Resnick, “The University and Development in Africa”: 30.

the needs of the region.”¹⁴⁸ However, Ogot conceded that there was still more work to be done in Africanizing the University. Figures from the University Bulletin issued at the end of 1969 showed that Makerere was 32 per cent East Africanized while Nairobi and Dar es Salaam were 33.7 and 31.8 respectively, thus bringing the total percentage of East Africanization to 32.4.¹⁴⁹ During the first half of 1970, out of a total of 817 established posts at the University, only 265 were held by East Africans.

As the Africanization project advanced slowly, some commentators shifted the focus from *East Africanization* to *localization*. C. H. F. Rowell and J. P. Thurston, Lecturers in the Zoology Department at Makerere University College, argued: “Recently there have been several discussions about the rate at which East Africans are being appointed to the Senior Staff at Makerere College but not much has been said about the rate of localization in the past.”¹⁵⁰ The two scholars then provided figures showing the rate of localization of senior staff between 1958 and 1968. These figures showed an increase from 10 during the 1958-9 academic year to 88 in June 1968. The number of the expatriate staff increased from 102 to 205 during the same period.

Peter Wankulu from Uganda addressed Africanization broadly. Wankulu in his letter revealed the source of the tensions regarding the Africanization of staff in East Africa and alluded to the fact that the tensions were likely to continue when he reasoned:

The question of Africanisation of commerce and industry really raises a big argument. It seems to me that the European, American and Asian descendants are still classified as non-Africans. In the true sense, most of them were born, and live permanently right here in Africa. They have

¹⁴⁸ Iconoclastes (B. A. Ogot), “The University. Its Relevance and Legitimacy to the Community in East Africa”, *East Africa Journal*, Vol. 5, No. 12 (December, 1968): 8.

¹⁴⁹ See: Commentary, “Prospects of the University of East Africa”, *Pan-African Journal*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Spring, 1970): 14.

¹⁵⁰ C. H. F. Rowell and J. P. Thurston, “The Staff Situation at Makerere”, (Letter to the Editor) *East Africa Journal*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (February, 1969): 5.

already become citizens and therefore should be treated and tried just like an indigenous African. They cannot be deported without a breach of the law.

We are very much against *apartheid* policies or racial discrimination but, at the same time, we indirectly talk and think of and act on Africanisation to mean only Blacks.¹⁵¹

East African politicians and scholars argued that deciding what was taught at the University of East Africa and who taught it was key to changing the face of the University. Also, they argued that the method of teaching was equally important.

4.3.3 *The Africanization of Teaching Methods*

East African constituencies and some expatriates realized that Africanizing the curriculum, the syllabus, the administrative staff and the faculty at the University of East Africa but retaining teaching methods imported from outside Africa would slow down the Africanization process. As mentioned in Chapter 1, scholars like Ki-Zerbo argued that the manner of giving is more important than what is given. David Court in his paper on higher education in East Africa opined: “much is said about what ought to be taught and little about how it is to be learned...”¹⁵²

Chagula was one of those East African scholars who thought aloud about the need to adopt new teaching methods, arguing: “It would be futile if the University of East Africa simply increased its teaching staff without reviewing critically its teaching methods inherited from an era which was in many ways very different from the present.”¹⁵³ Chagula expounded his submission by citing the case of Britain where the University Grants Committee had conducted an inquiry into university teaching methods and argued that if Britain had begun to question the suitability and effectiveness of

¹⁵¹ Peter Wankulu, Letter, *East Africa Journal*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (April, 1968): 3.

¹⁵² David Court, *The Experience of Higher Education in East Africa*, 1.

¹⁵³ Chagula, “The Role of the University of East Africa”: 36.

teaching methods in her universities, there was an even greater need and urgency for the University of East Africa to review its teaching methods if it were to be of any relevance to East Africa.

In 1965, President Nyerere in his address to the International Congress of African Historians held in Dar es Salaam stressed the need to develop ‘a really African history’ by changing the method in which African history had been taught in the past. President Nyerere regretted:

Up to now the world’s knowledge of this continent – and even modern Africa’s knowledge – has been drawn almost exclusively from the outside. Most people who study our history at educational institutions throughout the world, still learn of the ‘discovery of Africa’, and the journeys of the great explorers . . . it is only when these things are looked at from Africa outwards that an ‘African history’ will develop.¹⁵⁴

For the University of East Africa to be able to teach its subjects from an African point of view, it was felt that it was not only the curriculum, the syllabus and the staff that needed to change. The Eurocentric teaching methods too had to be discarded.

The call for the Africanization of the University of East Africa was in part a preemptive move, a realization that expatriate staff would eventually leave East Africa; and in part a response to the political mood at the time, the spirit of independence. Also, the different constituencies that agitated for radical changes at the University were inspired by the belief that “an African university should have a spirit reflecting the spirit of the community it serves.”¹⁵⁵ This trajectory raises the following questions: Did the University of East Africa serve the East African society? What were the views expressed

¹⁵⁴ Julius Nyerere, Opening Speech at the International Congress of African Historians, UCD, October 1965, in Ranger (ed) *Emerging Themes of African History*, 3–4.

¹⁵⁵ Awori, “East African University Must be Africanised”: 15.

by East African scholars and politicians regarding the nature of the relationship (real and imagined) between the University and the society? These questions are explored below.

4.4 The University and the East African Society

East African constituencies had high hopes about their University but, as mentioned earlier, the University had an identity problem. It was physically sited in East Africa and was filled by a predominantly African student population yet its architecture, its language of instruction, its curriculum and its culture was all foreign. This raised doubts about the University's commitment to being a service institution for the East African society. Soon after the University had been instituted, concerns were raised about the extent to which it brought the society on board. A commentary in the *East Africa Journal* argued that important Reports on the University had been produced between 1960 and 1963 but "all these reports have been accessible only to members of the University and the Ministries of Education. The public has remained ignorant of the basic issue concerning University development in East Africa."¹⁵⁶ This section analyzes the relationship between the University of East Africa and the East African society.

The general purpose of the university is "to educate men and women who will promote the development of society to the highest attainable level."¹⁵⁷ The university stands at the apex of the education system as a place for the pursuit and dissemination of

¹⁵⁶ Commentary, "U. of East Africa: Local Malaise": 27.

¹⁵⁷ Document A. "The Purpose of the University." Presidential Address by F. Cyril James at the Opening Session of the Fourth General Conference of the International Association of Universities, Tokyo, 31 August 1965, 1. U. O. N. Archives, UEA Senate Meetings, PUEA/2B/8. Cyril O. Houle and Charles A. Nelson in their work *The University, The Citizen and World Affairs* (Washington DC: American Council, 1956), 54 argued that the university teaches students "not because it wants to make money or build its popularity, but because it believes that such teaching serves a vital social purpose."

knowledge.¹⁵⁸ Historically, the goals of the university have been defined thus: (i) to transform themselves to legitimate national institutions of higher learning; (ii) to produce the skilled human resources necessary to manage newly independent countries; (iii) to generate developmentally relevant research; (iv) to provide community service and (v) to constitute a diverse and representative student body.¹⁵⁹

The University of East Africa considered these universal goals, objects and functions in defining itself. According to the 1962 University of East Africa Act, section 5(1) (a) and (b), the objects and functions of the University of East Africa were stated as being: “to assist in the preservation, transmission and increase of knowledge and in the stimulation of the intellectual life and cultural development of East Africa.”¹⁶⁰ It was felt that these objects and functions would make the University responsive to the needs of the East African society and this provided the overall vision of the planners about the federal University. Chapter 1 of the current study discussed the vision of African politicians the people on the spot, the academy and the students about African universities. It was mentioned *inter alia* that these constituencies shared the view that African universities had to reflect an African outlook and had to be responsive to the needs of their immediate societies without losing their international character. These constituencies expressed the same views with regard to the University of East Africa.

¹⁵⁸ Emmanuel Ngara, *The African University and its Mission Strategies for Improving the Delivery of Higher Education Institution* (Lesotho: Institute of Southern African Studies, 1995), 5. F. R. Leavis in his work *Education & The University: A Sketch for an English School* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1948), 137 argued that with the universities ignoring their function, it would be idle to hope much of education in general.

¹⁵⁹ William S. Saint, *Universities in Africa: Strategies for Stabilization and Revitalization* (Washington D. C. World Bank, 1992), xiii.

¹⁶⁰ University of East Africa Act, 1962. See also: A Memorandum to the University Senate on the possibility of Establishing a University of East Africa Press, by S. H. Ominde, Chairman and Bernard Onyango, Secretary, 27 October 1966. U. O. N. Archives. UEA Senate Meetings, PUEA/2B/13.

President Nyerere was explicit in his succinct summary of the reasons why the University of East Africa had been established. He cautioned:

For let us be quite clear; the University has not been established purely for prestige purposes. It has a very definite role to play in development in this area, and to do this effectively it must be in, and of, the community it has been established to serve. The University of East Africa has to draw upon experience and ideas from East Africa as well as the rest of the world. And it must direct its energies particularly towards meeting the needs of East Africa. . . .¹⁶¹

In President Nyerere's view, if the University of East Africa had been established to serve the East African society, it could not divorce itself from that society and subscribe blindly to international notions of a university simply for prestige purposes.

President Nyerere argued in another article: “. . . when people are dying because existing knowledge is not applied, when the very basic social and public services are not available to all members of a society, then that society is misusing its resources if it pursues pure learning for its own sake.”¹⁶² President Nyerere was opposed to putting emphasis on pure knowledge which had no relevance to the practical problems affecting the society. He regarded as unpatriotic the tendency by the newly established institutions of higher education in East Africa to be receiving all the time and argued that they should reciprocate. For President Nyerere, the University of East Africa had a moral obligation to address the needs of the East African society. As discussed in Chapter 1, President Obote and President Kenyatta made the same argument when they addressed Makerere students at different gatherings. President Kenyatta argued: “It would surely be wasteful,

¹⁶¹ Julius Nyerere, Address during the inauguration of the University of East Africa, 28 June 1963. Cited in Nyerere, *Freedom and Unity*, 218. See also: *The Report of the Working Party on Higher Education in East Africa*, 30 January 1969, 3.

¹⁶² Julius K. Nyerere, “The University's Role in the Development of the New Countries”, Opening Address to the World University Service International General Assembly, Dar es Salaam, 27 July 1966, 1.

were such an institution to adopt the role of a spectator, neglecting a potential contribution of objective example and influence.”¹⁶³

The people on the spot, the academy, and the students shared the views espoused by East African politicians regarding the nature of the relationship between the University of East Africa and the society. They argued that it was the task of the University of East Africa to provide solutions to societal problems and that the University could only succeed in performing this task if it identified itself with the society. A commentary in the *East Africa Journal* stated: “Also, for an African university to neglect extra-mural work and adult literacy, is to ignore the masses. Everything possible must be done to extend learning to those areas of the nation which are remote, and to initiate facilities for better health, improved agricultural practices, etc.”¹⁶⁴ The commentator recalled that the theme of the 12th International Student Conference held in Nairobi in July 1966 was the position a university occupies in the society and argued that the University of East Africa could not afford to ignore that theme.

Porter told the congregation during a graduation ceremony held at University College, Nairobi that the College had to respond to the civic and political needs of the country and that it had to provide answers to the economic and technological problems of the day. Porter continued: “In short, it must be identified with the society it serves.”¹⁶⁵ He concluded his address by making a promise that with the support of the Chancellor, the Chairman of Council and other University authorities his College would not fail East Africa. B. M. Gecaga, Chairman of Council at University College, Nairobi in his speech

¹⁶³ President Kenyatta, Address at the Graduation Ceremony held at Makerere University College, 26 March 1965. Cited in Kenyatta, *Suffering Without Bitterness*, 271.

¹⁶⁴ Commentary, “The Task of a University”: 35.

¹⁶⁵ Arthur T. Porter, Speech delivered at the Graduation Ceremony held at University College, Nairobi, 6 November 1964, 4.

on the same day reiterated the views espoused by Porter. Gecaga reminded the congregation about the 'Special Relationship' program from which University College, Nairobi had emerged, stating how far the College had progressed since its establishment. He then advised the College to regard the past as a springboard not as a sofa.¹⁶⁶ Inferred in this metaphor was a salient warning that the College still had a lot to do.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, Wasawo argued that East African territories had a daunting task of reorganizing their societies and mobilizing all the activities going on within their borders. In his view, the University of East Africa had a specific role to play in society. He maintained: "We in the University of East Africa are charged, among other things, with producing the high level manpower needed for our countries."¹⁶⁷

The people on the spot made concrete proposals outlining how the University of East Africa could become part of the East African society. Cranford Pratt, the first Principal of The University College, Dar es Salaam, argued that the University of East Africa "must be a committed institution, actively relating our work to the communities it seeks to serve. This is in no sense in contrast to, or in contradiction of, the intellectual objectivity and respect for truth which must also be an essential feature of a university. Commitment and objectivity are not opposites, are not in contradiction to each other. Rather the best scholarship is often a product of deep commitment. . . ."¹⁶⁸

Pratt argued that the University of East Africa had not been established to build 'sky-scrapers' in order for the few lucky individuals to develop their own minds. It had to produce students who would go back to their communities and fight poverty and

¹⁶⁶ B. M. Gecaga, Speech delivered at the Graduation Ceremony held at University College, Nairobi, 6 November 1964, 4. U. O. N. Archives, UEA Principal, PUEA/1B/1.

¹⁶⁷ Wasawo, "The Nation and the University": 5.

¹⁶⁸ Cited by Nyerere, "The University's Role in the Development of the New Countries", 4. See also: Pratt, "University and State in Independent Africa Today", 25.

diseases. Research findings by the teaching staff at the University had to be relevant to the local problems. The seminar on the role of the University, referred to earlier, proposed that in the development of new courses and departments, and the development of research areas, the University ought to be guided by national needs to ensure that it remained part of the society.

The University of East Africa met this challenge in part by establishing a working relationship with different East African research institutions so as to enhance African-based research. The East African Virus Research Institute based at Entebbe, Uganda was recognized by the Senate and Council of the University of East Africa as a connected institute. Similar relationships were established with the Coffee Research Foundation and the Maize Research Section, also in Uganda. Several members of the staff of the Maize Research Section registered with the Faculty of Agriculture at Makerere University College. This was acclaimed “a most desirable development, as it improves the status of our research work here, and also higher degrees obtained in East Africa are greatly to the benefit of the local people.”¹⁶⁹ In Kenya, the Ross Institute of Tropical Hygiene, East African Branch was recognized by the Senate and Council of the University of East Africa as a connected institute of the University.¹⁷⁰ The History Department at University College, Nairobi started the Staff-Student Research Project where students carried out oral research in their communities mainly during the long vacations. The University College, Dar es Salaam established a relationship with a number of public and research institutes and bureaus such as: the Institute of Public

¹⁶⁹ F. Ogada, Senior Maize Research Officer, to the Director of Agriculture, Kenya (Ref. No. MRS/GEN. ADM), 30 December 1966. K. N. A. BV/42/26.

¹⁷⁰ Memorandum of Association Between the Ross Institute of Tropical Hygiene, East African Branch and the University of East Africa, U. O. N. Archives, UEA Academic Board, PUEA/3/34.

Administration, the Institute of Swahili Research, the Economic Research Bureau, and the Bureau of Resource Assessment and Land Use. The National Museum was also affiliated to the University College. Through these various bodies and through the research being done by the College's teaching staff and students in Tanzanian studies, and through the production of graduates to take up all sorts of careers in the country, "the University extends itself to all parts of the country and all aspects of national life."¹⁷¹

Politicians, scholars, and individuals served as the watchdogs of the society, applauding whenever they felt the University of East Africa had done well and taking it to task when they felt that it was failing to execute its duties. Mr. Mbabi-Katana, a music Lecturer from Makerere University College, collected indigenous songs from all over East Africa to be used in schools. Edward Mpangi from University College, Nairobi found Mbabi-Katana's work relevant to the needs of the society and commented: "It is, therefore, highly commendable that such efforts as those of Mr. Mbabi-Katana at Makerere should have the greatest possible public sympathy and government financial support."¹⁷² One scholar argued that the University of East Africa "does have an obligation to offer officials and citizens intellectual help in working through the major public problems. The politicization of education which is certain to infringe on university autonomy will be intensified if university spokesmen avoid making such analysis. National leaders need to be warned about emergent dilemmas in educational policy."¹⁷³ President Nyerere shared this view, arguing that members of the University of East Africa "must serve East Africa as menials, collecting and disseminating the facts we

¹⁷¹ J. E. F. Mhina, "Education in and Around Dar es Salaam", *Tanzania Notes and Records*, No. 71 (1970): 179.

¹⁷² Edward Mpangi, "Hope for African Music", *East Africa Journal [Readers' Voice]*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (May, 1965): 5.

¹⁷³ Anderson, "University Planning in an Underdeveloped Country": 46.

ought to want. At the same time they must be torch-bearers of our society, and the protectors of the flame should we, in our urgency, endanger its brightness.”¹⁷⁴

The question of the national language put the University’s commitment to serving the East African society to the test. A commentary in the *East Africa Journal* asked: “Who should take the lead in this matter? The Governments or the University? We believe the University, as a body responsible for planning the development of a nation’s mind, has missed the bus on the issue. It is the three university colleges which should assume the role of plodding Nairobi, Dar es Salaam, and Entebbe into taking a decision.”¹⁷⁵

East African students shared the view that their University should serve the needs of the society. Makerere students told Mr. John Kakonge, Uganda’s Director of Planning that they, like their government, were determined to increase the number of African scientists that would provide solutions to societal problems but called upon the government to put its words into actions: “if the government were sincere it would do well to consider introducing science study incentives, possibly in the form of inducements, in order to accelerate the process of training the much needed local scientists.”¹⁷⁶ University students in Kenya followed national issues with a keen interest. In February 1968, a group of economists in Kenya published a paper in the *East Africa Journal* entitled ‘Economics and Kenyanization.’ The paper was widely distributed and it sparked a debate. The Students’ Union at University College, Nairobi “arranged an open meeting where the late Minister of Economic Planning and Development, Mr. Tom

¹⁷⁴ Nyerere, *Freedom and Unity: Uhuru na Umoja*, 221.

¹⁷⁵ Commentary, “Policy on Language: A University Task”, *East Africa Journal*, Vol.2, No.9 (February, 1966): 34.

¹⁷⁶ Sentogo-Musembwa, “Training Our Scientists” [Readers’ Views], *East Africa Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 9 (February, 1966): 2.

Mboya, confronted all the 17 economists who had jointly written the paper. The Taifa Hall was packed to capacity, and there was lively discussion and exchange of views.”¹⁷⁷

But East African students did not confine their comments solely to issues that affected the East African micro society; they also commented on continental issues. At times this made them vulnerable to public criticisms. In 1966, the University Students’ Association of East Africa wrote a letter to the African Heads of States in which it stated that the Commonwealth Conference held in Lagos was a ‘conference of Wilson’s errand boys’. Subsequently, a commentary in the *East Africa Journal* stated: “. . . we read first with considerable irritation and then a bit more compassion of a letter recently circulated to all Heads of States in Africa by the University Students’ Association of East Africa One would think that there are other subjects far more appropriate and nearer home to which the association could address itself.”¹⁷⁸ Among the subjects mentioned in the commentary was lack of involvement by educated persons in the welfare of the rural communities. Kenneth Prewitt asserted that students were cohorts in the Westernization of Makerere¹⁷⁹ and therefore did not represent their society.

Some constituencies defended East African students. Nelson Kasfir, Lecturer of Political Science at Makerere, challenged Prewitt’s assertion that Makerere students were not intellectually active to make any contribution to society. Kasfir inquired: “How many students must participate in intellectual activity before we will regard it as

¹⁷⁷ D. P. Ghai, “The Plan, The Society and the University”, *East Africa Journal*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (March, 1970): 4.

¹⁷⁸ Commentary, *East Africa Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 9 (February, 1966): 2.

¹⁷⁹ Prewitt, “Makerere: Intelligence vs Intellectuals”: 38. Joel D. Barkan’s survey published in *Transition*, Vol. 7(vi), No. 37 (October, 1968) under the title: “What Makes the East African Run”, portrayed East African students as being less innovative, arguing: “Rather than wanting to exercise power by making decisions which will affect the lives of many of their countrymen, most East African university students prefer to implement the decisions of others. Rather than wanting to innovate new policies to deal with the myriad of problems confronting their countries most students want merely security for themselves and their families.”

characteristic of the College?”¹⁸⁰ Ogot too, refuted the indictment of students. He contended:

Finally, we come to the most important component of the University – the students. Many things have been said about our students by different observers. The common charge is that they are living in an ivory tower. We don’t know which students such observers talk about. But the majority of our students were born and bred in the countryside. Many of them work during the vacation in order to pay fees for their younger brothers and sisters or to pay taxes for their old fathers.¹⁸¹

Ogot concluded his comment by posing a rhetorical question: ‘Can we afford to do without them?’ For President Obote the students were part of the society. He held: “The mission of the ‘Student Power’ is essentially the same as the mission of the Nationalist Movement I lead in Uganda and the mission of the African Revolution.”¹⁸²

In a nutshell, politicians, scholars, students, and the general public shared the view that the University of East Africa had to be responsive to the needs of the East African society without compromising its image as an institution of academic excellence. The University responded to the call but could not satisfy all the constituencies, hence the sustained debates about the University’s role in society.

Chapter Summary

This Chapter has demonstrated that the University of East Africa had many faces thus making the question ‘Whose University?’ the most difficult to answer. Three broad conclusions could be drawn. First, that the political factors which brought the University into existence influenced the way in which the University was perceived once

¹⁸⁰ Nelson Kasfir, Letter to the Editor, *Transition*, Vol. 6(v), No. 30 (April-May, 1967): 6.

¹⁸¹ Iconoclastes (B. A. Ogot), “The University: Its Relevance and Legitimacy to the Community of East Africa”: 9.

¹⁸² “Dr. Obote on Student Power, Extracts from his Speech Delivered at the International Students”, Seminar at Makerere University College, 9 June 1969, *East Africa Journal*, Vol. 6, No. 8 (August, 1968): 12.

constituted. The expatriates perceived the University as an instrument for continued domination; to the East African constituencies the University was an instrument for liberation from British domination. Second, that these two constituencies used different methods to achieve their aims about the University; the expatriates resolved to produce students who would be similar to those produced by British universities and thus transplanted the British curriculum. East Africans on the other hand expected the University to produce students who would not be divorced from their society and from their environment and thus resolved to implement the Africanization process. Third, that the East African experience epitomized that of the British Colonial Empire in general.

Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 have alluded to the fact that the University of East Africa incurred bruises and scars throughout its history. The University's inauguration in 1963 did not make its life any better. Soon after its establishment the University became a battlefield between different constituencies. The next two Chapters address the problems faced by the University of East Africa at different stages with a view to establishing why it collapsed in 1970. Chapter 5 addresses this question by discussing a wide range of problems the University grappled with, demonstrating how each problem played its role in the University's eventual collapse. Chapter 6 focuses specifically on the role played by nationalism and independence in the demise of the University of East Africa.

PART III

THE FALL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF EAST AFRICA

CHAPTER 5

PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF EAST AFRICA

The difficulties which face universities in developing countries are similar in kind to those facing universities elsewhere – but they are often different in degree.

Letter by David Wasawo to J. M. Hyslop
30 April 1965

Introduction

The demise of the University of East Africa in June 1970 was the culmination of a number of problems that had haunted the University from its infant stages. Some of the problems were specific to the East African case while others were typical of federal universities in general. For example, the Asquith Report of 1945 had anticipated that the great distance between the constituent colleges would mean that the federal university would only be a machine for conducting examinations and for granting degrees; rather than that it would not be a community. Also, the Report argued that a federal university would have no personality of its own and that the colleges, not the University, would influence both the character and outlook of the students thus making each of the colleges distinct from the other. These problems, according to the Asquith Report, would add to the problems faced by any type of a university – the quality and experience of staff and the quality of the students. The federal University of East Africa was established in the midst of all these speculations.

The purpose of the present Chapter is to demonstrate how a number of problems contributed to the University's eventual collapse. It is of cardinal importance to state

from the outset that the question why the University of East Africa was dissolved is difficult to answer precisely because the problems encountered by the University are complex and intertwined to the extent that it is impossible to say with precision where one set of problems ends and where the next set picks up. The University of East Africa started falling apart as it was being instituted, hence Southall's submission that the University was a stillborn child. Further, it is particularly important to note that from the very beginning the aim was not to establish a permanent federal University in East Africa, but to build a University that would exist for at least ten to fifteen years. However, even if East African constituencies had planned to establish a permanent University in the region such a goal would have been impossible to achieve due to the various problems faced by the University of East Africa at different stages of its life.

One of the earliest problems facing the federal University of East Africa was that it encompassed three territories. This problem first manifested itself when the heraldic device of the University was designed. The planners considered two options: (i) to use three devices showing each country supported by further motifs indicating a seat of higher learning as well as a unity of three in one; or (ii) to use a device which symbolized the University and its three colleges. In the end, "it was considered useful to extract some salient motif from the arms of each country, and the crowned crane of Uganda which appears as a supporter on the national arms, the rampant lion of Kenya which appears in the Kenya arms, and the torch of freedom from the crest of Tanganyika were employed."¹ According to C. Todd, this choice presented difficulties from the heraldic point of view since each device was elongated vertically thus making artistic distribution on a shield difficult. As the University's development process unfolded, these territorial differences

¹ C. Todd, "General Comments", 1, U. O. N. Archives, UEA University Council, PUEA/1A/8.

served as constant reminders that Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika were separate political units.

Another related problem was that there was a significantly long distance between the constituent colleges of the University as the Asquith Report had anticipated. Bernard J. James in his article 'The University of East Africa in Retrospect' writes: "While it would certainly be difficult to prove that the physics of geography was the critical overriding factor in eventual decentralization of the university, there is data from the social sciences that suggests that physical distance affects formation of social systems in a far more subtle and pervasive sense than is commonly understood."² Such problems demonstrated that establishing the federal University of East Africa was never going to be an easy task and as it turned out, sustaining the federal University after it had been established proved to be insurmountable.

The view that "the history of the development of African education is largely a history of the development of the grant-in-aid system"³ and the fact that African Universities today are in an economic crisis could easily lead to the conclusion that the main problem that led to the fall of the University of East Africa was lack of funds to sustain it. It is important therefore to begin by demonstrating that while funding later contributed to the demise of the University, its initial role was minimal; it was to be given agency, later, by other factors. The three constituent colleges benefited from the benevolence of different funding agencies and the British government before and after the establishment of the University of East Africa. Between April and June 1963, Makerere University College received \$58, 550 from the Rockefeller Foundation and

² James, "The University of East Africa in Retrospect": 3.

³ *African Education in Kenya. Report of a Committee Appointed to Inquire into the Scope, Content, and Methods of African Education, its Administration and Finance* (Nairobi: GP, 1949), 1.

\$81, 200 from the U. S. A. through the Agency for International Development (A. I. D) while Royal College, Nairobi received \$84, 240 from the Rockefeller Foundation. The University College, Dar es Salaam (in collaboration with the Tanganyika government) completed negotiations with the U. S. A. I. D. for a loan of \$800, 000 for the construction of a Library, the Refectory and other blocks. His Highness The Aga Khan donated to the College an undisclosed sum of money sufficient to build five lecture theatres and a swimming pool. This was in addition to a \$96, 000 grant from the Ford Foundation for the construction of, among other structures, a block of six flats for visiting research workers.⁴ The British Overseas Development Ministry made three grants to Royal College: (i) A grant of £5, 810 to provide for a research appointment in the Department of Law and Government for research into problems of land registration in the East African region; (ii) Assistance with research appointment in the Faculty of Veterinary Science; and (iii) Assistance with two temporary appointments in the Registrar's Department.⁵

When the University of East Africa was inaugurated, it received birthday gifts up to £93, 000. Before then, Britain had already donated £1, 000, 000 for the construction of five new buildings at the Nairobi College and £50, 000 to buy books and equipment. The American government promised laboratory equipment worth £43, 000 to University College, Nairobi. This brought the American government's aid to the College to £215, 000. The *Uganda Argus* commented soon after the University's inauguration thus: "The statesmanlike speech by Mr. Julius Nyerere showed the ideals which would inspire the

⁴ Provisional Council Minutes, 28 May 1963. Annexure V. Benefactions: April to June 1963. U. O. N. Archives, 1-2. UEA University Council, PUEA/1A/2.

⁵ UEA. University College, Nairobi. Memorandum by R. B. Eustace, Registrar (RCMemo 16/5 Doc E.). U. O. N. Archives. UEA University Council, PUEA/1A/12.

university and it was plain that financial and administrative backing to put these ideals into practice was already in place.”⁶

Funds continued to flow in after the University had been established. The *East African Standard* reported under the headline ‘£1m Gift to E. A. University’ that: “The British Government is to make £1, 050, 000 gift to the University of East Africa, the Commonwealth Relations Office in London announced yesterday.”⁷ The said gift was to consist of a contribution of £850, 000 towards the capital needs of the University and equipment and other forms of technical assistance worth about £200, 000 over the next three years. Towards the end of 1963, Standard Bank proposed to make a grant of £8, 000 to the Veterinary Faculty for the building of a large animal isolation block in the Veterinary School property. In August 1964 the Ford Foundation made a grant of £50, 000 payable in three years “to help relieve the acute shortage of suitable undergraduate teaching materials based on East African conditions, for use by students in the University of East Africa.”⁸

One year before the end of the University’s first triennium, individual Colleges received significant amounts of money from different donor agencies to enable them to perform their various functions. In 1966, *The Standard Tanzania* reported that the University College, Nairobi, had received a grant of almost £10, 000 from the Ford Foundation, New York, towards the cost of a conference on education, employment and rural development which the college was planning to hold from September 25 to October

⁶ *Uganda Argus*, 04 July 1963.

⁷ *East African Standard*, 28 October 1963.

⁸ East African Teaching Materials Fund. Memorandum for the Third Meeting of the University Social Science Research Council, 10 September 1965, by H. Brooks (Registrar). U. O. N. Archives. UEA Senate Meetings, PUEA/2B/7.

1 of that year.⁹ Towards the end of 1966, Bernard Onyango, Registrar at the University of East Africa, addressed a memorandum to the Principals of the three University Colleges, stating: “This memorandum is intended to convey to you the very good news of a grant of £25, 000 recently received from the Ford Foundation for the purpose of facilitating exchange of staff within the University.”¹⁰

Throughout its existence, the University of East Africa entered into agreements with donor agencies to ensure its financial viability. Under Project Agreement 62-1 between the University and the U. S. A. I. D., a total sum of \$102, 000 was provided for the construction of the administrative wing of the paraclinical building at the Royal College and \$98, 000 for equipment. Project Agreement BAA-1 provided a sum of \$242, 000 to finance a contract with Colorado State University. Project BAA-2 provided \$489, 115, 000 to finance the construction of the north-east wings of the paraclinical building. Project BAA-3 provided \$70, 000 for the procurement of additional specialized equipment, while Project Agreement BAA-4 provided a sum of \$95, 000 additional funding for the Colorado State University contract. There was also \$7, 300 set aside for items and equipment. Projects BAA-5 and BAA-6 as well as Project Agreement VET-7 provided a total sum of \$196, 300 to fund different projects.¹¹ The *East African Standard* reported on August 8, 1968 that the World Bank’s Headquarters in Paris indicated that the possibility of a Faculty of Agriculture at the University College, Nairobi was explored

⁹ *The Standard Tanzania*, 02 May 1966.

¹⁰ Memorandum by Bernard Onyango, UEA Registrar (Ref. No. G5/12/21), 13 October 1966, to the Principals of University Colleges Makerere and Dar es Salaam. U. O. N. Archives. UEA Senate Meetings, PUEA/2B/10.

¹¹ Project Agreement Between the Agency for International Development (AID), An Agency of the Government of the United States of America, And the University of East Africa and an Agency of the Government of Kenya (Ref. No. PA. EDUC/UNIV/NRB). K. N. A. BV/42/26.

at a meeting held in London. The discussion entailed possibilities of funding the envisioned Faculty.

Until the dissolution of the federal University, donor funds were still forthcoming. At the beginning of February 1970, I. C. M. Maxwell, Secretary of the Inter-University Council, wrote to Sir James Cook, Vice-Chancellor of the University of East Africa, with some assurances that the I. U. C. was proposing to continue its support for visits by external examiners and consultants to overseas universities in the financial year starting from April 1, 1970 to March 31, 1971, stating: “we are planning on the basis of up to 15 visits for East Africa. Some of these visits may, I understand, be required for University of East Africa Examinations in Nairobi in May/June 1970, whereas the majority may not be required until after the projected dissolution of the University of East Africa at the end of June 1970.”¹² Therefore, the demise of the federal University of East Africa cannot be attributed to lack of funds *per se*. Some of the major causal factors are explored below.

5.1 Inequality Between The Constituent Colleges

The establishment of Makerere College before the other two colleges in Kenya and Tanganyika did not augur well for the smooth development of higher education in East Africa. Inter-territorial tensions became evident soon after the publication of the De la Warr Commission Report. In 1938, the Chief Secretary of Kenya in his letter to the Acting Chief Secretary of Uganda stated that regarding the funding of Makerere by the three territories “our main difficulty is that, while the Chief Native Commissioner agrees with me that it would be very right and proper for our Local Native Councils to provide

¹² I. C. M. Maxwell to James Cook, 03 February 1970. U. O. N. Archives. UEA Senate Meetings, PUEA/2B/16.

money for the purpose suggested, it is not at all certain that they will be prepared to vote any considerable sums towards a building which they have never seen and whose nature they imperfectly understand. . . .”¹³ In 1949, Makerere became the only University College serving the whole of East Africa and was already “looking to a future University status.”¹⁴ As mentioned in Chapter 2, by 1949 the settler community in Kenya and the colonial government had already decided to establish another regional college, a decision which created inter-territorial tensions in East Africa without necessarily solving the problem of inequality. Lindsay Keir in his Report of 1954 commented on Makerere and the Royal Technical College thus:

The view might well be taken that these are two wholly independent institutions, between which no formal relationship need be created. It might be argued that each has its appropriate and separate responsibility to fulfill and ought to go its own way. . . . that association between the two colleges is not only unnecessary but also undesirable, since there is no satisfactory pattern on which association between a University College and a Technical College can be based. The inference would be that Makerere should continue to develop a widening range of university studies, meantime through its Special Relationship with London University, and in due course as the University of East Africa, while the Royal Technical College, devoted to technological studies, should aim at preparing students for the professional qualifications already mentioned.¹⁵

Keir was totally opposed to any attempt to merge what, in his view, were different and unequal institutions, one being a University College, the other being a Technical College. In his comment on Tanganyika Keir sympathized with Tanganyikan students who had to be sent to institutions in environments that were deemed to be ‘alien and distasteful’. He anticipated that the demand for the establishment of an institution of

¹³ Chief Secretary, Kenya to Acting Chief Secretary, Uganda (Ned.11/2/1/11/55), 20 September 1938. K. N. A. ED.52/4/6/1.

¹⁴ John Lonsdale, “East Africa”, in Judith M. Brown and Roger Louis (eds) *The Oxford History of the British Empire, Vol. IV, Twentieth Century* (Oxford and New York: Oxford UP, 1999), 538.

¹⁵ D. Lindsay Keir, *Chairman’s Report on a Visit to East Africa July-August 1954*, 06 September 1954, 4, par. 14.

higher education in Tanganyika would soon be inevitable. In Keir's view, Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika were separate political institutions and had to develop separately.

When the R. T. C. opened its doors to the students in 1956 it "ended Makerere's preeminence as the only institute of higher education in East Africa."¹⁶ However, the two colleges were not on a par with each other and therefore could not compete as equals in facilitating the development of higher education in the East African region. When the Second Working Party on Higher Education in East Africa presented its Report in 1958, it maintained that inequality was a serious problem in planning higher education in East Africa and expressed its frustration thus:

One of the dilemmas with which we are faced is that in comparison with Makerere – and by any other criterion – no other college in East Africa, contemplated or already in existence, could by 1966 be in a position to assume similar powers. This inequality of stature leads at first sight to the conclusion that Makerere College must either wait for a greater measure of academic autonomy longer than would otherwise be necessary, or take its place as possibly the sole college working for East African degrees at a time when other colleges in the same area are working for University of London degrees in special relationship.¹⁷

According to the Asquith plan, the University of East Africa would be made up of regional colleges based in Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika. But the question became: What was Makerere going to gain from two young and inexperienced colleges? The comment from Makerere University Council on the Report of the Second Working Party stated *inter alia* that Makerere University Council desired to emphasize that all the East African territories had a stake in whatever provision for higher Education existed, or might be brought into existence, anywhere in East Africa. It argued that the development of any College at the expense of another would be harmful to the whole pattern of higher

¹⁶ Nakanyike B. Musisi, "Uganda", in Damtew Teferra and G. Altbach (eds), *African Higher Education: An International Reference Book* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana UP, 2003), 614.

¹⁷ *Report of the Working Party on Higher Education in East Africa, July/August 1958*, par.87.

education and cautioned: "It must also be remembered that the newer Colleges will not be able for years to undertake certain work which Makerere is now able to do."¹⁸ Inferred in this statement was the view that bringing together three colleges at different stages of development would inevitably create tensions between them. What would have been acceptable to Makerere University Council and to the Uganda government would be for the two young institutions to become its constituent colleges. President Obote espoused this view in the Uganda Legislative Council on November 13, 1959 thus:

Makerere should be allowed to progress to university status and . . . London University should continue to guarantee Makerere degrees. The alternative for the Nairobi College should be either, if Makerere attains university status, Nairobi College should then be a university college of Makerere, or if Nairobi doesn't want to be a university college of Makerere, Nairobi can very well be a university college of London. But . . . to have a University of East Africa which is just an administrative body, centred as it is suggested in this report [i.e. Lockwood], in Nairobi, means that Makerere will deliberately . . . have to mark time for ten to fifteen years.¹⁹

Naturally, Kenya and, later, Tanganyika could not accept such an arrangement. They both wanted Makerere College to wait for them until they reached its level of development before merging as equals to form a federal University. Thus the envisioned relationship between three inter-territorial Colleges in Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika was "a somewhat frustrating relationship for Makerere, because it had to mark time while the two newer colleges forged ahead in Kenya and Tanganyika."²⁰

This problem of inequality frustrated the planners of the federal University and politicians like President Nyerere who perceived the envisioned University as part of

¹⁸ Makerere College, The University College of East Africa. Comments of the College Council on the *Report of the Second Working Party on Higher Education in East Africa*, U. O. N. Archives, UEA Makerere University College, 3 (iv). PUEA/12/8.

¹⁹ Cited in Southall, "The Federal University and the Politics of Federation in East Africa": 38.

²⁰ Hugh Dinwiddy and Michael Twaddle, "The Crisis at Makerere", in Holger Bernt Hansen and Michael Twaddle (eds) *Uganda Now: Between Decay and Development* (London: James Currey; Athens: Ohio UP; and Nairobi: Heinemann, 1988), 195.

regional integration. Makerere and the Uganda government rejected the recommendation made by the Nicol Report of 1962 regarding 'parity' between the East African Colleges. The main reason Uganda later acquiesced in the Plan was pressure from international donors. American foundations such as U. S. A. I. D. and the American Department of Technical Cooperation indicated that their assistance to the East African Colleges was contingent to the three East African governments accepting the University Development Plan. Thus the unity displayed to the international community at Taifa Hall was not shared by all constituencies. Southall writes: "Behind the bold face of unity put forth to the world by Chancellor Nyerere at the inauguration ceremony of the University on 28 June, 1963, there were desperate attempts to hold the University together."²¹

It is clear from the discussion thus far that the federal University of East Africa was built on a shaky foundation right from the very beginning since its would-be constituent colleges did not develop at the same pace. This problem accompanied the University throughout its developmental stages. Two areas in which the problem of inequality manifested itself were the question of the site of the federal University and the issue of the distribution of regional funds. These two areas are explored below.

The Site

The question of the site where the University of East Africa would be physically located was a very contentious issue because of the advantages that were deemed to accrue from hosting a regional institution.²² Despite conspicuous inequality between the different colleges, each one of them showed an interest in hosting the University. This

²¹ Southall, *Federalism and Higher Education in East Africa*, 67.

²² Kenya had hosted most of the regional institutions such as the East Africa High Commission and had benefited economically, forcing Uganda and Tanganyika to complain.

was not unexpected. The Asquith Report had anticipated some of the problems that were likely to emerge regarding the site, yet the Commission provided no solution to this problem but only stated:

The area must be of sufficient extent; the test is neither size nor population, but capacity to supply an adequate flow of students able to profit from higher education. In the delimitation of the area difficulties and even conflict will inevitably arise; it may for example, appear desirable, when the above-mentioned test is applied, that one university should serve two or more territories each of which on account of legitimate local patriotism or proper educational ambition would prefer to have its own university. These territories may not be satisfied unless each has its college now and presently its university; or each may be willing to see its university serving all the territories provided that the university is not located in one of the others. In either case there is a deadlock.²³

Indeed there was a deadlock when all three colleges expressed their willingness to host the federal University. However, other educational authorities from outside Uganda acknowledged that Makerere was the most suitable college to host the federal University. Mr. Mathieson, Kenya's Minister for Education, conceded as early as 1960 that the right place for the University of East Africa's home was Uganda, arguing: "Nobody with a regard to the work of Makerere can seriously challenge this claim, even if the buildings required are somewhat removed from Makerere, being sited at Entebbe."²⁴ When the Provisional Council of the University of East Africa was appointed in June 1961, it was a fore-gone conclusion that the proposed federal University would be sited in Uganda given Makerere's advanced developmental status. Deliberating on this issue was just a formality; it was a way of demonstrating to Kenya and Tanganyika that the Provisional Council was nonpartisan.

²³ *Asquith Report*, 13.

²⁴ *East African Standard*, 14 October 1960.

The decision to locate the federal University of East Africa in Uganda sustained inequality between the colleges and sustained inter-territorial tensions. The University of East Africa was a regional institution but the staff at the Central Office in Uganda was predominantly Ugandan and did not reflect the regional character of the University. This unequal distribution of administrative and support staff continued until the dissolution of the University. In December 1969, for example, out of a total of 27 staff members at the University's Central Office, Uganda boasted of 17 employees – leaving only 10 to be shared by Kenya, Tanganyika and Britain. Kenya had 3 employees (2 drivers and a clerk) while Tanzania had 2 (1 Planning Officer and 1 Assistant Registrar). British citizens filled the remaining 5 positions. The benefits that were deemed to accrue from hosting a federal University created jealousy between the colleges and planted another seed that contributed to the eventual collapse of the University.

This brief discussion shows that the question of inequality between the East African colleges determined where the federal University of East Africa would be sited. Although the three territories eventually agreed that Uganda should host the University, there was already a degree of uneasiness about Uganda's dominance in the development of higher education in the region. This became a bad omen for the future of the federal University. Another area in which the problem of inequality manifested itself so vividly and created more inter-territorial tensions was with regard to the distribution of funds.

The Distribution of Funds

The problem of the distribution of regional funds between the three colleges was an inevitable corollary of their inequality. Given its advanced stage of development,

Makerere University College already had more buildings and other teaching and learning facilities than its two counterparts in Kenya and Tanganyika. Further, in its history of existence the College had been able to build an endowment fund and continued to secure funds from different donor agencies and from the inter-territorial governments. The other two sister colleges, more especially the University College, Dar es Salaam, still needed more buildings as well as teaching and research facilities than did Makerere. The Nicol Report had recommended that large sums of money from Makerere should be diverted mainly to Dar es Salaam, the least developed of the three colleges, but also to the Royal Technical College in Nairobi. Makerere University College could not hide its resentment against such a recommendation. These forced transfers of funds aimed at bridging the gap between different colleges planted another seed that would later sustain inter-territorial tensions. A letter written by Frazer Murray from Dar es Salaam to Donald MacGillivray, Chairman of the Provisional Council of the University of East Africa, demonstrates that inequality and funding were closely related factors. Murray in his letter confided:

. . . . I feel I should convey to you my disappointment, and indeed my dismay, over the Mitchell Hall episode. I believe that a grave error in University planning has occurred, the effect of which will be greatly to prolong, if not perpetuate, the imbalance between the colleges. This was consciously and deliberately done after the urgency of the need to bring the colleges to a state of approximate parity had been recognized and affirmed by those responsible.

The particular recommendation of the recent Needs and Priorities Committee that work on Mitchell Hall [at Makerere] should be suspended was a last minute attempt to correct a situation which we have strived fruitlessly to remedy for almost eighteen months. A comprehensive case for the re-allocation of the C. D. & W. capital was first put to the Executive of the University as long ago as 29th August, 1961. . . .

. . . . Had I been able to attend this meeting I would have confined myself to a statement in the above terms to expressing my regret that the University should have acted in such a way that it was the smallest college and the poorest country which bore the sacrifice. This letter, which of course represents only my own personal views, is intended to be a

substitute for that statement, and I should be glad if it could be read and recorded in the proceedings of the forthcoming meeting.²⁵

The tone of this letter shows that its author had been seriously disturbed by the way discussions had proceeded between the spokespersons of the University College, Dar es Salaam and the Provisional Council of the University of East Africa regarding the issue of funding the regional colleges. Although Murray stated in his letter that he was expressing his personal views, other authorities in Tanganyika shared his concerns. A statement written on behalf of the Tanganyika Government by El Haj A. S. Fundikira, Tanganyika's Minister of Justice, stated: "The Tanganyika Government greatly regrets that at a time of serious capital shortage and after the decision had been endorsed that there should be rapid development of the University College, Dar-es-Salaam, that another college should proceed to build a Hall of Residence which in East African terms was a project of very low priority. . . ."²⁶ Fundikira in his statement mentioned that the Tanganyika Government had no plan to obstruct the construction of Mitchell Hall. However, he proposed that instead of the University College, Dar es Salaam sharing the £85, 000 held in suspense for the extension of Northcote Hall the whole amount should be diverted to Dar es Salaam. Moreover, Fundikira proposed that the £50, 000 share promised to the University College, Dar es Salaam should be increased, although he did not specify by how much. He summed up the views of the Tanganyika Government on the question of funding thus: a) We are very grateful for the thought and care with which the Needs and Priorities Report has been prepared; b) We hope the Council will accept the recommendation of the Needs and Priorities Committee that first priority be given to

²⁵ Frazer Murray to Donald MacGillivray, Provisional Council Minutes for 12 February 1963, Annexure B., U. O. N. Archives, UEA. Minutes of the Provisional Council. PUEA/1A/58 Vol. 3.

²⁶ Statement by El Haj A. S. Fundikira, Provisional Council Minutes of 12 February 1963, Annexure C. U. O. N. Archives. UEA. Minutes of the Provisional Council, PUEA/1A/58 Vol. 3.

bring U. D. C. to a position of parity with other colleges; c) We are greatly disappointed we have not been able to benefit from the specific recommendation to reallocate funds from Mitchell Hall; d) We hope it will be possible to recommend the reallocation of the full amount held in suspense for Northcote Hall (£85, 000); and e) We hope it will be possible to increase the share of the University College in any reallocation of the current revenue due to Makerere and consider any allocation to the Veterinary Faculty is ruled out by the previous decision of this Council.

As far as Makerere was concerned the Tanganyika government was asking for too much. However, the latter felt that its request was legitimate and justifiable given the amount of work that still had to be done to bring the University College in Dar es Salaam at the same level of development as Makerere University College.

Politicians and scholars voiced their opinions at different moments during the debates regarding the distribution of regional funds. Hyslop wrote to L. M. Young, Registrar at the University of East Africa, complaining that the University College, Dar es Salaam was receiving more attention than the other two colleges. Hyslop confided:

I have noted the letter addressed to you from the Secretary General of the East African Common Services Organisation, and I am somewhat perturbed to see that the college at Dar-es-Salaam is singled out for special mention. Clearly the University has in mind the development of each of its constituent colleges, and I should be sorry to see, for example, the Royal College given cursory treatment because of the Governmental emphasis on Dar-es-Salaam. In principle it is desirable for higher education to be controlled by some central organization, but the University would need to satisfy itself that the Common Services Organisation was in possession of sufficient funds to meet our needs.²⁷

The discussion thus far demonstrates that none of the three colleges was satisfied with the developments regarding the distribution of funds. The University College, Dar es Salaam felt that as the least developed college it deserved to be the beneficiary of the new

²⁷ J. M. Hyslop to L. M. Young (U. I) 15 January 1963. U. O. N. Archives, Daily Letter Files, 1963.

dispensation. Makerere University College on the other hand steadfastly believed that as the most advanced college in the region it was its prerogative to play a leading role in the development of higher education in East Africa. The Royal College, somewhat in the middle, felt that it did not receive due attention from the University's Central Office. Meanwhile, the gulf between the three colleges widened.

Both the East African and the British constituencies were acutely aware that inequality was a reality in East Africa. Officials were mindful of this fact when executing their duties. As mentioned earlier, the British government made a grant of £50, 000 to the constituent colleges of the federal University of East Africa to mark its inauguration. The British government gave directions that the money should be used to buy library books and scientific equipment; it further stated that special consideration should be given to the needs of the newest of the three East African colleges. Subsequently, the University Council agreed to recommend that the said figure should be divided between the three Colleges as follows: (i) The University College, Dar es Salaam: £36, 000; (ii) The Royal College, Nairobi: £7, 000; and (iii) Makerere University College: £7, 000.²⁸

The discussion above has demonstrated that the distribution of funds between the three colleges at different stages of development caused serious inter-territorial tensions in East Africa and widened the cracks that had already developed between the colleges. It is clear from the discussion thus far that inequality among the three East African colleges was one of the bad omens that predetermined the fate of the federal University of East Africa right from the outset. The ramifications of this problem and subsequent tensions

²⁸ UEA. University Council. Minutes of the Second Meeting held at the Royal Technical College, Nairobi, 30 July 1963, 11. U. O. N. Archives. UEA University Council, PUEA/1A/4.

are demonstrated by the discussion on the question of the site and the issue of the distribution of regional funds.

Another factor that aggravated inter-territorial tensions in many ways and put the life of the federal University in danger was the question of the University calendar. It is to this factor that we now turn.

5.2 The University Calendar

The question of the University Calendar was one of the vexing problems faced by the planners of the University of East Africa from the beginning and it remained unresolved until the collapse of the federal University in 1970. This problem had more to do with the differences that existed between the three regional colleges and thus served as a constant reminder to the East African constituencies that Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika were separate political institutions that could not be easily lumped together. Paragraph 99 of the Report of the Second Working Party on Higher Education in East Africa noted that the academic years of Makerere College and the Royal Technical College did not coincide. At that time Makerere's academic year ran from July to April while that of the R. T. C. ran from October to June. The Working Party then proposed that this lack of coincidence should be removed because it made planning for the University more difficult. The key question was which college would be prepared to compromise. The calendar question was caused by both human and natural factors.

The first meeting of the regional Joint Government/University Committee was held at the Royal College, Nairobi on December 30, 1963 under the Chairmanship of the University's Vice-Chancellor, de Bunsen. The meeting realized that chances of the three

Colleges agreeing on a University academic year beginning in July were very slim. The Royal College found it hard to agree to a long vacation from April to June on the grounds that the incidence of the long rains in Kenya during that period made it a wholly impracticable time for the fieldwork in anthropology, sociology, biology, physics, etc., “for which it was essential to make provision during the University Long Vacation. The period was for the same reason unsuitable for family holidays and travel, and there were therefore strong arguments against it as a period covering the long school holiday.”²⁹

The Uganda government in its comments addressed the calendar question in its broader regional context. Mr. T. W. Gee, Permanent Secretary in the Uganda Ministry of Education, stated in his letter to the Registrar of the University of East Africa that proposals to change the academic calendar of the University to start in March were rejected for three reasons: (i) The proposals conflicted with the whole of government machinery because the school year was geared to the local government financial year in each country; (ii) The proposals would create chaos in the school system, upsetting children at different levels (top primary, bottom secondary and top secondary, that is, Higher School Certificate [H. S. C.] level). If the proposed change was effected, pupils not in school would have to wait for the whole year before they were admitted and this would create an unmanageable backlog of pupils at secondary entrance level and at University entrance level; and (iii) The proposed calendar would create a two-term gap in schooling between the end of the H. S. C. course and the beginning of the University course. Consequently, pupils would lose the necessary habit of study and many would be lost to the University – some would take up employment rather than just wait at home;

²⁹ Memorandum on Proposals by the Joint/Government Committee for the Introduction of New School and University Year in East Africa. U. O. N. Archives, UEA Academic Board. PUEA/3/10 (i), 1.

others would secure bursaries and further their education abroad.³⁰ The proposed calendar for the federal University of East Africa to which the Uganda Education Ministry was reacting was as follows:

Table 4: Proposed Calendar for the University of East Africa

<i>Term</i>	<i>No. of Weeks</i>	<i>Vacation</i>
1 st : Mid-March to about end of May	11	3 Weeks
2 nd : Late-June to Mid-September	11	3-4 Weeks
3 rd : Early October to 3 rd week of December	11	Dec. to Mid-March

Source: UEA. Senate Meeting, 7 January 1964. U.O.N. Archives, PUEA/2B/5.

The fact that the University College in Dar es Salaam was established when the problem of the calendar had already emerged further exacerbated the problem. The University College, Dar es Salaam, like Makerere University College in Uganda and University College, Nairobi in Kenya, was linked to the financial year of the Tanganyika government and therefore could not fit its calendar to that of her sister colleges. Meanwhile the differences that existed between the three East African colleges became more evident.

The problem of the University calendar was further compounded by the fact that secondary school examinations in East Africa were controlled by Britain, not by East African governments. For example, the Secondary School academic year in East Africa did not fit in with either the University's academic year or the governments' financial

³⁰ T. W. Gee to the Registrar of the University of East Africa, 30 November 1964. U. O. N. Archives. UEA. PUEA/2B/5.

year. The Uganda government was not happy with both the Cambridge School Certificate and the Higher School Certificate Examination papers being marked outside East Africa, arguing that this caused unnecessary delays and contributed significantly to the calendar problems, a view that was shared by the Tanganyika government. D. S. O'Callaghan, Tanganyika's Permanent Secretary in the Education Ministry reasoned:

...there is on the one hand a frustrating hiatus between the time when pupils obtain their examination results and when they take up their places at University, and on the other, great difficulty in recruiting teaching staff especially from overseas at the most suitable time.

The present school academic year is bound to the calendar year in accordance with the requirements imposed by the examination system of the University of Cambridge Local Examination Syndicate which has maintained for many years, in spite of periodic protests by the Ministries concerned, that its services in East Africa, which include the setting and distribution of question papers and the collection and marking of written scripts, cannot be made available unless the examinations themselves are held in late November and early December.³¹

Syndicate representatives, when asked to change the examination dates at a meeting held in Dar es Salaam in June 1963, argued that for this suggestion to be entertained East African Ministries of Education had to first rationalize the dates of the Secondary School academic year, which at the time varied from country to country and in some instances within the same country. O'Callaghan suggested that the school academic year and the academic year of the University's constituent colleges should begin in July and end in April or May of the following year. Mr. P. Vowles responded on behalf of Makerere College, suggesting that the University should give some careful thought to the administrative implications of O'Callaghan's proposal. Vowles expatiated on his view by reminding his counterpart that: "Until 1954 we had a similar situation, and one of the

³¹ D. S. O'Callaghan, Permanent Secretary, Dar es Salaam (Ref. No. EDG/22/26/5) 09 October 1963, to the Permanent Secretaries of Kenya and Uganda. U. O. N. Archives. UEA Executive Senate Committee, PUEA/2A/1.

reasons for changing our academic year was to allow time to inform the students, arrange bursaries, etc. Now that there are three Colleges, and not one only involved, the comprehension of the gap to the extent proposed in this letter [O'Callaghan's] would lead to chaos."³² Chagula, responding on behalf of Dar es Salaam, had no problem with the three-month gap between the end of the School Year and the beginning of the University Academic Year. He argued that this would give education authorities ample time to plan for the new academic year. These adversarial positions confirmed the existing inter-territorial tensions and demonstrated that sustaining the University of East Africa was never going to be an easy task.

As early as 1962, territorial and inter-territorial Academic Boards in East Africa were debating the calendar question without finding any lasting solution to it. By 1966 the debate over the federal University calendar was still not over yet. On April 20, 1966 representatives from the Head Office of the federal University of East Africa met with the Tanzania government in an effort to find a lasting solution to the calendar problem. The Tanzania government stated that it was prepared to co-operate with the University in solving this problem but wanted to know Nairobi's response to the proposal made by the University Administration that Kenyan authorities should bring their academic year in step with Makerere University College and the University College in Dar es Salaam. Despite all attempts to resolve the calendar question, a confluence of factors made it impossible to reach an agreement. Meanwhile the calendar problem lingered on.

The reason why the calendar problem was so difficult to resolve is because it was multifaceted. Firstly, for the idea of a uniform calendar to work some students in one or

³² P. Vowles to the Registrar, UEA, 22 October 1963. U. O. N. Archives. UEA Executive Senate Committee, PUEA/2A/1.

two of the three East Africa territories would have to make a sacrifice by waiting at home after finishing high school until those from the sister-country (-ies) finished their final examinations so as to join the University of East Africa together. Secondly, the regional colleges would have to agree that they would be without first year students for about a semester or two, during the waiting period. Alternatively, one or two of the regional governments would have to agree to change their financial year so that it corresponded with the proposed calendar of the federal University. As discussions proceeded, it turned out that none of these options was easy. Consequently the question of the University calendar remained unresolved until the dissolution of the federal University. During the last session of the University of East Africa, the different academic calendar followed by the three constituent colleges was as follows:

Table 5: Calendar for the Last Session of the University of East Africa, 1969/70

<u>College</u>	<u>1st Term</u>	<u>2nd Term</u>	<u>3rd Term</u>
Makerere	30 June-6 Sept. 1969	29 Sept-06 Dec. 1969	05 Jan-21 March 1970
Nairobi	22 Sept-5 Dec. 1969	05 Jan-20 March 1970	06 April-3 July 1970
Da-es Salaam	07 July-13 Sept 1969	04 Oct-06 Dec. 1969	03 Jan-28 March 1970

Source: UEA Calendar, 1969/70 Session, 6.

This section has demonstrated that the calendar question revealed the differences that existed between the three constituent colleges of the University of East Africa. The issue of the calendar served as a constant reminder that Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania were different political institutions and that the inter-territorial colleges located in each

territory could not be easily lumped together. The fact that each college was linked to a government that had a different financial year and, therefore, followed an academic calendar different from that of the other two colleges, put into question the notion of a regional University. This meant that neither coercion nor persuasion could solve the calendar problem, hence its persistence throughout the life-span of the University. In the meantime inter-territorial tensions manifested themselves over other issues.

5.3 The Student Population

The number of students available in East Africa caused two sets of problems. First, when the University started there were very few students, not enough to fill the three regional colleges. Second, as the student numbers increased, the colleges could not absorb all of them. The first problem caused tensions within each territory and between the three territories, some individual politicians and scholars arguing that conventional admission policies should be modified to suit the reality in East Africa; others steadfastly arguing that the idea of East African exceptionalism would culminate into the decline of academic standards and thus espousing the view that the University of East Africa should adhere to universal admission policies. These tensions created inter-territorial divisions and widened the cracks within the University. The second problem was more instrumental in the eventual collapse of the University. As students tried in vain to secure places of study at the inter-territorial colleges, some national governments became impatient and resolved to establish national universities that would respond to the increased local demand for higher education and the increasing and varied national needs. Each of the two phases is discussed separately below.

5.3.1 Small Student Population

It was anticipated that the initial small student population cohort would be one of the vexing problems of the envisioned federal University of East Africa during its early years. Lindsay Keir in his 1954 Report anticipated this problem. His comment on the Royal Technical College was that the target of a total enrolment of 1, 500 would take a number of years to reach due to lack of students. A few years later, Hyslop identified one of the features of the existing and the future situation in East Africa as being “the likelihood of unfilled places for the next few years in Makerere College and in the Royal College, Nairobi.”³³ About two months before the University was inaugurated, the Provisional Council of the University of East Africa announced that there would be places for over 250 students at the University’s constituent colleges. Hillary Ng’weno, editor of *The Nation* newspaper in Kenya, commented: “These places are expected to remain unfilled for at least two years due to lack of properly qualified students.”³⁴ Ng’weno went on to cite President Obote who maintained that Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika urgently needed all the able people they could get in order to fill the colleges. The University of East Africa began its operation with this problem of low student population still unresolved. Hyslop conceded in his letter to the Prime Minister of Kenya (Jomo Kenyatta before he became President) soon after the inauguration of the University of East Africa thus:

At first sight it may appear that in the Plan the staff/student ratio in the Royal College is unduly high but it is inevitable that a ratio such as 1:15 cannot be achieved until the student population has reached an adequate size. Thus, in some universities members of staff are appointed before any

³³ Memorandum by J. M. Hyslop, “University Education in East Africa”, 13 February 1962. Annexure H. Academic Committee Minutes, 06 March 1962. U. O. N. Archives. UEA University Council, PUEA/1A/53.

³⁴ *Daily Nation* (Kenya), 20 April 1963.

students are admitted in order to make adequate preparations for their arrival, and the ratio of staff to students to begin with is therefore abnormally high.³⁵

The small student population in East Africa derived from more than one source. First was the shortage of Secondary School teachers. This meant that only few Secondary Schools could be built in the region. The corollary of having few teachers and few Secondary Schools was that there would be few students with Higher School Certificate, which was the requirement to enter any of the three regional colleges. It was in part for these reasons that national governments could not fill most of the spaces reserved for them by the colleges. W. Senteza Kajubi in his chapter on 'Priorities in Education' argued that the crucial obstacle to the expansion of education in East Africa was the critical shortage of secondary school teachers. Kajubi argued that two priorities – the expansion of high-school enrollments, and the expansion and improvement of facilities for the education and training of teachers – “stand out as the most pressing needs.”³⁶

East African politicians felt that prompt action was necessary to address this situation. The East African Common Services Organization was particularly concerned about the region's slow progress in offering Secondary Education and subsequently made three recommendations: (i) That the East African Common Services Authority should use its offices to impress on the Territorial Governments the basic importance of Secondary Education in the Africanization program; (ii) That in view of the empty places both at Makerere and at the Royal College, and in view of the pressing needs for high-level manpower in East Africa, the authorities concerned should be asked to review the existing requirement of a Higher School Certificate as a qualification of entry into the

³⁵ J. M. Hyslop to the Prime Minister of Kenya, 1 August 1963. K. N. A. KA/2/17.

³⁶ W. Senteza Kajubi, “Priorities in Investment in Education”, in John Karefa-Smart (ed) *Progress Through Cooperation* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1966), 174-175.

University of East Africa as well as the time it took to produce a graduate; and (iii) That in order to achieve the best results with available finance and manpower the organization should adopt the Wartime-Training-Within-Industry method in all its training programmes.³⁷

Each of these recommendations was deemed important in its own right. The first proposal was premised on the understanding that for Africanization to become a reality, more African students had to be trained. The third recommendation is self-explanatory. The most crucial recommendation was the second one because it hit at the core of the conundrum faced by the University during its infant stages and highlighted the tensions between different positions. The University tried to pursue two diametrically opposed points of view. On the one hand was the view that the University should attract more students to fill its colleges. On the other hand was the view that the University should strive for the maintenance of high academic standards. The latter view entailed raising entrance requirements. For the former view to be implemented, the University had to reduce its entrance requirements to a minimum level. These positions were antithetical to each other. The University chose to subscribe to the notion that careful screening of students is indispensable to maintaining high standards³⁸ and therefore insisted on setting high entrance requirements.

Were the entrance requirements at the East African University Colleges exceedingly high or was it just a perception? In setting those requirements, did the University consider the local situation? These questions are addressed below.

³⁷ *Report of the Africanisation of the Public Services of the East African Common Services Organization*, March 1963, 55. p.147.

³⁸ See: D. Kallen, "Access to Higher Learning", in Clark and Neave (eds) *The Encyclopedia of Higher Education, Volume 3 Analytical Perspectives* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1992), 1551.

Entrance Requirements at the University of East Africa

The University of East Africa over-stretched itself in an effort to maintain the revered high international academic standards. Pratt was concerned about this mode of operation and suggested in his confidential Memorandum that there was a need for special entry to the University in response to the reality in East Africa. Pratt summarized his argument thus: (i) if the development of Higher School Certificate classes keeps pace with the output of qualified school leaving graduates, then there is little need for special entrance examination. However, if Higher School Certificate places are not sufficient in number then Colleges are likely to be under strong and legitimate pressure to relax their entrance requirements. The alternative may well be an uncontrolled relaxation initiated from outside; (ii) University Colleges ought not to appear unresponsive to the pressing needs of the country. At a time when more senior Universities in the rest of the English-speaking world are accepting East African students with School leaving certificate, it is likely to appear incongruous if we refuse to admit that any Cambridge School Certificate student can appropriately be taught at our Colleges.³⁹

Pratt was not alone in agitating for the revision of the entrance requirements in the colleges. Hyslop wrote his own Memorandum in 1962 in which he conceded that the insistence on the Higher School Certificate as a requirement to enter the University made East Africa extremely vulnerable to overseas competition. Hyslop highlighted four advantages of admitting students at a lower level: (i) There would be no risk of having unfilled places in the University Colleges; (ii) The tendency towards congestion in Makerere University College and the Royal College, Nairobi would provide a real

³⁹ Confidential Memorandum by R. C. Pratt, 'Admission Standards and Forms of Entry,' 5 December 1961. U. O. N. Archives. UEA University Council, PUEA/1A/53.

educational incentive to the College in Tanganyika to admit Arts and Science Students as early as possible; (iii) The University of East Africa would be able to compete on equal terms with scholarship awarding institutions overseas; and (iv) East African Governments would be able to channel their resources on the expansion of School Certificate instead of investing too much on H. S. C.⁴⁰ Pratt and Hyslop's views did not go unchallenged. J. E. Goldthorpe in his letter published in 1965 argued: "about entry standards, I cannot imagine why anyone should regard it as a service to a developing country to lower the standard of attainment required to enter the university."⁴¹

The view that University entrance requirements in East Africa were excessively high was not without substance. In 1955, some authors argued that Makerere's entry standards "are somewhat lower than those in the United Kingdom."⁴² However, evidence shows that Makerere University College and University College, Nairobi adopted entrance requirements of the University of London⁴³ and kept raising the bar. Makerere University College increased its entrance requirements from 3 to 5 credits in 1958. From 1961 a pass at Higher School Certificate was a prerequisite for admission. It soon became clear that few students met these requirements but Makerere University College could not lower them simply because the students felt they were inaccessible. Instead, the University College responded by offering one-year remedial or pre-entry courses, a pass in which

⁴⁰ Memorandum by J. M. Hyslop, "University Education in East Africa", 13 February 1962. Annexure H. Academic Committee Minutes, 06.03.62. U. O. N. Archives. UEA University Council, PUEA/1A/53.

⁴¹ J. E. Goldthorpe, Letter, *Transition* [Letters], Vol. 5 (vi), No. 21 (April, 1965): 6.

⁴² C. Ehrlich, G. F. Engholm, J. E. Goldthorpe, and P. G. Powesland, "Social Studies at an African University College", *Universities Quarterly*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (1955): 56.

⁴³ According to the Notes on Makerere College, 1938 (Ref. No. M. C. 32/IX) K. N. A. DC/KMG/2/8/60, the following examinations were accepted for entrance to the college in 1939: (a) The Cambridge University School Certificate; (b) The Makerere College Entrance Examination; (c) The Kenya Junior Secondary Leaving Certificate and (d) Certain other Approved Public Examinations. See also, a comment by Hilary Ng'weno, *Daily Nation* (Kenya), 23 April 1963.

was considered equivalent to a Higher School Certificate.⁴⁴ This issue of entrance requirements caused tensions between different constituencies in all three East African territories once the University came into being. Mr. Ronald Ngala, Member of the Kenya Legislature gave notice of a motion thus:

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to give notice of the following motion:

THAT this House urges the Kenya Government to negotiate with the East Africa University Authority with a view to obtaining permission for students to join the University Colleges immediately after completing school certificate courses instead of first having to complete higher school certificate classes which are very few among the Kenya secondary schools.⁴⁵

Implicit in this citation was that Kenya faced a situation different from that obtaining in the sister territories. Therefore Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika could not apply the same criteria when addressing the question of entrance requirements.

From time to time different constituencies, including officials from the University's Central Office, made special requests on realizing that the University's entrance requirements excluded even students who were deemed to be University material but could not meet the entrance requirements due to a variety of reasons. The following letter by Onyango, Registrar at the University of East Africa, epitomizes such cases:

A small number of applicants for entry into the University do not fulfill the minimum Entry Requirements with regard to their offerings at 'O' level while having performed quite adequately at H. S. C. level and even at 'O' level. In most cases they are short of only one subject of the approved five.

This inadequacy often arises because the schools and the candidates do not always scrutinize the University entry requirements in time to rectify the technical omission. In some cases the schools are new and are in the understandable hurry to establish Sixth Forms. In some cases the schools are not competently equipped and staffed and this leads the pupils to the soft options e.g. Health Science which is not an approved subject. In some instances the students are quite good as evidenced by the C. S. C. and H. S. C. results and the University might consider it unnecessary in their case to be too legalistic on technicalities.

⁴⁴ Southall, *Federalism and Higher Education in East Africa*, 29.

⁴⁵ Government of Kenya. The National Assembly House of Representatives, First Session, 25 June 1963. Official Report (Nairobi: GP, 1963). Col.270.

In order to avoid possible injustice to the students concerned, it is recommended for the consideration of the Board that the candidates whose details are attached as an appendix be considered notwithstanding the inadequacy at 'O' level.⁴⁶

In 1963, one Report argued that the standard required for East African University Colleges "is higher than that demanded in many parts of the English-speaking world, and suggests that the University Colleges are more concerned to educate an elite than to produce a large number of graduates and diplomats suitably trained for East Africa's present needs."⁴⁷ Increased pressure from different constituencies necessitated the review of the entrance requirements of the University "to relate them to the East African environment"⁴⁸ and the following entrance requirements were agreed upon:

- A) A School Certificate or General Certificate of Education with passes in FIVE approved subjects, obtained prior to the sitting of the Higher School Certificate OR Advanced level of the General Certificate of Education;
- B) One of the following combinations of passes in the Higher School Certificate OR Advanced level of General Certificate of Education:
 - (i) Two Principal level passes at the same sitting;
 - (ii) ONE Principal level pass plus three subsidiary passes at the same sitting;
 - (iii) ONE Principal level pass at Grade 'D' or higher plus two subsidiary passes at the same sitting; and

⁴⁶ Bernard Onyango to Chairman and Members of the Joint Admissions Board, U. O. N. Archives. Annexure D. Executive Senate Committee, PUEA/2A/16.

⁴⁷ Extracts from: Education in Uganda (The Castle Report), 1963, 1, par.85. U. O. N. Archives. UEA Executive Senate Committee, PUEA/2A/1.

⁴⁸ UEA. A Memorandum on Possible Review of Entrance Levels to the University, 1968. U. O. N. Archives. UEA Senate Meetings, PUEA/2B/14.

- (iv) TWO Principal level passes not at the same sitting provided they are of grade 'C' or higher.

Professional faculties could still expect their students to satisfy additional requirements to cater for their special needs. In the end, entrance levels in East Africa did not only resemble those in British universities but, in fact, exceeded them. This situation did not augur well for the future of the University because politicians and scholars from different territories time and again questioned this practice, arguing that it kept East Africa perpetually under British domination. These embedded tensions exploded after independence (see Chapter 6).

The planners of higher education in East Africa had to contend with the reality that there were old prospective students who could not meet the set requirements but were deemed fit to join the University on the basis of their work experience. The planners agreed that students from 25 years or older could be admitted to the University but that "entry requirements must be as rigorous as possible."⁴⁹ It was argued that these students would have to be recommended by their tutors, sit for two examination papers and then be interviewed at length before being admitted. On May 25, 1963, Lindsay Young, Registrar-Designate of the University, announced that 24 students had been admitted to the University Colleges for the 1963-64 academic year. These students were selected from 97 who took the entrance examination, 43 of whom were called for an intensive interview. A Press and Radio release described 24 as "a number which considerably

⁴⁹ Admission of Mature Students to Degree Courses in the University of East Africa. Memorandum by Mr. H. C. Wiltshire, 30 October 1961, to be Tabled at the Third Meeting of the Academic Committee on 15 December 1961. U. O. N. Archives. UEA University Council, PUEA/1A/63.

exceeds the original expectation of the organizers of the scheme”⁵⁰ thus indicating the level of determination by education authorities to retain high academic standards in the region.

This level of strictness could not be sustained in its pure form; consequently the planners found themselves dealing with ‘special’ cases. Makerere’s Deputy Principal, J. P. Andrews in his letter to the Registrar of the University asked the Senate to consider the case of Mature Students of between 40 and 50 years who would be unsuitable for entry to an undergraduate course on account of age and experience. He wrote: “It is suggested that consideration might be given to the possibility of allowing selected persons of mature age and adequate background to register for the degree of (say) M. A. by Thesis, without first securing a Bachelor’s degree – or in short, to consider exemption from the First Degree requirements in the special case of such mature persons.”⁵¹ Some scholars argued: “to wait for the output of secondary schools as yet unbuilt is not by itself enough. We need to discover and train the latent talent which already exists in the adult population.”⁵² Russel Parkes in his article entitled ‘No Ivory Towers’ summarized the rationale behind the recognition of Mature Age Entry Scheme at the University of East Africa thus:

The Mature Age Entry Scheme is based on the belief that in any society there is a fund of university-quality people who for one reason or another, usually not of their own making, fail to go through all the stages of education up to the university entrance level. No society, least of all those in East Africa, can afford to lose the university talents it may possess, as it may in spite of the most enlightened systems of early selection. This

⁵⁰ Provisional Council of the University of East Africa. Press and Radio Release (Ref. No. U/56/1), 25 May 1963. U. O. N. Archives. UEA University Council, PUEA/1A/69.

⁵¹ J. P. Andrews, Deputy Principal, Makerere University College, to Dr. L. M. Young, Registrar, UEA, 02 November 1963. U. O. N. Archives. UEA Executive Senate Committee. PUEA/2A/1.

⁵² UEA. The Royal College, Nairobi. A Certificate of Adult Studies (or Liberal Studies). A Revised Memorandum. U. O. N. Archives. UEA Executive Senate Committee, PUEA/2A/1.

scheme is designed to benefit not only the individuals who may enter university by it, but also to give our societies the use of their fully trained talents.⁵³

High entrance requirements caused inter-territorial tensions. For example, the Ministry of Education in Uganda experienced a serious manpower shortage in the supply of scientists and subsequently notified other East African Colleges and governments that the Uganda government thought it would be justified in asking the University to make emergency arrangements similar to those adopted by British Universities after the Second World War. The Uganda Education Ministry in its letter considered both short-term and long-term solutions and stated: "Government considers however that this may be too drastic a step at the present time and suggests instead that Higher School Certificate candidates with one Principal pass and two subsidiaries, should be considered for admission to the first year of graduate courses in 1963 and 1964 appropriate to their principal pass; the position to be reviewed thereafter in the light of the prevailing situation."⁵⁴ Kenya and Tanganyika vehemently challenged this view, fearing that "if inadequately qualified students are admitted there will be a strong temptation to adjust the level of the degree examination to maintain a normal percentage of passes."⁵⁵ The Provisional Council in its meeting of May 27, 1963 noted the exceptional circumstances in which some candidates with only one Principal pass had been admitted for the 1963-64 academic year direct to the four-year degree course in the Faculty of Veterinary Science. But the Academic Committee of the Provisional Council was opposed to the one

⁵³ Russell Parkes, "No Ivory Towers", *Transition*, Vol. 3, No. 11 (November, 1963): 46.

⁵⁴ T. W. Gee, Ministry of Education, Kampala (Ref. No. CB 710/12) 05 April 1963, Annexure M. Provisional Council Minutes, 28 May 1963, to the Principal Secretaries and Principals of the Colleges. U. O. N. Archives. UEA University Council, PUEA/1A/2.

⁵⁵ J. M. Normand – for Permanent Secretary, Education Ministry, Kenya (Ref. No. H (P) 6/9) 06 May 1963, to The Secretary to the Provisional Council, UEA. U. O. N. Archives. UEA University Council, PUEA/1A/69.

Principal Level entrance standard suggested by the Uganda government. These tensions inspired Uganda to agitate for the establishment of national universities as soon as possible.

There were many other factors that compounded the problem of having a small student population at the East African colleges. One such factor was that some of the students who met the University's entrance requirements managed to secure overseas scholarships and subsequently left East Africa to pursue their tertiary education abroad. There were intermittent tensions between different constituencies on whether or not such travels should be encouraged. These tensions threatened the life of the federal University.

Overseas Education

Overseas education played its part in keeping the student population low in the East African colleges. Views on whether to promote or discourage overseas education caused inter-territorial tensions and thus put one more nail on the coffin of the federal University of East Africa. There were a variety of reasons that inspired East African students to pursue their higher education abroad. When the First Working Party began its investigation in 1955 it discovered that a large number of students from East Africa were seeking higher education overseas and it reported that the total number of East Africans pursuing education abroad at that time, especially in the United Kingdom or in the Irish Republic was 1, 600. According to the Working Party, the reason why East African students traveled abroad was the following:

A special reason for going abroad is lack of facilities in East Africa for gaining professional qualifications in law, engineering or accountancy, and a registrable qualification in medicine. This appears to be the reason why many, Asians in particular, go overseas, and we are told that many

Asians would accept local training if it were to be had, and that they would enter the medical school at Makerere College if the diploma were fully registrable.⁵⁶

Initially, lack of educational facilities in East Africa was a reality. But even when these educational facilities became available in the 1950s and the early 1960s, a significant number of East African students still aspired to travel abroad. The table below shows that there was a significant number of East African students studying in Britain and in America in 1961 when East Africa already had more than one University College.

Table 6: Number of East African Students in British and US Universities in 1961.

<i>Country of Origin</i>	<i>Country of Study</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of Students</i>	<i>Total</i>
Kenya	UK	1961	400	
	US	1961	543	943
Tanganyika	UK	1961	150	
	US	1961	149	299
Uganda*	UK	1961	—	
	US	1961	—	—
TOTAL			1242	1242

*It is not clear whether Uganda had no students studying abroad during this year or if the figures were not recorded.

Source: UNESCO, Statistical Yearbook, 1963.

⁵⁶ *Report of the Working Party on Higher Education in East Africa*, July-August, 1955, 38.

When the University of East Africa was established in 1963, two divergent views were espoused by different constituencies within each territory and between the different territories. First was the view that the students should be discouraged from leaving the region so that they could join one of the three constituent colleges of the University. The second view was that more East Africans should be encouraged to travel abroad to further their education so that they could return and replace expatriate staff at the East African Common Services Organization offices and at the federal University. These views were irreconcilable. The first view was prompted mainly by three reasons: (i) Many of these students were bright and, therefore, desperately needed in the East African colleges to keep the academic standards high; (ii) Training these students locally would accelerate the Africanization process; and (iii) The East African colleges had a very small student population and it was hoped that these students would boost the numbers in the respective colleges.

Another reason can be gleaned from the Report of the De la Warr Commission of 1937 which stated *inter alia*: “We feel that a stage has now been reached at which East Africa must press forward to provide full secondary and a great deal of higher education within her own borders, and if this is to be done, *it is desirable that Africans should stay at home for these stages of education in order to promote educational development within their own country, which is vital for their future* [emphasis mine].”⁵⁷ However, the establishment of the federal University in 1963 did not prevent students from traveling abroad to further their education. For example, between the mid-1950s and 1966 a total of 1448 East African students traveled abroad for academic purposes as shown in the table below:

⁵⁷ *Report of the De la Warr Commission*, 112.

Table 7: East African Students in American Institutions from the mid-1950s to 1966.

<i>Country</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
Kenya	815	128	943
Tanzania	220	51	271
Uganda	202	32	234
TOTAL	1237	211	1448

*Kenya was only second to Nigeria who had a total of 1, 861 students.

Source: Jane W. Jacqz, *African Students at US Universities*, 1967:49.

On the eve of the demise of the U. E. A., East African students were still leaving for overseas universities in pursuit of their education. As more Africans traveled to European and American universities for further study, Asians headed for either India or Pakistan for the same purpose, in part because India and Pakistan had low costs and lower entrance requirements compared to British and American institutions. Some East African students received scholarships from the Indian government and subsequently pursued their education in Indian universities. Students from poor families could not resist overseas scholarships to join one of the University Colleges in East Africa where they would have to foot the bill. Despite the demand from British students for places in their home universities, opportunities still increased for African students mainly because a special quota gave Commonwealth students a definite advantage in the proportion of

places available to them overseas.⁵⁸ Also, East African students were beneficiaries of the Commonwealth Scholarship Scheme, under which Commonwealth governments had agreed to create 1, 000 post-graduate Scholarships to be held in various Commonwealth countries. Half of those scholarships were provided by Britain and this resulted into more students from East Africa traveling to Britain to pursue their university education.

The debate on whether or not to encourage students to travel abroad took two forms. First, Africans argued that students should remain in East Africa while overseas sponsors attracted the students to overseas institutions. Second, East Africans debated this issue at the inter-territorial level, with each of the three territories considering its immediate manpower needs. In both instances, reaching consensus was not easy since the whole debate revolved around economic and political power as well as territorial interests.

The U. E. A. depended largely on foreign funds for its survival. Therefore, the economic power allowed donors to control overseas education. As mentioned above, East African Colleges needed the best students to keep academic standards high but as Dr. Luyimbazi-Zake told the University Council, “the donors do also expect to receive first rate students.”⁵⁹ In a subtle way Dr. Luyimbazi-Zake admitted that his Ugandan government had no control over the situation as long as it relied on these foreign donors for financial assistance. His colleague, Mr. S. K Nkutu, shared the same views. On March 15, 1965, members of the Senate Joint Admissions Board raised concerns about Uganda’s decision to send her best students abroad. The meeting mandated the Vice-Chancellor, de Bunsen, to write to the Uganda government asking for clarification of its contradiction of

⁵⁸ *Uganda Argus*, 04 July 1963.

⁵⁹ Extracts from the 8th Meeting of the University Council. U. O. N. Archives. UEA Senate Meetings, PUEA/2B/8.

agreed policy in encouraging students to take up places abroad for courses available at the University. Mr. Nkutu responded on behalf of Uganda's Education Ministry, stating:

I am as anxious as yourself to maintain the standards of the University of East Africa and it is my sincere wish that only good candidates should be admitted to the University. However, I would like you to appreciate that the Universities overseas also insist on only having the best. Our sending some of the students admitted to the University of East Africa overseas does not mean a shift in the policy on the question of the award of overseas scholarships, but it is my desire that we should show our benefactors that we do not give them only those who have been rejected by our University. We have now and again, therefore, to give them some of our best students. On that score I have asked that five scholarships should be awarded to some five Engineering students for study overseas.⁶⁰

The impression given by the two Ugandan authorities was that their government felt obliged to satisfy the donors so as to save the relationship.

East African constituencies were determined to keep their students in the region and pleaded with outside sponsors to work through them when offering overseas scholarships. However, they also contributed to this migration by denying the students access to University education on the grounds that they did not meet the University's entrance requirements whereas overseas institutions accepted such students. The American Consul-General in Kenya and the Chairman of the Selection Committee of the African Students Foundation in Canada reminded East Africans about this fact.⁶¹ But even besides this circumstantial reason, the history of overseas education in the whole of Africa shows that Africans valued overseas education, or education attained outside their own countries. It is in part for this reason that the number of East African students studying abroad showed an upward trend.

⁶⁰ S. K. Nkutu, for Ministry of Education, Uganda to the Chancellor, University of East Africa (Ref. No. C. B. 710/12) 05 May 1965. U. O. N. Archives. UEA Senate Meetings, PUEA/2B/7.

⁶¹ Extracts from Replies Received to Letters Addressed to Governments, Diplomatic Representatives, Foundations and Other Interested Parties on the Subject of Overseas Scholarships for East African Students, 2 and 4. K. N. A. GH/11/31.

The shortage of students who qualified to join the three inter-territorial colleges frustrated the planners of the University of East Africa. When the student population increased a few years later, another problem emerged; the federal University could not absorb all the students who qualified for admission at the constituent colleges. This new development had a significant contribution to the demise of the University of East Africa.

5.3.2 The Increase of the Student Population

The question of the student population was a time-bomb waiting to explode. Educational authorities and politicians from Britain and East Africa had anticipated that at some point student numbers would increase and that this would put the future of the University in jeopardy. They soon realized that the East African countries seemed to be developing faster than had been anticipated. Each country's manpower needs were more than the University could handle, and there was increasing political pressure to provide places for all students who qualified.⁶² The determination by East African territories to implement the Africanization project forced them to send more of their students to the University's constituent colleges, consequently the period 1963-1970 "had rapid growth as its characteristic."⁶³ The Principal's Annual Report for the academic year 1965/66 at University College, Nairobi stated: "In 1964, enrolment at the college was 625. In 1965/66 it was 921 and in the last year of the triennium, numbers are expected to reach 1,179 – an increase throughout the triennium of about 86%."⁶⁴ By May 20, 1966, out of a

⁶² Anderson, "University Planning in an Underdeveloped Country": 45.

⁶³ David Court, "Higher Education in East Africa", in Kenneth W. Thompson, Barbara R. Fogel, and Helen E. Danner (eds) *Higher Education and Social Change: Promising Experiments in Developing Countries, Volume 2: Case Studies* (New York, London and Washington: Praeger Publishers, 1977), 461.

⁶⁴ UEA. University College, Nairobi, Annual Report 1965/66. Principal's Report, U. O. N. Archives, UEA General Purposes Committee, PUEA/4/21.

total of 1, 994 applicants for the 1966-67 academic year, only 1, 283 offers had been made, leaving 711 students stranded. As the number of students at East African colleges increased, the call for the establishment of more universities became louder.

In 1965, President Obote stated in a BBC broadcast in London called 'African Forum' that proposals were being examined for creating separate universities in Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania. A Nigerian student studying in London at the time asked President Obote why Uganda wanted to break Makerere away from the University. President Obote's response was that the assessment of the East African situation was not fair; that those who made comments on the issue failed to read and interpret it well. He opined: "I have been wondering how long a University College should take before it becomes a University – five, 10 or 20 years? This is the basic problem in East Africa. We have 27, 000, 000 people, with only one university. We have been re-examining the problem, and we feel each of these colleges should in 1967 become universities, so that we create new university colleges. We are thinking in terms of 50, 000 – not 5, 000 – students."⁶⁵

An increase in the student population in the various colleges had its ramifications, and these did not augur well for the future of the federal University. The corollary of admitting more students was an increased demand for more faculty. Further, residential accommodation became inadequate, thus forcing college authorities to double up students in rooms originally meant for single students – a decision which the students resented. The University also needed more lecture theatres, more books, and more other teaching facilities such as laboratory equipment. These new demands squeezed the budget of each college. The University's Central Office could not give the colleges the amount they had requested, thus forcing each college to fund-raise so as to supplement its share. Tanzania

⁶⁵ *Uganda Argus*, 02 July 1965.

used its Development loan from Britain for the operation of its University College. The Uganda government requested for more funds from the British government to fund Makerere University College; a sum of £62, 000 was granted. Makerere used this money to build additional halls of residence for its students and for staff accommodation. Part of the money was used to build a cafeteria and to expand the College's Medical School.⁶⁶

The problems experienced by the University of East Africa as a result of the increase in the student population forced the East African Authority to appoint a Working Party late in 1968 in view of: (a) The increasing needs for expansion of facilities for higher education within East Africa; (b) The likelihood that at some time after the next triennium planning period (ending in mid-1970) this would lead to the natural growth of three or more separate universities in place of the present three constituent colleges of the University of East Africa; and (c) The desirability of maintaining some types of co-operation between the three constituent colleges as they developed into separate universities in special matters of interest to the people of East Africa. The Working Party was under the Chairmanship of Professor George D. Stoddard. Other members were: the Principals of the Constituent Colleges, three representatives from the three governments and the Vice-Chancellor of the University. The Working Party met in September 1968.

When the University Council held its confidential meeting on November 8, 1968, it noted that the Working Party on Higher Education in East Africa had begun its work on September 16, 1968 and that it would be submitting its Report and recommendations to the East African Authority in the near future. The Report was submitted to the three East African Heads of States on January 31, 1969. Three of its main recommendations were: (i) Each College should become a University on its own right; (ii) An Inter-University

⁶⁶ Amayo, "Co-operation in the Development of University Education in East Africa, 1922-1970", 11.

Committee for East Africa should be established by the East African Community, to maintain co-operation among East African universities; (iii) Each country should constitute an independent *ad hoc* University Grants Committee to examine the financial needs of each university and advise the government accordingly. In making its recommendations the Working Party considered a wide range of factors that would impact on higher education. For example, according to the United Nations statistical yearbook for 1967 the ratio of inhabitants per physician in East Africa was as follows:

Table 8: Ratio of Inhabitants per Physician in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda in 1967.

<u>Country</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Ratio</u>
Kenya	1964	12, 820
Tanzania	1965	18, 240
Uganda	1965	11, 600

Source: *Report of the Working Party on Higher Education in East Africa*, 1969:23.

Basing its argument on this statistical data, the Working Party approved all plans to expand facilities for medical education in the region.⁶⁷ It argued that it was acutely aware of the political significance of the federal University but recommended that each college should become an independent university from July 1, 1970, arguing that this recommendation was ‘sound on academic grounds.’ Further, the Working Party argued that individual states could start their own projects outside of regional plans. The East African Authority accepted the recommendation of Stoddard’s Working Party to dissolve

⁶⁷ For a discussion on the expansion of medical education in East Africa see: Southall, “The Politics of Medical Higher Education in East Africa”: 413-424.

the University out of necessity. It became evident to the East African Authority that “developments in Higher Education in the three countries of East Africa in the mid-sixties had indicated demand for according full university status to the then constituent colleges of the University of East Africa.”⁶⁸

In 1969 both the University Council and the Senate were informed that University College, Nairobi would be compelled by shortage of accommodation to restrict student entry into its Common Faculties. This was contrary to the policy of the East African governments which stated that the University would admit *all* qualified East African students. There was also a Ministerial Policy regarding the distribution of students into Common Faculties in terms of which the three colleges had to have a roughly equal number of students. Looking at this situation, Onyango wondered: “The question which now arises is whether the East African Governments still wish the University to take in all qualified East Africans in which case if Nairobi is compelled to restrict admission, whether Makerere and Dar es Salaam will be allowed to admit students in excess of the figures stipulated in the Ministerial Formula.”⁶⁹ These developments demonstrated that any attempt to sustain the life of the federal University in the late 1960s was tantamount to trying to square a circle. The student population had increased significantly. For example, the statistics for the 1964/65 academic year show that University College, Nairobi had a student population of 650; during the 1968/69 academic year this figure had increased to 1, 850. During the 1969/70 academic year Makerere University College had 764 undergraduates; University College, Nairobi had 852; and the University

⁶⁸ EAC. The Inter-University Committee for East Africa, Report for 1973-4, 6.

⁶⁹ Bernard Onyango to the Permanent Secretaries of Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania, Ministries of Education. Annexure B. (Ref. No. A. 4/15) 14 March 1969. U. O. N. Archives. Executive Senate Committee, PUEA/2A/16.

College, Dar es Salaam had 611. Applications for Mature Age Exemption increased from 587 in 1964 to 1,373 in 1968. The increase in the student population, played a key role in the demise of the University. Another problem was race.

5.4 Race

Race was like a double-edged sword in the history of the federal University of East Africa. On the one hand it created tensions within each college community. On the other hand it caused a schism between different colleges and planted another seed that would later contribute to the eventual collapse of the University. The purpose of the present section is to explore this dual role played by race in the demise of the University of East Africa.

Race was one of the most vexing problems in East African higher education long before the name 'University' was given to the three inter-territorial colleges. Its impact was felt at different moments as the University was being constituted. The shortage of tertiary institutions in East Africa affected racial groups differently. European secondary schools prepared their children to pursue their education at European universities. Most Asian students attended Indian universities. African students had no guaranteed destination after completing at Makerere College. Kenya's Director of Public Works confided in a letter to the Chief Secretary in Nairobi thus: "I wish it to be clearly understood that it is not only my opinion but that of all Engineer members of this Department that facilities do not exist in East Africa for the training of European, Asian or African engineers, no matter what academic qualifications they might attain, but I

appreciate that in due course facilities will be available.”⁷⁰ While acknowledging the fact that all racial groups needed engineering facilities in the region, the Director ended this correspondence by suggesting that Europeans should go to the British Isles or to South Africa to qualify as Engineers and that Asians should travel to India for the same purpose. This left Africans being the only group that had nowhere to go, thus implying that they had to remain at Makerere, which was perceived to be a College for Africans.

The fact that Kenya was a settler colony while Uganda and Tanganyika were predominantly black meant that the colleges built in these territories would display racial differences in terms of their student population. From its first day of existence, Makerere had been conceived of, and to a very large extent remained, almost purely a school for Africans. In 1941, the College admitted only one Indian student from Zanzibar. The race issue remained central in much of the discussions and controversy, from the first visit to East Africa by the Inter-University Council in 1946 to the opening of Royal Technical College in 1956. J. E. Goldthorpe argues that although the De la Warr Commission of 1937 and subsequent Commissions had recommended that Makerere should be open to all racial groups, “there seem to have been fears that Africans might be swamped if Indians were admitted.”⁷¹

Kenya had always been reluctant to entrust her young Africans to Makerere, fearing that they would be vulnerable to political agitation; and “its other two races, Europeans and Asians, were not attracted to a predominantly African College.”⁷²

⁷⁰ Director of Public Works to Chief Secretary, Nairobi, 14 February 1944. C.249/3/6/1/1/B. K. N. A. BY/27/2.

⁷¹ Goldthorpe, *An African Elite*, 13.

⁷² Pattison, *Special Relations*, 67.

It was only in 1951 that Makerere was formally declared to be a non-racial college. However, this formal announcement did not result into any major change in the composition of the student population. In 1954, Makerere University College had only 1 European and 3 Asians. Svein-Erik Rastad asserts that Makerere deliberately discouraged Asian students from applying and that “no Asians were admitted with the excuse that Makerere did not have the necessary standards to meet the needs of the Indian community.”⁷³ As a result of these racial debates the Asian community in Kenya agitated for the provision of commercial education facilities while European settlers pressed for technical education. Joint effort by the two racial groups gave rise to the R. T. C., thus making this new College a product of racial wrangling between different constituencies. Ogot in his autobiography argues that the establishment of the R. T. C. “marked the beginning of the end of the concept of a unitary university restricted to Makerere.”⁷⁴ As discussed in Chapter 2, the University College, Dar es Salaam had not been established yet but the structure of the envisaged University of East Africa was already crumbling.

When the First Working Party conducted its investigation in 1955, it discovered that there was an increasing awareness that both Kenya and Tanganyika were following their own lines of development and that each would need its university pretty soon. The Working Party continued: “This consciousness seemed to us to be more fully developed in Kenya than in Tanganyika, and this may be attributed to the fact that Europeans and Asians form a larger proportion of the population in Kenya than in the other territories.”⁷⁵ Therefore, the settler population in Kenya regarded Makerere as ‘the other’ from the outset and this meant that for many years to come Makerere would remain predominantly

⁷³ Rastad “Issues of University Development in East Africa”, 97.

⁷⁴ Ogot, *My Footprints on the Sands of Time*, 127.

⁷⁵ *Report of the Working Party on Higher Education in East Africa*, 1955, 49.

African while the Royal Technical College had a significant number of European and Asian students. These racial tensions continued unabated until the inauguration of the University of East Africa in 1963.

The De la Warr Commission of 1937 had predicted that race was a temporal issue that would dissipate once the University had been established. The Commission argued:

When the university is ultimately established, questions of race will tend to become irrelevant. The university, in fact, will by its very existence make a great contribution to the settlement of racial difficulties. If, meanwhile there should appear to be any danger of the interests of Africans in the Higher College being prejudiced by the entrance of a large number of Indians, the Governments and the college authorities will no doubt watch the position and take any measures which may be necessary to safeguard the Africans' position.⁷⁶

The Commission was to be proved wrong. Racial issues dominated territorial and inter-territorial meetings on the eve of the establishment of the University of East Africa and after. The Chairman of the Admissions Board of the University of East Africa asked the Senate to address racial problems, arguing that such problems impacted negatively on the functioning of the University. He maintained that the preference of Asian students to live in Nairobi had resulted in a proportionately heavier enrolment of Asians at University College, Nairobi than at the other two East African colleges. The Chairman asked the Board to keep in balance the racial composition of each college. The Asian question was compounded by the fact that many Asians living in Kenya had not declared whether they wished to take up Kenyan citizenship or not. This made it difficult for the Kenyan government to decide whether or not to give them bursaries. Some of the professional faculties of the University did not reserve any places for late applicants, consequently "some good candidates have had to be refused their first choice; in the case

⁷⁶ *Report of the De la Warr Commission*, 115.

of candidates with overseas degrees in Arts who wish now to do law, this effectively excludes them from the University. Two of these who had already been encouraged either by their Government or by the Faculty to apply for Law have been added to the Law list in order to get around the difficulties and embarrassment that would otherwise result.”⁷⁷

All the constituencies of the University of East Africa were affected by race. As mentioned in Chapter four, Rogers’ *Report on Salaries and Terms of Service in the University of East Africa* had caused pandemonium in the University community. The Provisional Council of the University of East Africa had highlighted this problem in its Memorandum of 1962, stating: “Discussion in the Provisional Council revealed the presence of a good deal of uneasiness about the difference in total emoluments of ‘expatriate’ and ‘local’ staff.”⁷⁸ Soon after the publication of Rogers’ Report in 1963, the Academic Staff Association at Royal College, Nairobi wrote a Memorandum to the Provisional Council of the federal University of East Africa in which they vehemently challenged the proposed terms of service. The Association argued that these terms were bad, both in principle and in detail because they reflected racial prejudice and had a potential to ruin the future of the University if implemented. The Association stated:

The Association is strongly against the introduction of a salary differential as between local and expatriate staff, which would drive a wedge between them. Furthermore, experience in Universities elsewhere has shown that it is unrealistic to expect well-qualified local people to offer their services to institutions in which there are marked disparities in salaries, particularly as initial salaries would be well below those ruling overseas, and as promotion in academic life is necessarily much slower than in commerce and civil service. A policy of differentiation may not result in the economy desired by Government if it acts as a deterrent to local people entering academic life. It may well give rise to a relative increase in the promotion of Expatriates on the staffs of the colleges, or if the attraction of over-

⁷⁷ Joint Admissions Board. Chairman’s Report. U. O. N. Archives. UEA Senate Meetings, PUEA/2B/7.

⁷⁸ Memorandum R.1 Serial 1: Provisional Council for the University of East Africa Salaries and Terms of Service Committee. U. O. N. Archives.

paid promotion is offered to existing and potential local staff, to substantial claims for compensation.⁷⁹

The thrust of the argument made by the Academic Staff Association was that all existing members of staff, not just expatriates, had to benefit from the changes in British salary scales. This view was succinctly captured by the preamble to the recommendations made by the Academic Staff Association's Sub-Committee, which stated:

Noting that people working on the same kind of job and side by side, of necessity, have the same salary, the committee views with concern the inevitable deterioration in personal relationships among staff that would be caused by differentiation in basic salary and feels very STRONGLY that the international market value of a member of staff should be the determining factor in the fixation of his basic salary in the Academic Community, rather than his place of origin.⁸⁰

It was not only the African Faculty that found the proposed salary scales displeasing. Professor Royston Jones from Royal College, Nairobi put his full weight behind the Academic Staff Association. Jones in his Memorandum addressed to the University's Provisional Council in May 1963 identified two most disturbing features of the proposed terms and conditions of service: (i) The injustice to the African or local members of the University staff and (ii) The breaking of what was a moral obligation and what could be the legal obligation to the African/local staff. According to Jones, these terms had two negative effects: (1) destruction of morale and (2) a severe straining of staff relationships as a result of the discrimination on racial grounds. Jones subsequently provided the following solution: "In view of the small number of the present staff involved (about six at The Royal College), the most practical solution is to treat all present members of staff

⁷⁹ Memorandum to the provisional Council of the University of East Africa from the Academic Staff Association of the Royal College, Nairobi, 24 May 1963. U. O. N. Archives. UEA University Council, PUEA/1A/2.

⁸⁰ Report and Recommendations of Academic Staff Association Sub-Committee on Terms and Conditions of Service in the University of East Africa, 06 November 1962. U. O. N. Archives. UEA University Council, PUEA/1A/70.

as expatriates.”⁸¹ This view concurred with a reminder by the Executive Committee of the Inter-University Council (citing the Asquith Commission Report) that all staff members had to be paid at the same rate, regardless of their race or place of origin.

The rift already existing between expatriate and East African academic staff widened even further following the manner in which the administration at the Royal College, Nairobi had handled the boycott by students who were infuriated by the cancellation of Oginga Odinga’s address that was supposed to take place at the College’s premises in 1969. East African lecturers and Professors wrote a joint statement in which they deplored a circular issued to the students at the weekend by the Acting Registrar, Mr. M. L. Shattock in which he blamed the students for their actions. The East African faculty claimed that the said circular distorted the stand of the academic staff on the crisis, thus distancing themselves from what they perceived to be a racial issue. The African faculty sympathized with the students and put the blame squarely on the administration’s doorstep. Expatriate staff interviewed after the East African staff’s reaction to the Memorandum indicated that they were annoyed at the attempts by their East African colleagues to show their stand on the students’ boycott. Some even threatened to resign en masse.⁸² What had started as a minor issue took another turn once the racial factor was brought into the equation. As these racial tensions built up, East African constituencies looked forward to the dissolution of the federal University of East Africa and the establishment of national universities that would be administered by East Africans themselves, not the expatriates.

⁸¹ Memorandum Submitted by Professor Royston Jones, 29 May 1963. U. O. N. Archives. UEA University Council, PUEA/1A/2. These concerns were noted by the Provisional Council as reflected in the Minutes of its meeting of 28 May 1963 held in Dar es Salaam.

⁸² *Uganda Argus*, 28 January 1969.

This section has demonstrated that the establishment of the Royal Technical College in 1954 was inspired mainly by racial attitudes towards Makerere University College. The settler community and the colonial government in Kenya considered Makerere as 'the other'. Therefore, the establishment of the University of East Africa, combining colleges in Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika was a 'forced' marriage. In the end the dissolution of the federal University became inevitable.

Another problem that accompanied the University of East Africa throughout its life was uncertainty. This problem is explored below.

5.5 Uncertainty

Uncertainty about the future of the University of East Africa was a problem from the outset. During the planning stages there was a constant attempt to balance the economic capabilities of East Africa as a region and the political aspirations of each territory. Both factors were unpredictable. The planners of the University conceded that the federal University would be dissolved as soon as regional economies improved thus making it possible for each territory to run its independent university that would fulfill its political aspirations as a state. However, no one knew for sure as to when that time would come. Therefore the planning process was based on speculations. The inauguration ceremony "was the culmination of a tortuous history of indecision in higher education policy."⁸³ The first University Development Plan focused solely on the first triennium period ending in the middle of 1967. The planners argued that prevailing circumstances would determine the next step. This meant that the University could dissolve anytime after that period but no one could confirm this assumption. There was more uncertainty

⁸³ Southall, "The Politics of Medical Higher Education in East Africa": 413.

towards the end of the first triennium, some constituencies working on the assumption that the University would continue its existence after the first triennium while others assumed that it would be dissolved. Eventually the East African Authority decided that the federal University would continue its operation at least until 1970. Uncertainty continued even after this decision had been made, some individuals arguing that there was insufficient time left to allow for the smooth dissolution of the University and thus intimating that the University's life be prolonged for at least one more year, while others such as Dr. Luyimbazi-Zake stated in vivid terms that the federal University would be dissolved in 1970. Therefore, uncertainty pervaded the federal University from its birth and accompanied it to its demise at the end of the second triennium. The purpose of this section is to demonstrate how this problem contributed to the collapse of the federal University.

The University of East Africa was inaugurated in June 1963 but as early as 1964 the problem of uncertainty was already apparent. Towards the end of 1964, the Planning Committee of the federal University asked de Bunsen, the Vice-Chancellor, to write a Memorandum inviting the views of the three governments and the colleges on certain fundamental questions including the following: "Have the Governments and Colleges views, however tentative, on the possible length of life of a common University of East Africa?"⁸⁴ As discussed below, there was no immediate answer. Uncertainty frustrated the administrators. Early in March 1965, de Bunsen stated in his letter to the University Council Executive that it would be impossible to find suitable people to fill the Vice-Chancellorship (when his term ended) and Registrarship positions given the on-going

⁸⁴ The UEA. Memorandum by the Vice-Chancellor on the Basis of Future Development Planning, November 1964, 3. U. O. N. Archives. UEA University Council, PUEA/1A/13.

uncertainty about the future of the University. In his view, “no good man will give up a worthwhile appointment to become even potentially a caretaker or undertaker.”⁸⁵ The University Council was in a dilemma. On the one hand it could not make conclusive plans because there was no certainty that the University would continue its operation after 1967. On the other hand, deferring its business – including the appointment of the Vice-Chancellor and the Registrar – would be tantamount to prejudicing the actual existence of the University even before a final decision on this matter had been made. De Bunsen subsequently suggested that the Council should work from the assumption that in one shape or another, the University had a future but he had nothing tangible with which he could support his optimism.

Uncertainty became a topical subject in the meetings of the University Council and the Senate towards the end of the first triennium. The members of these bodies were in a state of confusion, not knowing whether to plan for the future of the University or prepare to take up new jobs elsewhere. One item on the agenda of the seventh meeting of the University Senate of October 1965 was: “To consider the recommendation of Senate Executive Committee that the Joint Government/University Committee should not be reconvened until a firm decision on the future of the University has been reached.”⁸⁶ The Committee’s failure to meet meant that no administrative decisions could be made. The University Council in its eighth meeting held in Nairobi on November 12, 1965, considered the Senate resolution that “in view of the harm being brought to the University by the uncertainty of its future, and in view of the fact that planning in and for

⁸⁵ UEA. Confidential Memorandum to Members of the Council Executive by Vice-Chancellor de Bunsen, 05 March 1965, 1. U. O. N. Archives. UEA University Council, PUEA/1A/14.

⁸⁶ Agenda for the Seventh Meeting of the University Senate to be Held at the University College, Dar es Salaam on 11 October 1965, item 6.6, 3. U. O. N. Archives. UEA Senate Meetings, PUEA/2B/7.

the University beyond 1967 must begin now, Senate requests the University Council to request those who may be concerned to reach a decision as soon as possible. . . .”⁸⁷

Eventually the East African Authority decided that the University would continue its existence as a federal institution for at least the triennium planning period ending on June 30, 1970. The decision to sustain the life of the University beyond 1967 gave the planners the much-awaited relief and provided the green light to plan for the second triennium. However, uncertainty lingered on regarding the University’s future beyond 1970. The Vice-Chancellor in the confidential meeting of the University Council held on September 16, 1968 drew attention to the unsettling and demoralizing effects of the uncertainty about the future of the University on the staff, more especially senior staff at the University’s Central Office in Uganda. He expressed his concern about a situation that would arise should senior staff members take steps to secure other posts elsewhere before the work at the Central Office was completed. The Vice-Chancellor stated that he could not hold these staff members back because he, too, was uncertain about the future of the University. The confidential meeting agreed on two issues: (i) To draw the attention of Professor Stoddard’s Working Party to this problem and the desirability of being able to assure the staff of the University Central Office comparable positions either in the Colleges or in Government service should the University cease to exist, and request that the Working Party should include this matter in its recommendations; and (ii) To draw the attention of the Governments and Colleges to the experienced manpower likely to be available at the Central Office.⁸⁸ The University Council subsequently instructed

⁸⁷ UEA. Confidential Minutes of the University Council, 8th November 1965. U. O. N. Archives, PUEA/1A/49.

⁸⁸ Confidential Minutes of the University Council held at Makerere College on 8 November 1968. U. O. N. Archives. UEA. PUEA/1A/49.

the Vice-Chancellor to have confidential consultation with College Principals regarding the possibility of their Colleges absorbing the officers at the University's Central Office whose future so far hung in the balance.

The East African Authority did not make a decision about the future of the University soon after receiving the Report of Stoddard's Working Party. Although the Report had been submitted on January 31, 1969, no decision had been made towards the end of the year. On November 4, 1969 Mr. Erik K. Kigozi, Acting Registrar at the University of East Africa, wrote a lengthy Memorandum in which he stated:

Although it had been hoped that by now the East African authority would have made known their decisions on the Report of the Working Party, unfortunately this has not happened. Consequently members of staff at the Central Office have continued to work under a cloud of uncertainty. This situation is having a demoralizing effect on the staff. Recently three secretaries left the University service within a matter of two weeks and great difficulty has been experienced in replacement. Everyday we are faced with the danger of losing a member of staff since, quite naturally, members are concerned about their future and are therefore actively looking for jobs elsewhere. This may result in an exodus of staff which could lead to a premature closing down of the central Office. It is feared that this would have undesirable repercussions on some of the major recommendations made by the Working Party on Higher Education in East Africa.

If we are to assume that the University of East Africa is to be dissolved on the 30th June, 1970, then preparation for such an event must be made well in advance. It must be appreciated that the exercise of dissolving the existing University and of instituting three more national Universities can be a lengthy and complicated one. A comprehensive time-table of handing over to the colleges some of the functions hitherto run by the Central Office and to determine others should be drawn up as quickly as possible.

The University council is, therefore, invited to suggest and agree on what kind of steps should be taken to get senior members of staff at the Central Office absorbed by the new Universities or Governments in the event of a dissolution of the Central organization. It should be borne in mind that in case the Council is unable to guarantee future employment of these officers, the University will be obliged to give them due notice in order that they make plans for their future. . .

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⁸⁹ Memorandum Signed by Eric K. Kigozi, U. E. A. Acting Registrar, 04 November 1969. U. O. N. Archives. University Council. PUEA/1/43.

The tone of this memorandum demonstrates that uncertainty about the future of the University put the entire University community in the dark and made it extremely difficult for the administrators to execute their duties. Yet there was very little they could do since the decision to dissolve or to sustain the University was beyond their power.

Sir James W. Cook, Vice-Chancellor of the University of East Africa, argued in a Working Paper entitled 'The Future of the University of East Africa,' that there was insufficient time left before the dissolution of the University. On November 10, 1969, a Council Committee had been appointed by the federal University Council "to make recommendations for the implementation of the proposals of the Working Party on Higher Education in East Africa in so far as they are directly relevant to the role and functions of the University as distinct from the Colleges and on the assumption that the proposals will be accepted by the Authority and the respective Governments."⁹⁰ Cook suggested to the Council Committee that it should consider postponing the proposed dissolution by at least one year so that proper arrangements could be made for a smooth hand-over to the new national universities. In his view, there was no inherent reason why the University could not co-exist for some time with the new national universities. The problem was that by July 1970 there would be no senior staff available to run the University should its life be prolonged.

The East African Authority finally took a decision on March 25, 1970, that the federal University of East Africa would split into three independent Universities based in Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania. By this time it was already too late to salvage the federal University even if the Authority had wanted to. Some employees had already resigned at the Central Office. Moreover, there was insufficient time left to apply for funds to sustain

⁹⁰ UEA. Minutes of the University Council. U. O. N. Archives. PUEA/1A/50 Vol. III.

the University should the East African Authority decide to keep it. Above all, Uganda had already made it clear that she was planning to establish a national university. Cook was only able to report to the University Council during the 19th and final meeting held on June 16, 1970. At this meeting it was noted that Cook had received official intimation: (i) that the East African Authority had taken a decision that the University of East Africa would be dissolved on 30th June 1970; and (ii) that the three constituent colleges would become national universities of their respective countries with an effect from July 1, 1970. It was also mentioned at this meeting that the Authority had notified members of staff at the Central Office that their employment would be terminated on June 30, 1970. The twentieth and final University Congregation was to be held at the University College, Dar es Salaam on Friday June 26, 1970. By the time this meeting ended the cloud had eventually been cleared as to what would become of the University of East Africa at the end of June 1970.

Chapter Summary

The thrust of the argument in this Chapter is that the University of East Africa was a stillborn child. The University was built on a shaky foundation, with territorial and inter-territorial tensions already enshrined. These tensions continued unabated after the University had been established. The official dissolution of the University in 1970 was a saturation point of the problems that had started accumulating from the University's infant stages. Therefore June 30, 1970 is only important as a signpost in the political history of the University of East Africa. There was nothing dramatic about this date because the intermittent tensions between different constituencies had predetermined the

future of the University even before it was officially instituted. Therefore, June 30 only marked the end of the University's protracted struggle for survival.

The present Chapter began by demonstrating that although inadequate funding affected the University of East Africa in the late 1960s, its impact was minimal; it only became efficacious due to other factors such as the increase in the student population. It has been demonstrated in this Chapter that the federal University received financial support from different funding agencies and the British government throughout its life. The above discussion has shown that inequality between the constituent colleges, the University calendar, the student population, race, and uncertainty were some of the key factors that combined and brought the University of East Africa to its knees. Some of the problems discussed above were specific to the East African case while others were typical of federal universities in general.

The federal University of East Africa was established at a time when the three East African territories were celebrating their political independence from Britain. At this moment it is apt to consider the role played by nationalism and independence in the eventual collapse of the federal University of East Africa. This is the focus of the next Chapter.

CHAPTER SIX

NATIONALISM, INDEPENDENCE AND THE UNIVERSITY OF EAST AFRICA

When many African countries gained control of political power in the 1960s, they regarded universities together with national airlines, as status symbols which no nation could afford not to have.

Emmanuel Ngara, *The African University and its Mission
Strategies for Improving the Delivery of Higher
Education Institution*, 1995

Introduction

The concept *nationalism* has deep roots in the historiography of the Western world, while the term *independence* gained popular currency in Africa in the 1960s. Barbara Ward in her work *Five Ideas That Change the World* intimated that to understand nationalism in the modern sense we must follow the development of Western Society in its cradle of the Mediterranean and Western Europe. She writes: "Here nationalism, as we understand it today, was born."¹ D. Kofi Agyeman argues that African nationalism owes its origin to the colonization of Africa by the European imperial powers. He adds that nationalism has also been "a reaction against the same domination which brought it into existence."² There is general consensus in the academy that the rise of nationalism in Africa took a better shape soon after the end of the Second World War and reached its apogee in the early 1960s when modern African nation-states were born. However, other scholars argue that it would be erroneous to ignore the 1920s when discussing the rise of nationalism in Africa precisely because it was during this time that the solid foundation was laid. Lylyan Kesteloot writes:

¹ Barbara Ward, *Five Ideas That Change the World* (New York: Norton & Co., 1959), 18.

² D. Kofi Agyeman, *Ideological Education and Nationalism in Ghana Under Nkrumah and Busia* (Accra: Ghana UP, 1988), 2.

It has become a cliché that the year 1960 is remembered as ‘the year of Africa’. Some observers undoubtedly saw the sudden eruptions that led to independence of African country after African country as the product of kind of ‘chain reaction’.

What is generally overlooked is that the demand for independence was being prepared on the intellectual plane at least as early as the 1920s, and that the African revolutions of the 1960’s erupted only after a slow revolution.³

Tied up with the rise of nationalism and the struggle for political independence by different African countries was the call for the development of higher education because throughout Africa, “one of the most potent symbols of national independence was a national university on equal terms with other universities throughout the world.”⁴ The previous Chapters, more specifically Chapter 3, have demonstrated that in East Africa too, politics and education were inseparable from each other. As the struggle for political independence gained momentum, there were simultaneous efforts between different constituencies to establish the federal University of East Africa. Consequently, Presidents Kenyatta, Obote, and Nyerere chose June 1963 as the date for the inauguration of the University of East Africa so that it would coincide with the anticipated independence of Kenya, the only East African territory that had not yet achieved its political independence from Britain at the time. Chapter 4 of this study demonstrated that when the University was instituted it was perceived as a regional asset and as a sign that East Africa was now free from British control. Therefore, between 1961 and 1963, the three East African territories did not only achieve political independence from Britain but also withdrew their University Colleges from the ‘Special Relationship’ program with the University of

³ Lylyan Kesteloot, *Intellectual Origins of African Revolution* (Washington D. C.: Black Orpheus Press, 1972), 13.

⁴ Southall, “The Politics of Medical Higher Education in East Africa”: 414.

London. As far as East African constituencies were concerned this was another form of independence from British colonial domination.

Nationalism in East Africa played a dual role. First, there was broadly defined nationalism which united East Africa as a region against British imperialism. Second, soon after the achievement of political independence by each territory, the once broadly defined nationalism gained a narrower definition, thus initiating the shift towards parochialism where national interests overpowered regional consciousness. Subsequently, the University of East Africa lost its original political attraction of being perceived as a unifying factor. It was now perceived as a stumbling block to national development. As these nationalist sentiments gradually gained momentum, the future of the federal university of East Africa was held in jeopardy. Other divisive factors emerged until the University eventually collapsed.

The purpose of the present Chapter is to demonstrate how the spirit of nationalism and independence contributed to the demise of the University of East Africa. The Chapter begins by briefly discussing the two faces of nationalism in East Africa (nationalism as a unifying force and nationalism as a divisive factor) with a view to providing the wider context in which the demise of the University of East Africa should be understood. It then provides a chronological analysis of the role played by nationalism and independence in the eventual collapse of the University, starting from 1961 when Tanganyika became the first East African territory to achieve political independence from Britain to 1970 when the University of East Africa was officially dissolved. The Chapter then discusses the relationship between the state and the university by addressing the role played by manpower requirements and the national pride of each state in the dissolution of the

University of East Africa, and concludes by demonstrating how the spirit of nationalism and independence was confirmed in the middle of 1970 when Makerere University, the University of Nairobi and the University of Dar es Salaam were instituted.

6.1 Nationalism as a Unifying Force

Nationalism has many faces; it unites nations while simultaneously dividing the world into little compartments. In Africa, nationalism first took a Pan-African dimension, inculcating the spirit of African brotherhood among the African people and portraying white domination as anathema. According to Mazrui, modern nationalism in Africa “started with a racial consciousness rather than a territorial identity.”⁵ Mazrui argues that the racial base of African nationalism was valuable because it promoted a sense of solidarity with fellow Africans in other territories. African politicians argued that in the same way as French and German nationalism had to be annihilated for the sake of European unity, African states had to put the interests of the African continent before those of their smaller nations. As Mazrui puts it, “a political abortion was needed to put an end to the territorial monstrosities which Africa conceived in her contact with colonialism.”⁶ A new spirit of African brotherhood had to be cultivated.

Another form of nationalism which, although limited in scope, was perceived to be possessing the unifying element, was inter-territorial or regional nationalism. In East Africa, Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika resolved to oust Britain so that they could take charge of their own economic, political and educational institutions. Presidents Kenyatta, Obote and Nyerere interpreted their efforts towards establishing the first East African

⁵ Ali A. Mazrui, *On Heroes and Uhuru-Worship: Essays on Independent Africa* (Longman, 1967), 66.

⁶ Ibid.

Community not only as a means to unite Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika but also as a contribution towards the promotion of regional African nationalism. While the cause of a united Europe demanded that French and German nationalism should be allowed to die, “the cause of a united Africa sometimes demanded that Kenyan or Tanganyikan patriotism should not be permitted to be born.”⁷ In June 1960, President Nyerere expressed his willingness to delay Tanganyika’s independence and wait for Uganda and Kenya to have their dates of independence confirmed by Britain so that the three territories could then move towards independence as a region. President Nyerere argued:

Many of us agree without argument that a federation of the East African states would be a good thing. In our struggle against imperialism we have emphasized that our strength lies in our unity. We have warned ourselves against the dangers of divide and rule. We have said, and rightly so, that the boundaries which now divide our countries were made by the imperialists, not by us, and that we must not allow them to be used against our unity.⁸

It was this inter-territorial nationalism that inspired East African constituencies to embrace the idea of a federal University. East African constituencies anticipated that the University would promote the spirit of East African brotherhood. As discussed in Chapter 4, having established the federal University, East African politicians and scholars resolved to Africanize the University by recruiting administrative staff and faculty from Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika. Further, they Africanized the University’s curriculum and syllabus so that it could serve East Africa as a region. Africanization was thought to perform a dual function. First, it was deemed to have a quantitative dimension in that it reduced the overall dependence upon the expatriate staff, both administrative staff and

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Cited in Collin Legum (ed) *Africa: A Handbook* (London: Anthony Blond, 1967), 107.

faculty. Second, it was deemed to have a qualitative dimension because it provided a type of training that was appropriate for future staff members.⁹

Therefore, the spirit of nationalism united Africa as a continent and East Africa as a region. The University of East Africa made a significant contribution in promoting inter-territorial nationalism. However, nationalism had another face, a divisive one. It is this second face of nationalism that played a key role in the dissolution of the University of East Africa as demonstrated below.

6.2 Nationalism as a Divisive Factor, 1955-1960

Nationalism is, by definition, divisive and discriminatory. Ashby in his work *African Universities and Western Traditions* writes: “Nationalism means different things to different people: one of the meanings which the Oxford dictionary ascribes to it is ‘another word for egotism’, a meaning which suits my theme as well as any.”¹⁰ Ashby then moves from this universal definition of nationalism to nationalism as applied in the African context, arguing: “African nationalism is really an amalgam of three ingredients: loyalty to a race, loyalty to a culture (...); and a passionate distrust of foreign influences in any form: imperialism, trusteeship, the paternalism of protectorates.”¹¹

By the mid-1950s, the spirit of nationalism had already engulfed East Africa and was already creating cracks between the East African territories in different spheres of life, including higher education. When the First Working Party visited Tanganyika in 1955 it discovered that generally there was no overt expression of dissatisfaction of the Tanganyikan people with Makerere University College. However, the Working Party

⁹ Court, *The Experience of Higher Education in East Africa*, 8.

¹⁰ Ashby, *African Universities and Western Traditions*, 2.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 3.

noted: "At the same time it is now realized that Tanganyika is following an independent course of development. As this sentiment grows, Makerere College will come to be regarded as an institution belonging to another territory and as such, however admirable in itself, not entirely fitted for the young people of Tanganyika."¹² On the contrary, it was the spirit of nationalism that inspired Tanganyikan constituencies to perceive Uganda and her college as 'the other'. The Working Party was not surprised to hear that the Tanganyikan government under Governor Twining had already put aside a sum of £700,000 as a nucleus of a fund for the foundation of a university college in Tanganyika, arguing that no national government could willingly be entirely dependent for the higher education of the bulk of its graduates on foreign countries. The Working Party conceded that while it was appropriate for East African territories to co-operate in specific areas, it was understandable that each independent state would soon aspire to have its own national institution of higher learning.

The spirit of nationalism became stronger in 1960 when Tanganyika was granted responsible government by Britain, with confirmation that complete independence would be granted sometime in 1961. Certain constituencies in Tanganyika considered both Makerere University College and the Royal Technical College as stumbling blocks in the development of national higher education in Tanganyika, arguing that while it had been justifiable for the East African region to organize its higher education system through the East Africa High Commission, independence dictated that this mode of operation be revisited. The proponents of this view argued that national governments would be expected primarily to respond to the needs of their immediate society before those of East

¹² *Report of the Working Party on Higher Education*, 1955, 49.

Africa as a region. An analysis of Parliamentary debates in the Tanganyika Legislature provides a glimpse on how some of these nationalist sentiments were expressed.

When the Chief Minister of Tanganyika (Julius Nyerere before he became President) moved a Motion during the sitting of the Tanganyika Legislative Council in 1960 proposing that the Tanganyika government must approve a sum of £4, 777 to be given to the Royal Technical College in Kenya as part of regional planning of higher education in East Africa, Mr. Tumbo, one of the Members of the House, expressed his uneasiness about this motion and articulated his views thus:

Mr. Speaker, Sir, as far as I am aware, Tanganyika has been incurring unnecessary expenses to fulfill her obligations in running the Royal Technical College but I note here there is a word 'High Commission'. (Laughter) I have had very great experience of the High Commission and if I were to ask the Minister for Education for the number of students from Tanganyika who are in the college in comparison to the number of students in the same college from Kenya, of course the number from Tanganyika would appear to be negligible and therefore, until such time that Tanganyika is able to use the facilities provided by the college effectively, I would refrain from voting any assistance to that college. I think that to add any more words to what I have already said would be a sheer demonstration of what other hon. Colleagues would call 'prejudice', and I propose, Mr. Speaker, Sir that any assistance at the present stage would be withheld.¹³

Mr. Bhoke Munanka, another Member of the House, associated himself with Mr. Tumbo, adding: "In fact, Sir, I don't really see the need for trying to get this amount of money to the Royal Technical College from which we derive very little benefit, bearing in mind that sooner or later we shall be building our own college or university for that matter. I suggest that we reserve that money for further purposes of our own."¹⁴ A third Member of the House, Mr. Mponji, held the same view, arguing that the money available

¹³ Council Debates (Hansard) Tanganyika Legislative Council, Official Report, Thirty-Sixth Session, December 1960 (Dar es Salaam: GP, 1960), Col.45.

¹⁴ Ibid.

for educational purposes in Tanganyika should be spent to serve the people of Tanganyika. He continued: "We are not going to send money outside just because we want to fulfill our moral obligations. We should spend money in order to serve our people We are prepared – at least for myself I am not prepared, to vote for this Motion in order to fulfill our moral obligation only, leaving our people to starve, just because we want to transfer this money to Kenya."¹⁵

The Chief Minister had a hard time convincing these and other Members of the Tanganyika Legislative Council about the need to sustain Tanganyika's relationship with Kenya and Uganda even after attaining full political independence from Britain. Having listened to the arguments made by different Members of the House against his Motion, The Chief Minister responded thus:

It is true that it has taken this Government a long time to make full use of the advantages offered by the Royal Technical College but I think seriously that before Members stand here and talk about waste of money, that we want to spend our money here in Tanganyika to provide our own education, they should think what they really mean. We are talking of £4, 777, of which £4, 500 has already been given to the college which is becoming a university college.

Some Members are suggesting that we should spend this £4, 777 to establish our own college in Tanganyika. Now, Sir, this is ridiculous. College education is expensive, and college education anywhere is expensive, and especially in our country, the per capita expenditure is very expensive because of the small numbers of qualified students who go to these places. It is the same at Makerere. . . . Here, Sir, the intention of higher education people in East Africa is that we should have three colleges forming one single University of East Africa, that it is better for these countries to have three separate colleges so that you may not run the expenses of duplication. When Members here suggest that we can save money they do not realize that in actual fact they are suggesting that we should expend a lot of money, if we are going to refuse our due contributions to the other East African Colleges, and it is for that reason, Sir, that Government could not contemplate refusing to pay its own contribution to the other colleges when other Governments have agreed to

¹⁵ Ibid., Col.46.

make the same kind of contribution to our own University College when it is established.¹⁶

The Chief Minister told Mr. Mponji that by voting against the Motion as he declared during his contribution to the debate, he would not be doing justice to his own intelligence.

The spirit of nationalism, as demonstrated in the Tanganyika Legislature, played a profound role in the demise of the University of East Africa. The Tanganyikan politicians were no longer analyzing the development of higher education in terms of how much East Africa as a region was benefiting from it. On the contrary, their concern was how much Tanganyika as a territory was benefiting from this enterprise. The federal University had not yet been established at this time and Tanganyika had not yet achieved full political independence from Britain, but the writing was already on the wall that nationalism and independence would make it almost impossible to sustain the life of the University once it came into existence. Part of the reason was that there is an assumed relationship between the state and the university. Tanganyika was about to become an independent state, therefore, the politicians mentioned above felt that the anticipated independent state would need a national university that would assist the state in its national development plans. The relationship between the state and the university is explored in the next section.

6.3 Independence, the State and the University, 1961-1970

National governments and national universities are considered key institutions in the development of any nation. It is generally assumed that these two national institutions

¹⁶ Ibid.

reciprocate each other – the former providing financial support while the latter provides the high-level manpower desperately needed to develop the nation. The intention of African governments to control universities in the 1960s was usually stated as being “to make them more responsive to development plans.”¹⁷ Mohamed Hyder argued that African universities like most similar institutions “derive the bulk of their financial support from the state. This economic relationship in many ways defines (although some would say, complicates) the university-state relationship.”¹⁸

When East African territories achieved their political independence between 1961 and 1963, it was almost a given that higher education would be part and parcel of their national planning. Although East African politicians and scholars initially suppressed this reality for the sake of the federal University, others conceded that university planning and national planning were intertwined and that this was a reality East Africa had to accept. Solomon Eliufoo, Tanganyika’s Education Minister, in his address to the conference on the University of East Africa held in Nairobi in 1967, reasoned:

University planning in a developing country is a part of national planning. So, at any rate, it has come to be regarded by the Government of Tanzania. This should not be understood to imply a degree of dictation of university policy, for that is certainly remote from our intentions. We have, however, seen the need, in a developing country like ours, to define with some precision the areas of decision for which the Government must assume responsibility and the areas in which academic discretion is essential.¹⁹

According to Eliufoo, the Tanzanian government would involve the University in its national plans, not because it wanted to interfere with the University’s autonomy, but because the government felt that it could not draw up and implement its policies single-

¹⁷ Ajayi, Goma and Johnson, *The African Experience with Higher Education*, 95.

¹⁸ Hyder, “The University, The Government and National Development in Kenya”: 7.

¹⁹ S. N. Eliufoo, “Education for Service-Men Only: Tanzania Government Policy for Higher Education”, Address to the Conference on the University of East Africa held in Nairobi from 23 to 26 October 1967, in *East Africa Journal*, Vol. 4, No. 8 (December, 1967): 23.

handedly while the University either did nothing or designed divergent policies. The same belief led Principal Wilbert Chagula to the conclusion that the traditional concepts of academic freedom and university autonomy could not take root in “and are totally unsuitable to East Africa.”²⁰ A chronological analysis of the development of higher education in East Africa between 1961 and 1970 shows that the achievement of political independence by each of the three East African territories played a significant role in the dissolution of the University of East Africa in 1970. It is to this chronology that we now turn.

Independence and the University of East Africa, 1961-1963

By 1961, it was already evident that while embracing the idea of a regional University, the three East African countries were already perceiving University Colleges as the stepping stone towards the establishment of national universities that would be run by the new national governments. The Second Working Party of 1958 had recommended that the University College, Dar es Salaam should open to students during the 1965/1966 academic year. Tanganyika's government led by Tanganyika African National Union pressed for an earlier date. Britain proposed a compromise date, suggesting that the College's initial intake of students should begin in 1964. The Tanganyika government was still not satisfied. Having attained responsible government towards the end of 1960, Tanganyika's Council of Ministers felt that 1964 was too far off, and that there would be a big gap between the celebration of full political independence and the establishment of an inter-territorial college in Tanganyika. The Council of Ministers subsequently announced that the University College would open in 1961, the same year in which

²⁰ Chagula, *The Economics and Politics of Higher Education*, 15.

Tanganyika attained her independent status from Britain. This move was considered to be 'a brave decision', not just 'a political gesture without sound foundation' but a decision which became 'educationally sound'²¹ because the University College in Tanganyika provided law courses that would be desperately needed by the national governments, especially during their early years of independence. The fact that the College buildings were not ready yet did not deter Tanganyika's politicians from their resolution. T. A. N. U. displayed its unwavering support to the University College by making its new and attractive headquarters building in Lumumba Street in Dar es Salaam available for use by the University College, Dar es Salaam until a new campus on Observation Hill at Ubungu, about eight miles outside the city, was ready for occupancy (these new premises for the University College, Dar es Salaam were opened in 1964 in a colorful ceremony attended by President Nyerere). Southall writes: "The opening of the Dar es Salaam College some three years earlier than the QAC [Quinquennial Advisory Committee] had allowed for, naturally called into question concurrent developments in Kampala and Nairobi, given the scarce resources available for higher education."²²

When Tanganyika became an independent territory in 1961 her politicians called on their countrymen (including fellow politicians, scholars and students) to demonstrate the spirit of nationalism and its offshoot, patriotism. For example, they persuaded Wilbert Chagula, already earmarked to become the first African Professor of Anatomy at Makerere University College to return to his home base in Tanganyika where he became the Registrar at the University College, Dar es Salaam and then later became the University College's Principal. Independence and the spirit of nationalism had made

²¹ R. C. Pratt, Speech Made at the University College, Dar es Salaam During the Opening Ceremony, 25 October 1961, 4.

²² Southall, *Federalism and Higher Education in East Africa*, 55.

these politicians perceive Makerere as 'the other', thus confirming the postulation made by the First Working Party in 1955 that once the East African region rid itself of British domination, each independent state would want to control its own national education system, more especially, higher education, and that this would put the life of the federal University in jeopardy. In principle, Tanganyika was not opposed to the idea of a federal University. However, nationalism overpowered the spirit of regional integration in higher education and inspired certain politicians to revisit their stance on a wide range of regional institutions.

Initially, Tanganyika had supported the regional Veterinary School which first belonged to Makerere University College and was transferred to Nairobi following the upgrading of the Royal Technical College into the status of the University College in 1961. However, the Tanganyika government decided to take a different position soon after achieving its full political independence. It notified the Provisional Council of the University of East Africa that it had reversed its previously favorable attitude towards the continuation of one Veterinary School in East Africa. Tanganyikan authorities stated that the Tanganyika government would satisfy its need for Veterinarians by sending Tanganyikan students abroad for their training in this field. Despite the fact that sending students overseas would be more costly to the government of Tanganyika than sending those students to the regional Veterinary School in Kenya, Tanganyikan politicians resolved to proceed with the plan so as to satisfy national interests.

The main cause of this change of position by Tanganyika was a sum of \$500, 000 the Rockefeller Foundation had promised to donate to the University of East Africa for the maintenance of the Veterinary School. The University College, Dar es Salaam was

receiving financial support from the same funding organization. Tanganyika's fear was that if this money (\$500, 000) was given to the Veterinary School as planned, then the Rockefeller Foundation might not have sufficient funds to assist the University College in Dar es Salaam in its plans to strengthen its faculties of Arts and Science. The Tanganyika government also derived its inspiration from the feeling that if the development of the Veterinary School did not proceed as planned, part of the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund capital grant already promised to the Veterinary School could be diverted to the University College, Dar es Salaam. Pratt wrote a stream of letters to the Provisional Council of the University of East Africa requesting it to make a decision regarding the priorities of the University. In effect, "he was seeking a declaration that the development of the Dar es Salaam College was regarded as more important than that of the Veterinary Faculty, and that according to that logic, Rockefeller should transfer its aid from the latter to the former."²³

This issue was so serious and divisive to the extent that the Chairman of the Provisional Council of the University of East Africa, Sir Donald MacGillivray, wrote an urgent letter to the Rockefeller Foundation requesting it to delay its public announcement about the \$500, 000 grant. Meanwhile, MacGillivray summoned an urgent meeting of the Executive Committee of the Provisional Council to debate the issue. The Executive Committee unanimously agreed that both the Veterinary School and the University College, Dar es Salaam were of 'paramount importance' in the development of higher education in East Africa. Dar es Salaam was not satisfied with this agreement and so the problem lingered on. Consequently, the Provisional Council asked the Rockefeller Foundation to comment on the on-going war of words between different constituencies in

²³ Southall, *Federalism and Higher Education in East Africa*, 56.

East Africa and to state whether there was any competition between the two regional institutions. The Rockefeller Foundation in its statement allayed Dar es Salaam's fears by stating that as far as the Foundation was concerned there was no cause for alarm because to the best of its knowledge, the Veterinary School and Dar es Salaam were not in competition for funds. The statement argued that the Foundation considered requests on the basis of their merits and their relationship to the organization's policies. For these reasons, therefore, there was no way the two projects would compete against each other. The statement by the Rockefeller Foundation was followed by further deliberations between the regional governments. In January 1962, all three East African governments eventually agreed to accept the \$500, 000 donation to the University's Veterinary School. At last the problem was resolved but it had left an indelible impact on inter-territorial relationship.

There was obvious tension in the actions of the University College, Dar es Salaam and the Tanganyika government between promoting regional and national interests. On the one hand, Dar es Salaam called for a more centralized and coordinated process of University planning. On the other hand it simultaneously pursued every possibility of securing financial aid for its own development. These two modes of operation ran parallel to each other. Also, in 1961, the Tanganyika government took a decision to up-stage Makerere by opening a medical school at the former Medical Training Center in Dar es Salaam where students with school certificate (obtained after four years at secondary school) would be admitted. This appeared as duplication of educational facilities but because Tanganyika stood to benefit most from the federal University and was anxious not to threaten it, the Tanganyika government "proposed that these rural practitioners

should receive diplomas rather than degrees and should be licensed as Assistant Medical Officers.”²⁴ Nationalism and federalism were in tension in independent Tanganyika.

When Uganda achieved her political independence in 1962, the adversarial nature of nationalism became more evident. National interests and regional interests regarding the development of higher education in the region clashed significantly thus putting the life of the federal University in jeopardy. As discussed in Chapter 5, Minister for Education, Dr. Luyimbazi-Zake vehemently challenged the recommendations of the Nicol Report of 1962, especially the one regarding the need for parity between the three East African colleges. Dr. Luyimbazi-Zake argued that such recommendations were ‘unreasonable’ because they supported the development of higher education in Kenya and Tanganyika while delaying the development of Makerere University College.

The Central Office of the University of East Africa drew up a draft Development Plan for the triennium 1964-1967. The Plan was ready for discussion by March 1963 but nationalist sentiments made it impossible to take the Plan to the next stage. De Bunsen opined: “. . . I am glad that other colleges are springing up in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam which will prevent us dreaming of a colossus, taking in the whole of Wandegeya or offering to buy out Kampala.”²⁵ However, the general feeling at Makerere University College and in the Uganda government was that the expansion of the University Colleges in Kenya and Tanganyika was uneconomical in part because the facilities already existing at Makerere were not fully utilized. The other two University Colleges argued that this expansion was necessary because it would ensure that Uganda did not remain the only

²⁴ A. M. Rankin, “Dar es Salaam School of Medicine – the first five years”, *Dar es Salaam Medical Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (September, 1968): 3-4. Cited by Iliffe, *East African Doctors*, 127. See also: *Tanganyika Standard*, 30 December 1961.

²⁵ De Bunsen, “University Freedom”, 8.

territory with higher educational facilities in East Africa. Makerere's hostility towards the University Development Plan was fully endorsed by President Obote's government, which unabashedly stated that it could not accept the Plan as a suitable basis for the development of higher education in East Africa because it was not in the interest of Uganda to compromise her development in higher education for the sake of Kenya and Tanganyika.

By the first half of 1963 there was already a duplication of educational facilities in East Africa. This development caused tensions at the East Africa Central Legislative Assembly and became one of the focal points during the sitting of the Assembly on May 2, 1963. Mr. Semei Nyanzi, one of the Members of the Assembly, expressed his dissatisfaction about the establishment of many faculties by the University Colleges despite the initial agreement that each University College would specialize in either one or two faculties. Yet Mr. Nyanzi was one of the advocates of the view that the idea of having a single University in East Africa was not a good one. He argued:

As a matter of fact, many of us who have supported the formation of the University in East Africa pointed out also that in the long run it is not necessary to have only one University in East Africa. In many countries you find that there are quite a large number of universities. In India, for example, there are many and each university would be autonomous, although it is one country only. You find this kind of situation prevailing in many other African countries as well.²⁶

Chief Fundikira from Tanganyika agreed with Mr. Nyanzi that specialization had been approved by the Central Legislative Assembly and by the Provisional Council of the University of East Africa from the outset and continued:

But then, it was also agreed that there should be developed at the three colleges what would be called basic faculties, such as sciences, for

²⁶ EACSO. Proceedings of the Central Legislative Assembly Debates. Official Report, Vol. 11, No. 1 (May 2, 1963), Cols.96-98.

instance, and arts, and it was also the intention that the two colleges, the newer ones, should develop these basic faculties as quickly as possible, so that there would be a rough parity as regards these faculties at the three colleges. Now, Sir, I was dismayed to note in the Hon. Member's speech that he felt that there was this duplication. This is not duplication, Sir, because the needs of the peoples of East Africa with regard to these basic faculties could not be met by Makerere alone.²⁷

Sheikh Almoody's contribution to the same debate was that the criteria that was supposed to guide the Central Legislative Assembly when deliberating on this matter was that while it was desirable that full use be made of the already existing educational facilities in the various East African constituent colleges "the ultimate objective should be that these territories should be self-sufficient in higher education. I think this is very important on our educational evolution."²⁸

These debates demonstrate that by this time the idea of a federal University was already being subjected to serious scrutiny. When the federal University of East Africa was inaugurated in June 1963 the spirit of nationalism had already cast a cloud on it. The colorful inauguration ceremony in Nairobi gave the impression that all the constituencies embraced the idea of having a federal University. However, it was already a fore-gone conclusion that the spirit of nationalism and independence would eventually terminate the life of this University. For example, in June 1963, Njoroge Mungai became Kenya's Health Minister and "reversed policy almost overnight Without consulting the University, he sought WHO assistance to open an undergraduate Medical School at Nairobi during 1966."²⁹ Kenya's move put pressure on Ugandan politicians, the majority of whom were already demonstrating uneasiness about the continued existence of the federal University of East Africa, which, in their view, was a stumbling block to

²⁷ Ibid., Cols.119-120.

²⁸ Ibid., Cols.127-129.

²⁹ Iliffe, *East African Doctors*, 126.

Makerere's development. When Uganda proposed to expand Makerere's intake to ninety medical students per year as a charge on general University fund, Kenya and Tanganyika refused to make any contribution to the fund. Kenya proposed that the additional students should be sent to Nairobi to do their clinical training. Some of them did so during the 1965/66 academic year. Mungai managed to secure funds and identified staff for his new Medical School. Subsequently, President Kenyatta made a public announcement that the School would officially open in 1967. According to Southall this "sounded the death knell of the University as an institution of planning."³⁰

Ugandan politicians continued demonstrating their nationalist sentiments after the University's inauguration. Sir Bernard De Bunsen in his letter to the East African Heads of States written at the end of July 1963 reported that the University Council had accepted the third draft of the University Development Plan for 1964-1967 and stated that the issue of the University Development Plan was now being referred to the Heads of States for their immediate comments. De Bunsen drew the attention of the three East African leaders to the fact that the Como Conference initially scheduled for August 11th had to be postponed because there had been no agreed policy between the three governments regarding the University Development Plan. He concluded his letter thus:

Since the major organizations have already indicated that such a conference could only be successful on the basis of a Development Plan agree with the three East African Governments the urgency for an East African settlement will I am sure be appreciated and we would indeed be most grateful if this settlement could be reached at the meeting of heads of Governments on August 9th.³¹

³⁰ Southall, "The Politics of Medical Higher Education in East Africa": 422.

³¹ Vice Chancellor, Sir Bernard de Bunsen to the President of Tanganyika and Primiers of Kenya and Uganda, 31 July 1963, K. N. A., KA/2/17.

The meeting of the Heads of States scheduled for August 9, 1963 was postponed due to President Obote's reluctance to attend. It was agreed that the meeting between the Ministers of Education from the three territories and the Principals of the three University Colleges would proceed as planned on August 8, 1963. However, "this time it was the Ugandan Minister of Education, Dr. Zake, who was 'unable' to attend, and the meeting had to be carried on without him; indeed it seems that Dr. Zake was playing 'follow my leader'."³² The Ministers of Education from Kenya and Tanganyika at their August meeting amended the concept of parity in an effort to appease Makerere University College and the Uganda government. They agreed that the University Development Plan would be based on the "necessity to produce viable faculties at the Royal College, Nairobi, and the University College, Dar es Salaam, which will enable them to teach to a comparable standard and range as that at Makerere."³³

The Heads of States eventually met on August 16, 1963, at which meeting President Obote informed his two counterparts from Kenya and Tanganyika that the removal of the iniquitous parity was sufficient to ensure Makerere and the Uganda government's full participation in the University of East Africa. Subsequently, it was pointed out in the University Development Committee Meeting held in Nairobi on August 26, 1963, that the University Development Plan had been substantially revised to meet what were understood to be the difficulties of the Uganda government and Makerere University College. Reference to the achievement of 'parity' "had been replaced by the more modest aim of ensuring the viability of the common faculties in the Colleges in Kenya and Tanganyika, and it was difficult to make further concessions

³² Southall, "The Federal University and the Politics of Federation in East Africa": 39.

³³ The Draft Development Plan, 3 (b).

without destroying the concept of an East African University with three constituent Colleges.”³⁴ The storm temporarily calmed down but inter-territorial tensions were far from over.

The above tensions demonstrated that any attempt to forge inter-territorial unity in East Africa at this time was bound to fail due mainly to the spirit of nationalism and independence which engulfed the region. This spirit of nationalism had adverse effects on different spheres of life. Nathan Mnjama writes: “It has even been argued that the collapse of Regional co-operation in East Africa began soon after Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika gained independence.”³⁵ In 1964, Ernst Haas and Philippe Schmitter wrote an article on political integration in Latin America. In their comment on the East African experience in this regard they observed: “Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika have been united in a common market for 37 years and have maintained a Common Services Organization for a number of costly and important administrative functions for almost as long; yet there is evidence of political disintegration in their relations since they achieved independence.”³⁶

The establishment of the University of East Africa at a time when the three East African countries were getting their political independence predetermined the fate of the federal University. Political independence consolidated territorial nationalism which had already been part of East African politics. At the core of this type of nationalism were national interests which overwhelmed continental and regional interests. Some individuals within each of the three territories expressed their uneasiness about continued

³⁴ Record of a Meeting held at the Royal College, Nairobi, 26 August 1963, 2. UEA Conferences, Lecturers and Papers, PUEA/13/56.

³⁵ Nathan Mnjama, “The Records of the East African Community”, Paper Based on a 1988 Workshop, 7.

³⁶ Ernst Haas and Philippe Schmitter (1964), Cited by Mazrui, *On Heroes and Uhuru-Worship*, 65.

inter-territorial co-operation. Inevitably, tensions emerged as each territory tried to push its national agenda.

This section has demonstrated that a war of words characterized the period from 1961 to 1963. However, the tensions derived from nationalism were to become more pronounced during the first triennium period of the University of East Africa which began in 1964.

Independence and the University of East Africa, 1964-1967

East African constituencies were acutely aware of the inherent problems in setting up a federal University at a time when the East African territories were simultaneously establishing national governments. A commentary in the *East Africa Journal* in 1964 stated that the newly established University of East Africa was unique in Africa in the sense that it was federal, comprising three autonomous University Colleges each located in an independent country. The commentary continued: “But this unique nature of the University creates many problems that do not confront other universities. National aspirations have to be reconciled with the interests of the whole University, and all the numerous problems which normally characterize any federal set-up – devolution of power, bureaucracy, high cost – are trebled because of the international feature of the federation.”³⁷

President Obote tacitly conceded that any attempt to unite East Africa after independence was wishful thinking when he argued: “our problems are different Our political structure [in Uganda] is completely different to the political structures of Kenya

³⁷ Commentary, “U. of East Africa: Local Malaise”: 27.

and Tanganyika.”³⁸ Two months later, Pratt acknowledged that it would be difficult to sustain the life of the University of East Africa in the post-independence era. He echoed President Obote’s view, arguing: “East Africa is not a unitary state. Kenya, Uganda and the United Republic are each vigorous and independent states whose national plans and ambitions properly include higher education.”³⁹ Arthur Porter in his Memorandum of 1965 stated that world opinion hailed the University of East Africa as ‘a most imaginative experiment in educational federation across national frontiers’ and continued: “But it must not be forgotten that planning for higher education co-operatively by independent countries is new and untried. There are no precedents or examples to draw upon.”⁴⁰ By this time it had become evident that “the vested interests in sovereignty had – as Nyerere feared they would – become entrenched.”⁴¹

The first triennium period of the University of East Africa was characterized by inter-territorial tensions. Each of the three national governments pursued its national agenda and showed disregard for regional plans concerning the development of higher education. One of the many areas in which nationalist sentiments played themselves out was with regard to staffing the inter-territorial constituent colleges of the University. Kenya, like Tanganyika, demonstrated the same nationalist sentiments with regard to staffing. Ogot in his autobiography discusses how national consciousness impacted upon University College, Nairobi. He recalls that authorities at University College, Nairobi approached him in January 1964, soon after Kenya’s independence celebrations on December 12, 1963, asking him to seriously consider the possibility of transferring from

³⁸ *The People* (Uganda), 27 June 1964.

³⁹ Pratt, “East Africa’s University Problem”: 3-4.

⁴⁰ The University of East Africa. Memorandum by Arthur Porter, 3 March 1965, 2. U. O. N. Archives, UEA Academic Board, PUEA/3/3.

⁴¹ Legum (ed) *Africa: A Handbook*, 107.

Makerere University College to University College, Nairobi, just like Tanganyika's politicians had approached Chagula whose case was mentioned above. Ogot writes:

When I decided to move to the University College of Nairobi in 1964, I was thus moving to a College that had been driven from its very inception by territorial ambitions. Following Kenya's independence on 12th December 1963, a strong spirit of nationalism pervaded the air, and great political pressure was put on Kenyan lecturers who were at Makerere to come home to build 'their' university. First to move was Dr. S. H. Ominde, who applied for the post of Professor of Geography and in early 1964, he was appointed to the Chair of Geography, thus becoming the first African Professor in the University of Nairobi.⁴²

The University Development Committee consisting of the Vice-Chancellor, de Bunsen; the three Ministers of Education from Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania; the three College Principals; three members nominated by the Senate; the Honorary Treasurer of the University; and the University Registrar who served as Secretary, was charged with the task of coordinating development plans of all three constituent colleges of the University of East Africa. Ogot has sad memories about the University Development Committee and blames nationalism and independence for the frustrations the Committee was subjected to after diligently executing its duties. He recalls:

In theory, this was a high-powered committee that had heavy responsibilities thrust upon it by the three East African States. In reality, however, this was a thankless task because the East African Governments, in fact, ignored the University Development plan that had been painfully worked out. Makerere wanted to expand its medical training facilities, while Nairobi decided to start a new Medical School. It was now clear that whilst the University had acted as a brake upon development at Makerere, it had been powerless to restrain duplication of professional facilities in Kenya and Tanzania.⁴³

Nationalism and independence sabotaged the University Development Plan in many ways. Initially, it had been agreed that only the University College, Dar es Salaam

⁴² Ogot, *My Footprints on the Sands of Time*, 130.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 173.

would offer law courses and that only Makerere University College would offer courses in Agriculture on a regional basis. However, Kenya started a School of Law in Nairobi and an Agricultural College in Egerton. Tanzania developed an Agricultural College at Morogoro and a Medical Training School in Dar es Salaam. Uganda sought to raise the standard of education in Engineering at Kyambogo Technical College in Kampala to university level despite the fact that such educational facilities were already available in Nairobi.⁴⁴

Ogot attributes the accelerated tendency towards the duplication of professional facilities to the growing desire on the part of the East African governments to have their own national universities that would offer the full range of professional as well as non-professional schools. The motivating factor behind all this, he holds, was the growing realization that university programs had to be related to national needs, which differed from country to country.

Chapter 5 of the present study demonstrated that inequality between the three East African Colleges did not augur well for the overall development of higher education in that region and that it put the life of the federal University in jeopardy. Nationalist sentiments widened the gulf between the three constituent colleges of the University of East Africa and, in a way, sustained the already existing inequalities. For example, Uganda was better resourced and thus planned to proceed with her plans to develop Makerere into a fully-fledged university regardless of whether Kenya and Tanganyika would manage to establish theirs. During the first triennium of the University of East

⁴⁴ There were certain instances where the duplication of educational facilities by different territories was implemented on pragmatic grounds. For example, some students from Tanzania did not meet the requirements set by the University of East Africa. Tanzania felt justified to train these students for lower level positions at local institutions. But this was only an exceptional case; overall, duplication was inspired by national interests.

Africa, de Bunsen prepared a Memorandum, which he circulated to the Constituent Colleges and the three national governments in November 1964 so that it would be discussed at the next University Council meeting scheduled for March 1965. In that Memorandum de Bunsen asked these institutions: (a) whether they thought the powers of the University should be strengthened or modified and (b) how long they thought the University should continue.⁴⁵

The governments and the colleges in Kenya and Tanzania indicated that they were in favor of continued co-operation in higher education post-1967. They proposed that the University should be strengthened in any way possible instead of being dissolved. Makerere University College on the other hand wished to see planning powers transferred to the colleges so that the University could only award degrees and maintain academic standards. There was no immediate response from the Uganda government and this put the University planning process in the state of paralysis. Donors showed their reluctance to commit themselves to continued financial support to the University whose future hung in the balance.

During the next meeting of the University Council held in Nairobi on May 20, 1965, Dr. Luyimbazi-Zake presented a Memorandum in which he stated that the University of East Africa had up to that time worked to the disadvantage of Makerere by retarding the College's development while promoting development at the other two colleges. The Memorandum continued: "we cannot avoid the fact that each of the three constituent colleges of the University will have to be an autonomous University on its

⁴⁵ Bernard de Bunsen, Memorandum on the basis of future development planning, Presented to the First Meeting of the University's Planning Commission, 4 November 1964. U. O. N. Archives, UEA. PUEA/1A/49.

own sooner or later.”⁴⁶ Dr. Luyimbazi-Zake buttressed this submission by arguing that there was a vast difference on the needs and the priorities of the three territories. He then intimated that any attempt by the University to veto governmental projects would interfere in the independent development of the territorial government concerned and that this would be tantamount to a limitation of political sovereignty of the respective countries. Dr. Luyimbazi-Zake reminded those who argued that the University of East Africa should be sustained mainly for political reasons that the basic function of any university was to serve the community in which it belonged, and that in the East African case that community was the nation state. In his view, if the University of East Africa failed to meet the needs of the East African territories, which comprised its immediate community, then there was no reason to sustain its life. Dr. Luyimbazi-Zake summarized his views thus:

I consider it highly desirable that each country should be free to develop its own programme according to the desires and aspirations of its own people. It is entirely wrong in principle to leave the powers of determining the country's development to some agency like the Development Committee of the University Council over which that country has no complete control. In effect I suggest that each country should be free to devise the machinery for training its manpower in the way it chooses and at the rate it likes. In consequence of this I propose that the University of East Africa as it is now known, should dissolve. Each country will then be free to train its manpower needs in the way it thinks best, openly and without hindrance or fears of stepping on anybody's toe. This will also bring an end to all movements that now carry a flavour of the underhand together with lots of arguments. Everything will be above board. If Kenya wants a scheme although we have it at Makerere, let them have it if they think they can foot the bill. On the other hand, if they have a scheme at the University College, Nairobi, which we think we in Uganda would like to participate in they can let us have the places and we bear our share of the cost. It seems to me that by and large this is the most sensible thing and there should be no jealousies. By sheer force of reason, it will be found

⁴⁶ J. S. L. Zake, Uganda Government: Views on the Future of the University of East Africa, Memorandum laid before the University Council, 20 May 1965, U. O. N. Archives, UEA. PUEA/1A/49.

that co-operation will come more easily than at present because it will not come by force of votes but by the force of desire to work together and by economic means. Higher education will thus be nationalized.⁴⁷

Eliufu's rejoinder to this Memorandum stated that the Tanzanian government was totally opposed to the proposal to dissolve the University of East Africa but would not block the withdrawal of Makerere University College if that was what the Uganda government had resolved to do. However, Eliufu argued that the problem with Dr. Luyimbazi-Zake's proposal was that Makerere University College had for a very long time benefited significantly from regional funds. Eliufu reminded Dr. Luyimbazi-Zake that Makerere University College had received funding from the British government on the understanding that the University College was a regional institution. Therefore, argued Eliufu, by nationalizing Makerere University College the Uganda government was seeking unilaterally to seize some four million sterling pounds of capital belonging to East Africa as a region. Eliufu continued:

Moreover, significant capital sums of the order of over £260, 000 have been paid by the Tanzanian Government to Makerere College. For these reasons the Tanzanian Government expects that the Uganda Government will recognise that she is obliged to propose a settlement to this Government in compensation for the proposed seizure. This settlement should include capital grants to the other two Colleges and firm assurance of places in those Makerere faculties which have so far been developed as the sole faculty in their field within East Africa.⁴⁸

Eliufu confirmed Tanzania's resolution that the University should continue. Mr. Mutiso, the representative of Kenya's Minister of Education did the same on behalf of the Kenya government, adding that "the University of East Africa was the only one aspect of

⁴⁷ J. S. Luyimbazi-Zake, "Uganda Government: Views on the Future of the University of East Africa", Minutes of the Special (Seventh) Meeting of the University Council, 20 May 1965. U. O. N. Archives, UEA, PUEA/1A/49.

⁴⁸ S. N. Eliufu, "A Rejoinder to Uganda Government: Views on the Future of the University of East Africa", Laid before the Special (Seventh) Confidential Meeting of the Council of the University of East Africa held in Nairobi, 20 May 1965, U. O. N. Archives, UEA. PUEA/1A/49.

inter-territorial co-operation and if any radical change was proposed, Kenya would reserve the right to view such a proposal in relation to other East African links.”⁴⁹ Mr. Gichuru, one of Kenya’s representatives in the University Council, maintained that should dissolution be implemented, that would be very unfortunate because progress lay in development not in dissolution. Kenya’s overall position was that the question of the University could not be considered in isolation, arguing that if the University were to be dissolved, the East African Common Services Organization would have to be dissolved too. It was only Dr. Luyimbazi-Zake who did not confirm Uganda’s position, stating that he preferred not to make any judgment on this issue because his Head of State had the matter in his hand and would respond in due course.

As the University Council meeting proceeded Chagula and Lule from the University College, Dar es Salaam and Makerere, respectively, concurred with each other that the Council had to be flexible and listen to the concerns of other parties which did not seem to embrace the idea of sustaining the life of the University. Porter from Nairobi expressed his disappointment about Uganda’s failure to make her position known, arguing that unless Uganda came out of the cocoon, rumor would feed on rumor. After the issue had been debated at length, the University Council made three recommendations directed to the three Heads of States and Governments: (a) that while it was recognized that, ultimately, there would probably be three independent universities in the East African countries, the University of East Africa should continue in existence beyond 1967, but that there be an immediate review of its academic and planning functions, with the object of effecting modifications for their continuing operations; (b)

⁴⁹ Minutes of the Special (Seventh) Confidential Meeting of the Council of the University of East Africa held in Nairobi, 20 May 1965. U. O. N. Archives, UEA. PUEA/1A/49.

that the immediate review should be conducted by a Working Party, to be appointed by the Executive Committee of the Council plus a representative of each Government; and (c) that the Report of the Working Party should come to the University Council.⁵⁰

Here, once again, Dr. Luyimbazi-Zake dissented and stated that the Uganda government was not bound by this resolution and that it reserved its position, especially in view of the fact that this matter was already being discussed by the Heads of States and Governments. Southall writes: "Thus at the end of the meeting the position was substantially the same; the future of the University was undecided and the matter lay with the heads of government. Even so, the omens were good, for many had predicted the announcement of Uganda's withdrawal."⁵¹ Until the final decision was made on this issue, the administrators at the University could do nothing in terms of planning for the University's future.

De Bunsen's comments about the actions of the Uganda government gives the impression that Ugandan politicians used a secret weapon to ambush the University so that they could then upgrade Makerere into a fully-fledged university. De Bunsen argued that Kenya and Tanzania had made their positions clear that they wanted the University to continue past the first triennium. Uganda's delaying tactics and indecision were freezing potential financial assistance to the federal University on the other hand. In de Bunsen's view, this made staffing increasingly difficult; the University could not employ new staff not knowing whether there would be funds to pay their salaries and whether the University would be there in the first place. De Bunsen, addressing students at a seminar held in Kampala, stated that there had been much speculation on whether Uganda wished

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Southall, "The Federal University and the Politics of Federation in East Africa": 41.

to withdraw Makerere from the University in 1967 and subsequently set up her university independent of Kenya and Tanzania. He regretted that conflicting statements were coming from different sources yet no official statement was forthcoming from the Uganda government. De Bunsen pleaded with all three Heads of States and Governments to consider all factors and make their final decisions urgently because “no one is going to give money if there is uncertainty as to whether the body to which they are going to give it will be alive in two years time.”⁵²

The question of the federal University of East Africa was debated at length in Uganda’s National Assembly on July 5 and 6, 1965. Dr. Luyimbazi-Zake during his contribution to the discussion argued that the anticipated split of the regional University was practical, constructive and progressive.⁵³ He expounded his view by arguing that there was as much a need to expand educational facilities in East Africa as there was a need to maintain the quality of education offered in the region. Dr. Luyimbazi-Zake announced that his Education Ministry had drawn up plans to change the entire educational system in Uganda from primary level upwards. Commenting on the accusation leveled against the Uganda government for its indecision, he argued that the accusation was unfair and that it was based on incorrect information. He referred to a paper prepared by him in March 1965 in which he outlined the sequence of events that had led to Uganda’s dissatisfaction about the University. One such dissatisfaction was that the structure of the University of East Africa was weak. Dr. Luyimbazi-Zake launched a scathing attack on de Bunsen, saying that he was not telling the truth when he said Uganda was undecided about the future of the University, “unless of course we are

⁵² *Uganda Argus*, 21 June 1965.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 06 July 1965.

to be led to the conclusion that to disagree with the Vice-Chancellor is to be undecided.”⁵⁴ Dr. Luyimbazi-Zake told the House that he had made it clear to his counterparts in Kenya and Tanganyika that it would be in the interest of each of the three East African countries to have independent universities instead of sustaining the life of a federal University when it was already evident that sooner or later each territory would need its national university.

Mr. E. M. K. Mulira, a Member of Uganda National Assembly, supported Dr. Luyimbazi-Zake’s position, arguing: “Therefore, when the Minister proposed to have three universities I am with him in this, in any case, as he told us, they had already agreed that in future there would be three universities.”⁵⁵

The Uganda government was only able to make its position known in November 1965. Dr. Luyimbazi-Zake made confirmation to the University administration that the Uganda government was committed to the University’s continued existence at least until mid-1970 when the second triennium would come to an end. There were speculations about what would happen after the end of the second triennium. However, Southall opines: “Although there had been no official acknowledgement that Uganda would pull Makerere out of the federal University in 1970, it was widely accepted that this would be the case. Naturally, the other two countries thus started thinking in terms of nationalizing their own colleges.”⁵⁶ Uganda’s indecision had already inspired certain individuals in Kenya and Tanganyika to agitate for the nationalization of the University Colleges. Kenya in her Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 affirmed that national needs would

⁵⁴ Ibid. See also: National Assembly Debates (Uganda), Second Series, Vol. 49, Official Report (Uganda: GP, 1965), 2732.

⁵⁵ National Assembly Debates (Uganda), Official Report, Second Series, Vol. 50 (6 July, 1965), 2755.

⁵⁶ Southall, “The Federal University and the Politics of federation in East Africa”: 42.

determine the expansion of higher education in the Republic, stating that the plans for Nairobi University College “must be fully integrated with the Government Development Plan if the University College is to contribute effectively in solving our manpower problem.”⁵⁷

Another area where nationalist sentiments manifested was with regard to overseas education. As mentioned in Chapter 5, Uganda seemed to be more generous with her bright students, sending them to institutions abroad under the pretext that donors insisted on having such students and ignoring the fact that Kenya and Tanzania were also sponsored in part by overseas institutions but ensured that they kept most of their students in one of the three East African University Colleges as per mutual agreement. Uganda said one thing and did the other. Dr. Luyimbazi-Zake argued that the Uganda government was determined to recall Ugandan students from abroad to enroll in the University of East Africa instead of staying abroad to do courses that were available locally. In practice, not only did the Uganda government send its best students abroad against the wishes of Kenya and Tanganyika, it also admitted the country’s other best engineering students to its Technical College for courses leading to a Diploma in Engineering. This was in contravention of the regional agreement stipulating that no institution in East Africa would register students who qualified to join one of the three constituent colleges of the University of East Africa. When confronted by Kenya and Tanzania to explain this action, Ugandan authorities argued that they did not want to start the College with poor candidates because that would set a wrong precedent and keep the academic standards at the Technical College low. Another Ugandan assertion was that the students themselves

⁵⁷ Kenya Government, *African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya. Sessional Paper No. 10*, 4 May 1965, 40.

indicated that they wanted to emphasize on the practical side of their professional training.

What was clear at this time was that Uganda put her national interests before those of the region. The University's Academic Board and the Executive Committee of the Senate conceded that East African students needed overseas experience but maintained that this had to be considered at post-graduate level, not at under-graduate level as Uganda was doing. Even at post-graduate level, the Academic Board intimated to the Senate that in fields such as Agriculture and Tropical Medicine, "useful and meaningful post-graduate research can and should be done in East Africa."⁵⁸ The conference on the role of the federal University, referred to earlier, argued: "Where facilities are available or can be developed in East Africa, our students should be trained initially within our borders."⁵⁹

It is clear from the discussion in this section that the first triennium of the University of East Africa was characterized by more inter-territorial tensions caused by nationalism and independence. These tensions continued during the second triennium.

Independence and the University of East Africa, 1967-1970

National sentiments continued to haunt the University of East Africa during the second triennium period beginning late in 1967. In Uganda, the spirit of nationalism inspired politicians and scholars like Dr. Luyimbazi-Zake to strive for the dissolution of the University of East Africa. Tanzania on the other hand resolved to address national issues while at the same time striving to sustain the life of the University from which she

⁵⁸ Makerere University College. Memorandum on Entrance Levels and Degree Structure (Paper AB/64/41), 2. U. O. N. Archives, UEA University Council, PUEA/1A/8.

⁵⁹ Summary of the Seminar on the Role of the University, 8.

stood to benefit. The University College, Dar es Salaam opened the faculties of Medicine and Agriculture in 1968 and 1969 respectively by incorporating the old Dar es Salaam School of Medicine and Morogoro Agricultural College. But because the Tanzanian government had not yet given up hope that the federal University of East Africa could be salvaged, it decided that students trained as rural practitioners should be given diplomas instead of degrees so that those who aspired to acquire degrees and satisfied the entrance requirements could still pursue their education at the University of East Africa. But by this time it was already a given that the University would not last long. When Stoddard's Working Party conducted their investigation in 1968, Chagula submitted to the Working Party a statement, intimating:

No rigid arrangement can be made to compel three independent universities and countries to follow comparable or unified standards in regard to any of the items listed in the Terms of Reference. Cooperation among the universities through their own Association should lead to the maintenance of a common approach in those things where such approach is to their common benefit. Where divergence is necessary, universities should be free to adopt different policies and to explain these differences to their fellow partners in the association. . . .⁶⁰

The Report of the Stoddard Working Party studied the nature of the relationship between the three constituent colleges of the University of East Africa following the attainment of political independence and argued that there comes a time in academic affairs when separation is desired, preferred and promoted than unification. This feeling led the Working Party to the conclusion that there was no reason to sustain the life of the University after the end of the second triennium, a view that was later confirmed by the East African Authority. For commentators like Edward Mhina from Tanzania the decision to dissolve the University of East Africa was taken on pragmatic grounds. Mhina

⁶⁰ *Report of the Working Party on Higher Education in East Africa*, 30 January 1969, 40.

in his article 'Education in and Around Dar es Salaam' argued: "Now that each of the three East African university colleges is able to offer most of the wide range of degree subjects required in modern East Africa, it is expected that they will become separate national universities in 1970."⁶¹ This trajectory confirmed a Memorandum submitted to the Working Party of 1968 by Mr. R. B. Ntshakanabo from Uganda's Ministry of Public Service in which he anticipated that expansion of education in Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika would lead to each state establishing its university.⁶²

The question may be phrased thus: Why did the achievement of political independence by the East African territories spell the demise of the University of East Africa? There are two possible answers to this question. First, the manpower requirements of each of the three East African independent states were not the same, due in part to the different policies adopted by each government soon after independence. Second, the national university was perceived as being the pride of the independent nation. These two reasons are explored below.

6.3.1 The National University and Manpower Requirements

The manpower requirements of each of the three East African governments played a significant role in the dissolution of the federal University. East Africa needed trained manpower long before the 1960s but at the time the responsibility of training such manpower fell largely on the shoulders of the colonial authorities. The achievement of political independence shifted this responsibility to the African governments. This section

⁶¹ Mhina, "Education in and Around Dar es Salaam": 179.

⁶² Memorandum Submitted by Mr. R. B. Ntshakanabo, Ministry of Public Service and Cabinet Affairs, Entebbe to the Working Party on Higher Education (Ref. EM/21), U. O. N. Archives, UEA Conferences, Lectures and Paper, PUE/13/34.

demonstrates how different manpower needs of the independent East African territories predetermined the future of the federal University of East Africa.

Soon after independence, each of the three territorial governments resolved to engage in the systematic analysis of its individual manpower requirements as part of overall development planning so that it could relate its educational planning to the national manpower needs. Each state had its own political and development aspirations and thus chose a different development policy. Tanzania adopted *ujamaa* or village-based African socialism; Uganda later moved towards the same direction of centralized planning, although not as vigorously as Tanzania; Kenya on the other hand opted for a capitalist approach to development. President Obote's brand of socialism was "different from Tanzania's unique kind, and at variance with Kenya's less polarized ideological approach."⁶³ The implementation of these divergent policies revealed the differences that existed between the three territories. Ajayi, Goma and Johnson write: "In spite of common boundaries, utilities, and shared colonial legacy, internal pressures and policy orientations in each of the territories generated divergent developments which fractured the will for the concept of community."⁶⁴

In 1965, President Kenyatta had argued that education in Kenya had to be forged into an instrument for the achievement of Kenya's national policies.⁶⁵ If the Kenyan government felt that it needed more doctors, engineers, or technicians, it would ensure that its educational policies at all levels were geared towards achieving this goal without being hindered by regional policies. Southall writes: "There can be no doubt that the Faculty at Makerere which was most envied by Kenya and Tanzania was that of

⁶³ Furley and Watson, *A History of Education in East Africa*, 344.

⁶⁴ Ajayi, Goma and Johnson, *The African Experience with Higher Education*, 92.

⁶⁵ *East African Standard*, 18 September 1965.

Medicine. The provision of better health services was one of the most pressing needs recognized by the new African governments.”⁶⁶ As mentioned in Chapter 5, Uganda proposed that entrance requirements be reduced so that she could send to the University more students who would meet her manpower needs. Kenya and Tanganyika opposed the view on the grounds that it would result into the lowering of the University’s academic standards. This incident played its role in strengthening the case for the establishment of national universities.

In 1966, Tanzania took a decision to introduce compulsory National Service in an attempt to bridge the gap between the educated elite and the masses.⁶⁷ The kind of manpower envisioned by President Nyerere’s government was one that would not be divorced from the society, a view premised on the socialist principles which valued the community, not the individual within that community. The students did not like the idea and subsequently decided to go on strike, a decision that resulted to the dismissal of over 300 students from the University College, Dar es Salaam on October 22, 1966. From that date, “the University College, Dar es Salaam, started re-examining itself critically”⁶⁸ so that it could be ready to provide a labor force that would suit a socialist state.

Meanwhile, the Tanzanian government worked relentlessly drawing up its new national policies that would also guide the University College, Dar es Salaam in its operation. President Nyerere published two documents during the first quarter of 1967: the *Arusha Declaration* in February, and a policy paper entitled *Education for Self-Reliance* in the following month. The Tanzanian government organized the Conference on the Role of the University College, Dar es Salaam, in a Socialist Tanzania, which was

⁶⁶ Southall, “The Politics of Medical Higher Education in East Africa”: 415.

⁶⁷ Uganda followed suit in 1969. For details see: Dinwiddy, “The Ugandan Army and Makerere”: 50-54.

⁶⁸ Wilbert K. Chagula to Arthur T. Porter, 6 April 1967, U. O. N. Archives, Ref. Z 11/8.

held in Dar es Salaam from March 11th to 13th 1967. Mr. Rashidi M. Kawawa, Second Vice-President, in his speech stated: “Since this Conference was first planned its task has been made easier by two important developments. The first is the Arusha Declaration, which gave a clear definition of socialism for Tanzania, and outlined some of the policies which will be followed in order to build this kind of society. The second is the policy paper on education which has been published by the President this past week. This calls for a new direction, and new emphasis in the education system of our country.”⁶⁹

The Final Plenary Session of the Conference resolved thus: (1) The conference recommends that it is the responsibility of the college to impart political education, and that a course in political education which would be compulsory for Tanzanians and optional for non-Tanzanians should be started by the college; (2) In the course on political education, the emphasis should be on the teaching of Tanzanian socialism as seen against the African and international background. The course should be both theoretical and practical so that it could be linked with social and community service on the part of the students; and (3) In addition the conference recommends that the course on political theory and history etc. should place emphasis on Tanzanian and East African philosophy and history.⁷⁰

Tanzania’s educational policies acknowledged the fact that Kenya and Uganda were sovereign states. Students from Kenya and Uganda would not be compelled to take courses in political education. While students from outside Tanzania chose their courses

⁶⁹ Speech by the Tanzania Second Vice-President, Mr. Rashidi M. Kawawa, Report of the Conference on the Role of The University College, Dar es Salaam, in a Socialist Tanzania, Dar es Salaam, 11-13 March 1967, 16. U. O. N. Archives, PUEA/25/16.

⁷⁰ Draft Recommendations of the Conference on the Role of the University College, Dar es Salaam, in a Socialist Tanzania, *Minerva*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (Summer, 1967): 558. Reproduced from *The Standard Tanzania*, 15 March 1967.

at will, those from within Tanzania were compelled to do political education. The corollary thereof was that students studying at the same University College were subjected to different rules. Gradually, this situation put into question the very notion of a federal University. Makerere University College and University College, Nairobi would not compel their students to do this compulsory course. There was a realization that the establishment of national universities would allow different countries to train their students to study what national governments considered relevant to their national policies.

The political environments in which each of the three colleges was placed and the varying roles which the three governments laid down for a university in society made any co-operation within a federal university increasingly difficult.⁷¹ For example, not all the recommendations of the Dar es Salaam Conference could be implemented at once given the inter-territoriality of the University of East Africa. Chagula opined:

A number of the recommendations made at the conference require simple administrative action within the College and others will require the decisions of either the Academic Board and the College Council or both the Academic Board and the College Council. Still others, if it is desirable that they should be pursued further, will require the approval of the Senate of the University of East Africa and the Council of the University of East Africa before they could be implemented.⁷²

President Nyerere in his policy paper *Education for Self-Reliance* had argued that education “must encourage the growth of the socialist values we aspire to.”⁷³ He intimated that education must encourage the development of a proud, independent, and free citizenry which relies upon itself for its own development and that it “must ensure that the educated know themselves to be an integral part of the nation and recognize the

⁷¹ Bethwell A. Ogot, *Reintroducing Man into the African World* (Kisumu: Anyange Press, 1999), 262.

⁷² Chagula to Porter, 6 April 1967. U. O. N. Archives, Ref. Z 11/8.

⁷³ Nyerere, *Education for Self-Reliance*, 25.

responsibility to give greater service the greater opportunities they have had.”⁷⁴ President Nyerere’s vision about the role of education was not universal; it only applied to the socialist state Tanzania had become. Kenya and Uganda did not aspire to produce the manpower that would serve a socialist state.

Sir James Cook, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of East Africa, noted in his introductory address to the conference on the University of East Africa held in Nairobi in October 1967 that the first triennium of the University was already witnessing some duplication of professional schools such as medicine and agriculture because the manpower needs of each country could no longer be satisfied by conventional agreements made by the three territories prior to independence. President Nyerere in one of his addresses asked: “What kind of society do we want to create? What can we realistically expect to achieve with our limited resources? How can we fashion our education system so as to maximize its contribution to these ends? Whom shall we educate, for what and how?”⁷⁵ The University of East Africa could not respond to all the needs of each country. Although all three territories were the custodians of the federal University, they felt that national universities would be in closer touch with national aspirations than the federal University. This new spirit of nationalism put the life of the federal University in danger and played a pivotal role in the University’s eventual collapse.

The seminar on the role of the University referred to earlier resolved that whether a country gave loans or grants to its prospective university students “depended very much on the social philosophy in that particular country,”⁷⁶ thus conceding that national needs between the three East African countries were different. The same line of thought was

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ President Nyerere, Cited in *Education: Sector Working Paper* (World Bank, September 1971), 13.

⁷⁶ Summary of the Seminar on the Role of the University, 17.

sustained with regard to recruiting the expatriate staff. The seminar maintained: "Whatever is done to improve the selection, the details concerning the orientation courses should be worked out by each individual East African country."⁷⁷

Eliufoo's statement to the conference on the University of East Africa noted that Tanzania was following an established and clearly stated policy of achieving self-sufficiency in high-level manpower by 1980. He added: "We are acting on this policy by regulating the numbers of those to whom opportunities for higher education are given in accordance with calculated manpower targets So far as the University of East Africa is concerned, we shall offer bursaries, to as many of our students in each faculty or department as are necessary to enable us to achieve our manpower targets."⁷⁸ Tanzania's manpower needs were not necessarily Uganda and/or Kenya's needs. In cases where the needs were similar between countries, there were differences in terms of the number of students needed for certain positions. As the University failed to satisfy the needs of the national government, the latter established its own educational facilities. Eliufoo stated:

In accordance with this view, my Government has come to the conclusion that a medical faculty should be established at the University College at Dar es Salaam, because only in that way can the country hope to achieve its national goals in the field of public health. Similarly, the introduction of degree courses in agriculture is seen as a clear necessity, in view of the preponderance of agriculture in our economy.⁷⁹

While acknowledging the fact that government involvement in overall university planning could interfere with the university's autonomy and the students' independence to choose the subjects to be studied, Eliufoo argued that in more recent times,

⁷⁷ Ibid., 44.

⁷⁸ S. N. Eliufoo, "Education for Service-Men Only: Tanzania Government Policy for Higher Education", Statement Delivered to the Conference on the university of East held in Nairobi from 23 to 26 October 1967, *East Africa Journal*, Vol. 4, No. 8 (December, 1967): 23.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 24.

“universities the world over have been asked to accept ever greater responsibilities for the execution of government policies.”⁸⁰ His argument was in line with the decision of the conference that the University of East Africa should play an administrative role, leaving the drawing up of educational policies in the hands of each national government. As the three East African territories drew up and implemented their individual national policies, the federal University of East Africa became dispensable. Dr. Luyimbazi-Zake in his address to the above mentioned conference maintained:

Thus, we in Uganda have been responsible particularly for the development of Makerere University College and we expect the College to respond to the needs of Uganda, as indeed should University College, Nairobi, and University College, Dar es Salaam respond to their own respective needs In short, Mr. Chairman, my Government, and no doubt the Governments of Kenya and Tanzania, look to the University of East Africa to conduct relevant researches either on their own or in company with Government officers in the appropriate sectors in the economic and social fields.⁸¹

Chagula in his analysis of the definition of ‘university autonomy’ given by the Administrative Board of the International Association of Universities in Tokyo during its meeting in September 1965 argued that certain elements of the definition were not applicable in the East African situation. In his view, the idea that ‘The university should be responsible for the selection of its own students’ lacked universal application and did not suit the East African situation where “well over ninety percent of the students admitted into the University of East Africa are state sponsored.”⁸² When the Working Party on Higher Education presented its Report in January 1969, it stated: “Each national Government is implementing plans to meet economic and social needs. The university, as

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ *Report of the Conference on the University of East Africa* held in Nairobi, Kenya from 23 to 26 October 1967, 32.

⁸² W. K. Chagula, “The East African Academy: Academic Freedom and University Autonomy in Economic, Social and Political Context of East Africa”, *Minerva*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (Spring, 1968): 412.

the major source of the manpower required to implement and fulfill such programs, must respond to the aspirations of the country it serves and accordingly must work closely with the national Government to that end.”⁸³ The University of East Africa was expected to respond to the aspirations of three different countries. This task was not easy to accomplish, hence the decision by the East African Authority to dissolve the federal University.

This section has demonstrated that the forces of nationalism and independence retarded the idea of a federal University of East Africa. The manpower requirements of the three independent national governments were different; these differences later necessitated the dissolution of the University so that each government could work closer with its national university in drawing up and implementing national policies. The overall assumption was that national universities administered locally would be closer to the people they were expected to serve and thus produce the kind of manpower that was urgently needed by the state in its development effort.

Another factor that contributed to the demise of the University of East Africa was that African countries in the 1960s considered the national university as the pride of the nation. Each independent government did all in its power to establish its own national university. This was also the case with regard to the three East African territories.

6.3.2 The National University as the Pride of the Nation

All African countries, including those in East Africa, aspired to have national universities when they achieved political independence from metropolitan countries. This was mainly because national universities, like national governments, were perceived to

⁸³ *Report of the Working Party on Higher Education in East Africa*, 30 January 1969, par.35.

be the pride of the nation. Ogot and Welbourn in their work *A Place to Feel at Home* argue that a national university is politically desirable because it is a symbol of status and a center of thought about national needs.⁸⁴ One Report argued that in terms of world-wide example it is natural for a sovereign state, either as a whole or through its political individuals (e.g. the separate states in the United States of America) to maintain one or more publicly supported institutions of higher education. In like manner, “the history of developing nations bears witness to the power of this marriage between University and State.”⁸⁵ Such beliefs inspired East African politicians to agitate for the dissolution of the University of East Africa so that they could establish national universities.

Stoddard’s Working Party, after listening to evidence given by Education Ministers from the three national governments in East Africa, the faculty from the constituent colleges of the University of East Africa and the graduates from these institutions, arrived at a unanimous conclusion that the desire to create autonomous universities in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania was both understandable and commendable because it would allow each state to plan its own education system without having to first convince the other two national governments about the significance of the idea being contemplated at the time. Ajayi, Goma and Johnson in their work *The African Experience with Higher Education* argue that attempts to create regional universities serving a number of independent countries “generally failed as each country wished to have and control its own university, virtually as part of the symbols indicating sovereignty.”⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Bethwell A. Ogot and F. B. Welbourn, *A Place to Feel at Home: A Study of Two Independent Churches in Western Kenya* (Nairobi: Oxford UP, 1996), 136.

⁸⁵ *Report of the Working Party on Higher Education in East Africa*, 30 January 1969, 25, par.31.

⁸⁶ Ajayi, Goma and Johnson, *The African Experience with Higher Education*, 74.

Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika were all custodians of the federal University of East Africa but the University was considered far removed from each state – including the Ugandan state where the University’s Head Offices were physically located. Independent East Africa was not a nation, but three putative separate nation-states each of which aspired to have a national university that would solely be under its control. Another reason for this determination by East African politicians to establish national universities is encapsulated in Paul Tiyambe Zeleza’s submission that education in general and universities in particular “constitute one of the most critical cultural institutions.”⁸⁷ As independent states, Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania aspired to promote their respective national cultures and looked to national universities to assist them in this regard. The three East African territories resolved to shape their own destinies independently.

Therefore, even if the University of East Africa met the manpower requirements of each state, it would still have been impossible to convince East African constituencies, especially politicians, to denounce their call for the establishment of national universities. As argued above, the idea of a national university was deemed important not only because it produced the necessary manpower but also because it was perceived as the pride of the nation. President Nyerere, speaking during the Opening Ceremony at The University College, Dar es Salaam in 1961, had argued: “An independent country depending on charity for all its higher educational opportunities is in great psychological danger.”⁸⁸ President Nyerere alluded to the fact that having a national university that is

⁸⁷ Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, “The Struggle for African History: The Career of B. A. Ogot”, Commentary, in Falola and Odhiambo (eds). *The Essays of Bethwell Allan Ogot*, xlv.

⁸⁸ Julius Nyerere, Speech Made During the Opening Ceremony at The University College, Dar es Salaam, 25 October 1961, Address: II.

run by policies drawn up locally provides a psychological relief in that if the policy fails, it can be modified without seeking approval from somewhere else. This trajectory contributed to the dissolution of the federal University of East Africa.

6.4 Nationalism and Independence Confirmed

The fact that nationalism and independence were two of the key causal factors in the demise of the University of East Africa was given substance by the developments that took place when the federal University was dissolved in 1970. The purpose of this section is to take a quick look at those developments and analyze the statements articulated by different constituencies on the eve of the dissolution of the University and immediately thereafter.

The achievement of political independence by the East African territories between 1961 and 1963 marked the end of the first form of colonial domination. When the University of East Africa was established in 1963, it was anticipated that such an institution would guarantee two forms of liberation: academic and economic. Failure by the federal University to address national needs of the East African territories inspired different constituencies to agitate for its dissolution. Therefore, the establishment of the University of Dar es Salaam, the University of Nairobi and Makerere University on July 1, 1970 completed the independence of the three East African territories and marked the victory for nationalism.

Daniel Mkude and Brian Cooksey in their recent article on Tanzania write: "In 1970, it was decided to dissolve the University of East Africa in order to allow each country to control and give shape to its own university in accordance with its national

interests.”⁸⁹ This submission is given substance by the fact that President Nyerere became the Chancellor of the University of Dar es Salaam while President Kenyatta and President Obote became the Chancellors of the University of Nairobi and Makerere University respectively.

Mohamed Hyder concluded his article ‘The University, The Government and National Development in Kenya’ thus: “Let us make 1970 not only the year of the birth of the University of Nairobi but the beginning of a dynamic decade of mutual understanding and identification between the University, the Government and the public in the promotion of national development.”⁹⁰ The University of Nairobi was now expected to consider the aspirations of only one government, not three, as it had been the case before July 1, 1970. The Act that set up the University of Nairobi confined itself to national aspirations. In paragraph 5(1) of the Act the objects and functions of the University of Nairobi were stated as follows: a) to provide facilities for university education, including technological and professional education, and for research, either directly or through the medium of connected colleges, schools or institutes; b) to assist in the preservation, transmission and increase of knowledge and in the stimulation of the intellectual life and cultural development of Kenya; c) to conduct examination for, and to grant degrees, diplomas, certificates and other awards of the university; d) to co-operate with the Government in the planned development of higher education, in particular, to examine and approve proposals for new faculties, new departments, new degree courses, new subjects of study submitted to it by any constituent college or other post-secondary institution; and e) to determine who may teach and what may be taught and how it may

⁸⁹ Daniel Mkude and Brian Cooksey, “Tanzania”, in Teferra and Altbach (eds) *African Higher Education*, 584.

⁹⁰ Hyder, “The University, The Government and National Development in Kenya”: 12.

be taught in the university.⁹¹ Dr. J. N. Karanja, Principal of the University of Nairobi, in his dinner speech delivered at Kabete, Kenya, in August 1970, stated:

We now have our own independent national university and it is our responsibility to shape and plan its future, taking into account the needs of this country and the aspirations of its people. The primary object of higher education in the difficult early years of a young country such as ours is to produce technical and professional manpower needed to promote and control all aspects of national development.⁹²

The relationship between the state and the university became evident in all three territories soon after the establishment of national universities. For example, the Uganda government moved some of its ‘trusted’ politicians to take new positions at Makerere University. President Obote was now the University’s Chancellor. Frank Kalimuzo, Secretary to the Cabinet, was appointed as the University’s Vice-Chancellor. President Obote announced that Kalimuzo had been ‘loaned’ to the new national University by the government. Yusuf Lule, who had served as Principal of the now defunct Makerere University College in Uganda, ‘would be called to serve somewhere else’. This political appointment did not go unnoticed. Hugh Dinwiddy recalled: “Without warning, Mr Lule had been replaced as Principal by Mr. Kalimuzo, Permanent Secretary in President Obote’s Office, as Vice-Chancellor.”⁹³ Uganda had achieved her political independence on October 9, 1962. July 1, 1970 marked the second date of independence of another kind and “signified the fact that Makerere would now be truly a Ugandan institution.”⁹⁴

In a way, the two dates completed Uganda’s independence. Dr. Luyimbazi-Zake was upbeat when Makerere eventually became a national university and did not hide the

⁹¹ The University of Nairobi Act, Act No. 16 of 1970. *Kenya Gazette Supplement Acts, 1970* (Nairobi: GP, 1970), 300-302.

⁹² J. N. Karanja, Speech Delivered at Kabete Junior Common Room Dinner, 21 August 1970, 1.

⁹³ Dinwiddy, “The Ugandan Army and Makerere”, 55.

⁹⁴ *The People* (Uganda), 1 July 1970.

fact that the establishment of this national university reminded him of October 9, 1962 when Uganda became independent and took her seat proudly in the community of independent nations. Dr. Luyimbazi-Zake added that the date “marks an end to that protracted period of tutelage and a beginning of a new and significant era which is in keeping with the national status of an independent state.”⁹⁵ He concurred with the view that Makerere would now be ‘truly a Ugandan institution’ and concluded his speech by assuring Ugandans that everything had been done to ensure that Makerere University became a fully-fledged university. Parliament had already passed legislation for the implementation of all fundamental changes and the President had signed the Bill to give a new legal status and personality to Makerere.

According to Dr. Luyimbazi-Zake, the new status given to the former University Colleges opened up new avenues of communication and interchange of ideas and experience as fully mature and autonomous national universities. In his view, the time was opportune for the East African territories to guide their national universities towards the direction of their own choice.

Mahmood Mamdani’s analysis of post-colonial Africa leads to the conclusion that independent African states found it inevitable to establish a working relationship between the state and the university. Mamdani espouses the view that the post-independence state implemented the demand for higher education not simply as a response to broad social pressures, but also out of the recognition that it would be difficult to effect the Africanization of the civil service and the parastatal sector without having a pool of ‘trained’ cadres. He continues: “Seen as vital in fulfilling the manpower needs of the independent state, universities came to be considered a necessary ingredient in the

⁹⁵ *Uganda Argus*, 1 July 1970.

developmental logic of the period.⁹⁶ The joy expressed by different East African constituencies when the national universities were formally established in July 1970 was in line with this general feeling that national universities were considered a significant part of the overall planning of the post-colonial state in Africa.

Chapter Summary

The thrust of the argument in this Chapter is that nationalism and independence in East Africa played a profound role in the eventual collapse of the federal University. The discussion above has demonstrated that while the rise of nationalism in Africa in general and in East Africa in particular united Africans against colonial domination, territorial nationalism in the post-independence era caused a schism between different territories. The chronological analysis of inter-territorial tensions in East Africa demonstrates that all three territories played their role in the eventual collapse of the University of East Africa. However, there is enough reason in the present Chapter to suggest that Uganda was more instrumental in the demise of the University than Kenya and Tanzania. Part of the reason is that Makerere University College was at an advanced stage of development compared to the other two sister colleges. Secondly, President Obote and Dr. Luyimbazi-Zake were supposed to convince Ugandans to support the federal University; instead, they were the ones who played a leading role in espousing the view that the University of East Africa was doing Uganda a disservice and therefore had to be dissolved.

The present Chapter has demonstrated that the delaying tactics by President Obote and Dr. Luyimbazi-Zake throughout 1965 were directly responsible for subsequent

⁹⁶ Mahmood Mamdani, "Introduction: The Quest for Academic Freedom", in Mahmood Mamdani and Mamadou Diouf (eds) *Academic Freedom in Africa* (Oxford: Codesria Book Series, 1994), 1.

events that culminated to the eventual collapse of the University of East Africa. Uganda's indecision froze donor funds. By the time the Uganda government acquiesced in the decision to keep Makerere in the University during the second triennium period the damage had already been done. Even if Stoddard's Working Party of 1968 had recommended that the University should continue, it would have been almost impossible to stimulate the spirit of East African brotherhood after a long period of mud-slinging. As demonstrated above, the manpower requirements of each territory and the national economic policies were different. Above all, the national university was perceived as the pride of the nation. Thus, even if the three East African territories did not have different manpower requirements and did not pursue divergent economic policies, the fact that both the national universities and the national governments were considered to be the pride of the nation would have been enough to necessitate the eventual dissolution of the University.

The federal University of East Africa existed for only seven years (June 1963 to June 1970). However, what is important about this institution is not that its life was ephemeral but the fact that it ever existed in the first place. The concluding Chapter explores the relevance of the present study in contemporary Africa.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION: THE LESSONS OF EXPERIENCE

The current study has explored a confluence of factors that constituted the germ for the establishment of the University of East Africa, as well as those that led to the University's demise. The purpose of the present Chapter is twofold. First, it provides a synthesis of the issues addressed in the preceding chapters regarding the political history of the University of East Africa. Second, it demonstrates the significance of this study in the development of higher education in contemporary Africa.

The University of East Africa existed from 1963 to 1970. But as demonstrated in the preceding chapters, the University's history goes back to the inter-war period when a combination of factors necessitated the development of African education in the British colonies, including those in East Africa. The publication in March 1925 of the Report of the Ormsby-Gore Commission marked the beginning of the process of formulating a British educational policy on African education. In East Africa, this process started taking a clearer shape in the early 1930s following the conference of the Directors of Education held in Zanzibar in 1932 and the publication of the Currie Report on the development of higher education in Anglophone Africa in December 1933. The actual process of establishing the federal University of East Africa was set in motion by the publication of the Report of the De la Warr Commission in 1937. Therefore, the year 1937 remains a significant signpost in the history of higher education in East Africa.

The outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 cast the East African scenario into the broader framework of British imperial policy. Consequently, between 1940 and 1945, the development of higher education in East Africa was discussed concurrently

with the development of higher education in the British territories in general. From 1946 to 1963 the inter-territorial University Colleges in Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika developed as part of the Asquith scheme for higher education in the British Empire. However, as demonstrated in this study, by the early 1960s various East African constituencies had already embraced the idea of establishing the federal University.

There are two overriding themes in the present study. First, the establishment and subsequent dissolution of the University of East Africa was caused mainly by political factors. Second, agency in the establishment of the University of East Africa cannot be attributed to any single constituency; there were local and global causes. The British government, the colonial governments in East Africa and East African constituencies all contributed to the establishment of the federal University. Each constituency had specific reasons for embracing the idea of a federal University and their actions were either preemptive or responses to political developments both locally and globally. The British government promoted the idea of a federal University so as to quench the thirst for higher education among young East Africans and thus insulate them from possible political agitation to which they were likely to be exposed if they traveled abroad.

Therefore, to the British government the University of East Africa was a political weapon to which it reverted so as to sustain British domination over East Africans while simultaneously insulating the would-be graduates from Britain's global political buffets. On the other hand, East African constituencies, consisting of politicians, scholars and students, embraced the idea of a federal University due in part to economic reasons,¹ but mainly because of the belief that "Success in forming the 'federal' university might

¹ There was a realization that East African economies were weak and would not allow each territory to have a national university. There was consensus between the territories that a federal University could be used as a temporal solution; it would be dissolved once each territory was economically strong to stand on its own.

encourage the political federation of the three countries which was envisaged at the time.”² Thus, to the British authorities the University was a guarantor of continued control over East Africa, while to the East Africans it was a sign of freedom. In both instances there was political motivation.

This study has demonstrated that the history of the federal University of East Africa was characterized by tensions. Initially the British government was upbeat about the prospects of establishing a regional University in East Africa for the political reasons cited above. However, the local Governors and Directors of Education in East Africa, as in West Africa, considered the possible negative impact of providing higher educational facilities in East Africa and deliberately delayed the process of setting up the envisioned University. They were particularly concerned about the creation of an elite group that might be vocal on a wide range of issues regarding the welfare of the East African people and possibly eventually challenge their authority in the region. L. Gray Cowan, James O’Connell and David Scanlon summarize these tensions thus:

The colonial administrators were much less enthusiastic about the founding of African universities than were the metropolitan educational commissions. The former, who traditionally took a more limited view of the colonial administration, were uneasy about finding funds for expensive institutions. Moreover, most of them had themselves attended universities like Oxford and Cambridge, and were skeptical that a university could be established that differed greatly from their own. Many of them also were not enthusiastic about coping with multitudes of African graduates, who might cause them difficulties and would eventually claim their jobs.³

It was at the insistence of the metropolitan government in London that these local authorities eventually acquiesced in the plan to establish the federal University.

² Furley and Watson, *A History of Education in East Africa*, 330.

³ Cowan, O’Connell and Scanlon (eds) *Education and Nation-Building in Africa*, 28.

Another locus of the tensions was between British authorities and East African constituencies. Initially, young East Africans aspired to travel abroad in pursuit of their higher education while British Governors resolved to confine them to East Africa and, in the case of Uganda, went to an extent of denying them passports to travel abroad. British officials “consoled themselves with the thought that students would be less likely to pick up heady ideas at colonial universities than they would at the Sorbonne or the London School of Economics.”⁴ In instances where East African students were allowed to travel abroad they were directed to those universities that were thought to be less likely to have a negative influence on them, such as Indian universities and Fort Hare in South Africa. What is evident in this study is that during the 1920s, establishing a federal University was not the primary objective among East African constituencies such as the Young Baganda Association. Their immediate goal was to obtain higher education wherever it was available, including places like the Tuskegee Institute in the southern United States of America. But such institutions were deemed ‘dangerous’ by British authorities in London and in East Africa. During the 1960s, East African constituencies, particularly the political leadership, unabashedly took a vanguard position in championing the cause for the establishment of the federal University of East Africa because they hoped that such an institution would accelerate and, later, consolidate their political independence from Britain by being a service institution to the newly established national governments.

Arthur Porter once argued: “Indeed, all education involves crises. From the simplest to the highest levels, education is a series of thresholds, a series of crises.”⁵ This study has demonstrated that higher education in East Africa was not immune to this

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Arthur T. Porter, Address to Students at University College, Nairobi, 12 October 1966, 1.

reality. The University of East Africa had its own share of the problems, one of which was defining an identity for itself as an institution. As discussed in Chapter 4, the federal University of East Africa was a multi-faced institution that reflected both local and international features of a University. Some commentators argued that while it was necessary for the University of East Africa to remain relevant to the local needs, the University could not divorce itself from the international community.⁶ Others took an essentialist position, insisting that as an independent institution the University of East Africa had to reflect an East African outlook lock, stock and barrel in terms of students, faculty, administrators, curriculum, syllabus, and teaching methods. In their view, an independent African University could not replicate Western conceptions of a university while ignoring the local reality obtaining in Africa. Alex Kwapong, former Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ghana in his study of universities in developing countries of Africa maintained:

Experience strongly confirms the view that adaptability and responsiveness to local needs can only be *effectively* undertaken by local people who understand local problems and context, who are sensitive to local pressures and who have, *at the same time*, the basic expertise and qualifications requisite for the solution of the particular problems in question Outsiders can only help, but the basic decisions, and their implementation, have to be undertaken by local experts.⁷

The same trajectory inspired different East African constituencies to embark on the Africanization project at the University of East Africa. Wilbert Chagula in his Foundation Lecture delivered in 1967 emphasized the need for the East-Africanization of

⁶ President Nyerere retained this view after the dissolution of the University of East Africa. Speaking during the inauguration ceremony of the University of Dar es Salaam on August 29, 1970 he argued that knowledge is international and inter-related and that the University of Dar es Salaam had to focus on Tanzania without totally ignoring the international community. See: Julius K. Nyerere, *Freedom and Development: Uhuru na Maendeleo: A Selection from Writings and Speeches 1968-1973* (Dar es Salaam: Oxford UP, 1973), 199.

⁷ Alex A. Kwapong, *Universities in the Developing Countries of Africa: Some Problems and Prospects*, Occasional Paper No. 13 (Los Angeles: University of California, 1973), 9-10.

staff at the University of East Africa, adding that senior administrative staff who were East Africans had an urgent responsibility to advise the expatriate staff on matters regarding the relationship between each constituent college and the national government as well as the general public. In his view, university autonomy and academic freedom were relative concepts which could not be applied to the University of East Africa blindly. Chagula argued that the University of East Africa needed local staff members who would consider the local situation in East Africa when applying these Western concepts. Furley and Watson write: “Dr. Chagula was really warning that until the colleges were older, more familiar, and trusted, more East-Africanised, some of the university freedoms accepted elsewhere, especially in the West, would have to take second place to government expectations and hopes regarding the role their colleges should play—and it would be true to say that all three colleges were aware of this fact.”⁸

But as argued above, ‘Africanization’ and ‘localization’ were discussed concurrently, thus leading to tensions between different constituencies as to which of the two should take precedence over the other. The persistent fear by some East African constituencies and expatriates that Africanization would culminate in the decline of the revered academic standards in the constituent colleges contributed to the slow progress in Africanization as indicated in Chapter 4 of the present study.

Chapters 5 and 6 have demonstrated that it is difficult to provide a linear narrative about the history of the federal University of East Africa, one part showing the rise of the University, the other part showing its fall. This is precisely because the University started falling apart at the same time as it was being constituted. Chapter 5 has demonstrated that while it cannot be repudiated that problems such as the increase in the student population

⁸ Furley and Watson, *A History of Education in East Africa*, 350.

hit the University late in its life, most of the problems were already intrinsic when the University was inaugurated.

Chapter 6 has demonstrated that the spirit of nationalism and independence had a dual effect in East Africa, one positive, the other negative. First, the independence euphoria that swept through East Africa between 1960 and 1963 united East Africa against British domination. East African constituencies argued that the federal University should be established and that it should be put under the direct control of East Africans because they were more conversant with the needs of their region than the British. However, soon after the achievement of political independence, nationalism exposed the already latent inter-territorial tensions and jealousies in East Africa. The three territorial governments agitated for the establishment of national universities that would be run by local administrators who were deemed to have a better understanding of national needs. More importantly, the national university was perceived as the pride of an independent nation as much as the University of East Africa had been perceived as the pride of an independent East Africa.

It follows from this trajectory that although the establishment of the federal University of East Africa was justifiable on economic and political grounds, the fate of this University was predetermined from the outset due to both natural and human factors. For example, when the University was instituted, the constituent colleges were based in three independent countries, each of which had its own national aspirations. Gradually this became unsettling and it was felt that the fulfillment of these national aspirations depended largely on the establishment of a national university (-ies) in each territory.

When the University of Tanzania was officially inaugurated on August 29, 1970, President Nyerere, the University's Chancellor, stated *inter alia* that the University of Dar es Salaam "must be *our* University—relevant to the present and future society of Tanzania."⁹ President Nyerere added that the University of Dar es Salaam had to perform its duties in the framework of, and for the purpose of, serving the needs of Tanzania's development towards socialism. As discussed in Chapter 6, Tanzania's attempts to use the University College, Dar es Salaam for the promotion of its version of socialism contributed to the eventual dissolution of the federal University. But once the University College in Tanzania became a national university the government could proceed with its plans to regularize the relationship between the Tanzanian state and the national university without thinking about how such an arrangement would affect Kenya and Uganda. The establishment of the University of East Africa in 1963 had been hailed a giant stride in the promotion of regional integration in higher education. The University's dissolution in 1970 after years of muck-raking marked a new epoch in the development of higher education in East Africa and consolidated the changed focus from *regional integration* to *regional co-operation* between separate national universities that had already started in the late 1960s.

It is evident from this study that establishing and sustaining the federal University of East Africa was a difficult assignment, hence the decision to dissolve it in 1970. But even the dissolution of the University of East Africa turned out to be a long drawn-out and a very complex process due in part to the same factors that had necessitated its dismemberment in the first place. For example, the three constituent colleges located in

⁹ Julius K. Nyerere, Speech made during the inaugural ceremony of the University of Dar es Salaam, 29 August 1970, in Nyerere, *Freedom and Development*, 197.

separate countries had been constituted under separate legislations: (i) Makerere University College was operating under the provisions of the Makerere College Act of 1949 as amended by subsequent legislation in 1954, 1957, 1961, 1963 and 1964; (ii) University College, Nairobi was governed by the Acts passed in 1963 and in 1964; and (iii) the University College, Dar es Salaam was governed by an Act passed in 1963, amended in 1967.

All the above-mentioned Acts had been passed before the official inauguration of the first¹⁰ East African Community on December 1, 1967. Therefore the powers and obligations conferred by these Acts could neither be removed nor transferred by an Act of the National Assembly of each country; they needed joint legislation. Each National Assembly had to pass an Act establishing a national university. The Central Legislative Assembly would then pass its own Act dissolving the University College. Also, the same Act would transfer the University College's assets and liabilities to the new national university. Most importantly, the University of East Africa had been established by the University of East Africa Act of 1962, passed by the now defunct East African Common Services Organization. For the University of East Africa to be officially dissolved the East African Community had to pass an Act repealing the one passed by E. A. C. S. O. in 1962. Stoddard's Working Party of 1969 was mindful of the legal implications of the recommendation that the University of East Africa should be dissolved and stated:

Our recommendation that the University of East Africa be dissolved on 30 June 1970 will require repeal of the University of East Africa Act, 1962 by the East African Legislative Assembly. Concurrently with the legislation to dissolve the University of East Africa there should be legislation to establish the Inter-University Committee for East Africa and for the

¹⁰ The first East African Community existed for ten years from 1967 to 1977. The current one was instituted in 2001.

transfer to it of the residual powers and obligations of the University of East Africa.¹¹

Inequality had been one of the vexing problems for the University of East Africa, as a result of which the spirit of regional co-operation in higher education in East Africa wore very thin. Vestiges of this problem became evident when the University was dissolved. The University of Dar es Salaam was still in the process of establishing itself and, therefore, could not afford to completely stand on its own. Educational resources at the University of Dar es Salaam were insufficient, forcing the Tanzanian government to insist that its students should still be allowed to travel to Makerere University and the University of Nairobi to join those professional departments not yet established in Tanzania. Further, the Tanzanian government had not yet resolved the problem of compulsory National Service, a problem that did not affect Uganda and Kenya. Furley and Watson write: “The other two constituent colleges of the University at Nairobi and Makerere had much longer histories behind them. When the U.E.A. broke up in 1970 they developed along lines already well laid down and broadly acceptable to academics, students and the public.”¹²

Delivering a speech a few months after the dissolution of the federal University of East Africa, Mr. Rashidi Kawawa, Tanzania’s Vice-President, conceded that the national University of Dar es Salaam was not ready yet to be completely independent. Kawawa expressed hope that there would be continued regional co-operation in the development of higher education in East Africa despite the demise of the regional University, arguing: “This change does not mean an end to co-operation between the institutions of higher education in East Africa. Co-operation between the three universities will continue, and

¹¹ *Report of the Working Party on Higher Education in East Africa, 30 January 1969*, 65. par.108.

¹² Furley and Watson, *A history of Education in East Africa*, 352.

in many matters we hope it will increase.”¹³ With these optimistic words Kawawa and the rest of East Africa bid the federal University of East Africa farewell.

7.1 The East African Experience: Lessons for the Future

There are many lessons to be drawn from the East African experience with higher education by education policy makers in contemporary Africa. As the dictum asserts, those who do not learn from history are condemned to repeat it. The fact that the federal University of East Africa ever existed when similar attempts in West Africa were not successful, and the fact that this University was dissolved while a similar institution in the West Indies has survived to-date makes it a fascinating case study. Africans have two possible options at their disposal: to use this experience as a source of reference when planning higher education and anticipate certain problems, or to ignore it to their own peril. In 1824, Leopold Von Ranke, the famous German historian, argued: “history has been assigned the office of judging the past, of instructing the present for the benefit of future ages.”¹⁴ The significance of this study is not only its historical context but also its relevance to the current and future development of higher education in the whole of Africa. The reasons that led to the demise of the federal University of East Africa have been identified. Some may still be insurmountable today as they were about four decades ago but others could be avoided by current education planners. East Africa as a region, South Africa as a country and Africa as a continent have a lot to learn from the East African experience.

¹³ Kawawa, Speech delivered during the opening of the Eastern African Universities’ Social Science Conference. Cited by Furley and Watson, *A History of Education in East Africa*, 344.

¹⁴ Leopold Von Ranke, *Histories of the Latin and Germanic Nations* (1824), Cited by Allan Megill, “Are We Asking Too Much of History?” *Historically Speaking* (April 2002): 9.

7.1.1 Lessons for East Africa

East Africa is the first part of Africa that stands to benefit from its own experience with higher education. In the 1960s, East African constituencies perceived the University of East Africa primarily as part of a regional integration project just like the East African Community but with specific emphasis on higher education. In 2001, East African politicians revived the East African Community. The question becomes: Should the current East African leaders revive the University of East Africa as part of the regional integration project? Before deciding on this issue these leaders would have to study the history of the University of East Africa very closely and identify the factors that led to the University's demise. They would have to consider *inter alia*: the student population in East Africa today, the political will in each territory to work together with other territories, the financial year of each national government and how that would affect the university calendar, the current manpower needs of each country, the question of the site and the distribution of faculty, administrative and support staff. As demonstrated in Chapters 5 and 6, these were contentious subjects that caused tensions within the University of East Africa. The fact that the federal University was not revived simultaneously with the new East African Community seems to be an acknowledgement of the fact that regional integration in higher education is more complex than economic integration.

If sustaining the University of East Africa in the 1960s was problematic due in part to the increase in the student population, the situation would be worse today. For example, Kenya's six public universities cannot absorb all the qualifying candidates due to lack of space as well as teaching and learning facilities. A regional university would be

unable to absorb the surplus number of students from Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. Also, tensions between regional and territorial aspirations would emerge. In 1965, Dr. Luyimbazi-Zake argued that his Ugandan government was restructuring its education system from primary school to tertiary level. This could not be accommodated in the regional educational plan. Currently, the National Rainbow Coalition government in Kenya is contemplating to scrap the 8.4.4. education system.¹⁵ If that happened, it would necessitate major changes at all levels of education in Kenya. These changes would automatically rule out any possibility of resuscitating the federal University of East Africa because educational changes in Kenya would not be automatically replicated in Uganda or Tanzania. In 1967, Colin Legum in his study on Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania argued that the future of East Africa depended to a very large extent on whether or not these countries could succeed in working together and continued: “But if the pressures towards closer association are strong, so are the forces working in the opposite direction.”¹⁶ This observation is still relevant today, especially with regard to higher education.

In the 1960s, Presidents Kenyatta, Obote and Nyerere viewed regional integration in East Africa as part of the Pan-African project and perceived the University of East Africa in this broader context. University administrators shared the same view. During the Council Meeting of the University of East Africa on March 8, 1968, Sir James Cook, the Vice-Chancellor, stated that he had written letters to Haile Selassie I University and to the Universities of Malawi and Zambia on the need for regional co-operation.

¹⁵ Under this system of education pupils spend a total of eight years at primary school, four years at high school and then proceed to the tertiary (university) level where they spend four more years before they get their first degree. To be sure, some degrees take longer to complete but this is the general structure.

¹⁶ Legum (ed) *Africa: A Handbook*, 106.

However, he did not make any follow-up because some doubt had been expressed in certain quarters as to whether the pursuit of regional co-operation was worthwhile following the establishment of the Association of African Universities (A. A. U.) in 1967.¹⁷ Cook then asked for the Council's opinion on this issue. But as far as he was concerned – a view shared by Arthur Porter from the Nairobi College – the existence of the A. A. U. did not in any way preclude regional efforts of co-operation because they both had the same goal of uniting African universities. Another Council member, Makerere Principal Yusuf Lule, stated that as far as he was concerned, the purpose of the Association of African Universities was to foster closer co-operation among universities in Africa. However, those universities that were physically closer together could work out programs on a regional basis.¹⁸ If the current leaders in East Africa decide to revive the federal University in response to the renewed spirit of African unity they would have to ruminate about such debates and then act accordingly.

Another major factor East African leaders would have to take into serious consideration is the economic inequality that exists between the three sovereign states. When plans were underway for the establishment of the federal University of East Africa Uganda was the richest of all British East African possessions with a budget surplus in the range of £1.5 million.¹⁹ Governor Mitchell capitalized on Uganda's economic advantage and argued that his territory could bear the entire cost of developing Makerere if the other two governments were unwilling to co-operate. As demonstrated in Chapter 5, this inequality became one of the causal factors in the demise of the federal University.

¹⁷ For details see: Founding Conference of the Association of African Universities. U. O. N. Archives. UEA Academic Board, PUE/3/33.

¹⁸ Minutes of the University of East Africa's Council Meeting held in Nairobi on 08 March 1968. U. O. N. Archives. Minutes of the University Council. PUEA/1A/49.

¹⁹ Nwauwa, *Imperialism, Academe & Nationalism*, 86.

Economic inequalities still exist in East Africa today and have a potential to cause the same inter-territorial tensions witnessed in the early 1960s. Estimates for 2002 released in 2003 show the GDP purchasing power of the three East African territories thus: Kenya – \$32 billion, Uganda – \$31 billion and Tanzania – \$22.5 billion. Tanzania is still being described as “one of the poorest countries in the world.”²⁰

Also, East African leaders would have to think about funding. The preceding chapters have shown that the University of East Africa relied mainly on foreign aid for its survival. A lot has changed since the 1960s. Britain no longer feels obliged to cater for the needs of her former colonies and their various institutions. Further, there are more universities in Africa today than there were in the 1960s. Thus, a new federal university in East Africa today would not enjoy the benevolence enjoyed by the University of East Africa in the 1960s. Hyslop in his letter to the Prime Minister of Kenya in 1963 anticipated this problem and articulated his views thus:

[Further], there is no doubt that overseas Foundations and Governments are particularly attracted at this time by the idea of a University of East Africa and that this institution is in a very much better position to obtain the necessary aid than would each of the Colleges alone. There are, of course, many other calls on benefactors and I would urge that advantage be taken of a set of circumstances which are at present particularly favourable but which might be less so in the near future in view of other competing claims.²¹

There is also the political factor. Chapter 4 has demonstrated that African constituencies in the 1960s resolved to Africanize the University of East Africa in all areas. East Africa is arguably more politically complex today than it was about four decades ago. Should the University be revived, East Africans would probably insist that it should be predominantly African. The question becomes: What would encourage Britain

²⁰ 2003 CIA World Factbook. See also: <http://www.nationmaster.com/country/tz/Economy>.

²¹ J. M. Hyslop to the Prime Minister of Kenya, 1 August 1963. K. N. A. KA/2/17.

to fund a federal university in which it had no say? Chapter 2 of the current study on the politics behind the establishment of the University of East Africa could help East African leaders in making a decision on whether or not to revive the federal University. What is feasible under the current situation is *regional co-operation* as opposed to *regional integration*. Bernard Onyango, Registrar at the University of East Africa, acknowledged the need for regional co-operation between universities, arguing:

The principle of co-operation among Universities is no longer a matter for debate. Just as nations are finding it more and more essential, at the United Nations or the Organization of African Unity or any other level, to associate in pursuit of mutual good, so Universities are more and more realizing the necessity to cultivate ways of mutual assistance by co-operative endeavours in various fields of their activities.²²

Contemporary education policy makers in East Africa could benefit more by promoting regional co-operation in higher education than by attempting to revive regional integration.

But it is not only East Africa as a region that stands to benefit from its vast experience with higher education. South Africa as a country in transition has a lot to learn from this East African experience.

7.1.2 Lessons for South Africa

The Department of Education in post-apartheid South Africa has a lot to learn from the East African experience with higher education as it re-organizes the country's higher education system. In the words of Emmanuel Ngara, South Africa "has to appreciate that it is part of Africa, and – that it has experiences and knowledge to share

²² Bernard Onyango, "A Memorandum for the Executive Committee of Council", 4 January 1967, par.2. U. O. N. Archives, UEA University Council, PUEA/1A/28.

but that it has much also to learn from other societies.”²³ This section explores how South Africa could use the East African experience for its own benefit. South Africa’s first democratic elections in 1994 ended the country’s isolation from the rest of the world. It would be a big mistake for the South African Ministry of Education to ignore the experiences of other African countries with higher education and repeat the mistakes those countries made. For South Africa, being a late-comer in democracy is a blessing in disguise. However, failure by the Education Ministry to learn from fellow Africans could easily put the country’s higher education system in a worse position than the one experienced in East Africa in the 1960s.

The end of apartheid in South Africa in 1994 left institutions of education at all levels divided according to race and ethnicity. The first Minister of Education in the post-apartheid era, Professor Sibusiso Bhengu, focused mainly on restructuring primary and high school education. The second Education Minister, Professor Kader Asmal, put more emphasis on higher education and embarked on the process of reducing the number of tertiary institutions from about 36 to at least 21. However, the line between short-term and long-term goals was not clearly drawn in the Minister’s plan. It is in this area that the East African experience becomes relevant. The De la Warr Commission had advised East Africans that while educational changes were necessary, “a short-sighted policy may well lead to a worse position in a decade or two from now.”²⁴ When Asmal began with his program of restructuring South African higher education he rushed into changes, thus making himself vulnerable to attacks especially by politicians, scholars and students.

²³ International Development Research Center (I. D. R. C.), 1993, cited by Ngara, *The African University and its Mission Strategies*, 165.

²⁴ *Report of the De la Warr Commission*, 17.

The student population is one factor that needs serious thinking in South Africa, bearing the East African experience in mind. When the University of East Africa was established, the student population was small but this situation did not last long; by the second triennium the University could no longer accommodate all qualifying students. The South African population is more than 45 million and the student population at all levels of education is on the increase. While the decision to reduce the number of tertiary institutions is justifiable given the duplication that took place under the apartheid regime, an over-reduction of the number of tertiary institutions could soon backfire. When the University of East Africa was dissolved in 1970, the University of Nairobi became the only national university in Kenya. But the sudden increase in the student population has resulted into Kenya having a total of six national universities in three decades. Even this number cannot absorb all the candidates. Speaking during the launch of the University Institute of Open Learning late in 2002, Professor George Eshiwani, then Vice-Chancellor of Kenyatta University in Kenya, intimated that Kenya needed at least 30 universities, one for every one million people with 10, 000 students. Eshiwani regretted that the country's six national universities could only absorb between 25 and 30 percent of the eligible students.²⁵ This experience should serve as a warning to the Education Ministry in South Africa where the student population is much higher.

Race and inequality were some of the major problems affecting the federal University of East Africa; South Africa is not immune to them. In March 2001, Asmal appointed the National Working Group to advise on the restructuring of higher education in South Africa. Soon after the contents of the Group's Report were made public, commentators used race and inequality as some of the organizing themes, stating: "Most

²⁵ *Daily Nation*, 12 December 2002.

predominantly black institutions will be merged”²⁶ and “The historically white institutions. . . are largely unaffected.”²⁷ This was despite Asmal’s assurances that “no institution will be left untouched.”²⁸ To reduce the number of problems regarding the restructuring program, South Africa “should read the face of history accurately”²⁹ and act accordingly.

One of the accusations leveled against East African leaders was that they imposed different forms of regional integration from the top. Asmal repeated the same mistake in South Africa when he started implementing the merger of tertiary institutions, prompting some newspaper editors to write headlines such as ‘Asmal Consulted Nobody But Himself’. Dr. Barney Pitso, Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of South Africa (now New Unisa³⁰) accused Asmal of lack of consultation about the merger of the University of South Africa with Technikon SA and Vista, arguing: “Nowhere in the world would such a tradition-filled institution, investment and history be dealt with like this: without consultation, without checking what the feelings of people are, without cost benefit analysis, without understanding that a whole history is just being wiped out just like that.”³¹ The Pan Africanist Congress, one of South Africa’s political parties, accused Asmal of racist conduct, stating: “We wish to advise Asmal to Approach the Unisa question with more caution rather than using typical Verwoerd [the architect of apartheid]

²⁶ http://www.sabcnews.com/south_africa/education/0,1009,35357,00.html.

²⁷ *Business Day* (South Africa), 22 February 2002. See also: *Business Day*, 31 May 2002 and South African Press Association, 29 May 2002.

²⁸ South African Press Association News, 29 May 2002. See also: *Bua News* (South Africa), 30 May 2002.

²⁹ Ngara, *The African University and its Mission Strategies*, 187.

³⁰ New Unisa is a combination of three previously separate institutions that offered long distance education: University of South Africa (UNISA), Technikon SA and Vista University.

³¹ *Business Day* (South Africa), 14 January 2002. See also: *Mail & Guardian* (South Africa), 25 January 2002 and <http://www.sabcnews.com/politics/government/0,1009,27203,00.htm>.

methods.”³² Had the Minister been exposed to the East African experience he would have anticipated some of these confrontations.

Administration is another area in which the East African experience is relevant for South Africa since the newly merged institutions in South Africa are administered like the University of East Africa and therefore have similar problems. One problem is the distance between campuses. Dr. Pityana in an interview conceded that administering an institution based in more than one campus is a daunting task. Commenting on Unisa, Dr. Pityana reasoned: “As you can imagine, with a huge institution like this that is set in two campuses in Florida and Pretoria, to actually hold that institution meaningfully as one with all this distance in between is a major administration nightmare.”³³ But South Africa is lucky to have a source of reference. Although the three University Colleges in East Africa were located in three independent countries while South African institutions are based in nine provinces within one country, most of the problems are similar. Some are still insurmountable today as they were about four decades ago but others can be avoided by using the East African experience as a source of reference. To be sure, some modifications would be necessary in certain instances but studying the East African experience is a worthwhile project. Professor Z. K. Mathews, one of South Africa’s eminent scholars, acknowledged the need for learning from other people’s experiences even if circumstances are different. Mathews in his lecture reasoned:

It would be idle to expect that problems in Africa will assume the same forms as elsewhere. Nor need we expect that solutions which have proved useful elsewhere will necessarily provide an answer here. This is not to suggest that Africa cannot benefit from the experience of the rest of the world. On the contrary, in the modern world in which the isolation of people from one another has largely become a thing of the past, it would

³² *Business Day* (South Africa), 14 January 2002.

³³ Barney Pityana, interview, Pretoria, cited in SABC News, 11 December 2003.

be difficult if not impossible for us to avoid being influenced by the experiences of others. And in the main that influence may even be beneficial.³⁴

The ball is in the South African Education Ministry's courtyard.

Similarly, Africa as a continent has a lot to learn from the East African experience with higher education.

7.1.3 Lessons for the African Continent

Over the years, African leaders have tacitly conceded that history is the best teacher. The failure of classic integration schemes inspired the first generation of African leaders to opt for looser forms of regional cooperation in a variety of specific areas.³⁵ This change from *integration* to *co-operation* was prompted by the realization that while integration has many problems, Africans needed one another. Mazrui's response to the question: 'Can Africa defend itself against global apartheid?' was that: "The answer is yes, and one solution is towards greater African cooperation and solidarity, the resurrection of regional cooperation."³⁶ Lalage Bown addressed the concept 'co-operation' with specific reference to higher education, arguing that inter-university relationship should not be only Afro-European but should also take place within Africa as a continent.³⁷

The concepts African *unity* and African *co-operation* are used loosely and interchangeably in contemporary Africa. The question becomes: Should Africa establish

³⁴ Z. K. Mathews, "African Awakening and the Universities", The Third T. B. Davie Memorial Lecture, University of Cape Town, 15 August 1961, 6-7.

³⁵ Peter, J. Schraeder, "African International Relations", in April A. Gordon and Donald L. Gordon (eds) *Understanding Contemporary Africa*, Second Edition (USA: Lynne Rinner, 1996), 143.

³⁶ Ali Mazrui, *Global Changes and the Future of Higher Education in Africa*, James Smoot Coleman Memorial Papers, No.4 (1993), 8.

³⁷ Lalage Bown, *African Universities and the Reality of Inter-dependence. Third James S. Coleman Memorial Lecture* (California: JSC African Studies Center, 1991), 11.

a continental University as part of African unity? The East African experience rules out this possibility. If Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania struggled so hard merely to sustain a federal University, Africa's more than fifty states would find it even harder to do so. What Africa needs is *co-operation* between different universities under the auspices of the Association of African Universities, which was inaugurated in Morocco on December 12, 1967. In 1969 the objectives of the A. A. U. were stated thus: (i) To promote interchange, contact and co-operation among university institutions in Africa; (ii) To collect, classify and disseminate information on higher education and research, especially in Africa; (iii) To promote co-operation among African institutions in curriculum development and determination of equivalence of degrees (iv) To encourage increased contact between its members and the international academic world (v) To study and make known the educational and related needs of African university institutions (vi) To encourage the development and wider use of African languages, and (vii) To organize, encourage and support seminars and conferences between African university teachers and others.³⁸ It is the same kind of co-operation that was emphasized by East Africans in the late 1960s when it became obvious that regional integration in higher education was not feasible. Contemporary Africa could do the same. However, co-operation only limits but does not totally eradicate problems between independent nation-states. Morag Bell writes:

Since independence the ability of African states to act collectively against foreign domination has proved problematic. Political immaturity and internal disunity have frustrated attempts at national integration let alone supra-national co-operation. Furthermore, geographical contiguity has proved an inadequate reason in itself for cooperation. Ideological differences between adjacent states have presented problems of

³⁸ Ajayi, Goma and Johnson, *The African Experience With Higher Education*, 99.

maintaining a semblance of unity while even in the case of states with similar ideologies national interests have frequently intervened.³⁹

Experience is the best teacher. Good experiences are the source of hope and inspiration. But sometimes it is bad experiences and failures that tend to have a more pedagogical role. The history of the University of East Africa has both experiences and thus provides the African continent with a lot to ruminate about as it plans its future.

³⁹ Morag Bell, *Contemporary Africa* (New York: Longman, 1986), 109-110.

Glossary

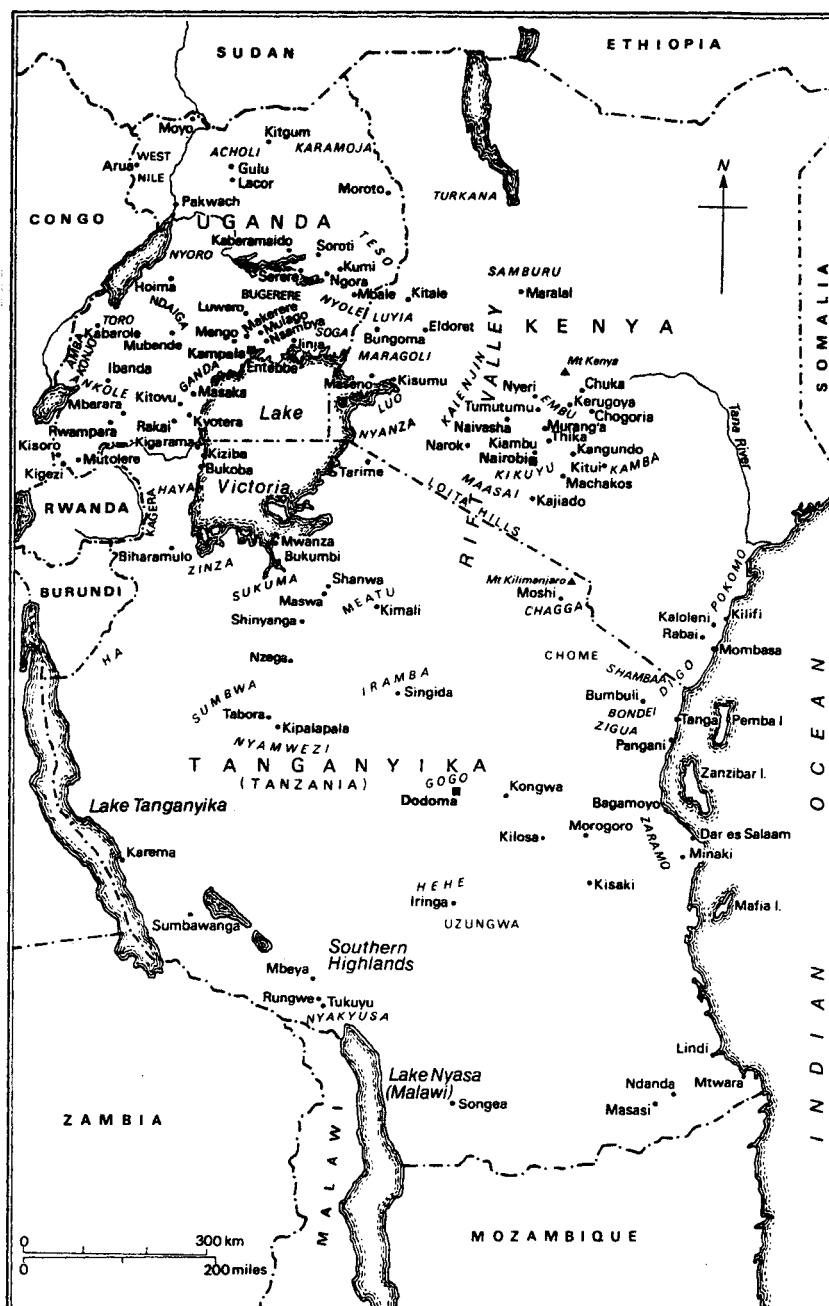
(a) Major Office Holders at the University of East Africa, 1963-1970

Chancellor	Julius Nyerere, 1963-1970
Vice-Chancellor	Sir Bernard de Bunsen, 1963-1967 Sir James Cook, 1967-1970
Chairman of the University Council	Sir Donald MacGillivray
Registrar	Lindsay M. Young (first) Bernard Onyango (second)
Makerere University College Principal	Sir Bernard de Bunsen (up to 1963) Yusuf K. Lule, 1964-1970
University College, Nairobi Principal	J. M. Hyslop (up to 1964) Arthur T. Porter (from 1964)
Deputy Principal	D. P. S. Wasawo (from 1965)
The University College, Dar es Salaam Principal	R. Cranford Pratt, 1961-1965 Wilbert Chagula, 1965-1970

(b) Major Working Parties of the University of East Africa, 1955-1970

Working Party on Higher Education in East Africa, 1955
 Working Party on Higher Education in East Africa, 1958
 Working Party on Higher Education in East Africa, 1968

1.2 East Africa: Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania.



Source: John Iliffe, *East African Doctors* (1998).

APPENDIX B: FIGURES

Fig.1: Taifa Hall, University of Nairobi

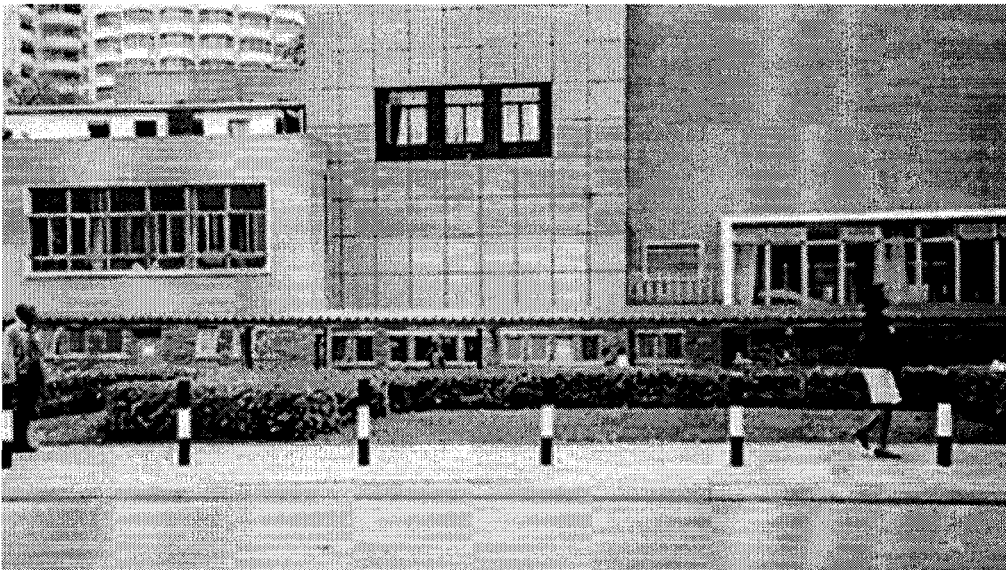


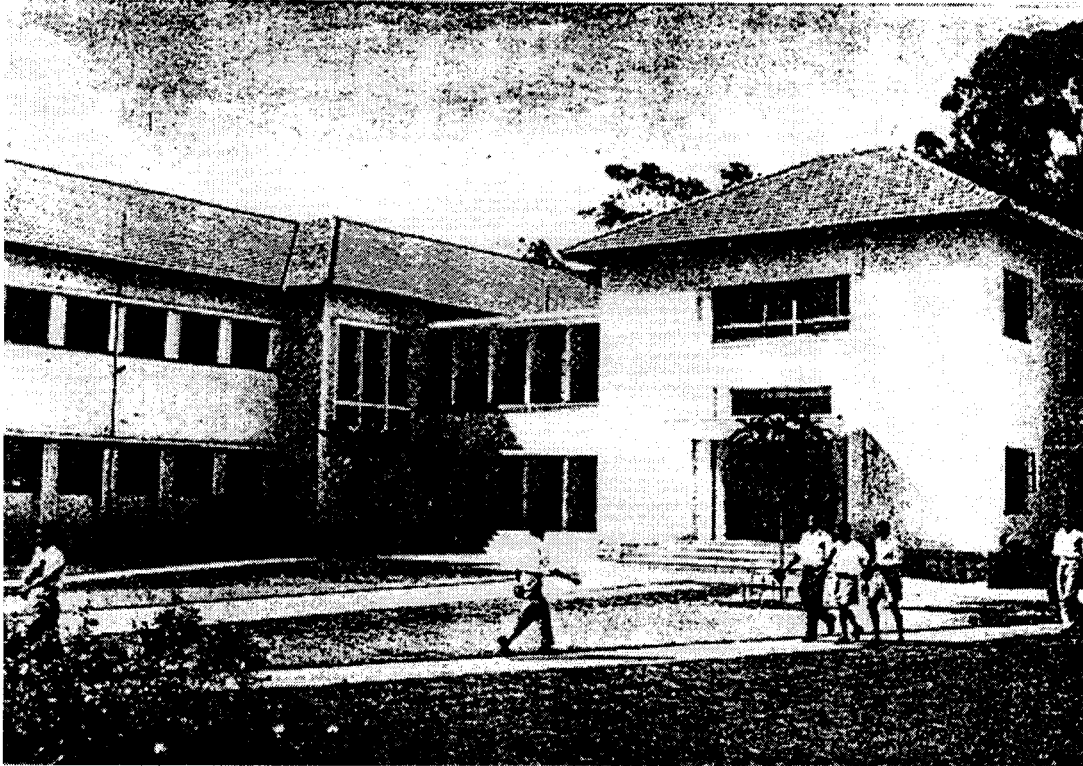
Photo by author

Fig.2: Department of Engineering, University of Nairobi



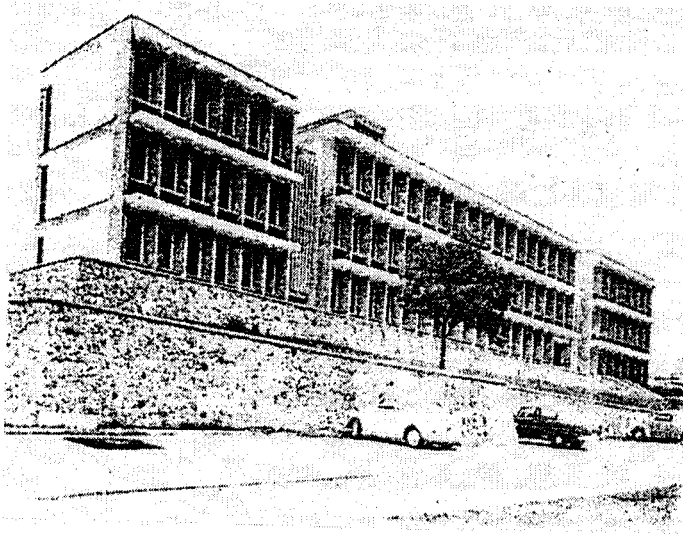
Photo by author

Fig.3: Faculty of Arts, Makerere University College



Source: Makerere University College. *Report for the year 1956-7.*

Fig.4: Faculty of Law, University College, Dar es Salaam



Source: *News from the Hill* (April, 1968).

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University of East Africa. General Purposes Committee: PUEA/4/21;
PUEA/26/16.

University of East Africa. Makerere University College: PUEA/12/8;
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PUEA/1A/28; PUEA/1A/41; PUEA/1A/45; PUEA/1A/49; PUEA/1A/50
Vol. III; PUEA/1A/52; PUEA/1A/53; PUEA/1A/54. Vol. 2; PUEA/1A/57;
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