



**FACULTY OF ARTS AND HUMANITIES**  
**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, ARCHAEOLOGY AND HERITAGE**

**KYABAZINGASHIP SUCCESSION CONFLICTS IN BUSOGA, 1906 – 2014**

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**OCTOBER, 2024**

## DECLARATION

I JAMADAH LUBAALE do hereby declare that this dissertation is my original work and has never been presented for a degree in any other university.

Signature: .....

Date: .....

**APPROVAL**

We as university supervisors confirm the work done under our supervision.

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## **DEDICATION**

To my Family for the love and care!

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## GLOSSARY

This glossary provides translations of Lusoga words and phrases employed in this thesis. It is alphabetically organised.

**Abaise - Ngobi** - the largest royal clan in Busoga, with historical links to Bunyoro, traditionally mandated to produce ‘Isebantu’ Kyabazinga of Busoga.

**Abalangira ab’enono- A plural for (sing. Omulangira)** - A title given to a male person (prince) who belongs to any Royal clan of any of the eleven hereditary chiefs in Busoga.

**Abemiruka-A plural for (sing. Owomuluka)** - A title given to the parish chiefs one of the lower cadres in precolonial Busoga

**AbaiseMenha-** Members of a royal clan who descend from Menha as their forefather.

**Abaise Igaga-** Members of a royal clan who descend from Igaga as their forefather.

**Abaigha (plural: Omwigha)** - A son/ daughter of a girl from a particular clan who must serve the cultural rites performed from the mother’s side

**Mukungu-** Title of honour/ respect accorded to clan leaders and other persons holding positions or cultural and traditional responsibility in Busoga.

**Lusoga-** A language with recognized dialect spoken within Busoga.

**Abambedha-** a plural for Mumbedha (sing. Mumbedha) -Title for female member of any of the royal families/princesses in Busoga.

**Inhensiko-** A name accorded two of the founding fathers of Luka chiefdom – the name means “the owner of land”.

“**Ebisoko**” is the smallest unit of a village,

**Embuga-** A royal palace or chief’s enclosure/court in Busoga.

“**Emitala**” is the second unit of a village.

**Eikonero-**A throne/ a high seat or position in traditional and cultural institutions.

**Enkuni**-Means oracle or spiritual origin of a group of people

**Isaabakungania**- Head of clans in Busoga

**Mukungania**- Head of each clan in Busoga; the head of all clans in each chiefdom.

**Inebantu**-Acultural title for the wife of the Kyabazinga of the Busoga.

**Katuukiro** - Prime Minister of the Obwakyazinga bwa Busoga.

**Owekitiibwa** - A cultural honourable title

**Omwami** – Address of honour, the equivalent of ‘Mister/Mr’

**Isaabalangira** - Head of a ruling clan in each chiefdom/ heads the Busoga Chiefs Royal Council.

**Gabula** - A royal title for the chief of Bugabula Chiefdom

**Zibondo** - A royal title for the chief of the Bulamogi Chiefdom.

**Tabingwa** - A royal title for the chief of Luuka Chiefdom

**Nkono** - A royal title for the chief of Bukono Chiefdom **Ngobi**

- A royal title for the chief of Kigulu Chiefdom.

**Ntembe** - A royal title for the chief of Butembe Chiefdom.

**Kisiki** - A royal title for the chief of Busiki Chiefdom

**Luba** - A royal title for the chief of Bunha Chiefdom

## **ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

**UPC:** Uganda Peoples' Congress

**UNC:** Uganda National Congress

**I.B.E.ACO:** Imperial British East African Company.

**LEGCo:** Legislative Council

**HRH:** His Royal Highness

**BCRC:** Busoga Chiefs' Royal Council

**NRM:** National Resistance Movement

**YBBAA:** Young Bataka Basoga African Association

## ABSTRACT

This research focused on the succession conflicts that plagued *Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga* (hereafter referred to as the *Kyabazingaship of Busoga*) from 1906 to 2014. Despite the existence of various cultural institutions in Uganda, such as *Obwakabaka bwa Buganda* (Kingdom of Buganda), *Obukama bwa Toro* (Kingdom of Toro), *Obukama bwa Bunyoro* (Kingdom of Bunyoro), and *Obusinga bwa Rwenzururu* (Kingdom of Rwenzururu), none has experienced the enduring and relentless succession conflicts like those of the *Kyabazingaship* in Busoga. Employing a historical research design and a qualitative approach, with three data collection methods—documentary, archival, and oral research—this study examined the origins, underlying factors contributing to these conflicts and their effects on the *Basoga* (the people of Busoga), the institution itself, and the broader Busoga region. The study argues that the succession conflicts in Busoga’s *Kyabazingaship* originated from the British colonial era and their deliberate efforts to “Gandanise” (to make it similar to Buganda) and reshape the political structure of Busoga. As a result, conflicting roles emerged for chiefs and the central government, establishing a precedent that continued until 2014. The study found that these conflicts are not merely a repetition of history but stem from the failure of dominant royal lineages (Gabula and Zibondo), the *Basoga* (the people of Busoga), the central government, and political elites in the Busoga sub-region to address the inherent challenges of succession in Busoga. In conclusion, the study sheds light on how the British protectorate government strategically engineered the establishment of the *Kyabazingaship* to serve their imperialist interests—a trend replicated by ambitious *Basoga* and subsequent independent Ugandan governments. This compromised the institution’s authenticity and legitimacy, transforming it into a political battleground that overshadowed its intended cultural significance.

## CHAPTER ONE

### GENERAL INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

#### 1.0 Introduction

This research examines the succession conflicts in the Kyabazingaship of Busoga from 1906 and 2014. In this study, Kyabazingaship is conceptualised as the traditional and ‘cultural’ institution of leadership in the ‘Kingdom’ of Busoga, located in eastern Uganda. It is headed by a traditional leader known as the *Isebantu Kyabazinga*, or simply the *Kyabazinga*. This title symbolises unity and cohesion, as the Kyabazinga serves as the cultural leader of all Basoga, both within and outside Busoga.<sup>1</sup> The Kyabazingaship represents not only a symbol of unity among the Basoga but also a central institution for cultural, social, and sometimes political authority within the cultural topography of Busoga. The study was motivated by the unending contestations that have surrounded the election and installation of every successive ‘Kyabazinga’ in Busoga. More specifically, it examines the origins, evolution, causes and effects of these contestations on Busoga society between 1906 and 2014. Other than the traditional and cultural institutions of *Obwakabaka bwa Buganda*, *Obukama bwa Bunyoro* and *Obukama bwa Toro*, ‘*Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga*’ was the other Bantu institution that was restored by the National Resistance Movement (NRM) government in 1993. This chapter provides the background of the study and highlights the entire research process. It provides a brief description of the origins of the Basoga (or Soga) as a people and Busoga as a political polity.

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<sup>1</sup> Richard Kayaga Gonza and Frank Nabwiso. *Evolution Busoga’s Eleven Hereditary Chiefdoms in Uganda 1600- 2016* (Jinja: Cultural Research Centre- Diocese of Jinja, 2016), 166. See also ... Nobuhiro Nakabayashi. *On the Restored Kingdom of Busoga: A comparison with the Buganda Kingdom* (Osaka, Kanazawa University 2005),12

## 1.1 Background to the Study

Busoga is a geographical area located in the eastern region of Uganda, bordered to the north by Lake Victoria, to the east by the River Nile, to the south by Lake Kyoga, and to the west by the River Mpologoma. Its location among these water bodies may explain why early explorer John Speke described Busoga as “an island.”<sup>2</sup> Consequently, based on Speke’s usage of “Usoga” British administrators used this geographical makeup to determine the areas that fell within Busoga.<sup>3</sup> According to the Encyclopedia of World Cultures (2002), Busoga covers an area of approximately 3,443 square miles (8,920 square kilometres), with a length of about 100 miles (160 kilometres) and a width of just over 50 miles (80 kilometres). As Kintu notes, Busoga encompasses 380 square miles, extending from Lake Victoria to the point where it flows into Lake Kyoga in the northeast, and reaching up to the River Mpologoma, which separates it from neighbouring tribes such as the Adhola, Bagwere, and Bagisu.

Despite scholarly disagreements, colonial literature has linked the origins of Busoga to the establishment of colonial power in the Busoga region, the beginnings of which have been attributed to the entrance of two colonial agents, John Speke and Henry Edward Colville. On the eve of British colonization in Uganda, it was these two who coined the term “Usoga” - a Kiswahili variant of the phrase “land of the Soga”.<sup>3</sup> This became known as “Busoga” over time. The controversy about the origins of Busoga appears to have been properly captured and stated in the works of Lubogo and Nayenga. They claimed that, unlike other interlacustrine societies, Busoga had no central authority or “kingdom” until the colonial era.<sup>4</sup> In fact, according to Nayenga, the use of the name “Busoga”

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<sup>2</sup> F.B. Bataala-Nayenga, “An Economic History of The Lacustrine States Of Busoga, Uganda”, (PhD diss., The University of Michigan, 1750-1939), David W. Cohen, *The Historical Tradition of Busoga: Mukama and Kintu*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 3. <sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> John Hannington Speke. *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile* (Blackwood and Sons, 1863), 37 See also (Colville 1895, 32)

<sup>4</sup> (Bataala-Nayenga 1976, 64). See also (Cohen, *The Historical Tradition* 1972, 94)

to the entire region did not begin until the nineteenth century. Previously, the word was used to refer to a hill in the country's south-central region, and it later became associated with a state known as "Busoga".<sup>5</sup> This society was located southwest of Jinja and was ruled by the dynasty of Ntembe of Butembe, who was thought to be a member of the Reed Buck clan.<sup>6</sup> Ntembe's dynasty became active in political activity in areas of Bunyoro and Buganda, and the state became known throughout the interlacustrine region as a result. It is not surprising, then, that during the nineteenth century, because of its impact in the region, when John Speke visited Busoga in 1862, the term "Usoga" was used to refer to the entire region.<sup>7</sup>

Therefore, prior to the arrival of European rule, Busoga was not a "kingdom" despite all these scholarly debates. It consisted of a collection of autonomous chiefdoms, each of which managed its own affairs. Between 1894 and 1906, what became "Busoga" was centralized under a single government, which subsequently evolved into the cultural institution of "Kyabazingaship". During this time, Captain William Grant, the first British District Commissioner of Busoga, requested that the various principalities of Busoga meet at Bukaleba – the *mbuga* (compound) of Bunha chief in southern Busoga – and consider how they could be unified into a kingdom similar to Buganda.

This was followed by the establishment of the position of 'President' of the Busoga Royal Chiefs' Council "Lukiiko" (Parliament) and the British consolidation of several chiefdoms into a single political entity. In fact, the British created the appellation "Busoga" as a colonial administrative title for all pre-colonial Soga chiefdoms.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid

<sup>6</sup> Yekonia Kaira Lubogo. *A History of Busoga*, (unpublished, 1960),4

<sup>7</sup> (Speke, 1863,7)

<sup>8</sup> (Batala-Nayenga 1976, 64)

Without a doubt, this paved the way for the creation of the “Kyabazingaship in Busoga” and, subsequently, the “Kyabazinga” office. Semei Lwakireenzi Kakungulu held this position from 1906 to 1913.<sup>10</sup> It also signified the futile pursuit of a unified government in Busoga. In the four years that followed Kakungulu’s dismissal from the “presidency” of the Lukiiko of Busoga, there was a leadership void. The leadership conflicts that culminated in his dismissal revolved around the British disinterest and refusal to appoint him as the “president” of the entire Busoga polity and instead retaining him as the “President of the Busoga Lukiiko”. This type of arrangement made Kakungulu uncomfortable. Perhaps still reeling from the anguish Kakungulu caused them, the British remained hesitant to select his successor. Ezekyeri Tenywa Wako was selected as the new “President” of the Busoga Lukiiko in 1919. He became the first Musoga President of the Lukiiko as a result. Tenywa’s reign was notable for two reasons: first, for its length (he ruled until 1949) and second, and most significantly, because it saw the abolition of the office of ‘president’ of the Busoga Lukiiko and the creation and adoption of the title “Kyabazinga” in 1939. For this reason, his leadership has been lauded as the “golden age of Busoga” in some literature.<sup>11</sup> In 1949, Tenywa, like his predecessor, had lost favour with the British. In some Busoga scholarship, it is argued that Tenywa’s retirement was not wholly voluntary, but rather due to the young administrators at Bugembe (the seat of Kyabazinga) who seemed to enjoy the support of the British and, therefore, did not accord him the honour he deserved.<sup>12</sup>

The subsequent reigns, particularly those of William Wilberforce Kadhumbula Nadiope (1949-1952, 1952-1955) and Henry Wako Muloki (1955-1958, 1958-1962), were marked by the usual

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<sup>10</sup> (Batala-Nayenga 1976, 64)

<sup>11</sup> (Kayaga and Nabwiso, 2016, 185)

<sup>12</sup>

Stephen Mudoola. “The Concept of Authority among the Basoga” (Katigondo National Major Seminary, Masaka, April 17, 1993), 47

British politics of intrigue, which meant that the survival of any Kyabazinga was almost entirely dependent on loyalty to the colonial establishment at Entebbe. This damaged the institution and bred future succession and leadership problems in “Kyabazingaship in Busoga”. As the country prepared for independence in the early 1960s, the fledgling Busoga “Monarchy” became entangled in the nationalisms of the day. Earlier in 1958, William Nadiope, a former Kyabazinga and chief of Bugabula, was elected to the Legislative Council (LEGCo) as the Busoga North’s delegate. In 1960, Apollo Milton Obote, Abu Mayanja, William Rwetsiba, Grace Ibingira and Nadiope cofounded the Uganda People’s Congress (UPC). Nadiope won the Busoga West Constituency in the second direct elections to the LEGCo in March 1961, riding on UPC popularity.<sup>9</sup> This brought him into contact with Obote, with whom he developed a close connection. With Obote as Prime Minister, the UPC led Uganda to independence on October 9, 1962. The constitution was revised less than a year after independence to create the positions of President and Vice President. In October 1963, William Nadiope Obote’s close friend was elected by Parliament as Vice President.<sup>10</sup> Nadiope quickly began pleading with Obote to make him the Kyabazinga. In 1961, the Busoga Lukiiko chose Wako Muloki as Busoga’s “permanent” Kyabazinga. However, Grace Ibingira, the state minister for Internal Affairs and Secretary General of the Uganda People's Congress (UPC), dismissed Muloki and installed Nadiope as Isebantu-Kyabazinga. This marked the first direct politicization of the Kyabazingaship, setting the stage for future state interference in the institution during post-colonial Uganda.

In this study, politicization is understood as the process by which an institution, originally intended to be neutral or culturally focused, becomes influenced by political agendas. In the case of the Kyabazingaship, external political forces began to shape its roles, decisions, and leadership, causing

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<sup>9</sup> Samwiri Rubaraza Karugire, *A Political History of Uganda* (Nairobi: Heinemann Educational Books, 1980), 180

<sup>10</sup> Godfrey E.N. Nsubuga, *The Person of Milton Obote* (Kampala: Nissi Publishers, 2013), 30

internal divisions. Nadiope continued his reign until 1967 when monarchies were abolished. The Kyabazingaship, like the rest of Uganda's traditional institutions, remained in abeyance until 1993, when the National Resistance Movement (NRM) government restored traditional rulers and institutions through an Act of Parliament. Muloki was reinstated as Busoga's *Isebantu Kyabazinga* two years later and served until his death in 2008. His death triggered a new round of strife within the institution. While Columbus Wambuzi, prince of Bulamogi and son of the late Kyabazinga, was immediately elected by the Busoga Lukiiko, William Gabula, prince of Bugabula, who had been a member of the electorate, challenged the election results. There was no "substantive" Kyabazinga for the next six years since the two were immersed in court disputes. However, with government assistance, William Gabula was elected as the new Kyabazinga in 2014. He adopted the name William Wilberforce Kadhumbula Nadiope Gabula IV. Given this complex history, it is imperative to study the evolution, causes, and effects of the succession conflicts surrounding the Kyabazingaship in Busoga to understand its current challenges and the dynamics of leadership in the region.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

In Uganda, kings and traditional institutions are highly revered.<sup>11</sup> Not only do they represent the socio-political history of a given people, but also their struggles for identity, nationhood, social cohesion and economic empowerment. To this end, the succession processes in these institutions are expected to be smooth with well-laid-down modalities that are understood and upheld by everyone in that society.<sup>16</sup> In Buganda, Tooro and Bunyoro, the heir to the throne is selected from the sons of the previous king and, in uncommon instances, from his brothers or brothers' sons. However, in Busoga, since the imposition of British colonial rule in 1896, and the subsequent

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<sup>11</sup> Andrew Wansolo Kigenyi. *Enono Ya Busoga – Family Unit: A Complete Covenant*, (Unpublished, 2020), 1.

<sup>16</sup>(Nakabayashi, 2005, 7).

establishment of the “Busoga Kingdom”, through the establishment of the office of “President of Busoga Lukiiko” in 1906, which later morphed into the “Office of Kyabazinga” in 1939, succession processes to the “Kyabazingaship” have been fraught with conflicts and contestations. While there is an abundance of research on the history of chieftainship and Kyabazingaship in Busoga, the conflicts over succession and leadership in the institution of Kyabazingaship in Busoga have received little attention. It is against this background that this study examined the causal-effect of these conflicts between 1906 and 2014.

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### **1.3 The General Objective of the Study**

The main objective of this study was to investigate the conflicts over succession in the institution of ‘Kyabazingaship in Busoga’ between 1906 and 2014.

#### **1.3.1 The Specific Objectives of the Study**

The study addressed three specific objectives as follows:

1. To trace the evolution of Kyabazingaship succession conflicts in Busoga from 1906 to 2014.
2. To analyse the factors that led to Kyabazingaship succession conflicts in Busoga from 1906 to 2014.
3. To examine the effects of Kyabazingaship succession conflicts in Busoga from 1906 to 2014

#### **1.4 Research Questions**

1. How did the Kyabazingaship succession conflicts in Busoga evolve between 1906 and 2014?
2. What factors led to the Kyabazingaship succession conflicts in Busoga between 1906 to 2014?
3. What were the effects of the Kyabazingaship succession conflicts in Busoga between 1906 to 2014?

## 1.5 Scope of the Study

The scope of this study was restricted to succession conflicts within the institution of Kyabazingaship in Busoga. Other institutions are only mentioned to the extent that they are relevant to this question. It explored the evolution, causes and effects of these conflicts on Busoga society. In terms of geographical scope, the study was conducted in Busoga's eleven chiefdoms scattered in different civil districts of Busoga.<sup>12</sup> The chiefs of five of these chiefdoms form the Abaise–Ngobi royal clans that are supposed to produce candidates for the Kyabazingaship.<sup>13</sup> The remaining six form the electorate – the Busoga hereditary chief's royal council.<sup>14</sup> The time period encompassed by the study was from 1906 to 2014. This is the year when all the Busoga principalities were officially brought together under Kakungulu as president, marking the beginning of the efforts that led to the establishment of the institution of the Kyabazingaship. The year 2014 was chosen as the endpoint because it was anticipated that the installation of William Wilberforce Kadhumbula Nadiope Gabula 1V as “Isebantu Kyabazinga” of Busoga on September 13, 2014 would usher in a period of peace and reconciliation within the institution.

## 1.6 Significance of the Study

This study fills a critical gap in the literature by shedding light on succession and leadership issues within the traditional institution of “Kyabazingaship in Busoga” from 1906 to 2014. While succession and leadership conflicts have been widely researched in other African societies and countries, the scarcity of historical literature on this issue in Busoga (Uganda) emphasises the

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<sup>12</sup> These include Kamuli, Iganga, Bugiri, Jinja, Luuka, Buyende, Kaliro, Mayuge and Namutumba.

<sup>13</sup> (Nakabayashi, 2005, 14) Also see (Kayaga and Nabiswo, 2016, 177) Chief Gabula of Bugabula (seat at Budhumbula), Chief Zibondo of Bulamogi (seat at Kaliro), Chief Ngobi of Kigulu (seat at Iganga), Chief Tabingwa of Luuka (seat at Luuka), Chief Nkono of Bukono (seat at Bukono).

<sup>14</sup> Isaac Mufumba, “Filling the power vacuum as Kyabazinga marks two years”: *The Daily Monitor* 17 September 2016, 38. Chief Luba of Bunha (seat at Bukaleeba), Chief Ntembe of Butembe (seat at Bugembe), Chief Nanhumba of Bunhole-Bunaanumba (seat Bunaanumba), Chief Kisiki of Busiki (seat Busiki), Chief Wakhooli of Bukhooli (seat at Bukhooli), Chief Menha of Bugweri (seat at Bugweri).

importance of this research.<sup>15</sup> This study becomes an invaluable resource for scholars interested in Ugandan traditional institutions by adding to the body of literature on Busoga's history and the origins, evolution, causes, and effects of these conflicts. It further emphasises the crucial need to maintain peace and unity inside such institutions, emphasising the current and important nature of this research. This study not only assists Busoga in redeeming its institution, but it also serves as an insight into the disputes in other kingdom areas in Uganda.

### **1.7 Literature Review**

In order to understand the evolution, causes and effects of the succession conflicts in the institution of 'Kyabazinga in Busoga' the researcher surveyed the works of other scholars who have grappled with the subject on the one hand in Busoga and globally, and on the other hand, the birth of traditional institutions and the general history of Busoga.

Traditional institutions, according to Richard Crooks, are "all those forms of social and political authority" that are "rooted in the historical origins of a given people".<sup>16</sup> These institutions are intended to be "indigenous" in origin and to be a part of a given people's socio-political physic. Using Ghana as an example, he states that these institutions were profoundly rooted in traditional values and history, such as land production, and served as political representatives of their community and identity. They provide legitimacy to political and socio-economic power and existed in most of Africa before colonisation. Others, he claims, still exist in Africa in the postcolonial era. Crook's statement provides an appropriate description and purpose for "traditional institution" however, it is difficult to classify the "Kyabazingaship in Busoga" as a "traditional institution" given that it was founded by the British. Since Crooks focused on institutions in Ghana,

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<sup>15</sup> Ahmed – Rufai Ibrahim. "Transforming the Dagbon Chieftaincy Conflict in Ghana: perception on the use of Alternative Dispute resolution (ADR) (Th: M. diss., CAHSS Theses and Dissertations, 2018), 2-10.

<sup>16</sup> Richard, Crooks. *The Role of Traditional Institutions in Political Change and Development*: (Accra: Ghana Center for Democratic Development. 2002), CDD/ODI Policy Brief No.4.

it is necessary to determine whether institutions such as Kyabazingaship in Busoga fit in his description and categorisation.

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This study also reviewed the literature on the history and origins of the interlacustrine societies in East Africa in order to comprehend the emergence of the principalities of Busoga. Uzoigwe and Nzita are two of the many authors in this category who discuss the kingship, lineage and families of the Kitara Empire. Uzoigwe characterises Kitara as a vast empire that existed in East Africa's lacustrine region. The Tembuzi, the founders of this empire, are described as a "mysterious and semi-divine dynasty" that governed over a vast territory that included the majority of central and southern Uganda, portions of Ethiopia, western Kenya, western Tanzania, eastern Congo and Rwanda.<sup>17</sup> He asserts that the first Tembuzi monarch was Kintu, but not the Kintu mentioned in Nyoro, Soga and Ganda traditions. He also asserts that after the Tembuzi, the Chwezi ruled the empire from Bigo bya Mugenyi - their capital in western Uganda. According to legend, Ndahura, the first Chwezi monarch, was the son of Isimba (son of Isaza), the last Tembuzi king. According to Uzoigwe, the Chwezi are attributed with supernatural and exceptional accomplishments, including the rapid expansion and consolidation of the Bunyoro Kitara Empire.

Additionally, they are praised for introducing kingship as a form of governance to the interlacustrine region. Nzita is the other scholar who has investigated the "mythical" origins and history of the Kitara Empire. He asserts that the Bachwezi "disappeared" under strange circumstances, but not before entrusting Bito, their grandson, with the administration of Kitara's affairs. The Biito were related to the Chwezi through Kyomya (a Chwezi), son of Isimbwa (a Tembuzi), and half-brother of Mukama Ndahura (a Chwezi), whose half-cast sons (a hybrid of Bachwezi and Luo) had a

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<sup>17</sup> G.N. Uzoigwe. "Succession and Civil War in Bunyoro Kitara", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* Vol 6, 1 (1973):49-55.

Tembuzi bloodline.<sup>18</sup> The Bito dynasty ruled the Kitara kingdoms until their abolition in the 1960s.

While

these works, provide a historical connection between different ruling families of the Kitara Empire, they remain silent on the substantial theories and approaches responsible for the foundation of what became “Busoga”.

The works of Lubogo<sup>19</sup>, Kintu<sup>20</sup>, Nayenga<sup>26</sup> and Mafege<sup>21</sup> are valuable sources for learning about the history and origins of Busoga. Robertson acknowledges the complexity and fluidity of Busoga's beginnings in a Luganda translation by Kintu.<sup>28</sup> He states here that the meaning of the stem “Soga” is evident, even to the people of today’s Busoga region. While Nayenga recognises the complexities surrounding Busoga's history and beginnings, he contends that Busoga’s history was simply overshadowed by early scholarly attention dedicated to the kingdoms of Buganda, Bunyoro, Toro and Nkore. He further claims that because Busoga had no central authority in the early years, a name like Busoga would not have appeared until the late nineteenth century, when the British arrived. On the complexities surrounding the history and origins of Busoga and her people, Lubogo agrees with the three previous scholars Kintu, Nayenga, and Mafege. He attributes this in part to the lack of written documents on when the first settlers in the Busoga arrived. Lubogo goes on to state that before British imperialism, Busoga’s history was passed down from generation to generation through word of mouth. Busoga, in his opinion, had been one ethnic group for many centuries before the British integrated additional places into it without the Busoga’s agreement.

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<sup>18</sup> Richard Nzita and Mbaga Nuwampa. *Peoples and Cultures of Uganda*, (Kampala: Fountain Publishers 1995), 67.

<sup>19</sup> (Kaira Lubogo, 1960, 3-4)

<sup>20</sup> Q.Y. Kintu in D.W Robertson, *Ettaka n’Ebika Mu Busoga*. (Nairobi: The East African Literature Bureau, 1955), 1

<sup>26</sup> (Batala-Nayenga 1976, 3)

<sup>21</sup> Mafege, A, *Ethnography of the Great Lakes Region*. (Nairobi: East African Bureau, Nairobi, 1998), 57. <sup>28</sup>

(Kintu in D.W Robertson, 1955, 1)

Between 1900 and 1906, for example, islands such as Buvuma were ceded to Buganda, while others in the north-east and south-east were handed to the Gwere, Teso, and Japadhola peoples, according to Lubogo. Fallers, who described Busoga as a “district”, described his frustrations in attempting to investigate patterns of ethnic interaction in Busoga.<sup>22</sup> He explains how this was caused by the fact that everyone in Busoga eventually claimed to have originated from somewhere else. The views of Kintu, Lubogo, Fallers and Nayenga offer the study with insights into the history and origins of the Soga people.

Nakabayashi explains that from an early time, the Basoga admired the Baganda as a powerful people, and thus desired to follow their footsteps.<sup>30</sup> This was one of the reasons why the Basoga accepted Kakungulu’s presidency and the subsequent creation of the position of Isebantu Kyabazinga. This implied that, like Uganda, Busoga was a British-created political colonial entity. Kabwegwere was a proponent of this point of view.<sup>23</sup> He argues that the British colonisers coerced the natives of Busoga into forming a single political entity when they founded the nation. After the British annexation of Busoga in 1896, the name “Busoga” was adopted as the administrative designation for the entire region, according to Nayenga.<sup>24</sup> This argument is supported by the fact that the name “Busoga” was affirmed by Captain William Grant, the first British Colonial Administrative officer, when he ordered all the Soga chiefs to assemble at Bukaleeba and consider how a centralised government could be established for Busoga. This provided insights into the nature of Busoga’s origins, which are examined in this study.

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<sup>22</sup> Lloyd A. Fallers. *Bantu Bureaucracy: A Century of Political Evolution Among the Basoga of Uganda*, (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1966), 241. <sup>30</sup>(Nakabayashi, 2005, 11)

<sup>23</sup> In 1938, Kabwegyere, during the period when the title was modified to that of “Kyabazinga” quoted the British as expressing that “The very position is one of our creations, purely and simply”. See..Tarsis B. Kabwegyere. *The Politics of State Formation and Destruction in Uganda*. (Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 1995),30

<sup>24</sup> (Batala-Nayenga 1976, 64)

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According to Uzoigwe, the royal dynasty claimed legitimacy in most African kingdoms by a historic charter that justified the formation of the state through the right of invasion, usurpation, default, voluntary acceptance, or heredity.<sup>25</sup> He goes on to state that this charter was made sacred, unchallengeable, and most crucially, that the king stood out prominently as the monarch and was taken to be a heavenly ruler. Transmission to the throne originated from the royal family, supported by the legitimacy of the ancient Charter, with the manner and system of power transfer differing from one state to the next. Crooks, like Uzoigwe, agrees on the validity of kingship in Africa, and that many systems of authority differ from one state to the next. Crook and Uzoigwe's comparative studies supply the study with important historical aspects: first, the legitimacy of kingship in Africa and its various forms of power transfer.<sup>26</sup>

Fallers explains that pre-colonial Busoga was so engulfed in internal strife that rulers and princes were constantly on the lookout for powerful allies, and both the Ganda and the Europeans were willing to supply such an exchange in exchange for overall control.<sup>27</sup> As a result, this provided some insight into the issues faced by the Basoga with the arrival of the British in the Busoga District, which included: intra-state disputes caused by disparities in local loyalties, among other things. Skeens elaborates on the preceding viewpoint, stating that "principalities of Busoga were ruled by different chiefs, some powerful, some insignificant, but each jealous of his neighbour".<sup>28</sup>

This study uses Skeen's understanding of Busoga to examine the struggles over succession in the Busoga Kyabazingaship. It employs a scholarly analytical approach to the causes and effects of

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<sup>25</sup> (Uzoigwe, 1973, 49-55)

<sup>26</sup> (Crooks, 2005, 15)

<sup>27</sup> (Fallers, 1966, 249)

<sup>28</sup> S.R. Skeens. "The Reminiscences of Busoga and its Chiefs", in *Uganda Journal*, IV 3 January (1937), 186.

conflicts over succession in the Kyabazingaship in Busoga as reported by the people. Nabwiso attributes the conflicts to personal greed among hereditary traditional chiefs, clan elders, and other stakeholders. He argues that, beginning in 1945, some of Bugembe's top officials began to undermine Wako and objected to the establishment of a hereditary Kyabazinga for personal reasons.<sup>29</sup>

Kabwegyere<sup>38</sup> agrees with Nabwiso<sup>30</sup> that the Kyabazinga's hereditary status was a contentious issue in 1943 and 1944, and goes on to argue that, while those in the council were interested in the politics of gain, those outside the council were protesting not against a united Busoga, but against the prospect of a new aristocracy and a land tenure system demanded by the Council members, a model adopted from Buganda. While it is clear that personal greed and selfish interests among clan leaders could have caused the leadership conflicts that rocked Busoga in the 1940s, Nabwiso and Kabwegyere remain silent on the causes and effects of the conflicts over succession that rocked the Kyabazingaship in Busoga in the post-colonial era. Hence this study looked into and documented the causes of these conflicts.

According to Mudoola, the conflicts over succession in the Kyabazingaship in Busoga are inextricably related to the socio-economic challenges caused by the British colonial legacy in

Busoga.<sup>31</sup> He goes on to state that in the mid-1930s, young politicians emerged and created the Abataka Movement, which was eventually renamed the Young Basoga and Abataka Association

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<sup>29</sup> W. F. Nabwiso - Bulima, "The Evolution of the Kyabazingaship" in *Uganda Journal*, 31, 1, (1967), 90. <sup>38</sup> (Nabwiso-Bulima, 1967, 91)

<sup>30</sup> (Kabwegere, 1995, 30-36)

<sup>31</sup> Daniel Mudoola. "The Young Basoga and Bataka Association, A Case Study in Chiefly Busoga", 33-34.

(Y.B.A.A). According to Mudoola, the association's ultimate purpose was to protect and defend Busoga territory. And fight for merit-based appointment of Ssaza chiefs rather than hereditary appointment. Mudoola's analysis provides the research with two perspectives on the problem: First, the social classes were spurred by the issue of "mailoland" as well as tax breaks (Busulu), and second, conflicts over succession in Busoga could have been linked to the colonial heritage. He also claimed that in the mid-1930s, there was a temporary schism between the upper chiefs (Kyabazinga, Saza, and Gombolola chiefs) and the lower chiefs (Miruka, Mitala, Bisoko chiefs) and Y.B.A.A. This schism developed from the lesser chiefs' belief that the upper chiefs had let them down on the issues of mailoland, Bwesengeze, and tax rebate (Busulu). Mudoola's views provide a starting point for this study to properly understand the causes, nature and effects of the succession conflicts in Busoga between 1906 and 2014.

The Chairman of the 2000 Busoga Kingdom Constitutional Review Commission attributes the ongoing controversy over succession in Kyabazingaship to conflicts and flaws in the 2000 Busoga Constitution.<sup>32</sup> Despite the Constitution's requirement that Isebantu Kyabazinga of Busoga be selected from just five of the eleven Busoga royal traditional chiefs from Bugabula, Kigulu, Luuka, Bukono and Bulamogi, he claims that public opinion has focused on allowing Kyabazinga to be chosen from any of the eleven traditional chiefs. Mufumba also contends that the lack of foresighted leadership in Busoga is to blame for the problems over leadership and succession in the Busoga Kyabazingaship.<sup>33</sup> Following Muloki's death, neither the reigning Kyabazinga (Muloki) nor the rest of Busoga had planned for the inevitable because no succession plan was in place. Mufumba claims that the problem is compounded by the fact that ascent to Kyabazingaship is neither

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<sup>32</sup> Aldon Wlukamba. "Busoga Constitution Review Commission Silent Two years later", *Uganda Radio Network*, August 27, 2015.

<sup>33</sup> Isaac Mufumba, *Filling the Power Vacuum as Kyabazinga Marks Two Years*, *The Daily Monitor*, September 17, 2016.

hereditary nor automatic, as it would be in, instance, Buganda, Bunyoro, or Toro kingdoms, which had been placed under monarchical authority by the time of colonization. “Though eligibility to the Kyabazingaship is hailed because of the semblance of democracy involved,” Mufumba writes, “it has always ended in acrimony and disunity due to interference and manipulations by the political elite in what should ordinarily be a traditional affair”.<sup>34</sup>Mufumba’s investigation provided insight into the flawed character of the leadership and institutional framework in the Kyabazingaship in Busoga, which was investigated as one of the likely causes of conflicts over leadership and succession in the institution.

Mudoola agrees with Mufumba that the conflicts over leadership and succession in Busoga’s Obwakyabazinga are internal but politically driven.<sup>35</sup> He claims that, despite the fact that Busoga had no centralised authority until the British established “Busoga” in 1906 and the Kyabazingaship in 1939, the NRM Government continued to direct cultural and traditional affairs in the “kingdom” through courts and government agents. Kagenda supports Mudoola when he asserts that politics, greed, corruption and contempt of court took center stage as Kyabazingaship conflicts continued to plague the institution. However, politics alone is insufficient to explain the leadership

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contestations in Busoga’s Kyabazingaship. This study attempted to look elsewhere to gain a deeper understanding of these conflicts. It is therefore notable that no thorough examination has been done into the causes, evolution and effects of the succession and leadership conflicts in the institution of Kyabazinga in Busoga, despite the fact that there is a huge literary corpus on Busoga, as is shown in this literature review. Several studies have been done on Busoga’s history and origins but none has dug into the fundamental causes of the recurring conflicts in the area of leadership and succession. This literature review, therefore, emphasises the need for additional study to close this

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<sup>34</sup> Mufumba, *Filling the Power Vacuum*, 2016

<sup>35</sup> Patrick Kagenda, *Busoga: Thorn in Museveni’s Fresh*, The Independent Observer Magazine, September 15, 2016.

significant knowledge gap. In order to gain better understanding of the complexity underlying the Kyabazingaship conflicts in Busoga, it is crucial to fill this research gap. It is, therefore, this gap that this study closes.

## **1.8 Research Methodology**

The research employed a qualitative approach for data collection and analysis. This approach enabled a comprehensive exploration of participants' perspectives on the causes, evolution, and effects of the leadership and succession conflicts in Busoga between 1906 and 2014. It further allowed the researcher to delve into the experiences, beliefs, and opinions of the individuals involved in these conflicts. In this way, it proved to be the most suitable approach for understanding the social, cultural, and historical forces behind the complex phenomena of the succession conflicts that plagued the Kyabazingaship in Busoga between 1906 and 2014. It further facilitated the use of in-depth oral interviews, Focus Discussion Groups (FDGs), or content analysis.

### **1.8.1 Research Design**

In this study, the researcher employed a historical research design, involving the identification, synthesis, and analysis of pieces of information from the past. This information was collected through in-depth oral interviews and document analysis. The researcher went beyond mere information collection to establish connections between these historical events and their implications on the Kyabazingaship in Busoga. The same design afforded the researcher the opportunity to collect material from diverse sources, with a particular emphasis on oral histories. Through narrations by individuals who directly observed the events under study, the researcher gained valuable insights into the historical context of Kyabazingaship conflicts between 1939 and 2014. Lastly, given the historical nature of the subject under examination, the researcher found the historical research design most appropriate.

### **1.8.2 Research area**

The study was conducted in eastern Uganda, specifically in the civil districts of Kamuli, Iganga, Bugiri, Mayuge, Jinja, Luuka, Bugweri, Buyende, Kaliro, Mayuge, and Namutumba, collectively forming the “Busoga Kingdom”—the base of the institution of *Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga*. The selection of Busoga as the study area was motivated by the region’s unique historical, cultural, and institutional significance. Unlike other cultural or kingdom institutions in Uganda, where heirs are typically chosen from the king’s sons, Busoga’s succession processes have been distinctive since the British arrival in the area in 1895. This historical trajectory has made succession processes in Busoga contentious and prone to conflicts. The study aimed to unravel the evolution, causes and effects of these conflicts on colonial and post-colonial Busoga.

### **1.8.3 Sampling Technique, Research Population and Sample Size**

The research utilised a combination of purposive and snowball sampling techniques to ensure that participants were relevant and diverse for the study. These methods were intentionally selected to gather a broad spectrum of perspectives and expertise on the Kyabazinga succession conflicts in Busoga. Purposive sampling was employed to select participants based on criteria such as their knowledge, relevance, and possession of crucial information about Busoga’s history. This approach allowed for the inclusion of Obwakyabazinga officials, Busoga royals (princes), chiefs, clan leaders, educationists, and traditional leaders, all of whom were crucial for gaining a comprehensive understanding of the region’s historical context. Snowball sampling, used in tandem with purposive sampling, helped expand the participant pool. Initial respondents who fit the selection criteria were asked to recommend others with similar knowledge, thereby broadening the range of voices included in the study. This network-based approach added more depth and diversity to the participant pool, enriching the study with varied insights.

The sample size of 45 participants was thoughtfully selected to represent a wide array of stakeholders in Busoga's history. The fieldwork covered five chiefdoms—Bugabula, Bulamogi, Luuka, Bukono, and Kigulu—which are eligible to produce a Kyabazinga. These locations were specifically chosen due to their direct involvement in the succession conflicts. Interviews also took place in districts where *Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga* officials and other key stakeholders resided. The overall population of the study area included the five chiefdoms and other individuals engaged in Busoga's Kyabazingaship. The sample of 45 participants was chosen to offer a broad representation of critical figures in the Kyabazinga succession conflicts, including royals, chiefs, Obwakyabazinga officials, and other significant leaders from the region. This diverse selection ensured the study captured multiple dimensions of Busoga's history, making it a meaningful representation of the broader population. Although the sample size was relatively small, its diversity provided a wide range of perspectives on the historical and social dynamics of the conflicts.

Interviews were conducted mainly in participants' homes or offices, including royal residences, chiefdom offices, and community centres in Busoga. The individuals interviewed were specifically chosen due to their involvement or deep understanding of the Kyabazinga succession conflicts. These participants included Busoga royals, chiefs, Obwakyabazinga officials, and clan leaders, selected for their valuable insights into the historical and political factors influencing the succession process. The raw data collected from these interviews was rigorously recorded, transcribed, and compared with other sources until thematic saturation was achieved. This ensured that the data reached a point where it was comprehensive and detailed enough to fully capture the historical themes under study.

#### **1.8.4 Data Sources and Collection Methods**

The study utilised primary and secondary data sources. Primary sources included archival records and oral interviews conducted through face-to-face interactions using a semi-structured interview

guide in both English and Lusoga. Some interviews were recorded and later transcribed. These interviews provided insights into the views, opinions, and perceptions of the people of Busoga regarding the succession conflicts surrounding the Kyabazingaship of Busoga. The archival information was sourced from various repositories, including the Uganda National Archives (Wandegeya), Makerere University Library (Africa Section), and the Cultural Research Centre (Jinja). It covered files related to both colonial and post-colonial Busoga, particularly correspondences between the British colonial administration and leaders of Busoga from the early days of the colonial empire in Uganda to the post-colonial era.

To complement the primary data, secondary sources such as books, monographs, journal articles, scholarly essays, studies (theses), pamphlets, conference papers, and internet materials were consulted. These secondary sources offered additional perspectives on the subject under study and allowed the researcher to make a qualitative analysis of different viewpoints. Various key libraries, including the Cultural Research Centre Library (Jinja), the Uganda Museum, Makerere University Library, and Kyambogo University Library, were visited to access these secondary materials. The documentary data obtained from both primary and secondary sources was analysed using the Document Analysis form. This approach enabled the researcher to gather sufficient data to comprehend the leadership and succession conflicts surrounding the institution of Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga.

#### **1.8. 5 Data Analysis**

At the end of each day, the collected raw data underwent analysis using triangulation, which involved cross-referencing the data obtained from different sources. The data was then organized and classified according to the study's objectives. For interviews conducted in Lusoga, translations into English were made, and all voice-recorded interviews were transcribed. Secondary data was thoroughly examined before being incorporated into the study. The recorded data was edited for

language and accuracy. The researcher also cross-checked the collected data to verify its alignment with and relevance to the research problem under investigation. This process ensured the accuracy and validity of the data used in the study.

### **1.8.6 Ethical Considerations**

In this study, the researcher adhered to ethical guidelines. Institutional approval was obtained from the Department of History, Archaeology and Heritage, Kyambogo University through a letter of introduction ensuring the study's legality and building trust with participants. Voluntary participation and confidentiality were emphasised, with participants informed of their right to withdraw at any point. The approach fostered confidence, and participants willingly took part. Consent forms were obtained to confirm their agreement. The researcher ensured no intentional misrepresentation of participants' opinions.

### **1.8.7 Limitations of the Study**

The study proved to be a difficult task due to the cultural and political sensitivity of the subject under investigation as well as the size of the Busoga region. In more than one instance, participants mistrusted the researcher, which discouraged them from sharing their thoughts and opinions. Most of the volunteers agreed to take part in the study, nevertheless, after being given the university's letter and being convinced that it was being done for academic purposes. Secondly, it eventually became expensive to make frequent trips to Busoga. In extreme circumstances, the researcher also secured a loan from a financial institution to help him overcome this. The researcher and his assistants camped in each district for a week to better accommodate the distances between districts.

## **1.9 Conclusion**

In this chapter, the background of the study is presented. It has been established that Kyabazingaship is one of the five main traditional institutions in Uganda. The chapter outlined the

statement of the problem and the research questions that guided the inquiry. It also discussed the study objectives, methodology, and literature review, providing a theoretical framework for understanding the institution's role in contemporary society. The scope and delimitations of the study, as well as key terms, were defined. The next chapter focuses on the geography and early history of Busoga.

## CHAPTER TWO

### GEOGRAPHY AND EARLY HISTORY OF BUSOGA

#### 2.0 Introduction

The previous chapter laid the contextual foundation for this study. This chapter analyses the geography and early history of Busoga, beginning with an examination of its physical geography. Understanding the geographical landscape of Busoga is important because it shaped the region's socio-political dynamics and influenced the development of leadership structures, including the institution of the Kyabazinga. The second part of this chapter explores the setup of precolonial Busoga, focusing on its political, economic, and social structures. Although this examination falls outside the primary scope of the study, it provides essential context for understanding the Kyabazingaship succession conflicts that later emerged in the region.

#### 2.1 Geography of Busoga



Source: Map drawn by Bernard Lutalo, Department of Geography Makerere University.

Busoga is situated in the eastern part of Uganda, bordered to the north by Lake Victoria, to the east by the River Nile, to the south by Lake Kyoga, and to the west by the River Mpologoma. The region features several northward-flowing and swampy rivers, with the River Nile being the most notable. Being surrounded by water bodies may explain why early explorer John Speke described Busoga as “an island”.<sup>36</sup> The landscape includes flat-topped hills rising approximately 700 to 800 feet above the valley floors.<sup>46</sup> Speke referred to this area as “Usoga”.<sup>37</sup> The Encyclopedia of World Cultures (2002) estimates Busoga’s acreage to be 3,443 square miles (or 8,920 square kilometres), with a length of about 100 miles (or 160 kilometres) and a width of just over 50 miles (or 80 kilometres). As Kintu adds, this area includes 380 square miles, extending from Lake Victoria to the point where it flows into Lake Kyoga in the northeast and up to the River Mpologoma, which separates it from various neighbouring tribes such as the Adhola, Bagwere, and Bagisu.

Busoga lies within two broad climatic zones with a modified tropical climate: the northern and southern climatic zones. The climate and vegetation of the southern zone are influenced by Lake Victoria, with an average rainfall of about 60 inches (or 152 centimetres) annually. This reliable rainfall led to luxuriant vegetation in this part of Busoga. On the other hand, the northern climatic zone is large and flat as it descends toward Lake Kyoga, affecting the climate and vegetation in this region. Around the Lake Kyoga basin, short grass and papyrus swamps thrive, with an annual rainfall of about 40 inches (or 100 centimetres), resulting in savanna vegetation interrupted by deciduous trees.<sup>48</sup> However, the southern zone has less variation in rainfall with thick forest vegetation along the shores of Lake Victoria and the eastern bank of the Nile. The presence of these

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<sup>36</sup> John Hannington Speke. *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile* (Blackwood and Sons, 1863), 46

<sup>46</sup>(Cohen, *The Historical Tradition*1972, 94).

<sup>37</sup> John Hannington Speke. *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile* (Blackwood and Sons, 1863), 46 <sup>48</sup> G. Hickman and G. Dickins. *The Lands and Peoples of East Africa*. (Longmans, Green and Company Limited (2<sup>nd</sup> edition 1961), 88.

abundant rains coupled with the fertile soils and good climate have, for generations, supported the cultivation of a variety of food crops but *matooke* (a banana plantain) was their staple.<sup>38</sup> This implies that Busoga has for so long, been a productive region henceforth her geographical and climatic advantages, without external influences; have been key for the socioeconomic survival of the Basoga and the institution at large. In fact, early European visitors to south Busoga were impressed by the ‘endless banana gardens’ in Busoga and often expressed her abundant supply of food in the region as the ‘Garden of Uganda’.<sup>39</sup> The northern climate had a relatively poor rainfall distribution where a short grass savannah vegetation thrived. This zone only supported finger millet which required rainfall mainly in the first two or three months. As a result, millet was the widest commonly used food in the northern area.<sup>40</sup>

The cradle and settlement history of ‘Basoga’ into this land have been a subject of intense debate among scholars. Modern scholarship links the origin of Basoga with the movement and expansion of Bantu speakers into the moister areas of southern, central and eastern Africa, the beginnings of which has been dated to the first millennium AD.<sup>41</sup> While others hold that the ancestors of the Basoga people must have been part of the Luo expansion from the East and North during the sixteenth century.<sup>42</sup> In fact, Cohen and Nayenga, who are the proponents of the Luo migration theory, claim that these Luo speakers led by the ‘Adamic’ figure Mukama settled in the North of the country leading to the formation of several northern, central and eastern Busoga states or chiefdoms such as Bugabula, Bukooli, Kigulu, Busiki, Bulamogi, Luuka and Bugweri, up-to-date, claim their ancestry to the Luo. Although the identity and origin of the “Adamaic figure” Mukama

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<sup>38</sup> Gerald Portal. *The British Mission to Uganda*, (London: Edward Anorld, 1894), 134. See also Bishop Tucker’s letter to the CMS 4<sup>th</sup> October 1895. CMS archives. G3, A5/0

<sup>39</sup> Ibid

<sup>40</sup> (Batala-Nayenga 1976, 64, (Cohen, *The Historical tradition* 1972, 3

<sup>41</sup> Roland Oliver, “The problem of the Bantu expansion”, *Journal of African History* Vol. VII 1966, 389-399.

<sup>42</sup> (Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 6)

in Busoga are highly debatable, its likely that this Mukama is closely related to the wave of the River-Lake Nilotics (the Luo speakers), who eventually settled in the north of what is now Busoga through the south of Lake Kyoga during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>43</sup> Others connect Butembe, Bunhya and Bunhole chiefdoms in the western and southern Busoga region to Bantu ancestors who identify with Kintu.<sup>55</sup> This view further averred that Kintu, having come from Mt. Masaba (Elgon) in Bugisu or from Western Kenya, is said to have stayed in these parts of Busoga before he moved to the adjacent Buganda to become its first *kabaka* (king) there.<sup>44</sup>

The Basoga are therefore likely to have been a part of intricate patterns of population movements, interactions between numerous individuals of various ancestries, and replacement into the interlacustrine region. This is more plausible than ignoring any of these possibilities. This is in line with Cohen and Ogot's further assertion that the Basoga are the product of two separate mass migrations of the Luo and Bantu-speaking peoples, who are thought to have entered the lakeplateau region in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>45</sup> There is little question that this theory appropriately rhymes with Lubogo's two explanations:

The Southern Busoga states include a number of common clan names that are related to several Ganda clan names. The scenario in northern Busoga, where there are identical Nyoro and Luo names and clans, is the second and most important factor. This implies that Samia-Bugwe, Lake Kyoga, and Northern Bunyoro share a common language and cultural heritage. For instance, in Busoga today, the name "Mukama" is both a common name and a "Nyoro title" for the king. Most crucially, in addition to being the founding father the "Adamaic" figure, Mukama continues to

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<sup>43</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso,2016, 166) See also ... (Nakabayashi, 2005,1) <sup>55</sup>(Nakabayashi, 2005, 12).

<sup>44</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso,2016, 162)

<sup>45</sup> (Cohen, The Historical tradition. 1972, 94)

symbolize the political, cultural and ethnic ties between the Busoga and Bunyoro-Bugwere axis. Also evident is the relationship the present Lusoga - Lupakooyo dialect, which perhaps resembled the Runyoro dialect of Bunyoro- Kitara during the Luo-Biito dynasty. There was probably a belt of Lunyoro-associated dialects running East from Bunyoro across the northern region of presentday Buganda across northern Busoga and through Bugwere east of Busoga.<sup>46</sup> In the Southern part of Busoga, the dialect known as Lutenga-Lusoga was traditionally spoken. Similar dialects were spoken in Sese Islands, Buvuma Islands and eastern Buganda.<sup>47</sup> This, therefore, is an affirmation of the apparent long-term relationship between Southern Busoga and eastern Buganda.

David Lee Shoenbrun's works on the ecological and social history of African communities in the Great Lakes match well-established linguistic views, the research of which has revealed a longstanding affinity between the region's diverse Bantu languages.<sup>48</sup> They employ the cognate retention count technique, which is part of the lexicostatistics approach to language history research. Soga (Lusoga) is categorised in the Great Lakes Bantu languages family as part of the North Nyanza sub-group of the West Nyanza group, along with Ganda (Luganda), Gwere (Lugwere), and Syan (a Luhyia variant). The percentage of cognate (words with identical structure) retention is 68% for the sub-group and 60% for the group, indicating commonality of origin, constant contact over time, and significant intelligibility.<sup>49</sup> This shows a common ancestry, as well as continuous communication between the Ganda, Gwere, and Soga across time with significant intelligibility. Indeed, the Basoga speak Lusoga-Lutenga, which is closely related to Luganda, and this has been the case for many generations, dating back to the 19th century. It should also be mentioned that much of Luganda's impact upon Lusoga was not just dominant, but also became a

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<sup>46</sup> Malcolm Guthrie. *The Classification of Bantu Languages*, (London,1967), 42-46.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid

<sup>48</sup> David Lee Shoenbrun. *A Green Place, a Good Place: A Grarian Change, Gender and Social Identity in the Great Lakes Region to the 15<sup>th</sup> Century*, (Heinemann, Portsmouth, 1998), 37 – 41.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

common language used in the Busoga sub-region around the same time period. The current Busoga sub-region, originally Busoga Province during the colonial era, was part of East Africa's interlacustrine region, which included the territories between 20 N. to 4 S. and 29 30' E. to 34 E. Other prominent states in the same interlacustrine region included Bunyoro, Buganda, Burundi, Karagwe and Rwanda.<sup>50</sup>

This geographical setup, characterised by a modified tropical climate, plausibly attracted the earlier Bantu immigrants in the 14th and late 15th centuries, who later constituted the ancestors of the Basoga. For many generations, some of the natural endowments of Busoga, such as the fertile crescent of the Nile, provided a conducive environment for the early settlement patterns of the Basoga. These resources attracted British explorers in the late nineteenth century. This ultimately led to Busoga's eventual subjugation to British rule.

## **2.2 The origins of the name “Busoga”**

The etymological roots of the term “Busoga” and its applicability to the territory currently known as “Busoga” have been a source of controversy, much like the cradle and settlement patterns. Lubogo investigates two plausible explanations for the name's genesis. The first claims that the name “Busoga” came from a hill known as “Busoga” near Namakoko and Luwalambogo Hills in Bukooli Chiefdom (present-day Bugiri), while the second claims that the name “Busoga” came from “Kasoga”, the father of Ntembe who allegedly founded Butembe Chiefdom, the present-day district of Jinja. However, Lubogo's analysis is devoid of particular and historical facts. It does not specify when the term was adopted or how it extended to other Busoga sub-regions.

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<sup>50</sup> (Batala-Nayenga 1976, 64, Cohen, 1972, 3)

Kintu observes that “*Amakulu g’ekikolo ‘soga’ tegavumbulwa*”, meaning that the origin of the word “soga” remains unknown, and even the Basoga themselves do not have a clear explanation for its meaning.”<sup>51</sup> He notes that it is one of those words whose meaning may never change and will remain uncertain forever. This view is supported by Lloyd Faller who, while describing “Busoga District” expressed similar frustrations in examining ethnic interactions, noting that in Busoga, everyone ultimately claimed to have originated from somewhere else.<sup>52</sup> Cohen is another scholar who has attempted to explain the origins of Busoga. While Cohen and Lubogo agree that the word “Busoga” originally referred to a hill, they disagree on which hill and where it was located.<sup>53</sup> According to Cohen, the hill was named “Mutala” and was located somewhere in Iganga, south of Busoga. Nabwiso disagrees with the “hill theorists”, claiming that the term has Nyoro roots, derived from the Nyoro word “*ensogasoga*”, which refers to a wildly growing plant.<sup>54</sup>

Scholarly works by Lubogo, Robertson, Fallers, Cohen, Batala, Nayenga, and Leeming agree that while the origins and early history of the Busoga remain unclear, the Basoga are part of the Bantuspeaking peoples of the interlacustrine region. They are found along the northern shoreline of Lake Victoria in the Great Lakes region and are neighbours to Buganda in the east. Like other Bantu groups in this region, the Basoga are believed to have migrated from the Cameroon Highlands in West Africa before moving to the Katanga region in southern Congo, which served as a dispersal point for Bantu migrations to central, southern, and eastern Africa.

Thus, while the origins and meaning of the name “Busoga” remain a subject of mixed opinions among historians, it is clear that the Basoga people emerged from a blend of diverse origins, shaped

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<sup>51</sup> Q. Y. Kintu, in D.W. Robertson, *Ettaka n’Ebika Mu Busoga*. (Nairobi: The East African Literature Bureau, 1955), 1.

<sup>52</sup> Lloyd A. Fallers. *Bantu Bureaucracy: A Century of Political Evolution Among the Basoga of Uganda*, (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1966), 30.

<sup>53</sup> David William Cohen, *The Cultural Topography of a ‘Bantu Borderland’, Busoga, 1500-1850* vol.29, No.1(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1988), 57-79

<sup>54</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016), 5

by continual migrations and intermingling of different peoples in the region. Some Basoga trace their lineage to the traditions of Kintu, while others connect to the Mukama traditions, both of which are believed to have migrated into Busoga. According to Nabwiso, the Kintu group is said to have originated from the east, near Mt. Elgon, before settling in southern Busoga, where they established several clan-based chiefdoms.<sup>55</sup> Later, Kintu is claimed to have crossed into Buganda, becoming its first king. Evidence of Kintu's presence in Busoga can be found at a place called Buswikira, where he is believed to have died, and his shrine remains to this day.<sup>56</sup> On the other hand, the Mukama group is said to have originated from Bunyoro and migrated into Busoga via Lake Kyoga in the east. They settled in northern, northeastern, and some central parts of Busoga, founding principalities such as Bugabula (now Kamuli and Buyende Districts), Bulamogi (Kaliro District), Bukono (part of Namutumba District), Luuka (Luuka District), and Kigulu (Iganga District). These people claimed ties to the Bunyoro-Kitara kingdom and identified themselves as "Babiito" (a Kinyoro word for princes), "Balangira," or "Baisengobi" in the two Lusoga dialects, Lutenga and Lulamogi. It is important to note that most scholars agree that pre-colonial Busoga was not a unified political entity but consisted of independent chiefdoms of varying sizes and power, with the Baisengobi royal clan being the most prominent.<sup>57</sup> The British colonialists found it relatively easy to unify the principalities of Bugabula, Luuka, Bulamogi, and Bukooli in the north and east, and Busiki, Bugweri, and Buzimba (Kigulu) in the south, under a centralised leadership led by the traditional chiefs. This unification laid the foundation for governance in

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<sup>55</sup> Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 6

<sup>56</sup> (Nakabayashi, 2005, 10)

<sup>57</sup> Daniel Mudoola, "Colonial Chief Making—Busoga A Case study 1900- 1940", in Conference Paper Dar- es Salam: (Unpublished). 2

Busoga, and when the British annexed the area in 1895, the name “Busoga” was adopted as the administrative title.<sup>58</sup>

### **2.3 The Pre-colonial Busoga**

Politically, Busoga was a patchwork of several chiefdoms that existed independently of one another before to the advent of the British.<sup>71</sup> It lacked centralised authority (monarch) to unite and manage the entire territory.<sup>59</sup> By 1850, Busoga had over sixty-eight separate and typically competing chiefdoms. The extent and political strength of these chiefdoms varied.<sup>60</sup> Larger chiefdoms in northern Busoga, such as Bugabula and Bulamogi, had paramount hereditary chiefs who did not identify as “Basoga” people but identified according to the clans of their forefathers.<sup>61</sup> Smaller chiefdoms in the south followed a similar patrimonial rule style. According to the tradition of each chiefdom, the chief was entitled differently. Gabula of Bugabula, Zibondo of Bulamogi, Ngobi of Kigulu, Tabingwa of Luuka, Menhya of Bugweri, Nkono of Bukono, Luba of Bunha, Kisiki of Busiki, and Wakhooli of Bukooli were among them. These chiefs were descended from certain reigning lineages. Among the royal clans, the Baise-Ngobi were the most significant. Others were the Bugweri Baise-Menhya and the Busiki Baise-Igaga. The chiefs resolved all issues in their regions and possessed powers comparable to the Buganda “kabaka” (king). They had their own *Lukiiko* (administrative council), shared structural unity and a hierarchical structure of lesser leaders with varied degrees of power. It should be remembered, however, that the political situation

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<sup>58</sup> Peter F. B. Nayenga, “The History of Busoga”, *Womunafu's Bunafu: A Study of Authority in a Nineteenth-Century African Community*. See also David William Cohen; *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*: (Boston University African Studies Center., 1977), 7 <sup>71</sup>(Batala-Nayenga 1976,3)

<sup>59</sup> Daniel Mudoola, “Colonial Chief Making–Busoga A Case study 1900- 1940”, in Conference Paper Dar- es Salam: (Unpublished), 7.

<sup>60</sup> (Batala-Nayenga 1976,3)

<sup>61</sup> Such clans included “Baise” Ngobi, “Baise” Musuubo, and “Baise” Kyema-“Baise”

in Busoga in the pre-nineteenth century was fluid. This was attributed not just to persistent interstate conflicts but also to the persistent incursions by neighbouring Ganda and Nyoro communities.<sup>62</sup>

Economically, land was the main economic asset for production and survival. It was communally owned, but patriarchal ideologies dictated its use and its transfer from one person or generation to another.<sup>63</sup> At the level of the family, males dominated land ownership and insured that family holdings were passed on to another heir, typically sons. A living father had complete authority to divide his land among his sons. However, he could also withhold a son's share if he displayed unseemly behaviour in the family, particularly toward his father (the landowner and controller).<sup>64</sup> In polygamous households, wives would have gardens to sustain their children. They were, however, unable to inherit, sell, or transfer land to another individual. At the level of the community, the chiefs had authority over land distribution and would punish those who abused it.<sup>65</sup> In certain states, the chief delegated the authority to distribute land to a subordinate chief, such as the *emitala* or *ebisoko*, if they existed.<sup>66</sup>

The major food crops grown were *matooke*, a banana plantain and finger millet.<sup>67</sup> Almost every homestead had a plantain garden.<sup>68</sup> *Matooke* growing was made possible due to the plentiful rain that Busoga received throughout the year. Sweet potatoes, maize and cassava remained the staple food crops of the area. Millet and millet bread also known as 'obwita' – literally interpreted as 'that which kills' was a much-appreciated foodstuff for the Basoga with much inclination to the ancestry

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<sup>62</sup> A.D. Tom Tuma, "The Introduction and Growth of Christianity in Busoga 1890-1940. With particular reference to the roles of Basoga Clergy, Catechists and Chiefs", (Th.M. diss., University of London, 1973, 72-73.

<sup>63</sup> (Batala-Nayenga 1976,3)

<sup>64</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso,2016, 14)

<sup>65</sup> (Batala-Nayenga, 1976,43)

<sup>66</sup> *Ebisoko* are the smallest units of a village, and "Emitala" are the second units of a village.

<sup>67</sup> (Fallers, 1965, 46)

<sup>68</sup> (Batala-Nayenga, 1976,43)

of the Luo –speaking who inhabited its northern parts<sup>69</sup>. In addition, each household had gardens for seasonal crops such as peanuts, millet, corn and potatoes. On these, the Basoga added groundnuts, beans, peas as well as leafy vegetables like *dodo*, *eiyo*, and *eikubi*. The Basoga were also famed for growing *groundnuts*. On the edges of their holdings were patches of uncleared bushes used as a source of wood and grass. Northern Busoga kept herds of cattle and other such domestic animals mainly due to land fragmentation. Largely, it was a subsistence economy that Nayenga described as a ‘hoe economy.’<sup>70</sup> The Basoga were so fond of the hoe that they often referred to it as a ‘mother’—for it could provide all they needed to survive, just as a mother does in ensuring her children’s survival. However, as Isiko observes, the changes in climatic conditions that result into long dry spells negatively affected Busoga’s agricultural sector.<sup>71</sup> These resulted into lower agricultural yields for domestic consumption and supply to her neighbours especially Buganda.<sup>72</sup> Fishing on Lake Victoria, Lake Kyoga and River Nile was once a lucrative activity before new colonial occupations were brought by the whites.<sup>73</sup>

Socially, pre-colonial Busoga had limited influence from other cultural groupings because of its unique geographical location.<sup>74</sup> They were more or less a ‘cultural island’ where they observed their rich and unique cultures and traditions with limited foreign influence<sup>75</sup>. People were organised in small groups depending on the purpose of each group. Groups were arranged based on families, villages, clans, profession and age. However, the most significant social organisation was the clan system. The Basoga had a clan system (sing: ‘ekika’ or plur: ‘ebika’) composed of people who were

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<sup>69</sup> (Batala-Nayenga, 1976,43)

<sup>70</sup> Ibid

<sup>71</sup> Alexander Paul Isiko. “Gender Roles in Traditional Healing Practices in Busoga” (PhD diss., Leiden, Leiden University, 2018), 79.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid

<sup>73</sup> (Cohen, The Cultural Topography 1988, 57-79)

<sup>74</sup> (Isiko, 2018, 6)

<sup>75</sup> A. Musana, (1995). *Traditional Worship: A Basic Challenge to Busoga Catholic Church with Specific Reference to Itanda Parish*. (Dip. Phil. diss., Katigondo National Seminary, Masaka), 7.

related to each other by blood or a common ancestry.<sup>76</sup> These clans served as centres of cultural hegemony and social cohesion. A Musoga (singular of Basoga) had to belong to a clan, and every child (male or female) belonged to the father's clan, and a man's sons and daughters and his son's children were fellow clansmen<sup>77</sup>. A married woman was adopted into the new clan of her husband, and her name upon death could be named after children born in her husband's clan. These later became clan names of the husband. Clan names are formed by combining the prefix *mu* (singular) or *aba* (plural) with the form *Ise* (father) and with the name of the common ancestor. Basoga clans were divided into two categories: *abakopi* (commoners) clans to which the majority belonged and *abalangira* (royal clans). Intermarriages between commoners and royal families tended to close potential social gaps.<sup>78</sup>

The number of clans in Busoga has always been a bone of contention. In 1933, Lubogo estimated these to be approximately 133<sup>79</sup>, while by 1972, David Cohen claimed that there were about 220. Nayenga, writing five years after Cohen, affirmed this number, but also explained that about 70 totems were shared amongst the clans.<sup>80</sup> Normally each clan had a distinct totem, which it observed in reverence. Members of a clan were forbidden from eating, mistreating, profaning or blaspheming their totem<sup>94</sup>. It is important to note here, that while Busoga's unique geographic location had for ages protected her from foreign influence, this changed with the coming of the Arabs. This shall be analyzed in the next chapters of this dissertation.

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<sup>76</sup> (Batala-Nayenga, 1976,67)

<sup>77</sup> (Batala-Nayenga, 1976, 9-10)

<sup>78</sup> (Cohen, 1972, 14)

<sup>79</sup> (Lubogo, 1960, 133)

<sup>80</sup> (Batala-Nayenga 1976, 64)

<sup>94</sup> (Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 8)

## **2.4. Conclusion**

In this chapter, the geography and early history of Busoga have been explored in relation to their impact on the region's socio-political structures. The geography of Busoga, particularly its rivers, lakes, and fertile land, played a pivotal role in shaping its economic and political dynamics. The region's division into northern and southern climatic zones influenced its agricultural practices, with the fertile southern region supporting robust cultivation, while the northern zone, with its more arid conditions, focused on crops like millet. The early history of Busoga is marked by the migration and settlement of both Bantu and Luo groups, contributing to a complex cultural and political landscape. The chapter has traced the origins of the Basoga people and their diverse ancestry, emphasising that pre-colonial Busoga was not a unified state but rather a collection of independent chiefdoms. These political entities were characterised by fluidity, occasional conflict, and incursions from neighbouring regions. The next chapter examines the evolution of the succession conflicts in the Kyabazingaship of Busoga between 1906 and 1939.

**CHAPTER THREE**  
**EVOLUTION OF THE KYABAZINGASHIP SUCCESSION CONFLICTS IN IN**  
**BUSOGA, 1906 – 2014**

**3.0 Introduction**

This chapter examines the evolution of the Kyabazingaship succession conflicts between 1906 and 2014. It starts with the arrival of British imperialism in the region of Busoga. In this context, a brief reference is made to the British fascination with the origins of the River Nile, which subsequently laid the foundation for British imperialism not only in Busoga but in the entire Uganda. The chapter then delves into the initial British administrative endeavours to consolidate the distinct Busoga principalities into a unified governance structure by establishing the “Busoga Lukiiko,” which catalysed the establishment of the institution of Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga. In the final section, the chapter examines the origins and development of the controversies surrounding the institution of Kyabazingaship. The chapter argues that the origins of these conflicts are rooted in the nature of the creation of the institution, which itself, had its own inbuilt inconsistencies. It is this that made the institution vulnerable to both internal and external manipulations, especially from the central government.

**3.1 British Arrival and Imperialism in Busoga**

Before the arrival of Lt. John Hannington Speke, Busoga had no contact with Europeans. In September 1860, the London-based Royal Geographical Society (RGS), sponsored Speke’s second journey to East Africa to settle the great mystery over the source of the Nile.<sup>95</sup> This time around he decided to take as companion an old friend—James Grant. In July 1862, having left Grant at Muteesa’s palace in Buganda, Speke moved to trace where River Nile<sup>96</sup> linked with Lake

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<sup>95</sup> (Speke 1863, 46)

<sup>96</sup> “Omugga Kiyiira” is the local name for River Nile.

Victoria. Speke became the first Whiteman to see the outlet of the Nile on July 28, 1862, at the current site of Jinja town where he laid a tablet declaring the Nile origins of the river. He named the falls–Rippon, after the President of the Royal Geographical Society that had sponsored the expedition. Much as Speke could have been driven by scientific and geographical desires to settle the Nile puzzle, his visit to Busoga coincided with British materialism and capitalism for raw materials, areas for investment and markets for their manufactured goods.<sup>97</sup> Skeens agrees with this postulation when he writes; that “*the arrival of all early European travelers; Lord Lugard ( 1890) Bishop Tucker (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso,2016, 245)( 1891) and Sir Gerald Portal (1893) had been inspired by the Garden of Uganda*”<sup>98</sup>

It appears that Skeens’ notion of Busoga as a “Garden of Uganda”, motivated several other early Europeans, missionaries as well as administrators to come to Busoga. The “Garden of Eden” metaphor had to do with the abundant supply of food in the region. This was not only important to the caravan traffic but would also be of considerable attraction to missionaries who were on the lookout for possible areas into which to expand.<sup>99</sup> If one might extend this argument; the prevalence of abundant food supply suggests that Busoga had other attractions such as a suitable climate which could have supported the growth of food and settlement.<sup>81</sup> No doubt, that within this natural endowment, Busoga too, was gifted with some chiefs of immense hospitality. Whereas all early travellers could have been impressed by the “Garden of Busoga” the admirable hospitality among Busoga chiefs including Tabingwa of Kigulu, Wakhooli of Bukooli and Luba of Bunha among others cannot be ignored. These chiefs typified a true Kisoga tradition of treatment of a visitor. They often loaded their European guests with gifts like bananas, sheep, goats, fowl eggs and milk.

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<sup>81</sup> David W. Cohen. “The Political Transformation of Northern Busoga” *The Journal of African History* (1982, 478)

The warm reception and hospitality extended by certain chiefs in Busoga acted as a catalyst, enticing more Europeans to establish a presence in the region<sup>82</sup>.

In 1875, Henry Morton Stanley, perhaps due to the above considerations, arrived in Busoga, having travelled through Buganda before reaching Bunha chiefdom, under Nyago-Zigombye Luba Mukajanga.<sup>83</sup> As the case with earlier travellers such as Speke, Stanley, too, was impressed by the abundance of plantain and other food crops on a well-laid landscape. He described the area as ‘the food basket of Uganda’.<sup>84</sup> Stanley ‘wrote’ the famous letter to England that set forth opportunities for Christian missionary endeavours in Buganda.<sup>85</sup> The first to arrive in Buganda, in 1877, was the Church Missionary Society (CMS) group that included Reverend C.T Wilson, Shergold Smith and Alexander Mackay.<sup>86</sup> These were followed by the White Fathers’ Fr. Simeon Lourdel and his ally, Brother Delmas Amans. Soon after arrival, the two groups, due to contrasting liturgies began to conflict with each other resulting into what came to be known as the ‘Christian Revolution’.<sup>87</sup> The death of Buganda’s king Muteesa I in 1884 and the subsequent accession to the throne of his son, Mwanga, coincided with an era of intensive European political activities in Buganda that also significantly dragged in other areas of Uganda including Busoga.<sup>106</sup> By the time of the Berlin Conference (1884–85), European colonial powers granted themselves a license to venture into Africa.<sup>88</sup> Within the same time, Germany granted a charter to Carl Peters of Germany

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<sup>82</sup> See...F. Nabwiso’s paper was presented to the Busoga Lukiiko 2010); See also (Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 167) <sup>98</sup> (Skeens S.R, January 1937, 185). <sup>99</sup>(A.D. Tom Tuma, 1973, 41).

<sup>83</sup> (Batala-Nayenga, 1976,43)

<sup>84</sup> (Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 8)

<sup>85</sup> Deogratus Kyanda Kannamwangi. “From Mission to Local Church: A History on the ‘Indigenisation’ of the Catholic Church in Buganda, 1913 – 2012”. (PhD diss., Kampala, Makerere University, 2021), 23.

<sup>86</sup> Kannamwangi, 2021, 23)

<sup>87</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016,168). <sup>106</sup> (Kannamwangi, 2021, 23)

<sup>88</sup> (A.D. Tom Tuma, 1973, 41).

East African Company to represent them in what later became German East Africa. This, in turn, stirred up the Anglo-German rivalries in East Africa that only came to an end with the signing of the second Anglo-German Treaty in 1890. Consequently, Uganda went to the British, while Tanganyika was taken by the Germans. By this treaty, Busoga, like its western neighbour of Buganda, became part of British sphere of influence. Busoga then became a scene of the renewal of the old religious and political struggles between the British Protestants (*Bangereza*) and French Catholics (*Bafaransa*). After the defeat of Muslims, the Protestants and Catholics began to struggle for religious and political dominance.

The arrival at Mengo of the German imperialist, Carl Peters, in February 1890, coupled with the support he got from the *Bafaransa*, increased the already boiling tensions between the Anglo – Franco religious and political struggles in Buganda. These struggles later culminated in Busoga's early colonial history. On December 18, 1890, Lord Frederick D. Lugard of Imperial British East African Company (IBEACO) arrived at Mengo. Aware of the fluid religious and political situation apparent in Buganda, the Namirembe-based Anglican Church Bishop, Alfred Robert Tucker, arrived in Uganda on December 27, 1890, the same month with Captain Frederick Lugard.<sup>89</sup> In February 1891, he sent two of his missionaries, Fred Charles Smith and Cyril Gordon to Busoga with a request to open up the first Protestant Church Missionary Society (CMS) mission station in Bukooli Chiefdom.<sup>109</sup> The purpose of this mission was to establish a presence in the region and spread the Anglican faith amidst the complex religious and political dynamics of the time. Within a month, Friday Brard and Schmier of the Catholic White Fathers also left Rubaga for Tabingwa's

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<sup>89</sup> Samwiri Lwanga Lunyiigo. *Mwanga II: Resistance to Imposition of British Colonial Rule in Buganda 1884-1899*, (Kampala: Wavah Books Ltd, 2011), 128. <sup>109</sup> (A.D. Tom Tuma, 1890-1940, 71)

Kigulu chiefdom where they also opened up a Catholic station.<sup>90</sup> This confirmed the rumour that had been in circulation for some time to the effect that the ‘Bafaransa’ were planning to open new mission stations in Busoga and Western Kenya.<sup>91</sup> This, therefore, prepared a fertile ground for the British conquest of Busoga which in turn, culminated in the introduction of British indirect rule in Busoga with Semei Lwakireenzi Kakungulu at its behest.

### **3.2 The Conquest of Busoga and Introduction of British Indirect Rule**

The initial phase of the British invasion and colonisation of Busoga was led by the Imperial British East African Company (IBEACo) and the Anglican Church Missionary Society (CMS). Among those involved were Captain F. D Lugard, who arrived in Busoga in 1892 from Buganda during the height of religio-political wars. He negotiated an agreement with Bukhooli chief (Wakhooli) confirming the earlier hosting of the British Imperial East African flag and the Union Jack over Bukhooli Chiefdom by British Imperialistic cadres such as Fredrick Jackson and Gledge in 1890.<sup>92</sup> Shortly after, another British agent Captain Williams arrived in Busoga and quickly enticed Chief Miro (Nhiiro) of Kigulu Chiefdom to accept British “protection” for his people (Bakigulu) and territory (Kigulu) in exchange for assistance from the protectorate government.<sup>93</sup> After conquering Kigulu Chiefdom, the British attacked Bunha Chiefdom. Bishop Hannington was captured and slain at Luba’s palace in southern Busoga on October 21, 1885. This episode caused international outrage and presented Busoga “as a scene of the murder of Bishop Hannington.”<sup>114</sup> This horrific tragedy made the British approach the conquering of southern Busoga with caution.

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<sup>90</sup> (A.D. Tom Tuma, 1890-1940, 71)

<sup>91</sup> Ibid

<sup>92</sup> W. F. Nabwiso - Bulima, “The Evolution of the Kyabazingaship of Busoga, *Uganda Journal*, 31, 1 (1967), 90. Also see Skeens, *Reminiscences of Buosga and its Chiefs*, *Uganda Journal*, 4, 3, January 1937), 186

<sup>93</sup> (Nabwiso- Bulima, *The Evolution of the Kyabazingaship*, 1967, 90) <sup>114</sup>(A.D. Tom Tuma, 197, 72)

In 1892, Anglican Bishop Alfred Robert Tucker, Allan Wilson, and Reverend Skeens joined other European imperialists in Southern Busoga. These missionaries established the British colonisation of Busoga and opened the region to European missionary operations. Sir Gerald Portal followed Captain Fredrick Lugard and Bishop Alfred Tucker to increase British influence in Busoga.<sup>94</sup>

Portal, who served as the British Consul General in Zanzibar, received a specific task from the Company Director in November 1892.<sup>95</sup> His assignment was to investigate the work of IBEACo in Uganda (Buganda). The following year, he journeyed to southern Busoga and finally reached Bukaleeba, Chief Luba's mbuga (palace), in December 1893, where the Chief warmly welcomed him. According to Rev. Skeens, Gerald reported that Chief Luba presented two balls, six goats, six fowls, plenty of eggs, and a good shield as gifts during the reception. In 1899, Bukaleeba welcomed thirteen missionaries, and they were later joined by British administrators such as Captain William Grant and Sir Hesketh Bell. Thus, the British conquest was aided by the fact that pre-colonial Soga chiefdoms like Bukhooli of Wakhooli, Kigulu of Miro (Nhiiro), and Bunha of Nyago-ZigombyeLuba were not defiant. The Basoga had been badly subjugated. Europeans deceived numerous

African chiefs, into entering “protection treaties” that were ultimately unequal agreements.<sup>96</sup> Sadly, these treaties resulted in the loss of sovereignty and land for innocent Africans, a fate that also befell the chiefdoms in Busoga. Geographical, socio-cultural, economic and political factors drove the British quest and colonisation of Busoga by the 20th century. However, after annexing Busoga, the British devised a suitable plan to subjugate the Basoga. This alone led to the introduction of the Kiganda model of indirect rule in Busoga. My analysis explores the intricate steps that led to the formal establishment of distinct principalities unified under a single polity, with a common leader

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<sup>94</sup> (Skeens S.R, 183-186)

<sup>95</sup> (Lwanga Lunyiigo, 2011, 128-129).

<sup>96</sup> (Samwiri Lwanga Lunyiigo, 2011, 172)

known as the “President”, which ultimately served as a precursor to the institution of Kyabazingaship in Busoga.

### **3.3 The Creation of Busoga Royal Chiefs’ Council (BRCC) – ‘Lukiiko’**

The British colonial authorities were able to unify Busoga under a loose centralised rule because of the hereditary Basoga Chiefs’ Committee.<sup>97</sup> As already mentioned, Busoga had no centralised leadership before British rule, and each chiefdom worked independently, which did not serve the interests of the colonial masters. The main point to highlight here is the role of the British in the evolution of Kyabazingaship in Busoga and, more importantly, their role in laying the foundation for the succession and leadership conflicts in the institution. The British had conquered Busoga by 1895. In particular, Gerald Portal had declared a British Protectorate over Uganda, which included Busoga.<sup>98</sup> The next step was to create a workable governmental system to govern the disjointed and sometimes frequently warring chiefdoms in Busoga.<sup>99</sup> Three challenges stood in the British way. First was the lack of a unifying central governance. Second was the endemic friction and intrigue amongst the local chiefs. The third and most pressing was the impudence, insolence and arrogance among the Basoga chiefs by that time. Thus, in 1906, Boyle, the British Provincial Commissioner of Eastern Province, aptly described Busoga’s stubbornness, stating “Busoga was a headache to the central government and troops and the Basoga were refusing to do what they were told.”<sup>100</sup> This was mainly attributed to the fact that, by 1893, the Basoga, identified themselves as “first and foremost, as ‘Baisemenhya’, ‘Balamogi’, ‘Basiki’, ‘Badiope’, and ‘Bakigulu’, instead of Basoga”<sup>101</sup>. This increased the scope of the British challenge in dealing with a more complex

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<sup>97</sup> (Cohen, *The Historical Tradition*, 1972, 182-184)

<sup>98</sup> (Nabwiso- Bulima, *The Evolution of the Kyabazingaship*, 1967, 90)

<sup>99</sup> (Kaira Lubogo, 1960, 3)

<sup>100</sup> (Nabwiso- Bulima, *The Evolution of the Kyabazingaship*, 1967, 92)

<sup>101</sup> T.R.F. Cox, Review, *Bantu Bureaucracy in The Uganda Journal* vol: 31, (1967), 88

Busoga problem. It was presumably against this backdrop that Captain William Grant, was dispatched to Busoga to establish an orderly government. The British designated Uganda a “protectorate” in 1894, allowing the acquisition of Busoga and Bunyoro. This paved way for the evolution of Busoga Chiefs’ Royal Council framed as Busoga ‘Lukiiko’ or Parliament.<sup>102</sup>

After renaming the territory, the British considered its governance. Captain Grant, as the first British Commissioner of Busoga called the Soga chiefs to Bukaleeba, a former Bunha chiefdom trading center and “mbuga” (enclosure), shortly after his arrival in Busoga. He advised them to form a council with a “paramount” chief who could also lead other chiefs. They were also to build *mbugas* (enclosures) at Bukaleeba.<sup>103</sup> They were also to collect taxes, settle intra-state problems, and thoroughly deal with Sudanese mutineers. By the end of the meeting, Grant had, without their consent, constituted them into some sort of ‘council’ which he named the ‘Busoga Chiefs’ Council’ or ‘Lukiiko’– a sort of a committee.<sup>104</sup> Its presiding officer was to be entitled ‘President’. Busoga was also adopted as the ‘administrative name’ for the new British district.<sup>126</sup> As a result, Bukaleeba was made the seat of this Lukiiko and the first administrative headquarters of the British in Busoga.<sup>105</sup> In a hurry to please the British, Kisira the Zibondo (Chief of Bulamogi), Nhiiro the Ngobi (Chief of Kigulu), Nabwana Inhensiko II the Tabingwa (Chief of Luuka), Nyago-Zigombye Luba (Chief of Bunha) and Naigambi the Menha (Chief of Bugweri) built their own “mbuga” or palaces at Bukaleeba (later Fort Thruston), now in Mayuge District.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> (Batala-Nayenga F. P, 1976, 3).

<sup>103</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso,2016, 170).

<sup>104</sup> (Cox, 1967, 31, 1967, 88). See also, (Nabwiso- Bulima, *The Evolution of the Kyabazingaship*, 1967, 90)

<sup>126</sup>(Nabwiso- Bulima, *The Evolution of the Kyabazingaship*, 1967, 92)

<sup>105</sup> Ibid(Batala-Nayenga, 1976,43)

<sup>106</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso,2016, 169 - 170)

After establishing their administrative headquarters at Bukaleeba, the British searched within the newly constituted “Lukiiko” for a more capable and trustworthy administrator. In the beginning, they found none. The bickering among the chiefs was not about to end. They argued about the membership of the Lukiiko, the future of what they considered their ‘independent’ chiefdoms and how each of them merited the position. Having founded the Lukiiko and presided over its inaugural meeting, Grant had assumed the role of being its first chairman. However, shortly the Basoga chiefs elected Nyago-Zigombye, the Luba (chief) of Bunha, as the first local “president” of the Busoga Chiefs Council. He was their paramount chief with the most power.

However, Lubogo asserts that Nhiiro (Kigulu chief) claimed the same power and rank. Some literature calls Bulamogi Chief Kisira the first Musoga ‘President’ of the Lukiiko.<sup>107</sup> Kisira resided in Bukaleeba virtually continually until his death in 1898, according to Bulamogi oral tradition.<sup>108</sup> This shows how Kyabazingaship battles in Busoga began. Later, due to the devastating effects of the sleeping sickness plague, famine, and Sudanese rioters (1897-1898), which utterly wretched Bunha chiefdom), the British colonial authorities were forced to transfer their colonial capital from Bukaleeba (Bunhya) to Iganga in 1899, and finally to Jinja (Bugembe) in 1901.<sup>109</sup> By 1900 Busoga polity, like Buganda was well established with Queen Victoria as their supreme ruler or sovereign.<sup>110</sup> Through the 1900 Buganda-British Agreement, the kabaka of Buganda ceded full control over Busoga to a separate government and this led to the establishment of British control over Busoga. At this point, impressed by both the highly centralized character of the Kiganda model of administration and Semei Kakungulu’s rare leadership talents exhibited in the final capture of Mwanga and Kabalega (1897-1899), the path to the introduction of a hybrid KigandaBritish mode

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<sup>107</sup> (Nabwiso -Bulima, *The Evolution of the Kyabazingaship*, 1967, 92)

<sup>108</sup> Ibid

<sup>109</sup> Ibid

<sup>110</sup> (Lwanga Lunyiigo, 2011, 95)

of administration with Kakungulu at its behest in Busoga had been cleared. However, the federation of Busoga into the official Busoga Chiefs' Council and creation of the office of "President" of Busoga appear to have been officially completed in 1906 when Kakungulu was appointed first President of the Busoga "Lukiiko". This led to the establishment of Kyabazingaship in Busoga and the office of Kyabazinga wa Busoga. This shows that Busoga was a British political invention and that the first formal Busoga Lukiiko was established in 1906, completing the process of unifying the many Basoga princes into one polity under the British. The British missionary imperialists and Ganda-British sub-imperialists in Busoga, particularly Kakungulu, finished this process. In the next part, I examine the central role of this British import mercenary in Busoga, who not only completed the British process of merging Busoga into one political unit but also laid the foundation for the succession conflicts that plagued the institution of Kyabazingaship in Busoga since its inception.

#### **3.4 The Rise of Semei Lwakireenzi Kakungulu and his 'Presidency' in Busoga, 1906 – 1913**

Despite the presence of the Busoga "Lukiiko", it was not until 1906 that the need to merge the different Busoga chiefdoms under one polity was realised. Earlier claims of some fairly constituted committee of chiefs existing in Busoga between 1893 and 1905, had no evidence to affirm the existence of this 'council.' However, the transfer of the headquarters of the Busoga "Lukiiko" from Bukaleeba (Bunha) to Iganga (Kigulu) between 1898 and 1900 and finally to Jinja (Butembe Chiefdom), Bugembe in 1901 cleared the way for a Ganda chief, Semei Lwakireenzi Kakungulu, to become the "president" of Busoga in 1906, which was the most important step in the evolution of *Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga*. Who was Kakungulu and how did he get to Busoga and what part did he play in the evolution of the institution of Kyabazingaship and the succession and leadership conflicts that later came to define the institution?

Born in Kooki in 1869, Kakungulu had a history of military service, having served in both the

Kabaka's and the British armies during the religious wars. He had also been involved in struggles for power (premiership) with Apollo Kagwa, losing to the latter. After power struggles in Buganda, he was forced to seek his fortune elsewhere and eastern Uganda seemed fertile for him, especially after the capture of the two kings, Kabalega of Bunyoro and Mwangi of Buganda.<sup>111</sup>

Kakungulu's exportation to Busoga followed a number of considerations on the side of the British. Mention has already been made to the fact that in 1906, the British brought all the Soga chiefs into an administrative structure which they termed the 'Busoga Chiefs Council or 'Lukiiko'. Soon after, the council started organising periodic meetings with the eleven hereditary chiefs of Busoga. One of the cardinal functions of these meetings was to keep the colonial masters informed of what was happening in their areas of jurisdiction. This would help the District Commissioner in the execution of his duties. Already, the District Commissioner was complaining of being burdened with administrative duties. These included presiding over meetings, sitting as a judge, supervising the chiefs in tax collection and maintaining law and order among others. Although some local chiefs had been appointed in 1896, it was apparent none provided acceptable leadership to the British.<sup>134</sup>

In 1906, Uganda witnessed the arrival and appointment of Sir Hesketh Bell as her first British Governor.<sup>112</sup> Upon the advice of two British colonial officers already in Uganda namely; George Wilson, the Deputy Commissioner and A.G Boyle, the Sub-Commissioner of the Eastern Province, Sir Hesketh Bell appointed Kakungulu (an ex-Muganda general from Kooki, as the first 'President' of the Busoga Lukiiko.<sup>113</sup> Boyle had been impressed by Kakungulu's rare leadership talents as an army general and also hoped to use him to bring together the scattered chieftains in Busoga into a united government.<sup>114</sup> It was upon this background that Kakungulu was seen as the best man, by

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<sup>111</sup> John Gray, "Kakunguru" in Bukedi, *Uganda Journal* 27, 1 1963, 31-59. <sup>134</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 173-174)

<sup>112</sup> Thomas, H. B, O.B., "The story of Kakungulu", *The Uganda Journal*, VI, 3 1939, 27.

<sup>113</sup> (Thomas, 1939, 27)

<sup>114</sup> Ibid

the British to rule Busoga on their behalf. Kakungulu's appointment could have had a lot to do with the British colonial strategy to silence and destroy the Busoga chiefdoms by entrenching the Kiganda model of administration which Kakungulu was most familiar with.<sup>115</sup> There is also another claim that the British wanted to get Kakungulu out of Bukedi where he had petitioned the British to make him 'King of Bukedi.'<sup>116</sup>

Whatever his position, the British took use of Kakungulu's administrative skills in Busoga. First, they used his military talents to take Bunyoro and Bukedi and expand British control in the Lango and Teso sub-regions of northern and north-eastern Uganda. With this illustrious political tenacity, Boyle recommended raising Kakungulu's salary from 200 to 300 pounds in 1908. Boyle thought that Kakungulu was one of the ablest administrators among the natives of Uganda. His comments about his abilities went thus:

His work has been the most excellent as he has imparted gradually to the [Busoga] chiefs the methods of an orderly administration. He worked admirably, locally and a great deal of work in Busoga has been undoubtedly due to his good influence on the chief and the co-operation of the district commissioner, he has built a system of native administration in Busoga that can compare favorably with Buganda.<sup>140</sup>

Furthermore, Boyle was impressed by Kakungulu's influence on Busoga rulers. In 1911, at Mpumwire Hill near Jinja, he convinced and assisted different chiefs in Busoga to sign a formal agreement with the colonial government accepting colonial rule in the whole of their area.<sup>117</sup> At the same time, other Baganda chiefs were brought in to serve as advisers to Busoga rulers and territorial units were redrawn and renamed in accordance with Kiganda system. The Baganda chiefs included,

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<sup>115</sup> Ibid

<sup>116</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 173-175) <sup>140</sup>Ibid

<sup>117</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 173-175)

S. T. Twasenga in charge of Bulamogi (1906- 1914) and Tenga in Kigulu (1906-1915). Kakungulu also helped the British to introduce changes in the area. Soon, the Lukiiko had been made a court and was eventually formally instituted on August 11, 1909.<sup>118</sup> Kakungulu thus occupies a central position in Busoga's colonial leadership. He helped form a single tribal organization in Busoga.

However, the pervading idea of personal aggrandisement underpinned Kakungulu's Busoga masterpieces. This launched Busoga's leadership and succession problems and pitted Kakungulu against the British over power and authority, which dominated his presidency. After a few years of working with the British, Kakungulu began to clash with his British employers. One area of conflict was over his title. While Kakungulu himself preferred being addressed as the 'President of the Busoga', the architects of the office (the British), wanted him to remain the 'President of the Busoga Lukiiko'—a sort of liaison officer or '*Nampala*' of the Lukiiko meetings.<sup>119</sup> This way, Kakungulu's use would only remain in the Lukiiko hall.<sup>120</sup> This for some time remained a source of conflict and power struggles between him and his bosses. As many have aptly said, this was the beginning of the leadership conflicts in Busoga. Chiefs, as well as 'President' Kakungulu, found it difficult to clarify the two controversial titles and in the early days of the Presidency, the officials at Jinja and Entebbe exchanged correspondences seeking clarification on the proper title. However, conflicts were not just about the title, it soon became evident that Kakungulu was only important to the British as a political tool to further their political aspirations in Busoga. When Kakungulu realized this, he ceased being loyal to the British's interests and soon, he took care of his own interests and those of his Baganda retainers for whom he had acquired jobs in Busoga.<sup>121</sup> As such, using his political instincts and the accumulated military experiences, Kakungulu started making demands

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<sup>118</sup> Ibid

<sup>119</sup> Interview, Keith Mutengu, 65 years, Mwise Mudhope clan, former Katukiiro, Jinja, 21/01/2015.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid

<sup>121</sup> (Nabwiso- Bulima, *The Evolution of the Kyabazingaship*, 1967, 92)

on the British to recognize him as ‘Kabaka of Busoga’ and actually started behaving like one, as he had already done in Bukedi between 1901 and 1902 when he called himself “Kabaka of Bukedi.”<sup>122</sup> He also petitioned the colonial authorities in 1911 to allocate him and his Baganda followers in Busoga ‘mailo’ (freehold land) as had been done for senior Baganda chiefs in the 1900 Buganda Agreement with the British.<sup>123</sup> A further testimony to this claim is found in the letters that Kakungulu wrote to the governor, in which among the contents was that his ownership of Baitambogwe Hill, near Musita on Jinja–Iganga Road be recognized as his “mailo” land.<sup>124</sup> The British turned down the petition, unwilling to create a permanent stake for the Baganda in Busoga. By 1912, the British colonial authority was weary with Kakungulu’s demands. His proposals for a permanent material chiefdom in Busoga and his purported disregard of his administration duties drew great opposition. Despite prior praise, Provincial Commissioner Fredrick Spire wrote to the governor proposing Kakungulu’s removal for inefficiency, rudeness and disobedience. This was after Kakungulu had served the British so faithfully. The letter went as follows:

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Some years ago, this man was first employed in Busoga, imparting gradually to the chiefs the methods of an orderly and well-managed Lukiiko. The Basoga chiefs were appointed to hold courts under the Native Court’s Ordinance and Semei Kakungulu was appointed president of the Lukiiko at Jinja. I have long been dissatisfied with his work, as he lost interest in it, and excepting when there is a matter which concerns him personally, he does not attend the Lukiiko. His main interest now is land he occupies in Batambogwe and in a large house he is building on the prominent hill there. As far as his work is concerned, I feel that his appointment could be dispensed without any loss to the administration. Kakungulu is not really clever, far from it, he is extremely obstinate, wildly and childishly ambitious ever craving for the impossible in form of Kabakaship. He had an extraordinary craze for building far beyond his station. His enormous conceit has led him into many difficulties over the last twenty years. In view of the progress of

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<sup>122</sup> (Gray, 1963, 31-59)

<sup>123</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 175)

<sup>124</sup> Ibid

Busoga and the forthcoming return of the young Basoga Ssaza chiefs from high schools, I think the sooner Kakungulu is disposed of, the better.”<sup>125</sup>

Basing on Spire’s letter, a government directive was issued by Governor Fredrick Jackson withdrawing all Baganda agents from Busoga, Kakungulu inclusive. Kakungulu’s dismissal was, therefore, part of the overall policy of the British colonial administration to withdraw Baganda chiefs from the Eastern Province. The British had by this time started grooming the young chiefs among the Basoga to take up their own leadership. In July 1913, Kakungulu left Busoga after being disappointed by having virtually no real place in the complex modern administrative machinery which was taking place around him, and on December 30, 1913, the post of the ‘President of Busoga Lukiiko’ was abolished.<sup>126</sup> However, a detailed review of Spire’s recommendations to the governor, which resulted in Kakungulu’s removal, showed how selfish the British officials had become in Busoga. First, it emphasized that the British established the Busoga Lukiiko and appointed Kakungulu as president to promote their selfish interests in Busoga. British intrigue devastated Kakungulu. He received a discharge notice in 1913 after dutifully serving them. Second, Kakungulu was really a placeholder for the British-trained young Basoga Ssaza chiefs in high school whom the British were grooming for future leadership of Busoga. Overall, it is important to highlight the British role in the evolution of Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga and most importantly, in building a defective cultural and traditional institutional framework which was problem-prone from day one. Below, I examine Ezekiel Tenywa Wako’s ascension to the

“Presidency of Busoga Lukiiko” in 1919 after a six-year leadership vacuum in Busoga, how the British used double-standard politics to entrench their rule in Busoga, and how they succumbed to the title's reinvention on February 11, 1939, to Kyabazingaship.

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<sup>125</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016,176)

<sup>126</sup> (Thomas, 1939, 132)

### 3.5 From ‘President of Busoga Chiefs Council’ to ‘Kyabazinga of Busoga’

Efforts to establish the institution of Kyabazinga in Busoga began shortly after Kakungulu’s dismissal in 1913. This coincided with the education and nurturing of several princes of Busoga and the untimely death of Yosia Nadiope on January 9, 1913, whom the British had hoped to select as Kakungulu’s successor.<sup>127</sup> The Busoga Lukiiko was in abeyance for six years beginning in 1913 because the British had not chosen its leader.<sup>128</sup> In 1919, however, the British authorities authorized Ezekiel Tenywa Wako, then the Zibondo of Bulamogi, as the first indigenous “president” of the Busoga Lukiiko. Wako emerged as the most viable candidate because he was British-trained, loyal, and more familiar with British customs than his competitors.<sup>129</sup> On the premise that the office would circulate among all chiefs, he became the first indigenous “president” of Busoga Lukiiko. The “president” was scheduled to reside in Bugembe (Jinja) for three months before being replaced.<sup>130</sup> This arrangement, however, failed because many chiefs were unwilling to abandon their chiefdoms during those months. In 1939, when the office of the president of Busoga Lukiiko was transformed into the office of “Isebantu Kyabazinga wa Busoga”, Wako was crowned. He held the position until he retired in 1949.<sup>131</sup>

The origin of the office of Kyabazinga is attributed to a variety of sources. One such view is that since the end of the nineteenth century, the Basoga viewed Buganda and her people as highly developed and powerful, and thus desired to follow their footsteps. The presence of kabaka, the monarch of Buganda, was believed to be one of the sources of its strength. Those who held this

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<sup>127</sup> (Mudoola, 1993, 39-40)

<sup>128</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 179)

<sup>129</sup> (Nabwiso- Bulima, *The Evolution of the Kyabazingaship*, 1967, 92)

<sup>130</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 180)

<sup>131</sup> (Nakabayashi, 2005,7)

view asserted that they desired to be like Buganda, which had a unifying and potent leader.<sup>132</sup>This may have been one of the reasons for the creation of the office of Kyabazinga. The other may have been the prestige the Basoga ascribed to the office. In February 1939, Ezekiel Tenywa Wako, who had been President of the Lukiiko from 1919 to 1939, became the first Kyabazinga of Busoga, realising the goal of the Basoga. The term “Kyabazinga” was a vernacular transliteration of the English term “president” for the position of President of Busoga Lukiiko.<sup>133</sup>One of the Basoga chiefs, Ezekiel Wako, was thus appointed to this position.

### **3.6 Tenywa Wako –the First Native Lukiiko ‘President’ and Kyabazinga**

Ezekiel Tenywa Wako was born to Prince Wambuza, one of the sons of Kisira, the Zibondo (chief) of Bulamogi at the time of British advent in Busoga.<sup>134</sup> Wako succeeded his grandfather Kisira as Zibondo in 1914. In 1919, Wako became the first Soga President of Busoga Lukiiko after the dismissal of Kakungulu in 1913. Wako’s leadership was controversial right from the first day.

First, though elected by the Busoga Lukiiko, his appointment to the post of ‘president’ in 1919 was approved by the British, not the Lukiiko.<sup>135</sup> The British were reluctant to create kings where they never existed before. Further, the British stressed that the office was President of the Busoga

“Lukiiko” not President of Busoga.<sup>136</sup> Therefore, whereas the British regarded the office as public, the Basoga rulers came to identify the order of the post as the spokesperson for all the rulers. This alone caused Tenywa and the British to fight over control until 1949 and sparked off Busoga’s leadership crisis. Tenywa, like his predecessor Kakungulu, was dependent on the colonial authority from the outset. In February 1920, the British colonial authority named Wako the first permanent

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<sup>132</sup> Interview, Bulima Nabwiso, 19/11/2015.

<sup>133</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 93 - 93)

<sup>134</sup> (Nabwiso- Bulima, *The Evolution of the Kyabazingaship*, 1967, 95)

<sup>135</sup> Ibid.

<sup>136</sup> (Nabwiso- Bulima, *The Evolution of the Kyabazingaship*, 1967, 95)

resident chief at Bugembe.<sup>137</sup> Bugembe also became Busoga's headquarters and Lukiiko chambers in 1921. Therefore, the need to have a permanent ruler at Bugembe forced Wako to relinquish his duties in Bulamogi and move to live at Bugembe in the president's house.<sup>138</sup>

In 1925, Wako, the Kabaka of Buganda, the Abakama of Bunyoro and Toro and the Omugabe of Ankole under the "Native Kings Council" opposed the original British attempt to establish an East African Federation.<sup>139</sup> As predicted, this action encouraged many Basoga to consider raising the role of "president" to a monarchical institutional title of Kyabazinga and put him in confrontation with his British supervisors.<sup>140</sup> Like Kakungulu, he faced title and role disputes. The Busoga Chiefs called him "President wa Busoga", but the colonial officials called him "President of Busoga Lukiiko". The status, position, authority and influence of the President or Kyabazinga of Busoga in connection to the British colonial government was a major source of contention.

From the onset, the British categorically made it clear where real power in Busoga lay. To them, the role of the "President" or *Kyabazinga* was equivalent to that of a liaison officer (*Nampala*) between the central and the native administration who was to head the tribe as well as chair the

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Busoga Lukiiko.<sup>141</sup> This was a mistake by the British in the leadership of Busoga which continued to unsettle the institution not only during Wako's days as chiefs and Wako continued to resist it. The colonial office in London wanted genuine indirect rule in Busoga, meaning that it wanted a government led by an indigenous ruler, who was more than a civil servant, but the less broadminded

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<sup>137</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 176))

<sup>138</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 181)

<sup>139</sup> ((Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 183)

<sup>140</sup> Interview, Keith Mutengu, 65 years, Former Katukiiro, Jinja, 20/01/2015.

<sup>141</sup> (Mudoola, The Young Basoga and Bataka Association, 1976, 47)

colonial administrators at Jinja, were often irritated when Wako used his power and influence to oppose their reign.

The thorniest issue was regarding 'mailo' land in Busoga. It should be remembered that the 1900 Buganda agreement had granted 'mailo' land to most senior chiefs in Buganda. This arrangement, however, had its evils. In the 1920's the Bataka Union organised protests to fight for land reforms and redistribution in Buganda. As it was in Buganda, the chiefs in Busoga also started agitating for 'mailo' land in the 1920s. This was to cause a crisis as it became a measure of strength between Wako and the colonial authorities. In 1926, the Basoga chiefs accused Wako's government of failing to fight for their rights over the Bwesengeze and Busulu land systems (rentals), from where they used to get a lot of wealth.<sup>142</sup> This system was abolished and replaced with a salary system, thus weakening leaders. They were now part of the civil service and had to follow government orders, not their own or their peoples'. At the height of the mailo land conflict in 1935, the Young Basoga and Bataka Association accused Ssaza chiefs of treachery, suspecting that they had worked out a private deal with the colonial authorities to have a limited number of mailo allocated to them<sup>143</sup>. In fact, they felt that Saza chiefs and the president have not been vigorous enough in protesting against the abolition of tax rebates and other personal emoluments.<sup>144</sup>

Wako led Busoga chiefs in opposing the colonial land policy and presented a report to the British Parliamentary Joint Committee of 1931. He said the British mismanaged Busoga.<sup>145</sup> Fortunately, Yekonia Kibedi Menha Zirabamuzaale of Kigulu County was one of four chiefs, led by Buganda's treasurer Serwano W. Kulubya, who protested the planned East African Federation before the

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<sup>142</sup> Ibid

<sup>143</sup> (Mudoola, The Young Basoga and Bataka Association, 1976, 47)

<sup>144</sup> Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 182)

<sup>145</sup> (Mudoola, The Young Basoga and Bataka Association, 1976, 47)

House of Commons in the same year.<sup>146</sup> Zirabamuzaale traveled with S. Bazongere, Namutwe, and Rabwoni from Buganda and Bunyoro.<sup>147</sup> The British colonial authorities ultimately changed the presidency to Kyabazinga in 1938.<sup>148</sup> Wako defeated Zephania Nabikamba and Samwiri Mugoya with thirty-nine votes on December 5, 1938. Even after the formal inauguration of Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga on February 11, 1939, politics of intrigue with the British continued to plague Busoga. Whereas the British colonial government agreed to change the title, they remained silent on the new office holder about claiming personal privileges. However, they categorically put it clear that the institution would not claim hereditary character whatsoever.<sup>149</sup> In the eyes of the Basoga, this was a partial achievement as they had for a long time craved for a Kyabazinga equivalent to that of the Kabaka of Buganda. They were unhappy about giving them a *Kyabazinga* who remained ceremonial in the face of the colonial authorities. In fact, this kind of arrangement continued to unsettle Wako and the subsequent Kyabazingas.

In 1939, Wako became the first Kyabazinga of Busoga, symbolising a new wave of Busoga unity that would eventually threaten the British colonial rule. Wako's last ten years, 1939–49 coincided with the development of African nationalism and the Labour administration in Britain.<sup>150</sup> The former embroiled Wako in Uganda's independence politics, but the return of World War II veterans in Busoga weakened him.

The following causes contributed to Wako's 1949 forced retirement: First, the return of young and more vibrant ex-servicemen led by Azalia Wyclif Nviiri Mutekanga and other ex-servicemen in Busoga who began to press both the central government and the native government for

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<sup>146</sup> Ibid

<sup>147</sup> Interview, Keith Mutengu, 65 years, Former Katukiuro, Jinja

<sup>148</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 184)

<sup>149</sup> Ibid

<sup>150</sup> (Mudoola, 1993, 47)

compensation and most importantly, accused the Bugembe establishment, including Wako, of being too conservative to fit in the new world political order and looked forward to the older chiefs' resignation.<sup>151</sup> The Busoga Lukiiko reversed its 1943 stand for a hereditary Kyabazinga and opted for a three-year term in 1946, all on the influence of war veterans.<sup>152</sup> Second, the Labour administration in Britain and its democratic system throughout her colonies, including Uganda, meant new Busoga Lukiiko elections were imminent.<sup>153</sup> Third, until his forced retirement in 1949, Wako relied on families, notably those of Kigulu, Busiki and Bulamogi, his home principality. However, it should also be noted that Wako's leadership had so long been resented primarily within Bugabula, stretching as far as the 1940s when Nadiope was in trouble with colonial authorities.<sup>154</sup>

Therefore, despite the partial support Wako enjoyed from the British, some chiefly lineages of Ngobi of Kigulu and Kisiki rejected him. These leadership challenges combined to explain his eventual forced retirement. In addition to being fed up of the internal bickering in Busoga politics, he complained of the lack of respect he had endured for thirty years from the young British administrators at Bugembe. This was one of the reasons for Wako's forced retirement. Thus, the post-war winds of change and Busoga's internal pressures conspired to push Wako out of Busoga's Kyabazingaship politics by 1949. Administrators headed by Eastern Province Provincial Commissioner Daunsey Tongue joined ex-servicemen like Wycliffe Nviri Mutekanga to cause Wako's retirement. In 1949, Governor Hall retired Wako after Busoga District Commissioner Marshall sealed his fate. According to Mudoola and Nabwiso, Wako was forced to retire because he resisted Marshall's plan to remove Bulamogi County Chief Zefania Nabeta to Bugweri and

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<sup>151</sup> (Mudoola, 1993, 47)

<sup>152</sup> (Nabwiso- Bulima, *The Evolution of the Kyabazingaship*, 1967, 90)

<sup>153</sup> (Mudoola, 1993, 47)

<sup>154</sup> Ibid

replace him with his Deputy Zedekia Wambi.<sup>155</sup> Wako and Zirabamuzaale allegedly resisted the British transfer idea because they intended to return as leaders of Bulamogi and Bugweri principalities after retiring from Bugembe. After his forced retirement, Wako and Zirabamuzaale disappeared from Busoga politics. Kadhumbula Gabula Nadiope II succeeded him.

### **3.7 The Kyabazingaship of Sir William Wilberforce Kadhumbula Nadiope II, 1949 – 1955**

In the annals of Busoga's history, the year 1911 bore witness to two momentous events. First was hand over Mpumwiire by the eleven hereditary chiefs of Busoga to Provisional Commissioner Sir Fredrick Spire confirming British rule in Busoga.<sup>156</sup> The second event was the birth of Prince William Nadiope who eventually became the Kyabazinga of Busoga three times (1949–1955, 1962 and lastly in 1967). Nadiope was born to Bugabula Chief Prince Yosia Nadiope and Suzana Nansinkombi, sister to Sir Apollo Kagwa and from childhood was groomed for a political role in Busoga.<sup>157</sup> This act, aside from being a well-known custom within the hereditary principalities of Busoga, in which the lineage's responsibility was to groom their potential heir apparent to the throne in case of the death of throne holder (the father), was also part of a British strategy of using their indirect rule in their areas of influence in Tropical Africa to train Africans, mostly the sons of chiefs and kings, in leadership skills to prepare them for future political responsibilities.<sup>158</sup>

On January 11, 1911, the British through the Anglican Church and with the cooperation of Yosia Nadiope, the then Gabula (chief) of Bugabula, founded Balangira High School in Bukwenge near Kamuli District. Balangira High School became Busoga College Mwiri in 1929.<sup>159</sup> In Buganda, the British and Anglican Church had also founded King's College Buddo to train the sons of Buganda's

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<sup>155</sup> (Mudoola, 1993, 47), See also... (Nabwiso-Bulima, *The Evolution of the Kyabazingaship*, 1967, 90

<sup>156</sup> Later renamed Mpumudde by Kakungulu, translated as "place of rest". Owing to his contribution, towards bringing Busoga under the British, Fredrick Spire's name is still commemorated in one of the major streets in Jinja.

<sup>157</sup> Interview, Bulima Nabwiso 19/11/2015

<sup>158</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 183)

<sup>159</sup> Ibid

rulers for comparable leadership roles. According to Bugabula's family biography, Yosia Nadiope, the Gabula, was one of the first Musoga alumni of King's College Buddo and had a good academic record and a good recommendation from the College Administration.<sup>160</sup> Indeed, this view was well captured by Nabwiso as follows: "Basing on Yosia's substantive academic progress and his good behavioural report from King's College Buddo, the Headteacher in addition to ear-marking and grooming the young Yosia, recommended him as a suitable native replacement of Semei Lwakirenzi Kakungulu as President of Busoga."<sup>185</sup>

Despite the above advice, Yosia Nadiope died suddenly in 1913. Prince William Nadiope was two years old when his father Yosia Nadiope died.<sup>161</sup> Apart from depriving Busoga of a prospective chief, Nadiope's death severely damaged Bugabula's leadership system. It left the Bugabula royal house without a leader. This attracted the British authorities, who overthrew Bugabula's oligarchy by appointing Daudi Mutekanga, a non-Gabula, as chief regent until Nadiope reached the age of consent. Instead of affirming how colonial politics continued to direct the wind of change in Busoga's cultural affairs, the British appointed Mutekanga to manage Bugabula's cultural and political affairs. This denigrated not only Bugabula's culture but also of the institution of Kyabazingaship. Of course, the main point is that this affected the infant Nadiope's upbringing, character formation, early education and future leadership. In the next pages, I explore how the young Nadiope struggled without a parent and how this affected his conduct in Bugabula in particular and Busoga at large.

After his father Yosia Nadiope died unexpectedly, the young prince was transferred to his maternal side in Buganda. After a brief stay, the young prince was enrolled at Balangira High School

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<sup>160</sup> Interview, Henry Kitimbo Woir, 70 years, Custodian of Bugabula Chiefdom, Budhumbula Kamuli 21/01/2015.

<sup>185</sup> Interview, Bulima Nabwiso 19/11/2015

<sup>161</sup> Interview, Kitimbo Woir, 21/01/2015

(Busoga College, Mwiri).<sup>162</sup>In 1924, his uncle Apollo Kaggwa sent the young Nadiope to Trent College in Nottingham, England for additional formal schooling.<sup>163</sup> However, this decision has been criticised in some quarters as “premature and poorly thought out” because at that time (1924), Nadiope was too young to cope with the winter conditions in England. He thus became a loner and was unable to make substantial academic progress in England.<sup>164</sup> Thus, the school administrator recommended Nadiope’s move away from Europe’s harsh climates to Africa’s tropical temperatures, particularly Achimota, Accra in Ghana. Unfortunately, on his return in 1929, Nadiope, at sixteen years old, followed the advice of Bugabula elders and accepted the Gabulaship (leadership of Bugabula) of his late father instead of the British education in Ghana.<sup>165</sup> And on February 3, 1930 he was enthroned as the Gabula (local chief) of Bugabula, one of the chiefdoms that made up Kamuli.<sup>166</sup> It is important to note that while in the eyes of the British, Nadiope was a disgrace, back home he was regarded as a hero. As Gabula, he waged war against bad elements in Bugabula in the famous operation code-named *Emizindula* (war against theft) and ended the British policy for the fight against small pox code-named *Kawumpuli*, which decreed every Musoga to carry rat tails to the colonial administrative offices (Busoga Square, Jinja) as proof that they had killed the disease-carrying rodents).<sup>167</sup> Nadiope joined his countrymen in condemning this demeaning approach, which got him in problems with the British colonial authority. Nadiope was later deported to Hoima (Bunyoro), where he volunteered for war service and between 1941 and

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<sup>162</sup> Interview, Bulima Nabwiso 19/11/2015

<sup>163</sup> *Uganda: Building of the Nation* (Kampala: New Vision, 2012), 24.

<sup>164</sup> Interview, Bulima Nabwiso 19/11/2015

<sup>165</sup> Ibid

<sup>166</sup> Ibid

<sup>167</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 193)

1945, joined the King's African Rifles (KAR) in India and Burma on the side of the British during Second World War.<sup>168</sup>The foregoing war experiences under which Nadiope was part have been blamed for breeding a rebellious attitude and suspicious personality in Nadiope towards the British, which led to his future sharp conflicts with the British authorities from time to time.

However, the main point is that Nadiope's World War experiences gave him a political platform to enter national politics and Busoga's cultural and traditional leadership. In 1946, upon his return, Nadiope was given a job with the colonial office at Entebbe.<sup>169</sup>Nadiope's rise, notably in Busoga's Kyabazingaship politics and public life, was slow but steady. In 1949, William Wilberforce Kadhumbula Nadiope II was elected the second Kyabazinga of Busoga, 49 when Wako retired.<sup>170</sup>During his first three-year term as Kyabazinga (1949-1952), it is evident that, in addition to being a sociable man with good mobilisation skills and an additional talent of being conversationalist; this was boosted by the election of Mutekanga (his strongest supporter from Bugabula) as the second Secretary General to Yekonia Zirabamuzaale. It was considered that the team comprising Nadiope, Zirabamuzaale and Mutekanga would provide Busoga politics with a new direction within the greater protectorate government.<sup>196</sup> In fact, the failure of successive

British governments to build an effective and strong institutional framework in Busoga over the years continued to underpin the patterns of leadership conflicts in the Kyabazingaship of Nadiope. Again, at this juncture, the British hoped to continue using the position of Kyabazinga as a political tool to entrench their interests in Busoga. This, no doubt became a source of conflicts between Nadiope and the British, culminating in the loss of Nadiope's Kyabazingaship to Muloki in 1955.

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<sup>168</sup> *Uganda: Building of the Nation* (Kampala: New Vision, 2012), 26.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid

<sup>170</sup> Interview, Kitimbo Woiru, 21/01/2015.

<sup>196</sup>

Nadiope, like his predecessor, had to choose between his culture, the Lukiiko and the British during his six years as Kyabazinga. First, the Uganda Local Ordinance of 1949 distracted the Lukiiko from meeting Busoga's expanding socio-economic aspirations. The Lukiiko opposed graduated tax, land titles and LEGCo elections.<sup>171</sup> The Lukiiko leaders also fought colonial policies they believed oppressed them. Thus, the Bugembe establishment and the colonial authority clashed, leading to accusations and counter-accusations. Nadiope also clashed with British officials on office behaviour since he was usually late for work and formal events. He was more of a businessman than an administrator. He was often absent from Kyabazinga duties due to business. The District Commissioner publicly chastised Nadiope in the early 1950s for trading and turning the Kyabazinga's official home on Bugembe Hill into a maize shop.<sup>172</sup> More disputes between the British and Nadiope erupted shortly after the latter's three-year term elapsed in 1952. The British tried, in vain, to block his re-election by insisting that the *Kyabazinga* should be elected by parish, sub-county and county councils.<sup>173</sup> To their dismay, Nadiope scooped over four thousand votes compared to Wako's one thousand votes, their preferred candidate.<sup>200</sup> This earned Nadiope, his second term as *Kyabazinga*, 1952–1955.

Therefore, by the time his second term elapsed in 1955, Nadiope commanded a large following in Busoga. In 1954, during her visit to Uganda to commission the Owen Falls Dam in Jinja, Princess Elizabeth bestowed upon Nadiope the honourable title of 'Sir' for his Second World War service.<sup>174</sup> This served not only as a great feat for him, Bugabula and Busoga in general, but most significantly, it also became a source of power and influence in national politics, notably during

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<sup>171</sup> Interview, Kitimbo Woirra, 21/01/2015.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid.

<sup>173</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 192) <sup>200</sup>

Ibid

<sup>174</sup> Interview, Kitimbo Woirra, 21/01/2015.

Uganda's independence nationalisms. In return, Nadiope also presented "a Busoga Royal Spear" to the apparent heir to the British crown Princess Elizabeth.<sup>175</sup> Nadiope's action and gift did not impress the British colonial authority and neither did they lessen the contempt the British had for him. As if to show more disrespect to Nadiope, during the same period, Mr. Roper, the District Commissioner, addressed the Busoga Lukiiko in a short-sleeved shirt and shorts.<sup>176</sup> When the same Mr. Roper sat in Kyabazinga's chair – *Ikoneru* (throne) tensions rose. "The Kyabazinga's chair has no customary significance whatsoever," Mr. Roper added.<sup>177</sup>

The foregoing actions, while insulting to the Basoga, confirmed the leadership tensions between Nadiope and the British. This led to further leadership clashes in Busoga, decreased Nadiope's position and his loss of the Kyabazingaship to Henry Wako in 1955.<sup>178</sup> However, Nadiope's second Kyabazingaship in Busoga launched socio-economic measures to improve the people's welfare.<sup>206</sup> From 1953, his government extended Busoga's bursary programme for underprivileged but academically outstanding elementary and secondary students. He founded the Busoga Growers' Cooperative Union under Mathius Mbalule Ngobi in 1953 to boost agriculture and trade. With such a large following, the British colonial authorities knew Nadiope might easily win a third term and changed the voting method. The Lukiiko elected the Kyabazinga instead of every parish, sub-county and county. The British believed they could easily control the Lukiiko in this manner. British colonial authority then blackmailed. Roper, the District Commissioner, coordinated with younger Lukiiko members who disliked Nadiope to exclude him from the

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<sup>175</sup> Ibid

<sup>176</sup> Ibid

<sup>177</sup> Ibid

<sup>178</sup> Interview, Buluma Nabwiso, 19/11/2015

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Kyabazingaship election. Thus, Muloki defeated Nadiope 47 to 55 votes in 1955.<sup>179</sup> Nadiope returned to Bugabula and sold timber after losing the Kyabazingaship to Wako Muloki in 1955.<sup>208</sup> This not only ushered in the ‘golden age’ under Muloki but also marked the beginning of the first phase of the struggle for independence of Uganda which accelerated the leadership and succession conflicts in Busoga in the subsequent years<sup>209</sup>.

The events that preceded the election to Kyabazingaship in 1955 reveal that politics had taken centre stage in the contest for the Kyabazinga throne. This is demonstrated when in 1955, Roper, used his office of Provincial Commissioner for Eastern Province to influence the Lukiiko to elect Muloki and throw out Nadiope.<sup>180</sup> Matters worsened for Nadiope when in 1958, he again lost the Kyabazingaship race to Muloki. Disillusioned by the two successive Kyabazingaship losses to Muloki in 1955 and 1958 respectively, Nadiope was forced to temporarily rest his quest for Kyabazingaship and concentrate on national politics.<sup>181</sup> Nadiope shone again in 1958. In the same year, he easily won the first direct election to the colonial Legislative Council (LEGCo) to represent Busoga North Constituency, which included Bugabula (14 counties), Bulamogi (6 counties), and Busiki (4 counties). Ngobi won Busoga South.<sup>182</sup> This win and his eventual engagement in independence politics was the first step in a series of leadership and succession struggles that would plague Kyabazingaship for years to come. In 1960, Nadiope, Rwetsiba and George Magezi formed the Uganda People’s Union (UPU), which joined with Obote’s UNC group. At a UPC conference in Mbale that year, Obote was elected President General and Nadiope Vice President. Nadiope, like many Ugandan officials in the central government, kingdom politics, and

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<sup>179</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 193) <sup>208</sup>  
Interview, Buluma Nabwiso, 19/11/2015

<sup>209</sup> Ibid.

<sup>180</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 192)

<sup>181</sup> Interview, Buluma Nabwiso, 19/11/2015

<sup>182</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 205)

LEGCo was involved in Uganda's independence politics. Uganda sent Nadiope to the 1961 Lancaster Independence Conference in London. The new independent Uganda granted kingdoms federal status, among other measures. After returning from London, Nadiope plotted to become Kyabazinga again.

### **3.8 The Kyabazingaship of Henry Wako Muloki, 1955 - 1962**

Henry Wako Muloki was Busoga's third native Kyabazinga. He was born on February 18, 1921, in Buyunga, a little village in Namugongo sub-county, Bulamogi County (now Kaliro District), to Ezekyeri Tenywa Wako and Yunia Nakibande.<sup>183</sup> In 1927, seven-year-old Muloki began his education at Buddo Junior School. Between 1939 and 1942 he was at King's College Buddo for his junior secondary education. While at Buddo, little Muloki demonstrated his leadership acumen when he became a prefect between 1939 and 1940 and later the head prefect from 1941 to 1942.<sup>184</sup> Here, Muloki met several of Uganda's and East Africa's future leaders such as Fredrick Muteesa, who was the college football captain and king of Buganda and George Kakoma, the college choir prefect and composer of the Uganda National Anthem. Muloki earned a Diploma in Agriculture from Makerere College between 1943 and 1946.<sup>215</sup> While at Makerere, besides being the Chairman of the College's Games Committee and chairman of a house of residence known as Sepuya within Mitchell Hall, he was Commander of Makerere College Cadet Corps.<sup>185</sup> Still at Makerere, he was able to meet Julius Nyerere, who later on became Tanzania's first president. This strengthened his early leadership experiences and established the stage for his future leadership in Busoga in public service as an agricultural officer overseeing Butembe and Kigulu counties between 1947 and

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<sup>183</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso,2016, 86)

<sup>184</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso,2016, 86)

<sup>215</sup>

<sup>185</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso,2016, 87)

1949. He was an assistant researcher at Serere Agricultural Research Center from 1950 to 1954, then a farm manager there before becoming Busoga District's Assistant Agricultural Officer. In 1954, he became the deputy of the colonial District Agricultural Officer.<sup>186</sup>

Although Muloki's personality had mixed fortunes, he grew up with a reputable, dignified and excellent Christian character that he always lived to preserve and safeguard in the public view.

Nabwiso described him as one who "was always conscious as a prince, a listener, respectful and committed to his work."<sup>187</sup> The rich social standing, combined with the events of 1955, positioned

Muloki for the throne of Busoga that year. Such events included Uganda's independence nationalisms that fed into Busoga's cultural politics, including the Kyabazinga elections of that year. Earlier in 1946 the British Imperial government in London under Prime Minister Clement

Atlee had ordered all British colonies to move "away from indirect rule ...to a more democratic system of councils."<sup>188</sup> The 1949 Uganda Local Government Law, passed by the Labour

Government in London, required "either new election to Busoga Lukiiko and also gave more powers and responsibility to the district councils."<sup>189</sup> This rather than changing Busoga's cultural

institutional framework, it affirmed how the independence politics had shackled cultural affairs of the Kyabazingaship of Busoga into the dirty mud of politics. Most importantly, the British colonial

masters colluded with one party against the other using independence politics, polarizing the institution and accelerating leadership and succession conflicts in Busoga in the years to come.<sup>190</sup>

Busoga's history from the 1950's shows Nadiopo's rising frustration with British colonial control.

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<sup>186</sup> Interview, Buluma Nabwiso, 19/11/2015

<sup>187</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 86)

<sup>188</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 192)

<sup>189</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 188)

<sup>190</sup> Interview, Buluma Nabwiso, 19/11/2015

In fact, Nabwiso and Kayaga argue that in the early 1950's, as already indicated, the District Commissioner had severally accused Nadiope of poor time management, neglecting office work, and being more of a businessman than an effective administrator.<sup>191</sup> The British further disapproved of Nadiope as Kyabazinga and Mutekanga as Secretary General (the equivalent of today's Katuukiro), who were anti-colonialist.<sup>192</sup> In 1952, despite British dislike, Nadiope won the Kyabazinga election by a landslide with almost four thousand votes to Wako's one thousand. By 1955, Nadiope had ruled for two terms of a three-year term between 1949 and 1955, but his relationship with the British at Entebbe and Bugembe colonial offices had not improved. However, thirty-four-year Muloki, who had several years of leadership experience and British government assistance, defeated Nadiope in the 1955 Kyabazinga elections. Muloki received 55 votes to 47 for Nadiope.<sup>193</sup> The year 1958 ended his first three-year term. Once again, Muloki prevailed over his rival Nadiope after winning over him by 82 votes to 42 in a highly contested race for Kyabazingaship in 1958. In 1961, the Kyabazinga politics took another turn resulting into what has been characterised as "the 1962 palace coup."<sup>225</sup> Events leading to the "coup" started when the Busoga Lukiiko declared Obwakyabazinga hereditary and Wako Muloki as Busoga's permanent Kyabazinga.<sup>194</sup> Twenty Lukiiko members opposed to the resolution walked out of the meeting in protest.<sup>195</sup>

Matters were further complicated when as a consequence of the decision, some of the Kyabazinga senior officials crossed over to the Uganda People's Congress (UPC) for their own survival.<sup>196</sup> The

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<sup>191</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso,2016, 191)

<sup>192</sup> Ibid

<sup>193</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso,2016, 192)

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<sup>194</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso,2016, 193)

<sup>195</sup> Ibid

<sup>196</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso,2016, 200)

resolution spurred Nadiope to seek more political authority and financial resources to return to Kyabazingaship. Leadership and succession problems in Obwakyabazinga escalated in January 1962 when Muloki travelled to London with the kings of Bunyoro, Toro and Ankole and DP and UPC representatives to the second Lancaster House Constitution on Uganda. On April 1, 1962, Benedicto Kiwanuka, during celebrations to mark his appointment as Uganda's first Prime minister announced in western Uganda that his administration had accepted and supported Muloki's claim as permanent Kyabazinga of Busoga.<sup>197</sup> Kiwanuka's statement raised Uganda People's Congress suspicions of Muloki as a Democratic Party supporter.<sup>198</sup> Nadiope staged a counterattack that ousted Muloki from the Kyabazingaship on September 30, 1962, after a few days.<sup>199</sup> On that day, the new UPC-dominated Lukiiko which was meant to elect the speaker and his deputy, overstepped this mandate and even elected Nadiope as the new Kyabazinga yet Muloki was still Kyabazinga.<sup>200</sup> This was UPC politics and influence at play as one of the members of this Lukiiko at the time remarked: "The dramatic ejection of Muloki was linked to political maneuvers of both DP and UPC as they competed to lead Uganda to independence".<sup>201</sup> This created pandemonium as all members, including those of DP walked out of the Lukiiko.<sup>202</sup> As a result, on September 29, 1962 only the UPC members elected Nadiope as Kyabazinga again, contrary to the known prescribed mode of electing a Kyabazinga as is required in the 1962 independence constitution.

On September 30, 1962, Christians gathered at the Christ the King Cathedral in Bugembe witnessed an unthinkable episode. Nadiope entered mid-service. He strolled down the aisle, past the altar and

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<sup>197</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 201)

<sup>198</sup> Interview, Buluma Nabwiso, 19/11/2015

<sup>199</sup> Ibid

<sup>200</sup> Ibid

<sup>201</sup> *The Sunday Monitor*, No.260, 18 September 2008, 39

<sup>202</sup> *The Sunday Monitor*, No.260, 18 September 2008, 39

onto the main stage for dignitaries, the choir, and the clergy.<sup>203</sup> He then occupied the seat which was meant for Henry Wako, the sitting Kyabazinga who was absent.<sup>204</sup> The congregation erupted and several were heard lamenting, *Agityaimemu! Agityaimemu!*.<sup>205</sup> This odd event shook the church and deviated from church norms. Nadiope had deposed Muloki amid popular protests. Shortly after, an army of young UPC supporters transported Muloki's private property from Bugembe the seat of Kyabazinga to Nakabango his private residence.

### **3.9 William W. Kadhumbula Nadiope Gabula's third Kyabazingaship, 1962 – 1967**

On October 6, 1962, William Wilberforce Nadiope, the controversially elected new Kyabazinga of Busoga was installed by Prime Minister Apollo Milton Obote, during a coronation ceremony at Bugembe.<sup>206</sup> During the occasion, Obote was all praises for Nadiope whom he said put up a gallant fight towards Uganda's quest for self-rule in general and also led to the rapid birth and growth of UPC between 1960 and 1962.<sup>239</sup> He went on to thank the Lukiiko for wisely electing Nadiope and castigated the opposition for its dismal performance in the Lukiiko elections of September 1962.

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Such praises from Milton Obote did not only set a bad precedent in the Obwakyabazinga institution but was also a great embarrassment to the country in general.<sup>207</sup> A week later, Nadiope was sworn in as Kyabazinga wa Busoga.<sup>208</sup> This launched the beginning of disputes over leadership and succession in post-independence Busoga. Matters of Kyabazingaship now shifted from being sorted out from the Lukiiko to the courts of judicature.

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<sup>203</sup> Ibid

<sup>204</sup> Interview, Buluma Nabwiso, 19/11/2015.

<sup>205</sup> *The Sunday Monitor*, No.260, 18 September 2008, 39

<sup>206</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso,2016, 201)

<sup>239</sup>

<sup>207</sup> Interview, Moses Balidawa Ngobi, 50years, Legal advisor to the Kyabazinga, Jinja, 16/1/ 2015

<sup>208</sup> *The Sunday Monitor*, No.260, 18 September 2008, 39

### 3.10 Kyabazingaship Disputes in Uganda's Courts of Law

In Uganda's High Court, Jowett Lyagoba led a Lukiiko faction to challenge Nadiope's Kyabazingaship.<sup>209</sup> In the subsequent court ruling in February 1963, the acting Chief Justice Bennett eventually ruled in favour of the opposition and legally challenged the Busoga Lukiiko for not having been constituted since 10th August, 1962, and that the new Lukiiko had not yet prescribed the mode of electing a Kyabazinga under the 1962 Independence Constitution.<sup>210</sup>

Bennet's verdict was legitimate and fair, but it did not resolve the Kyabazingaship question. Grace Ibingira, the Minister of Justice and Nadiope's close supporter, raced to parliament and proposed what became 'the Busoga Kyabazingaship Validation Bill'<sup>211</sup>

### 3.11 Kyabazingaship Disputes in Uganda's Parliament

The Busoga Kyabazingaship Validation Bill, which legitimized the UPC-backed election of Nadiope as Kyabazinga was passed in the afternoon of February 25, 1963.<sup>212</sup> Three days later it became law—the Busoga Validation Act of 1963.<sup>213</sup> In response, Basil K. Bataringaya criticised the UPC-KY administration for dreading elections in Busoga and taking a huge leap towards authoritarianism.<sup>214</sup> The 1963 Busoga Validation Act purportedly held Nadiope's third Kyabazingaship and his controversial council (Lukiiko) members in the guise of using parliament to provide legal approval, specifying the end of term of outgoing Kyabazinga (Muloki) as September 28, 1962, and the start of the new Kyabazinga's term as September 29, 1962, but it became an act of betrayal to Busoga and Uganda. It polarised Busoga and influenced the following

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<sup>209</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 205)

<sup>210</sup> Ibid

<sup>211</sup> *The Sunday Monitor*; No.260, 18 September 2008, 39

<sup>212</sup> Ibid

<sup>213</sup> Ibid

<sup>214</sup> *The Sunday Monitor*; No.260, 18 September 2008, 39 <sup>248</sup>Interview, Balidawa Ngobi, 16/1/ 2015.

generation of politicians.<sup>248</sup> First and most important, it seized the authority of the High Court by legitimising Nadiope and his unlawful council (Lukiiko) and converting the Kyabazingaship of Busoga into a court theater. Second, it allowed electoral petitions to challenge any council/Lukiiko or Kyabazinga, which contradicted the Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga's cultural framework. Nadiope appeared to have achieved his peak in Busoga and Uganda on October 8, 1963. Parliament named him Vice President of Uganda, Vice President of UPC, Kyabazinga of Busoga, and UPC's most powerful leader in Busoga.<sup>215</sup>

### **3.12 Nadiope's Fallout with Obote I**

After 1963, Obote began to doubt Nadiope's role in UPC which had contributed to his rise to power in Busoga and Uganda.<sup>216</sup> The buildup to this unfortunate turn of events can be demonstrated in 1964, when the government of Uganda pushed through parliament a law which curbed the powers of local administration in Uganda.<sup>217</sup> In the same year, using his position as Vice President of Uganda, Nadiope made a blunder when he dismissed John Lyavala Lwanga from Busoga's Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning and replaced him with Michael Bakaswirewa from the Ministry of Works.<sup>252</sup> This led to political discord within UPC in Busoga. Alfred James Kisubi also left Busoga's Ministry of Education and joined the central government as Uganda's student advisor in London. In April 1964, the DP won all four Jinja Municipality by-elections, further straining Nadiope-Obote ties. Around the same time, Grace Ibingira, head of parliament's anti-Obote faction, sent Nadiope to the US to condemn communism in September 1965, while Obote was visiting the Soviet Union to build relations with Uganda.<sup>218</sup> While away in the United States of America, more drama ensued, as Nadiope's Katuukiro William Balwana Mwangi, flew the Kyabazinga flag on his

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<sup>215</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 207)

<sup>216</sup> Ibid

<sup>217</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 204)

<sup>252</sup> Ibid

<sup>218</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 204)

car.<sup>219</sup> The act for a fact created two Kyabazingas—Nadiope, who was imposed on Busoga by parliament, and Mwangu, who self-proclaimed the post.<sup>220</sup> All these events further deepened the rift between Nadiope and Obote.

### **3.13 The 1966 Constitutional Crisis and the Kyabazingaship in Busoga**

The post-independence events led to Uganda's 1966 constitutional crisis. Most importantly, the crisis was caused by misunderstandings between Obote and Muteesa II, who was both President of Uganda and Kabaka of Buganda.<sup>221</sup> On February 4, 1966, Daudi Ochieng moved a motion in parliament that almost brought down the first Milton Obote's government.<sup>222</sup> Ochieng's noconfidence motion accused Obote, the then Prime Minister, Defence Minister Felix Onama, Information and Broadcasting Minister Adoko Nekyon, and Deputy Army Commander Col. Idi Amin of getting involved in smuggling gold, ivory and coffee from rebels in Congo.<sup>223</sup> Ibingira, Obote's second-in-command and Minister of Justice, was one of the UPC parliamentarians who surprisingly backed the resolution to force the Obote administration to resign over Congo looting charges. He advised a judicial commission to investigate and suspend Idi Amin.<sup>224</sup> Obote was enraged and quickly disputed the claims, set up his own commission of investigation and called a cabinet conference in which five ministers—Grace Ibingira, Balaki Kirya, Emmanuel Lumu, George Magezi, and Mathius Mbalule Ngobi—were arrested and imprisoned.<sup>260</sup> The crisis worsened Nadiope-Kyabazingaship ties. First and foremost, with Obote's cabinet officials arrested, Nadiope escaped to Kenya for a temporary sanctuary before returning to Uganda.<sup>261</sup> On July 18,

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<sup>219</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 208)

<sup>220</sup> Ibid

<sup>221</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 207)

<sup>222</sup> *Uganda: Building of the Nation* (Kampala: New Vision, 2012), 111

<sup>223</sup> *Uganda: Building of the Nation* (Kampala: New Vision, 2012), 112

<sup>224</sup> *Uganda: Building of the Nation* (Kampala: New Vision, 2012),

113 <sup>260</sup> Interview, Buluma Nabwiso, 19/11/2015 <sup>261</sup> Interview, Buluma Nabwiso, 19/11/2015. <sup>262</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 209)

1966, Bugabula County UPC member Adonia Mugezi-Talema used the Kabaka Crisis to force a vote of no-confidence in Busoga Lukiiko to remove Nadiope from Kyabazingaship.<sup>262</sup> Nadiope was accused of being dictatorial, contributing to the Kabaka Crisis of 1966, which abrogated the 1962 independence constitution and Busoga's quasi federal status and abandoned Kyabazinga's Day, and spending Busoga government funds on private projects like renovating his Bugembe home and building a Kyabazinga tomb at Budhumbula. The motion passed 32–31 with three absentees and one spoilt vote.<sup>225</sup> The Lukiiko refused Nadiope a salary and perks, but he remained Kyabazinga until 1967, when the traditional institutions were disbanded.<sup>226</sup> Obote passed the Republican Constitution in September 1967. This constitution removed the semi federal character of the Busoga area and ended the Ankole, Toro, Buganda and Bunyoro kingdoms.<sup>265</sup> After losing his vice presidency and Kyabazingaship in Busoga, Nadiope retired to Bugabula.<sup>266</sup> Obote's administration charged Nadiope of fraud in 1969. He was imprisoned for 18 months and freed like others ministers during Amin's time.<sup>227</sup> President Obote eliminated traditional rulers in Uganda, including Kyabazingaship in Busoga, between 1967 and 1995. Thus, successive post-independence governments have failed to break away from the vice of fusing Busoga's cultural affairs into the “dirty politics” bequeathed by the colonial authorities, whereby the institution's prima existence depended on stability from the center but most importantly the political climate that compounded the events of the day. After Obote abolished monarchies in 1967, including the Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga, “Busoga territory” automatically reverted to “Busoga District” and led to the reinstatement of William Balwana Mwangi, the former Katuukiro (Prime Minister), as Secretary General. The 1967 Ugandan crisis, which affected not only the Basoga but also other kingdoms,

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<sup>225</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 209)

<sup>226</sup> Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, Art 246, Sec 6

<sup>265</sup> Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, Art 98, Sec 5 <sup>266</sup>

Interview, Buluma Nabwiso, 19/11/2015.

<sup>227</sup> Ibid

caused the Basoga and Busoga as a whole to “mourn” the abolition of their cultural and traditional institutions.<sup>228</sup> Thus, Busoga’s history from 1967 to 1970 revealed increasing political instability and pulled the institution into harder circumstances after Amin's administration. I now turn to how Amin’s dictatorship influenced Busoga’s Kyabazingaship.

### **3.14 Kyabazingaship during Idi Amin’s Uganda, 1971-1979**

Major General Idi Amin Dada’s military coup ousted Obote’s UPC government from power on January 25, 1971. Obote was attending the Singapore Commonwealth Summit.<sup>229</sup> In his first days in office, Amin declared that his military administration would only remain as a “caretaker” regime until fresh elections would be held.<sup>230</sup> He vowed to release all political prisoners and offered Muteesa II, the man he had pursued into exile who died in 1969, a public funeral in 1971.<sup>231</sup>

After Amin’s coup, several Busoga leaders rose to national and district levels. Joshua WanumeKibedi became Foreign Affairs Minister, while James Nhonhitono Mbuji Zikusooka became Works Minister.<sup>232</sup> During his eight-year rule, Amin appointed Henry Kyemba as Minister of Community Development and later Minister of Health, Ibrahim Galandi as Minister of Agriculture and Cooperatives, and Colonel John Lukakamwa as Minister of Works.<sup>233</sup> However, none of these leaders were in a position to organise a political forum for Busoga sub-region.<sup>274</sup> The Kyabazingaship in Busoga was given to them by colonial rulers and continued to reverberate after independence. The institution’s leadership conundrum still exists today. Uganda's cultural and traditional institutions were greatly impacted by Amin's 1971 dictatorship. Other than political repression, human rights abuses and economic mismanagement, which combined with Amin's

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<sup>228</sup> Interview, Buluma Nabwiso, 19/11/2015.

<sup>229</sup> *Uganda: Building of the Nation* (Kampala: New Vision, 2012), 99

<sup>230</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 213)

<sup>231</sup> *Uganda: Building of the Nation* (Kampala: New Vision, 2012), 99

<sup>232</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 215)

<sup>233</sup> Ibid <sup>274</sup>

Ibid

centralized and authoritarian government, Amin's regime too had a negative impact on Uganda's traditional institutions, especially the Kyabazingaship in Busoga.<sup>234</sup>

Nabwiso and Kayaga examined Busoga's loss of human resources to other nations due to Amin's dictatorship. According to them Wanume, Kibedi resigned from the Amin government in January 1973, Zikusooka in 1975, and Henry Kyemba in 1977.<sup>235</sup> Shaban Kirunda Nkuutu, an Obote ex-minister from Bugweri, was assassinated in January 1973, while William Nkoko, a Bunha FRONASA member, was publicly executed in Bugembe stadium.<sup>236</sup> This reaffirms how the Kyabazingaship of Busoga has been a victim of political machinations at the center since 1906. When Busoga became a province in 1973, its three districts—North, South, and West—were all ruled by military personnel. In 1972, without a caretaker, Busoga's people turned to the Busoga Anglican Diocese's note that not even Amin's release of the former *Kyabazinga* Nadiope in 1971 could help improve his life. Shortly after his prison life, Nadiope resorted to farming in Bugabula where he died in 1976 penniless.<sup>237</sup>

Even after Amin's regime had ended in 1979, the negative impact on the cultural and traditional leadership in Busoga persisted. Amin's traumatic experiences and ruptured social fabric left a legacy of distrust, instability and the complete breakdown of Obwakyabazinga in Busoga, which had already been troubled by both the colonial and post-independence constitutional crises of Obote I government. The fall of Amin in 1979 relieved most Ugandans, but the Uganda National Liberation Army (UNLA) and its political wing, the Uganda National Liberation Front (UNLF),

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<sup>234</sup> Interview, David Kantale Kazungu, 80 years, Retired educationist, Kabukye, Kamuli District, 20/01/2015

<sup>235</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 215)

<sup>236</sup> *Uganda: Building of the Nation* (Kampala: New Vision, 2012), 114

<sup>237</sup> *Uganda: Building of the Nation* (Kampala: New Vision, 2012), 114.

had to choose a unifying president.<sup>238</sup> However, the then Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere, recommended the UNLF to choose Yusuf Kironde Lule, whom he said was being a Muganda and Buganda being one of Uganda's most powerful ethnic groups would be a better unifying factor. On this advice, Lule was chosen to be interim president on April 13, 1979, although his term only lasted until June 1979.<sup>239</sup> Despite the fact that the events that shaped the presidency of Lule were partially driven by Nyerere's influence, the Kyabazingaship in Busoga was also affected by Uganda's political dilemma from 1979 to 1985. One respondent, who was a captain during Amin's and post-Amin's governments up to 1986, believes that the erosion of authority, disruption, social structures, censorship, fear, ethnic tensions, economic challenges and demographic changes all contributed to the weakening of traditional institutions and their roles in Uganda's society.<sup>240</sup> The preceding argument shows that the Kyabazingaship of Busoga quickly faced new political issues. The next UNLF government was under Godfrey Lukongwa Binaisa.

Although Binaisa's power description may have held water, what underpinned his short presidency was the disintegration of law and order and intrigue. Even under Obote II and General Tito Okello Lutwa, Kyabazingaship in Busoga was in peril. However, five years after the NRM government under President Yoweri Museveni took power, the 1995 Constitution of Uganda restored cultural and traditional institutions in Uganda. The Kyabazingaship was reborn in Busoga and Henry Muloki was reinstalled from 1993.

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<sup>238</sup> Ndebesa Mwambutysa quoted in *Uganda: Building of the Nation* (Kampala: New Vision, 2012), 102.

<sup>239</sup> *Uganda: Building of the Nation* (Kampala: New Vision, 2012), 102.

<sup>240</sup> Interview, Abubaker Kulazikulabe Lubaale, 75 years, Retired Amin's soldier, Budhumbula, Kamuli, 18/01/2015.

### 3.15 The Restoration of the Kyabazingaship in Busoga Under Muloki, 1993-2008

After the NRM took control in 1986, efforts to restore the Kyabazingaship began.<sup>241</sup> Frank Nabwiso and other Busoga leaders founded the Busoga Development Forum on March 23, 1986, to promote unity and cultural rights. Henry Wako Muloki was named the ‘Ssaabataka’ and the patron of this forum. This was Muloki’s first big move toward his third Kyabazingaship. Several meetings were conducted to restore *Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga* with Muloki and NRM government assistance.<sup>242</sup> Owing to the support given to the NRM in its five-year-Bush War in Luweero, a number of prominent Baise-Ngobi leaders from the five Baise-Ngobi chiefdoms held a series of meetings, the first one being in Iganga on July 27, 1991.<sup>243</sup> All sessions decided that Muloki would recover the throne. The reasons were many, but prominently there was a claim that he had performed well during his first and second Kyabazingaship (1955 – 1962). Secondly, it was thought that Muloki had accumulated a lot of experience in national and international assignments after he ceased to be Kyabazinga at the end of September 1962.<sup>244</sup> Muloki had also served as a senior Assistant Secretary in the Ministry of Works, from where he was transferred to the East African Airways at Entebbe.<sup>245</sup>

Out of the eleven clans that are eligible to elect Kyabazinga, only four supported the re-election of Muloki as Kyabazinga.<sup>246</sup> This created fresh conflicts even before the institution could be restored. However, clan chiefs installed Kyabazinga. Wilson Nadiope, heir to Sir William Nadiope, had died in 1992, leaving Muloki as the sole qualified contender.<sup>247</sup> Muloki, as Kyabazinga, opened the

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<sup>241</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 213)

<sup>242</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 214)

<sup>243</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 219)

<sup>244</sup> Interview, Buluma Nabwiso, 19/11/2015

<sup>245</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 222)

<sup>246</sup> Ibid

<sup>247</sup> Ibid

Busoga Lukiiko on Saturday, May 15, 1993 and was crowned on May 16, 1993, together with his new Katuukiro, Diphas Keith Bamulanzeki Mutengu, and his government, which included Christopher Tibatemwa, the Isaabalangira and Sam Muwumba, the Lukiiko Secretary General.<sup>248</sup> Cyprian K. Bamwoze, bishop of Busoga Diocese of the Church of Uganda and Sheik A. Kezaala the Jinja District Kadhi presided over this event.<sup>249</sup> However, a competing group of Lukiiko people from Iganga crowned Prince Eriakesi Ngobi Kiregeya as Kyabazinga at Nampirika in Iganga Town. After this, Kiregeya and his group unsuccessfully attempted to disrupt the inauguration of the Lukiiko.<sup>250</sup> A week before, he had appointed Ali Kirunda Kivejinja, some National Resistance Council (NRC) members, and Iganga District Chairman Martin Mukasa Musumba as his advisors. Kiregeya's disruption of the Lukiiko's inauguration showed he had been denied his traditional privileges to become Kyabazinga. Kiregeya sued Muloki in 1994, claiming that the Kyabazingaship should rotate among all Busoga princes, not only Zibondo and Gabula lineages.<sup>251</sup>

The court dismissed the suit in 1995.<sup>252</sup> Indeed, apart from the rotational system which had been practised for a brief period in the 1910s after the dismissal of Kakungulu from the 'presidency' of Busoga Lukiiko, all the three subsequent Kyabazingas had been elected chiefly on their own merit.<sup>295</sup> Kiregeya's lawsuit blamed all clan leaders for failing to pick Kyabazinga in rotation, causing tension. Second, it confirms that the Bugabula and Bulamogi were the only two prominent rival clans providing Kyabazingas in Busoga, which caused strife during Kyabazinga selection.

At a 1995 function where President Museveni launched Kirunda Kivejinja's book: "*The Crisis of Confidence in Uganda*" at Nile International Conference Centre, the Kiregeya group introduced

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<sup>248</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 224)

<sup>249</sup> Interview, Eriakesi Ngobi Kiregeya, 80 years, Chief of Kigulu, Iganga, 19/01/2015

<sup>250</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 224)

<sup>251</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 223)

<sup>252</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 223) <sup>295</sup>  
Interview, Buluma Nabwiso, 19/11/2015.

their man, dressed in Busoga's full regalia, and asked him to recognize him as Kyabazinga of Busoga.<sup>253</sup>This was only blocked by Patrick Bageya, another influential Musoga, who argued that Kiregeya had never been elected publicly to the Kyabazinga office.<sup>254</sup>This unusual occurrence simply highlighted how princes in Busoga respected political players' impact on the institution as each party attempted to use it for their own gain. For this reason, the pro-Muloki group visited President Museveni's house in Rwakitura on October 25, 1995, to notify him of their plans to reinstall Muloki as Kyabazinga of Busoga. The Kiregeya group also went to Rwakitura, President Museveni's home the following day on October 26, 1995 for the same.<sup>255</sup>The two groups were put to roundtable negotiations chaired by Vice President, Specioza Wandira Kazibwe. While the meeting generated no consensus, the Government of Uganda allowed Muloki to be re-installed on February 11 1996.<sup>256</sup> The Kiregeya and Muloki parties' journey to Rwakitura reflected the Bulamogi and Kigulu Chiefdoms' intense competition over Kyabazingaship in Busoga.

Unfortunately, the 1995 Uganda Constitution never gave any political or economic power to traditional and cultural leaders. It stated that a traditional leader shall not join or participate in partisan politics<sup>257</sup>. To make matters worse, the government did not formulate its national policy on culture until February 26, 2011, (ten years later) and Parliament did not enact a law until February 26, 2011, when the Institutions of Traditional or Cultural Leaders Act was passed.

Therefore, the 1995 Constitution's failure to provide a Cultural Leaders Act between 1996 and 2011, in addition, to the continued shackling of the traditional and cultural institutions of Uganda

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<sup>253</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso,2016, 224)

<sup>254</sup> Ibid

<sup>255</sup> Ibid

<sup>256</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso,2016, 223)

<sup>257</sup> Constitution of The Republic of Uganda, Art 246, Sec (f).

<sup>301</sup> Interview, Buluma Nabwiso, 19/11/2015. <sup>302</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso,2016, 224)

including the Kyabazingaship of Busoga in uncharted political and economic waters, worsened the conflicts over the selection of Kyabazinga.<sup>301</sup>

However, on February 11, 1996, Muloki was restored as *Kyabazinga* and reigned between 1996 and 2008.<sup>302</sup> Perhaps one of his biggest achievements was his ability to manage and control the succession skirmishes in the institution. It was only after his death that these conflicts resurfaced. The death of Muloki revealed to the royals that the Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga had mainly been dominated by two royal houses—the Zibondo and Gabula, which, in some circles, was perceived as “unfair”.<sup>258</sup> Therefore, the void left by Muloki and the fact that there was no clear policy on the institution over who should become the next Kyabazinga only opened gates for subsequent meetings to settle the looming succession crisis.

### **3.16 The Race for the New Kyabazinga and the Resultant Conflicts, 2008 – 2014**

After Muloki’s death, other royals vied for the position of Kyabazinga. The Acting Kyabazinga and Isaabangira ignored the December 2000 Constitution of *Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga*, which demanded a new Kyabazinga to be elected within sixty days.<sup>259</sup> However, only five of the eleven princes from the Baise-Ngobi line were eligible to stand for the post of Kyabazinga at that time. One of the princes, Patrick Izimba Gologolo of Kigulu had earlier expressed intentions of becoming the next Kyabazinga.<sup>260</sup> In preparation for the Kyabazinga succession contest, he visited Kigulu Hill on September 9, 2008, for traditional medium blessings.<sup>261</sup> On September 11, 2008, Chris Mudoola, an army officer from Bukoona, challenged him, saying he (Mudoola) was the

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<sup>258</sup> Interview, Ngobi Kiregeya, 19/01/2015.

<sup>259</sup> Interview, Balidawa Ngobi, 16/1/2015.

<sup>260</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 239)

<sup>261</sup> Ibid

eligible and the rightful Ngobi of Kigulu. On October 22, 2008, Prince Izimba was thus barred from running for Kyabazinga by a court injunction that was granted to Mudoola. On September 3, 2008, Prince Willington Nabwana Inhenshiko wrote a letter to the Acting Kyabazinga and Isaabangira of Busoga stating that he would not run for Kyabazinga due to his personal reasons, reducing the number of contenders to three. In his letter, he also stressed that he was ready to work with whoever would be elected as Kyabazinga.<sup>262</sup> Despite all these, Kiregeya claimed to be the rightful Kyabazinga purporting that had been agreed with the NRM in 1996.<sup>263</sup> However, he lacked evidence to that effect. The leadership at Bugembe, through the kingdom information minister, Micheal Kifubangabo denounced the claims.<sup>264</sup>

On October 11, 2008, Prince James Christopher Mutyaba (chief of Bukono), who had been Acting Kyabazinga and Isaabalangira of the Busoga clans while elections were prepared, stunned members by announcing his candidacy. This sudden U-turn on the part of Prince Mutyaba was a testimony of opportunism and intrigue that had engulfed the selection process of the Kyabazinga.

As a result, he relinquished his two offices to Prince Daudi Muluya Kaunhe Wakhooli of Bukhooli Chiefdom.<sup>265</sup> This, other than exposing Prince Mutyaba's double-standard personality, pulled the Busoga institution into more leadership and succession issues.

The Kyabazinga race escalated in acrimony as the Basoga community in the diaspora exhibited increasing restlessness and begun to seek alternative avenues to address the pressing Kyabazingaship predicament.<sup>266</sup> Accordingly, John Banalya, a Musoga scientist at New Hemisphere University, USA, advocated for a referendum to decide whether the institution of

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<sup>262</sup> Ibid

<sup>263</sup> Interview, Wangoola-Wangoola Ndawula, 80 years, Nakabango-Butembe, Jinja, 18/11/2020.

<sup>264</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 237)

<sup>265</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 242)

<sup>266</sup> Busoga We Want, A Collection of Views of Busoga on the Challenges of Busoga, 2010 <sup>312</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 243)

Kyabazinga was still needed or not, but this did not receive a lot of enthusiasm and support from Busoga.<sup>312</sup> Two days before the election, two Busoga citizens, Grammer Sajjabi Imaka and Abubaker Kakaire, sued the government and Obwakyabazinga authorities for being political.<sup>267</sup> The two complainants demanded a Kyabazinga contest for all eleven chiefs and challenged the then Constitution of *Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga*, which was established without popular agreement.<sup>268</sup> This was a powerful confirmation of the central government's intervention in Busoga's cultural matters, but it also revealed Busoga's constitutional flaws, which led to additional Kyabazingaship succession problems.

The October 28, 2008 court judgement halted the Kyabazinga election.<sup>269</sup> On October 31, 2008, organisers held elections despite the court injunction, claiming ignorance.<sup>316</sup> Wambuzi was "elected" as Busoga's fourth Kyabazinga by consensus even though princes Nadiope and Munuulo boycotted the vote.<sup>270</sup> Three of the eleven princes also skipped the election. Mutyaba and Kakaire cited personal reasons, while Gologolo was prohibited by court.<sup>271</sup> Due to the afore-mentioned, another election was held in November 2008 between Prince Columbus Wambuzi, the heir to Muloki and the Zibondo of Bulamogi, and William Nadiope Gabula, the Prince of Bugabula. Nadiope enjoyed the support of Daudi Kaunhe, Juma Munulo, Fred Kakaire, John Ntale and the acting Kyabazinga and Isaabalangira, James Mutyaba.<sup>272</sup> Nadiope, on the other hand, was the new Gabula of Bugabula. He also had the support of some members of the royal council such as Yasin

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<sup>267</sup> Ibid

<sup>268</sup> Ibid

<sup>269</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 243)

<sup>316</sup> Ibid

<sup>270</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 245)

<sup>271</sup> In attendance were, (1) John Mary Kayaga of Luuka Chiefdom (representing William Nabwahena the Tabingwa), (2) Badru Waguma Ntembe of Butembe, (3) Yokana Nayosi Byansi Mukajanga of Bunha Chiefdom, (4) John Ntale of Bunhole-Bunaanumba Chiefdom, (5) Daudi Maluya Kaunhe of Bukooli (Acting Kyabazinga and Isaabalangira of Busoga), (6) Yokosofati Kawunguzi of Busiki, and (7) Edward Columbus Wambuzi of Bulamogi.

<sup>272</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 247)

Waguma Ntembe of Butembe. Besides, he enjoyed the full support of the retired but influential Busoga bishop – Bamwoze. He advised the Busoga Chiefs Royal Council: *“Gabula, whom I adopted at the age of 5 years, is now mature and fit to become Kyabazinga ... He has been brought up spiritually, morally and intellectually upright; he is obedient and cautious”*<sup>273</sup> This set the stage for greater conflict and central government-sanctioned gatherings.

On December 15, 2008, President Museveni convened a conference with ten of the eleven chiefs to address the Kyabazinga dilemma. The resolutions made were as follows: 1) Agreement on holding a fresh Kyabazinga election with participation from the eleven hereditary chiefs and other interest groups; 2) The new Kyabazinga would be elected in accordance with the December 2000 Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga Constitution; 3) The eleven Busoga hereditary chiefs who were in office when Henry Wako Muloki passed away on September 1, 2008, would remain part of the

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Electoral College; 4) Lawsuits filed over the new Kyabazinga's election by various parties, except for disputes inside chiefdoms, would be withdrawn, and President Gen. Yoweri Kaguta Museveni would cover all associated legal fees; 5) Acceptance of the re-election results by all parties involved; 6) After the election and enthronement of a new Kyabazinga, amendments to the Busoga Constitution could be considered; 7) And that no party shall bring a complaint against the election of a new Kyabazinga between these resolutions and the election.<sup>274</sup>

In a turn of events, in January 2009, the Acting Kyabazinga and Isaabalangira wrote to Edward Columbus Wambuzi, the newly elected Kyabazinga declaring his new appointment null and void. The letter, delivered by Prince Baguma, was titled “Notice of cancellation of your re-election as

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<sup>273</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 241)

<sup>274</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 245)

Isebantu Kyabazinga of Busoga” and referred to the reconciliation meeting earlier chaired by the President.<sup>275</sup> It stated that Busoga had no Kyabazinga and would remain so until a legal election would be held.<sup>276</sup> Despite this cancellation, Wambuzi was installed Kyabazinga by three princes at Bugembe on June 7, 2009, in the presence of several of his followers. This act created another problem in the Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga, raising numerous doubts. Not even the Jinja High Court ruling that the Busoga constitution was valid in line with the 1995 Uganda Constitution, on September 17, 2009 in response to the legal suit that Cranmer Imaka Sajjabi and Abubaker Kakaire had submitted regarding the legality of the said Busoga Kingdom Constitution could provide a permanent answer to the Kyabazinga question.<sup>277</sup>

On Friday, September 5, 2009, six royals—Daudi Muluya Kaunhe of Bukhooli Chieftdom, Juma

Munuulo of Bunha Chieftdom, Christopher James Mutyaba Nkono of Bukono, Fred Kakaire Menha of Bugweri, Patrick Izimba Gologolo of Kigulu Chieftdom, and William Wilberforce Kadhumbula Nadiope Gabula IV—met at Busoga Square in Jinja and elected Nadiope as the new Kyabazinga of Busoga.<sup>278</sup> The pro-Nadiope and pro-Wambuzi factions had turned into rival camps. The pro-Nadiope forces did not respect the 2000 Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga Constitution. Most notably, the Gabula wanted to reclaim his grandfather Sir William Wilberforce Kadhumbula Nadiope’s crown, while the Wambuzi wanted to defend his father’s throne. This eventually divided the institution and encouraged other powers, notably the central government, to influence succession and leadership in Obwakyabazinga for their own benefit. In the years following Wako Muloki’s death on September 1, 2008, the institution of Obwakyabazinga got more polarised and politicised. At the peak of the Wambuzi-Gabula throne battles, the NRM sanctioned the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development to take interest in thorny cultural issues in Busoga.<sup>279</sup> Between 2010 and 2011, legal, political and cultural measures were adopted to calm the tempers, but these still did not help until 2012. In a May 26, 2012 letter to the Minister of Gender, Labour, and Social Development titled “Busoga Kingdom in turmoil”,

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<sup>275</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 242)

<sup>276</sup> Ibid

<sup>277</sup> Ibid.

<sup>278</sup> (Kayaga Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 245)

<sup>279</sup> Joana R, Quinn, “Tradition?! Traditional Institutions on Customary Practices in Uganda” *Africa Spectrum*, 2014, 49(3), 12.

President Museveni acknowledged that Obwakyabazinga had been in turmoil since Muloki's death in 2008 and chastised the Basoga for failing to elect a Kyabazinga due to the recurrent conflicts. The President ordered Isaabalangira Kaunhe Wakhooli to continue acting as Kyabazinga until the problem is settled. He further directed that the Obwakyabazinga should get the Shs.5m monthly and the arrears that the Ministry of Gender, Labour, and Social Development had suspended. And that the acting Kyabazinga and Busoga Prime Minister to administer the monies.

The President's letter allowed additional steps to end these problems and on December 7, 2012, Shaban Muziransa's Busoga Constitution Review Committee commenced gathering people's opinions on the 2000 Busoga Kingdom Constitution. The other and most fundamental one was when Rebecca Kadaga, a musoga and Speaker of Uganda's parliament issued an ultimatum on July 27, 2014, giving the eleven hereditary chiefs in Busoga one month to elect a Kyabazinga or else she is exonerated from the issue. This is when the Kyabazinga impasse came to an end, at least for the time being. She ordered: "This must be done without fail...we have had several meetings with the Royal chiefs but nothing ever comes to yield. I am tired."<sup>280</sup>The Speaker further ordered the police to secure Bugembe, including the offices of the Acting Kyabazinga and Isaabalangira, until the dispute was resolved. This was a milestone in Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga's resolution of the Kyabazinga wars. On August 23, 2014, ten members of BRCC, chaired by Prince Munuulo, unanimously elected Prince Nadiope Kyabazinga of Busoga<sup>328</sup>. His election was signed by all the ten royal chiefs. After being elected Kyabazinga, Nadiope sent an acceptance letter to the Acting Kyabazinga and Isaabalangira. William Wilberforce Kadhumbula Nadiope Gabula IV, head of the Gabula Clan, was finally crowned Isebantu Kyabazinga of Busoga on September 13, 2014. By the time of this research, no further conflicts had arisen over the issue of Kyabazingaship in Busoga.

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<sup>280</sup> (Kayaga Gonza R, et. al. 2006, 260)

<sup>328</sup>Ibid

### 3.17 Conclusion

This chapter has provided an analysis of the origins and evolutionary trajectory of Kyabazingaship succession conflicts in Busoga. It reveals that these conflicts are not recent occurrences but have been inherent in the political dynamics of Busoga since the British initiated efforts to consolidate the fragmented Busoga chiefdoms into a more unified governance structure. From its inception, the *Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga* became vulnerable to various forms of manipulation, both internal and external, particularly by politicians from the central government. The disagreements observed among the chiefs can be interpreted as manifestations of internal power struggles and strategic maneuvers. The evolving nature of these conflicts is also contextualised within the British colonial involvement (and occasional lack thereof) in the Kyabazingaship affairs in Busoga. The duopoly of the Kyabazingaship by two competing royal lineages—the House of Gabula and the House of Nadiope—has been identified as a major cause of these conflicts. Furthermore, the pursuit of economic gain by certain stakeholders also played a significant role in the dynamic nature of these confrontations.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### CAUSES OF THE KYABAZINGASHIP SUCCESSION CONFLICTS IN BUSOGA, 1906-2014

#### 4.0 Introduction

Chapter two discussed the evolution and shifts in the Kyabazingaship succession conflicts in Busoga, demonstrating how the origins of these conflicts were embedded in the nature of the creation of the institution of Kyabazingaship in Busoga, as well as British attempts to “gandanise” and “culturalise” their nascent administration in Busoga. Unfortunately, the Basoga political and social dynamics seem not to have favoured this kind of arrangement. The current chapter endeavours to investigate the reasons behind these conflicts. The chapter argues that the conditions that led to these conflicts can only be understood in the context of Busoga’s pre-colonial and colonial history, more particularly the institution’s history as well as the legacy of British Colonial control in Busoga.

#### 4.1 Internal Historical Issues in Busoga

The succession question in the Kyabazingaship of Busoga has been the subject of intense intellectual debate among scholars. However, the nature of how the institution was founded and the rushed British attempts to solidify their authority through the Kiganda model in their newly acquired territory of Busoga are among the causes of these conflicts. These attempts began with the apparent blunder of picking a Ganda ex-war general, Semei Kakungulu and they continued through the post-Kakungulu leadership in the colonial period and post-colonial Busoga. Unlike Buganda and Bunyoro kingdoms, which were organically knitted by historic conventions with well-laid rules and guidelines governing succession and traditional power transfer, Busoga lacked major organic mechanisms and principles of succession and traditional power transfer from its inception.<sup>329</sup>

Uzoigwe adds: *“In most pre-colonial Africa, the royal dynasty claimed legitimacy through a*

*historic charter justifying the establishment of the polity by the right of conquest, usurpation, default, voluntarily acceptable or hereditary*".<sup>281</sup> Cohen adds that Busoga "appears to have been non-homologous, marked and defined by distinctive patterns of contact and association among groups of different speech and culture" before the arrival of the British.<sup>331</sup> Thus, the British colonial authorities used indirect governance to turn Busoga into a "kingdom" under a "president."<sup>282</sup>

According to Musasizi, "*Busoga's unification, was, therefore, externally driven by the British and their Baganda collaborators rather than internally spawned. The various ethnic groups hardly participated in the negotiations, otherwise they would not have elected a Muganda to lead them.*"<sup>283</sup>

Banalya adds that "The Busoga 'monarchy' and its leadership has never been a creation of Basoga and it cannot serve the interests of the Basoga."<sup>284</sup> Semei Kakungulu's British-commissioned institution of Kyabazingaship was dispatched to Busoga as a reward for the humiliating capture of Mwanga and Kabalega, the kings of Buganda and Bunyoro respectively.<sup>335</sup> That the British decided to designate Kakungulu as "President of Busoga Lukiiko" rather than "President of Busoga" for their selfish interests in Busoga.<sup>285</sup>

The above discussion presents three political antecedents for colonial Busoga. First, that although being the direct beneficiaries, the Basoga had no stake and could not administer their business

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<sup>329</sup>

Simon Musasizi, "Media Stereotype and Subnational Identities: The Survival of British Colonial Representation of the Basoga in Ugandan Press", (Th.MA.,The American University of Paris, 2008-2015),24.

without central government approval. Second, that "Busoga kingdom" was simply a colonial

construct invented to serve British imperialistic ambitions. Thirdly, and most importantly, that the

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<sup>281</sup> G.N.Uzoigwe, "Succession and Civil War in Bunyoro- Kitara", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* Vol:6 (1973): 53-54. <sup>331</sup>(Cohen, 1988, 72)

<sup>282</sup> (Musasizi, 2015, 24)

<sup>283</sup> Ibid

<sup>284</sup> John Banalya, "title of the article", *The New Vision* No. 08, 28 October, 2008, <sup>335</sup>

Ibid

<sup>285</sup> Ibid

British colonial administration determined who became the President of Busoga Lukiiko and later Kyabazinga.<sup>286</sup> Consequently, this opened the institution to internal and external dilemmas and manipulations which spilled through the colonial to the post-colonial periods. From time to time, the chiefs and Basoga often manipulated these foundational dilemmas to their own advantage. While on the other hand, politicians from the central government also used the opportunity to turn the institution into a theatre of their political interests.<sup>287</sup> The institution of Kyabazingaship was, therefore, formed on a fragile foundation intentionally designed to foster conflict.

One of the inherent issues within this structure was the flawed succession system. According to Kazungu, the Basoga like any other ethnic groups in Uganda at the time, were essentially “victims of circumstances” caught in a complex colonial trap.<sup>288</sup> Furthermore, the British colonial authorities, in their effort to establish firm control over the administration in Busoga, introduced conflicting leadership roles, structures, and titles, contributing to the emergence of leadership conflicts within Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga.<sup>289</sup> Hence, the perplexing struggles for the position of Kyabazinga could be linked to the problematic frameworks established by the British colonialists during the inception of the institution.

Nakabayashi suggests a contrast between Busoga and its western counterpart, Buganda, where an established tradition dictates that the heir to the throne is chosen from the sons of the preceding king or among the brothers or brothers' sons of the preceding king.<sup>341</sup> However, Nakabayashi goes on to contend that Busoga faced challenges in its succession to the Kyabazingaship due to the fundamental nature of the kingship's composition.<sup>290</sup> This sentiment is echoed by one respondent

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<sup>286</sup> (Musasizi, 2015, 24)

<sup>287</sup> Interview, Kazungu, 80 years, Retired educationist, Kabukye, Bugabula, Kamuli District, 20/01/2015.

<sup>288</sup> Ibid

<sup>289</sup> (Nobuhiro Nakabayashi, 2005, 14)

<sup>341</sup> Ibid

<sup>290</sup> (Nobuhiro Nakabayashi, 2005, 14)

who explicitly states that the succession and leadership dilemmas in Busoga, dating back to 1961, are rooted in the very creation of Kyabazingaship.<sup>291</sup> This argument is intertwined with the intrinsic flaws within Busoga's clan structure, a topic I explore in the next part.

#### **4.1.1 The Inherent Defects within Busoga's Clan System**

Busoga was built on a multiplicity of clans with the same ancestral father who came at different times but attached to different chiefdoms. Kigenyi argues that in addition to having various clans with diverse genealogical backgrounds and forefathers, Busoga's clan system has been one of the main sources of problems to the Kyabazingaship for many years.<sup>292</sup> According to him, "the number of clans in Busoga stood at 400 compared to Buganda's 52 clans, in 2014."<sup>293</sup> Given Busoga's fragile clan structure and the velocity at which these clans expand and proliferate, they have been alternate sources of leadership and succession disputes. As they crisscross the different chiefdoms with diverse origins and their participation in the Kyabazingaship in Busoga is voluntary, unlike Buganda, where every clan knows its role and stake in the kingdom and most importantly, her potential to produce a Kabaka.<sup>294</sup> Nabwiso emphasises that "the kingship of Busoga" is not a hereditary kind of leadership but rather an arrangement of a plurality of clans who came at different times but with individuals who attach their interest to their chiefdom rather than the overall "kingdom."<sup>295</sup> This created a convoluted social framework that caused systemic tensions and fissures as well as political maneuvering by the different clans. Therefore, unlike in other East Africa's interlacustrine kingdoms, the Kyabazinga of Busoga was chosen by a special council, the Busoga Chiefs' Royal Council (BCRC) based on his leadership abilities.<sup>296</sup> This allowed princes to

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<sup>291</sup> This argument was expressed by Mwambutsya Ndebesa, Makerere University Lecturer, History Department

<sup>292</sup> Andrew Kigenyi Wansolo, Enono Ya Busoga- quoting Mthengu, Family Out (Iganga: Busoga University, 2020)

<sup>293</sup> Ibid

<sup>294</sup> Interview, Kazungu, 20/1/2015.

<sup>295</sup> Interview, Buluma Nabwiso, 19/11/2015.

<sup>296</sup> (Kigenyi Wansolo, 2020, 110)

compete for the office which fights ended into conflicts.<sup>297</sup> The chiefs of the traditional chiefdoms of Busoga under the Busoga Chiefs' Royal Council and the Isaabalangira (chief prince), had the double function of electing the Kyabazinga among themselves (chiefs) and of the self-assigned responsibility of preserving Busoga traditional cultures. Therefore, the complexities in the leadership and succession in Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga, are partly a result of its foundational flaws.<sup>298</sup> They arise from Busoga's diverse array of clans and the varied backgrounds of its princes that prompt ambitious clan chiefs to vie for power and territorial control. On this was the British attempted amalgamation of multiple tribes and chiefdoms into the "Busoga kingdom", ostensibly for administrative efficiency but paradoxically ended up generating conflicts.<sup>299</sup> This unification of disparate entities established a precarious basis for the Kyabazingaship, subsequently magnifying conflicts and succession challenges.<sup>300</sup>

From the early days, the British preferred a unified single political entity as opposed to the eleven incumbent hereditary chiefs in Busoga. This inclination led to consequential engagements between the British colonial administration and the established structures within the Busoga region, wherein intricate negotiations unfolded concerning leadership roles and honorific designations for the chiefs. These deliberations were undertaken with the aim of establishing an administrative framework similar to the Kiganda model, a process inaugurated firstly under the stewardship of Kakungulu (1906-1913) and subsequently under Wako (1919-1949).

The persistent recurrence of such deliberations and transitions markedly perturbed the hierarchical echelons of Busoga's leadership, leaving an indelible imprint on its historical evolution. An examination of this issue reveals that the initial leadership disputes between Kakungulu and the

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<sup>297</sup> Ibid

<sup>298</sup> Interview with the Representative of Bukono Chiefdom, 20/1/2015

<sup>299</sup> (Musasizi, 15-17)

<sup>300</sup> Ibid

British concerning the intricate roles and title of “President” emerged during the early days of colonial Busoga. At that time, the British deliberately withheld clarification on whether Kakungulu held the position of

President within the “Lukiiko” or “Basoga.”<sup>301</sup> These disputes persisted until 1939, when the institution of Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga was founded. Even after Kakungulu, from 1919 to 1949, Ezekiel Tenywa Wako and the British colonial authorities battled over colonial Busoga’s indirect rule strategy, which did not serve their interests.<sup>302</sup> From 1919, “President” Wako and the Basoga agitated for complete presidential power and ultimate stature akin to that of the Kabaka of Buganda.<sup>303</sup>

However, from the early days, the British displayed hesitance in inventing “kings” in regions where they did not previously exist. As a result, until 1937, the British adhered to this initial stance, considering the presidency as a civic role and labelling the office holder merely a “Nampala” – an intermediary between the Basoga and the colonial authorities. On the contrary, the Basoga and their representative, Wako demanded full powers of the presidency and “the father who unites the tribe.”<sup>304</sup> The conflict between Wako and the British was escalated by the mailo land tax rebate (Busuulu protests) 1926 to 1933. All these issues stemmed from the contradictions within British colonial policy in Busoga and the respective impact of the 1900 Buganda Agreement on Buganda and Busoga.<sup>305</sup> The 1900 Agreement had granted mailo land to most chiefs in Buganda.<sup>306</sup> As a result, clan elders who felt they had lost their traditional powers and customary land rights formed the Bataka Association in the 1920s to reclaim their lost lands.<sup>307</sup> Similarly, in Busoga, Gombolola

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<sup>301</sup> Gonza and Nabwiso, 2016, 177)

<sup>302</sup> Ibid

<sup>303</sup> (Nobuhiro Nakabayashi, 2005, 7)

<sup>304</sup> Interview, Nabwiso, 19/11/2015

<sup>305</sup> (Daniel Mudoola, 1973,38)

<sup>306</sup> Ibid

<sup>307</sup> (Mudoola, The Young Basoga and Bataka Association 1973,38)

chiefs established the Young Basoga Association, later known as the Young Basoga Abataka Association, to advocate 'mailo' land rights, modeled after Buganda. They also campaigned for the abolition of Busulu, or tax rebates, and, most importantly, to combat the increasing bureaucratization of chiefs within the formal colonial structures.<sup>308</sup> Leading figures in the Busoga region who headed the Young Basoga Abataka Association included Ernest Wandira, Zefania Munaba, Amos Kaduyu and Azalia Mutekanga Nviri.<sup>309</sup> The British enforcement of Crown land and William Gowers' land grants to the Asian Muljibhai Madhvani at Kakira in 1926 triggered demonstrations for mailo land and tax rebates.<sup>310</sup> This, combined with a revised wage structure that transformed chiefs into part-time public employees, erasing their cultural role in advocating for their people, rendered protests unavoidable.<sup>363</sup> Under coercion, Wako conveyed the Basoga chiefs' dissent to the British Parliamentary Joint Committee of 1931.<sup>311</sup>

According to Mudoola, during the colonial era, the President of the Lukiiko and later the Kyabazinga were not accorded equal constitutional status to that of the kabaka of Buganda.<sup>312</sup> The reason was, in part, because the British were apprehensive of the burden that would come with such an obligation more especially the provision of mailo land and other royal privileges.<sup>313</sup> As a result of this, several chiefs, along with young Basoga patriots led by Amos Kaduyu, complained of the British failure to grant their Kyabazinga, Isebantu Muloki mailo land and tax rebates.<sup>314</sup> Thus until 1962, the leadership conflicts in Busoga were notably shaped by the British colonial authorities.

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<sup>308</sup> Ibid

<sup>309</sup> Ibid

<sup>310</sup> Interview, Buluma Nabwiso, 19/11/2015. <sup>363</sup>  
Interview, Buluma Nabwiso, 19/11/2015.

<sup>311</sup> Daniel Mudoola, "Colonial Chief Making – Busoga A Case study 1900- 1940", in Conference Paper Dar- es Salam: (Unpublished, December 1974),5

<sup>312</sup> Ibid

<sup>313</sup> Daniel Mudoola, "Colonial Chief Making – Busoga A Case study 1900- 1940", in Conference Paper Dar- es Salam: (Unpublished, December 1974),5

<sup>314</sup> (Mudoola, Colonial Chief Making, 1974,5)

Their legacy not only laid the ground but also facilitated subsequent post-colonial governments in leveraging the institution to serve their agendas.

Thus, from the preceding discussion, it is evident that the problems built within the leadership and succession in Kyabazingaship have been a cause of conflicts in the institution, but there are other internal sources of trouble such as the selfish people within and outside the institution.

#### **4.1.2 The Kyabazingaship Monopoly Debate: Bugabula and Bulamogi Royal Houses**

Ever since the inception of the institution, the race for Kyabazingaship has been mainly dominated by two rival families—the Bugabula and Bulamogi royal families.<sup>315</sup> This scenario has been linked to the advantages these chiefdoms had due to their early contacts with the British colonial government in Uganda, but it is also clear that this was one of the sources of leadership and succession conflicts in Kyabazingaship in Busoga between 1939 and 2014. This raises a fundamental question of superiority and inferiority which is also the case for the argument raised in the previous section of the five Baise Ngobi royal lineages against six non-Baise Ngobi.

Expounding the genesis of this bi-monopoly by Bugabula and Bulamogi over the Kyabazingaship, Nabwiso explains that Bugabula and Bulamogi were the first Busoga chiefdoms to benefit from the Kenya-Uganda railway extension from Nsinze to Natwana, Nawansega, Namaganda, Kaamwana, Mbulamuti, Kakindu, and Namasagali.<sup>316</sup> According to him, this railway allowed residents of those chiefdoms to move faster within and beyond their domains, which boosted church and school construction.<sup>317</sup> This accelerated socio-economic growth in Bulamogi compared to Bunya, Bugweri, and Luuka.<sup>318</sup> Thus, Bulamogi and Bugabula chiefdoms became a hub of vibrant

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<sup>315</sup> Interview, Wangoola Ndawula, 80 years, Mwise Kiranda, Educationist, Nakabango-Butembe, Jinja, 18/11/2020.

<sup>316</sup> Interview, Buluma Nabwiso, 19/11/2015

<sup>317</sup> Interview, Buluma Nabwiso, 19/11/2015

<sup>318</sup> Ibid

and enlightened people who outwitted others for the Kyabazingaship between 1906 and 2014.<sup>319</sup> This matches Richard Kayaga, who shows that Bugabula, Bulamogi, Bugweri, and Kigulu had more assertive leaders than others when the British turned the chiefdoms into civil counties and selected Busoga chiefs to manage them between 1910 and 1938.<sup>320</sup>

These leaders were Daudi Kintu Mutekanga and William Wilberforce Kadhumbula Nadiupe (in Bugabula), Ezekiel Tenywa Wako and Yekonia Kaira Lubogo of Bulamogi, Yekonia Nhende Zirabamuzaale, and Daudi Katekalusi Kiregeya Nsobani of Bugweri and Kigulu.<sup>321</sup> These two views provide a historic perspective on how Bugabula and Bulamogi became influential in Busoga's geo-political setup and later in the evolution of the institution of Kyabazingaship, but they also show that the British colonial administration in Uganda favoured and helped the two chiefdoms to dominate others.<sup>322</sup> This fits with Busoga Prince Eriakesi Ngobi Kiregeya's 1994 challenge to Muloki's Kyabazingaship, arguing that the institution was supposed to be rotational among all Busoga princes, not monopolised by the Zibondo and Gabula royal families backed by the British colonial machinery. Eriakesi Ngobi Kiregeya of Kigulu Chiefdom and others were fighting the Kyabazingaship monopolisation, but they may have had other motivations. The next part explores these other motivations.

#### **4.1.3 The Socio-Economic Causes**

The interplay of succession dynamics within the Kyabazingaship between 1906 and 2014 was also entwined with the inevitable socio-economic forces that permeated the institution and its associated stakeholders, notably the chiefs. Since the establishment of the Kyabazingaship in Busoga, selfish chiefs have struggled for survival and riches. One respondent attributed this longterm struggle for

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<sup>319</sup> Ibid

<sup>320</sup> (Kayaga G. R etal,2016 220)

<sup>321</sup> Ibid

<sup>322</sup> Interview, Wangoola Ndawula, 18/11/2020.

material prosperity to widespread poverty among the princes which according to him, was one of the major causes of the succession malaise in the Kyabazingaship in Busoga.<sup>323</sup> This supports Nabwiso's claim that Governor Hesketh Bell's 1906 introduction of cotton growing in Busoga and the cash crop economy initiated the Basoga chiefs' battle for survival and financial gain.<sup>377</sup> This led to a revolution that transformed the Basoga from peasants to cashiers. Nabwiso adds that land ownership became a new means of wealth and prestige. Wangoola argues that while the colonial economy had appendages like land alienation and taxation policies that stimulated agricultural production through agro-processing plants and generated wealth in their economies, the British colonialists left a legacy of wealth monopolisation in the few hands of those in power.<sup>324</sup>

In 1926, Busoga chiefs were dissatisfied when their former method of obtaining money through "Bwesengeze" and "Busulu" (land rentals) was abolished and replaced by the new salary system.<sup>325</sup> Thus, from the 1950s, prestige and fortune were earned through power—a trend, which one respondent termed "Nakyegwanizi" (opportunism).<sup>326</sup> This implies that Busoga chiefs' fight for material gain, a result of widespread poverty, drew opportunists, who eventually intensified Obwakyazinga institutional tensions.

Economic survival issues soon dominated Basoga colonial interactions. By 1960, the British had made the Kyabazingaship a political power indicator based on stakeholder financial power. This is supported by one respondent who avers that the colonial and post-colonial administrations of Busoga converted the Kyabazingaship into a civic rather than cultural institution and had several of its holders on their payroll.<sup>327</sup> He further adds that the colonial and neo-political regimes left the

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<sup>323</sup> Interview, Wangoola - Wangoola Ndawula, 18/11/2020. <sup>377</sup>

Interview, Buluma Nabwiso, 19/11/2015

<sup>324</sup> Interview, Wangoola - Wangoola Ndawula, 18/11/2020

<sup>325</sup> (Kayaga G. R et al, 2016 182)

<sup>326</sup> Interview, Henry Woiri Kitimbo, 75years, Custodian of Bugabula, Kamuli District, 21/01/2015

<sup>327</sup> Interview, Henry Woiri Kitimbo, 21/01/2015

Basoga chiefs and their Kyabazinga with the kyabazingaship as the “only prize” to struggle for.<sup>328</sup>

This shows that the succession and leadership issues in Kyabazingaship in Busoga were not only about riches and material advantages, but also about Uganda’s colonial and neo-colonial politics.<sup>329</sup>

The circumstances preceding Nadiope’s third kyabazingaship (1962–1963) show how political power benefits pushed the Kyabazingaship affairs. This was the time of the MulookiNadiope power struggles. During this time, William Wilberforce Kadhumbula Nadiope, with the UPC–Obote backing was controversially elected Kyabazinga, dislodging legitimately elected Mulooki, who was branded a DP supporter. The Kyabazingaship was seen as a source of power and wealth, a development sown by the colonialists and nurtured by the neo-colonial political governments.

After the abolition of kingdoms, there were several waves of rebellions in Uganda as factories collapsed, the cash crop economy collapsed, and the population doubled, creating intense competition for scarce resources and a “survival of the fittest” mentality among the Basoga and

Kyabazingaship stakeholders. Thus, once the Kyabazingaship was restored in 1996, certain Basoga princes fought Mulooki over the Kyabazingaship. Although Prince Kiregeya attributed his clash with Mulooki over the Kyabazingaship in 1996 to the bi-monopoly of the Kyabazingaship by the two rival families of Gabula and Zibondo, there is a general argument that these struggles were driven by the struggle for survival and the need to obtain material wealth among the impoverished princes of Busoga under the ground manoeuvres by some “invisible iron hand”

operating from afar. Prince Kiregeya threatened to sue the Busoga administration for failing to pay him UGX 2.5 million per month as the Kyabazinga was in-waiting per the 1996 Agreement.<sup>330</sup>This

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<sup>328</sup> Ibid

<sup>329</sup> Ibid

<sup>330</sup> This was in the argument raised by Maureen Kyalya

struggle for pecks from government increased as traditional leaders' entitlements were increased to a car and a UGX 5 million monthly allowance in 1995 among other benefits.

#### **4.1.4 External Politics and the Leadership Conflicts in Busoga**

Politics has been one of the main external reasons of succession problems in Kyabazingaship in Busoga since colonial times. One respondent connected these disputes to the British strategy of indirect administration in Busoga between 1899 and 1952.<sup>331</sup> He further claims that while the British wanted to teach African chiefs leadership skills and preserve African cultures and traditions, Kyabazinga was caught in a central political trap. Mudoola shows that various Basoga chiefs had legitimacy and loyalty issues in the early 20th century.<sup>332</sup> Those in power had to reconcile the interests of their subjects and the British.<sup>333</sup> Several chiefs were dethroned and others created in regions where they either never existed or their legitimacy was questionable.<sup>334</sup> For example, in 1899, Bugabula County leader Naika was removed for reportedly burning down the

Anglican Church at Naminage.<sup>335</sup> His brother Yosia Nadiope, a white missionary favourite, was made to replace him.<sup>336</sup> After Yosia Nadiope's death in 1913, the Bugabula Lukiiko chose Daudi Mutekanga, a non-Mugabula, as chiefdom caretaker with British approval.<sup>337</sup> Due to administrative issues involved in one person holding the two positions, Ezekiel Tenywa Wako, who had been president of Busoga Lukiiko and king of Bulamogi since 1919 due to British indirect influence, had to cede his latter role to Nhiro in 1921.<sup>392</sup>

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<sup>331</sup> Interview, Buluma Nabwiso, 19/11/2015

<sup>332</sup> (Mudoola 1970, 18)

<sup>333</sup> Ibid

<sup>334</sup> Ibid

<sup>335</sup> (Kayaga G. R et al, 2016, 18).

<sup>336</sup> (Kayaga G. R et al, 2016, 19).

<sup>337</sup> Interview, Kazungu, 80 years, Retired educationist., Kabukye, Bugabula, Kamuli District, 20/1/2015. <sup>392</sup> Buluma Nabwiso, 80 years, 19/11/2015

While the initial colonial administration compelled Basoga chiefs and leaders to submit to British authority, subsequently instituting the office of the “president” upon the Busoga Lukiiko; however, when these chiefs advocated for a transition of that office to a hereditary status, their plea was initially met with uncompromising resistance from the colonial powers.<sup>338</sup> It was only later in 1938 that they granted request to replace the title “president” of the Busoga Lukiiko with the royal title “Isebantu Kyabazinga wa Busoga” but this again was only in form but not in substance.<sup>339</sup> Sir Philips Mitchel, the British colonial governor, stated: “*The (new) title of Isebantu Kyabazinga would not afford grounds for any claim by its holder for privileges of a person of hereditary character.*”<sup>340</sup> Matters were aggravated when it came to determining the Kyabazinga, the powers were vested in the Busoga Lukiiko, a colonial instrument itself. Like the “president”, the Kyabazinga was to be subjected to periodic elections by the Lukiiko every three years and approved by the Governor.<sup>341</sup>

Based on the foregoing, the Kyabazinga was appointed by the colonial Governor to execute colonial commands. In Buganda, a monarch is “born”, but in Busoga, the British colonialists “made” the Kyabazinga, making his status more political. Thus, the same British colonial manoeuvres in colonial Busoga eroded traditional statehood and inherited values and cultural standards.<sup>342</sup> Most importantly, colonial officials appointed and approved traditional rulers at whim to serve their interests, overturning traditional institutions. This created a negative colonial legacy of government

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<sup>338</sup> Ibid

<sup>339</sup> Wangoola – Wangoola Ndawula, *The Untold Story: Obwakyabazinga and Succession After Henry Wako Muloki*, Unpublished paper, (2008, 6).

<sup>340</sup> (Kayaga, G. R, etal, 2016, 184)

<sup>341</sup> (Kayaga, G. R, etal, 2016, 184)

<sup>342</sup> Interview, Kazungu, 80 years, Retired educationist., Kabukye, Bugabula, Kamuli District, 20/1/2015.

directly meddling in Busoga's cultural concerns, which continued into the early post-colonial and modern Busoga.

To conclude this, the British colonial authorities set two precedents while consolidating their rule in Busoga: First, this direct government interference in cultural affairs, including the Kyabazingaship of Busoga, sowed seeds of ultimate loyalty among chiefs and created a puppet syndrome among several post-colonial leaders in Busoga. Second, and most importantly, the British subjected the Kyabazingaship to colonial politics, even after colonialism ended, setting a disastrous model for future Basoga traditional leaders. They established such a fragile basis in Busoga that allowed political causes to thrive, setting the stage for the succession and leadership struggles in the Kyabazingaship. I now turn to the 1952–1962 events in Busoga and the rise of African nationalism and how this impacted the institution of Kyabazingaship.

#### **4.1.5 African Nationalism and Kyabazingaship in Busoga, 1952 – 1962**

From 1952 to 1962, a notable upsurge of African nationalism swept across Uganda, leading to a significant reorientation in the focus of British colonial officials. As the momentum of this nationalism grew within Uganda, British authorities shifted their focus away from regional issues, like those within Busoga, towards a more encompassing involvement in national-level politics.<sup>343</sup> This shift was representative of the growing influence of nationalist sentiments, which sought to assert greater autonomy and self-governance for Uganda. Concurrently, the era saw an unexpected entwining of the traditional cultural institution of Kyabazingaship with the unfolding narrative of decolonization. The Kyabazingaship, which had traditionally remained apolitical, found itself becoming increasingly embroiled in the political currents of the time, signalling a departure from its historical role and reflecting the evolving landscape of Ugandan politics.

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<sup>343</sup> (Kayaga, G. R, etal, 2016, 187)

Central to this period was the rise of Bugabula's Gabula Nadiope, whose strategic exploitation of this nationalist and the political machinery of the Uganda People's Congress (UPC) resulted in the displacement of Muloki from his second Kyabazingaship.<sup>344</sup> This shift was notably influenced by the aftermath of World War II (1939–1945), which saw the return of war veterans such as Nadiope and Zirabamuzaale to Busoga.<sup>345</sup> These veterans constituted a nascent generation of African nationalists who, in conjunction with figures like Apollo Milton Obote, played a pivotal role in radicalising Ugandan politics and redefining the role of the Kyabazingaship in the drama of independence politics. At the same time, differing political affiliations emerged, with Muloki supporting the Democratic Party (DP) and Nadiope aligning with the UPC. The UPC's strategic intervention in the 1962 Kyabazinga election, coupled with the passage of the Busoga Kyabazingaship Validation Act by parliament, further underscore the intricate interplay between political manoeuvring and the Kyabazingaship's role in Uganda's journey to independence.<sup>346</sup> As these dynamics interwove, they catalysed additional confrontations within the Kyabazingaship in the subsequent years, highlighting the complex fusion of tradition and politics in Busoga.

#### **4.1.6 The Uganda People's Congress (UPC) and the Kyabazingaship in Busoga**

The fusion of the institution of Kyabazingaship with UPC politics was largely the work of Wilberforce Gabula Nadiope.<sup>347</sup> In some circles, this has been referred to as the "Upicification" of the Kyabazingaship.<sup>348</sup> Nadiope first appeared on the national political stage as an independent

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<sup>344</sup> Buluma Nabwiso, 80 years, 19/11/2015

<sup>345</sup> (Kayaga, G. R, etal, 2016, 189)

<sup>346</sup> Interview, Wangoola-Wangoola Ndawula, 80 years, 18/11/2020

<sup>347</sup> (Daniel Mudoola, April, 17, 1993, 40)

<sup>348</sup> Buluma Nabwiso, 80 years, 19/11/2015

candidate in the 1958 LEGCo elections for Busoga North District which he was able to win. This new political position lifted Nadiope from the political obscurity. As a result, on March 9, 1960, Nadiope took part in the merging of the Uganda People's Union (UPU) and the Uganda National Congress (UNC) to become the Uganda People's Congress (UPC).<sup>349</sup> Nadiope served as the UPC Chairman Busoga North District and became the Vice President of the Republic of Uganda in 1963, in addition to becoming the Party's vice president from its formation.<sup>350</sup> Rather than increase Nadiope's popularity within the UPC as he acquired political influence, this paved the path for his ultimate "capture" of the third Kyabazingaship under the auspices of the UPC.<sup>351</sup> This, in addition to reinforcing the UPC factor in determining the course of events in Busoga's leadership, reinforced the Nadiope factor and his fellow UPC diehards, who used UPC as a political instrument to undermine Kyabazinga's institutional legitimacy in Busoga. According to Mudoola, this became a source of discord among the Basoga chiefs opposed to UPC politics.<sup>407</sup> It is thus clear that after 1962, there was an outcry not just from the main opposition chiefs and political parties, but also from other stakeholders who questioned the validity of the institution after it was converted into a UPC vehicle. It should also be mentioned that Nadiope followed in the footsteps of fellow UPC stalwarts such as Grace Ibingira, the UPC's vocal legal counsel and General Party Secretary; and Milton Obote, who changed the course of events in the Kyabazingaship of Busoga. Nadiope and his UPC comrades were, in fact, responsible for the "Upicification" of the Kyabazingaship in Busoga.<sup>352</sup>

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<sup>349</sup> Yoga Adhola, *The Roots, Emergence, And Growth of The Uganda People's Congress, 1600-11985*, (unpublished) 2006.

<sup>350</sup> (Kayaga, G. R, etal, 2016, 201)

<sup>351</sup> (Isaac Mufumba, *The Observer*, September 24, 2008). <sup>407</sup> (Daniel Mudoola, April 17, 1993, 40)

<sup>352</sup> Phares. M. Mutibwa, *The Buganda Factor in Uganda Politics* (Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 2008), 40. <sup>409</sup>*Uganda, Building of the Nation*, (Kampala: New Vision Publishing Co Ltd, 2012), 94 <sup>410</sup>(Mutibwa, 2008, 40)

In 1962, Nadiope brought Obote to the Kabaka of Buganda, Sir Edward Muteesa II, together with Abubaker Kakyama Mayanja, Grace Ibingira and Balaki Kirya.<sup>409</sup> The two parties, the UPC and Kabaka Yekka (KY), decided to join forces with the primary goal of consolidating party politics and developing a unified policy for Uganda's quick independence.<sup>410</sup> The meeting resulted in the formation of the UPC-KY coalition on September 5, 1961, which eventually beat DP in the 1962 elections and was given power at independence.<sup>353</sup> It is important to note that the acquisition of power by Obote and his friends such as Nadiope resulted in entrenching UPC politics in the Kyabazingaship. However, this is not to say that the conflicts have been mainly due to the UPC party politics. If the national politics that shaped Uganda's histories between 1962 and 1995 are any indication, then the gaps within national constitutions, as well as those within Busoga's constitution, may need to be re-examined for a proper understanding of how politics continued to remotely influence the conflicts in Busoga's Kyabazingaship. I turn to these in the next part.

#### **4.2.1 The Contradictions in the National Constitutions of 1962, 1967 and 1995**

Uganda's three national constitutions of 1962, 1967 and 1995 all featured gaps and inadequacies when it came to cultural institutions. These gaps appear to have exacerbated the succession and leadership problems in Busoga's Kyabazingaship between 1962 and 1995. Self-seekers, within the institution and outside, exploited these weaknesses to cause a derailment of the constitutional course in the management of Kyabazinga matters. The first mistake was with the 1962 Constitution. Despite the enactment of Uganda's independence constitution in 1962, Busoga's Kyabazingaship issues remained unresolved by this constitution. While this constitution awarded Buganda, Ankole, and Toro full federal and "kingdom" status, the same constitution left Busoga's position ambiguous, and only acknowledged it as a "district" – the District of Busoga. This

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<sup>353</sup> (*Uganda, Building of the Nation*, 94)

exacerbated the quandaries, instability and disputes that consumed Busoga’s cultural and traditional institution of Kyabazingaship from 1962 onwards. Soon, there was the 1966 “pigeon hole constitution” which, like the first one, did not do much to define the status of Busoga in Greater Uganda.<sup>354</sup>

In 1967, a new constitution – the Republican Constitution as it was known, was promulgated in Uganda by the Prime Minister Milton Obote’s Government.<sup>355</sup> With the enactment of this new constitution, President Apollo Obote gained executive powers as the post of Vice President was scrapped<sup>356</sup>. Uganda became a unitary and republican state as all kingdoms were abolished with the intent of taming and limiting powers of the kingdom leaders at the time, who were viewed as a threat to national security.<sup>357</sup> It is also vital to stress that, while a comprehensive discussion of the constitutional crisis is outside the scope of this research, the constitutional crisis is crucial in explaining the succession and leadership problems in the Kyabazingaship. The most important point to emphasize here is that the crisis was caused by accumulated misunderstandings within the UPC ranks on the one hand, Obote, and on the other hand Muteesa II, who doubled as President of Uganda, which also affected the Kyabazinga (Nadiope), who was then the Vice President of Uganda.<sup>358</sup>

As a result, rather than resolve Busoga’s conflicted and ambiguous position, the Republican constitution of 1967 simply suppressed it. Balidawa refers to the period between 1967 and 1995 as “an era of constitutional limbo” in Uganda, which was very unfortunate for Uganda and Busoga in

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<sup>354</sup> Baliddawa Ngobi, 50 years, 16/1/2015

<sup>355</sup> Apollo R. Nsibambi, *National Integration of Uganda 1962-2013* (Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 2014),95.

<sup>356</sup> David Kazungu, 80 years, 20/1/2015.

<sup>357</sup> Baliddawa Ngobi, 50 years, 16/1/2015

<sup>358</sup> (Kayaga, G. R, etal, 2016, 201) <sup>417</sup>

Ibid.

particular. As a result, the Kyabazingaship in Busoga was declared obsolete until 1995, when Yoweri Museveni's NRM administration reinstated the cultural institutions.<sup>417</sup>

The 1995 Uganda Constitution also had its own gaps regarding cultural institutions. Article 246(6)(16) prohibits cultural or traditional leaders in Uganda from participating in partisan politics and holding government appointments. In addition to significantly politicizing the institution of Kyabazingaship in Busoga by formally recognizing traditional institutions, it simultaneously placed them under the control of the central government. This constitutional recognition allowed the revival of the Kyabazingaship but imposed political agendas on its operations, escalating conflicts within the institution.

This raises concerns when one considers some of the contradicting political appointments of traditional leaders. For instance, on January 26, 2016, President Museveni appointed Kyabazinga Nadiope Gabula IV as “Ambassador- Special Duties in the Office of the President”, but he cautiously declined the post due to harsh criticism from within and outside Busoga region.<sup>359</sup> Although Gabula diplomatically turned down the presidential offer, majority of the Basoga did not take it lightly. They took it as belittling to the status of the Busoga masses and their Kyabazinga in particular, and *Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga* –a form of politicking that dragged the institution further into the murky waters of national politics.

#### **4.2.2 The 2000 Constitution of *Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga*<sup>360</sup>**

Under the legal counsel of Bakibinga, some Busoga “kingdom” officials under the leadership of William Wilberforce Kiwagama, the then-Prime Minister, Bayite Munoba, the then-Minister of Constitutional Affairs and Alfred Mugoda, the Lukiiko of Busoga Speaker, sat down to draft a

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<sup>359</sup> Isaac Mufumba, “Why Wouldn’t Busoga Celebrate Gabula Job?” *The Daily Monitor*, February, 4, 2017.

<sup>419</sup> Baliddawa Ngobi, 50 years, 16/1/2015.

<sup>360</sup> The 2000 Constitution of *Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga*

constitution that would not only serve as a roadmap for the restoration of the Kyabazingaship but also as the supreme law of Busoga “kingdom”.<sup>419</sup> When Muloki, the reigning Kyabazinga, added his signature to the document on December 13, 2000, it became the “Constitution of Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga.”<sup>361</sup> However, while it was hoped that the constitution would examine succession and leadership issues in “Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga” from a local perspective in an effort to address the flaws in the national constitutions, it instead served to exacerbate the conflicts within the Kyabazingaship, as shown below.

If the 2000 Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga Constitution was to fulfill its intended function of serving as a cultural-traditional-legal document that bound the interests of all Soga masses as well as the cultural and traditional institution of Kyabazingaship in Busoga together for the benefit of the Busoga Community, then the veracity of the aforementioned Busoga “Kingdom” Constitution raised important issues, which I analyse. Although it is reasonable to claim that the Constitution clearly outlined the nature and components embedded within Kyabazingaship in Busoga as well as the duties and responsibilities of each component, it is ironic to observe its remarkable silence on the election procedures for the Kyabazinga.

Article 8 dealt with the tenure of office of the Kyabazinga, but did not specify whether or not the Kyabazinga would be elected by a show of hands method, lining behind the preferred candidate, or using a secret ballot.<sup>362</sup> This was in no way natural, given that, by its very nature, as noted in earlier discourses, unlike other nearby kingdoms like Buganda, Bunyoro and Toro, Kyabazingaship (kingship) of Busoga is not a birthright to the beholder—the king (Kyabazinga). As a result, these flaws made the already fragile institution more vulnerable to manipulations by the institution’s

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<sup>361</sup> (The Constitution of Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga, December, 13,2000, 9)

<sup>362</sup> (The Constitution of Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga, December, 13,2000, 20) <sup>422</sup>  
Baliddawa Ngobi, 50 years, 16/1/2015.

cabinet, the Busoga Royal Chiefs' Council (BRCC), and, more importantly, to external manipulations from the central government and leading regional politicians from Busoga. The same constitution also remained silent on the age and term limits for the Kyabazinga and since Muloki's death, this had been one of the reasons for disagreements over leadership and succession in Busoga.<sup>422</sup> As one respondent avers, "it is unclear whether the position of Kyabazinga is a lifetime post or a rotational one."<sup>363</sup> This has in turn caused frequent outbursts among the waiting chiefs for the Kyabazingaship throne in Busoga.

Still, the same constitution lacked clear mechanisms for checks and balances to help prevent potential disputes between the eleven hereditary rulers, clan elders, or Isaabalangira and his cabinet. The absence of such a mechanism always led to disputes and legal disputes. For instance, between 2008 and 2014, a conflict broke out between the former Isaabalangira Juma Munuulo of Bunha, Ntembe Badru Waguma of Butembe, and Nkono of Bukono Chiefdom on one side, and the executive governing cabinet under Dr. Joseph Muvawala on the other. This increased confusion, hostility and insecurity in Obwakyazinga bwa Busoga.

Under the same constitution, the Kyabazinga was to be chosen by the Busoga Chiefs' Royal Council, made up of the eleven hereditary chiefs and the leader of the royal clan (Isaabalangira). The contenders were to be selected from among only the five chiefs out of the eleven.<sup>364</sup> This meant that the other hereditary chiefs were not eligible for election which worsened strife in the institution. In addition, the Busoga Lukiiko which performed the difficult task of overseeing the elections also had interest in who became the Kyabazinga. Such people included the "Katuukiro" (Prime Minister), "Wainwa" (the Speaker), and "Abakungania" (Clan heads). To this end, it was difficult to uphold the integrity, independence and impartiality of the dual responsibilities at hand in pursuit

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<sup>363</sup> Ibid

<sup>364</sup> (Nakabayashi, 2005, 14)

of what was justly expected from the general public and, most importantly, the contending candidates within the same race. To add to the above, the candidate for the position of Kyabazinga under the same constitution had to be of sound mind, able to communicate in both English and Lusoga and not be insolvent. Whereas the requirement for being of sound mind and financially stable are understandable, the requirement that a cultural leader would need to be able to speak English to qualify was incomprehensible. Therefore, it was likely that these flaws in the Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga Constitution increased the institution's level of vulnerability, making it easier for both internal and external manipulators ( "predators") to take advantage of it.

#### **4.2.3 The NRM Government and the Kyabazingaship Conflicts, 2008 – 2014**

The findings of this study indicate a significant involvement of the NRM government and prominent NRM politicians from Busoga sub-region in the appointment and selection processes of the Kyabazinga of Busoga. This interference can be traced back to previous governments, which ultimately resulted in prolonged succession and leadership conflicts that have plagued the Kyabazingaship of Busoga since its inception. The connection between President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni and influential Members of Parliament in the Busoga's Kyabazingaship affairs can be traced to as early as 1986. During the period, Ali Kirunda-Kivejinja, a prominent musoga associated with the government and the NRM Secretariat, made unsuccessful efforts to establish himself as a significant "power broker in Busoga politics but in vain."<sup>365</sup> However, significant NRM political influence on the cultural matters of Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga became evident in 1995. During this time, the NRM government, in accordance with article 246/(3) of the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, officially reinstated institutions of traditional or cultural leaders, which included the restoration of the Kyabazingaship of Busoga.<sup>426</sup> This was followed by an intense

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<sup>365</sup> Patrick Kagenda, "Busoga: Thorn in Museveni's Flesh", *The Independent Magazine*, Sept 15, 2014, 10.

<sup>426</sup> Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, Sec 246, Art (3).

conflict between Kiregeya and Muloki over the Kyabazingaship of Busoga. This contestation not only invited the intervention of the NRM government in the cultural affairs of Busoga but, most significantly, also resulted in a compromised state-inspired resolution. This resolution ultimately led to a victory for Prince Henry Muloki, who was subsequently installed as the Isebantu Kyabazinga of Busoga on February 11, 1996.

From the onset, NRM politics took a center stage in this rather cultural contest.<sup>366</sup> Exploiting a vacuum in the newly restored Kyabazingaship, two leading Busoga politicians emerged and took a centre stage in determining the next course of events. The first name was Wandira Kazibwe, the then Vice President of Uganda who not only emerged as the leading politician from Busoga but also backed Prince Henry Muloki for the Kyabazingaship of Busoga. The other name was Ali

Kirunda-Kivejinja. In addition to being a Constituency Assembly Delegate for Bugweri (1994-1996), and later Member of Parliament of Bugweri County, he was also a leading senior politician from Busoga subregion.<sup>367</sup> With such influence behind him, Kirunda threw his weight on Prince

Eriakesi Kiregeya Nkoobe whom he claimed “as the rightful Kyabazinga of Busoga.”<sup>368</sup> Rather than lead to protestations and contestations from the two rivalry camps, this further exposed the invisible external forces of the NRM government and its leading political cadres in Busoga subregion in their own ‘cultural’ matters, and most significantly, brings to the fore the role played by Kazibwe and Kirunda in these supposedly cultural matters of Busoga. In some circles, these two individuals, who operated behind the political scenes of the NRM government, have been accused

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<sup>366</sup> Patrick Kagenda, “Busoga: Thorn in Museveni’s Flesh”, *The Independent Magazine*, Sept 15, 2014, 10.

<sup>367</sup> Mohammed Kirunda-Nkutu, *Biography: The Life and Times of Kirunda Kivejinja*, December 20, 2020.

<sup>368</sup> Isaac Mufumba, “Filling the Power Vacuum as Kyabazinga Marks Two Years”, *The Daily Monitor*, September 17, 2016, 12.

of fueling the six-year succession and leadership conflict for the Kyabazingaship between Kiregeya and Muloki in Busoga from 1990 to 1996.<sup>369</sup>

Amidst this chaos, Kiregeya, the chief of the Kigulu and Muloki's contender for the Kyabazingaship, was absent from the initial Kyabazingaship Committee. This omission has been attributed to the claim that "Kiregeya was not good for the institution and the public he wanted to serve."<sup>370</sup> It is, therefore, very likely that Kirunda-Kivejinja backed Kiregeya out of sympathy and to win political support of the Kigulu and Bugweri people. Following his rejection by the restoration committee, a group led by Amulafeeri Kisambira, with the help of some Busoga political heavy weights, secretly enthroned Kiregeya "Kyabazinga of Busoga" in November 1992.<sup>432</sup> The Kiregeya faction also attempted to disrupt Muloki's installation on May 6, 1993, but failed. Despite having appointed Kirunda-Kivejinja and Martin Musumba, as his advisors, these later disowned him (Kiregeya) and rejected his claim to the Kyabazingaship throne.<sup>371</sup> Kiregeya did not give up in his pursuit of Kyabazingaship. When the new Lukiiko was installed, matters got worse. Diphath Keith Mutengu was elected Prime Minister. This event, however, did not fit well with Kiregeya's camp, commanded by Amulafeeri Kisambira.<sup>372</sup> In 1994, Kiregeya took the matter to the High Court. In his suit, he claimed that Muloki had not been elected by all princes and that the Kyabazingaship was supposed to be rotational among all Busoga princes. Besides, he contended that it was not proper for the Kyabazingaship to be monopolised by the Zibondo and Gabula lineages. However, the Court dismissed the suit on October, 25, 1995. This did not deter Prince Kiregeya from continuing to show interest in the position of Kyabazinga, escalating the

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<sup>369</sup> Patrick Kagenda, "Busoga: Thorn in Museveni's Flesh", *The Independent Magazine*, Sept 15, 2014, 10.

<sup>370</sup> Interview, Buluma Nabwiso, , 19/11/2015. <sup>432</sup>

(Kayaga G.R etal., 2016, 223)

<sup>371</sup> (Kayaga G.R etal., 2016, 223)

<sup>372</sup> Interview, D.K.B. Mthengu, 75 years, Mwise Mudhope clan, former Katuukiro, Jinja, 21/01/2015.

strife further.

#### **4.2.4 The Kazibwe Factor in the Kyabazingaship Conflicts**

The intense six-year conflict between Kiregeya and Muloki over the Kyabazingaship of Busoga finally reached a compromise in 1996. An agreement was brokered between the clan leaders of Busoga, represented by Amulaferi Kisambira, and high-ranking Ugandan officials including Vice President Specioza Wandira Kazibwe and Minister Kirunda-Kivejinja, with the assistance of President Yoweri Museveni. The agreement aimed at resolving the Muloki–Kiregeya contestations over the Kyabazingaship. One of the decisions entailed the selection of Henry Wako Muloki, the Zibondo of Bulamogi, as the prospective Kyabazinga, alongside Eriakesi Ngobi Kiregeya as the Crown Prince in-waiting. In addition, the Clan Council headed by Amulaferi Kisambira was to become the custodian and ultimate authority on the culture, traditions and rituals of the clans and people of Busoga. After the council approved the agreed positions, they were to be announced to the people of Busoga, Uganda, and the world.<sup>373</sup>

The successful resolution of the Kiregeya-Muloki Kyabazingaship conflict, mediated by the efforts of Wandira Kazibwe, does not reaffirm the influence of NRM politics in shaping and compromising the outcome. Instead, it reveals how invisible external forces, particularly the leading politicians in the Busoga sub-region, along with the NRM government, continued to undermine the legitimacy of the Kyabazingaship institution in Busoga through covert means. This ultimately led to a relatively peaceful twelve-year reign of Kyabazingaship by Muloki, which lasted until his demise on September 1, 2008.

While Muloki's twelve-year tenure as Kyabazinga of Busoga (1996–2008) was praised for leaving behind a peaceful and dignified legacy in some circles, it has also faced criticism for failing to

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<sup>373</sup> Wangoola Wangoola. Ndawuloa, "The Untold Story of the Kyabazingaship.." 2008, 6.

establish a succession plan or address the issues with the 2000 Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga Constitution.<sup>374</sup>This constitution laid the groundwork for subsequent conflicts in leadership and succession within Busoga. In contrast to the kingdoms of Buganda, Bunyoro, and Toro, where leadership was based on hereditary succession, the process of becoming the Kyabazinga in Busoga did not follow an automatic inheritance pattern. In Busoga, the selection process involved an election that seemed to uphold democratic principles but frequently necessitated intervention from external entities, such as Parliament, the judiciary, and the President. While the Busoga Chiefs' Royal Council was entrusted with overseeing this election and included all hereditary chiefs from various Busoga principalities, only five out of the eleven Busoga chiefs were considered eligible for the position of Kyabazingaship due to their historical ties to the ancient Bunyoro-Kitara Empire. By this Muloki left a precarious foundation for the succession and leadership of Kyabazingaship. Second, this situation created an opportunity that was later exploited by political opportunists, who effectively transformed the institution (Kyabazingaship) into what can be described as a "theatre."<sup>375</sup>

By 2008, it had become clear that the National Resistance Movement (NRM) and Vice President Wandira Kazibwe played pivotal roles in shaping Busoga's political dynamics and were instrumental in exacerbating the Kiregeya-Muloki Kyabazingaship conflict. Their efforts culminated in a compromise that led to Muloki's installation as the Kyabazinga of Busoga on February 11, 1996. This background lays the foundation for a closer examination of the subsequent role played by NRM and another influential figure, Alitwala Rebecca Kadaga.

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<sup>374</sup> Isaac Mufumba, "Filling the Power Vacuum as Kyabazinga Marks Two Years", *The Daily Monitor*, September 17, 2016.

<sup>375</sup> Patrick Kagenda, "Politics Behind Kyabazingaship, Cheers and Tears as Busoga becomes King makers' arena", September 22, 2014.

#### **4.2.5 The Kadaga Factor in the Kyabazingaship Conflicts, 2008-2014**

How did Rebecca Alitwala Kadaga become a factor in Busoga cultural politics? The answer lies in one of the local accounts: “In 2003, Dr. Wandira Kazibwe the then Vice President of Uganda who also doubled as the chairperson of Busoga People’s Forum (BPF), was allowed to go the University of Harvard and undertake a Doctor of Science in Health Economics.”<sup>376</sup> While Kazibwe was absent, no one was appointed to fill the power vacuum in the Busoga sub-region, giving Rebecca Kadaga, a lawyer and Kamuli Representative, the chance to rise to prominence. Kadaga later served as the Deputy Speaker (2001-2011) and Speaker of the 10th Parliament of Uganda (2011-2021). How did the rise of Kadaga affect the events that led to Prince William Gabula IV’s enthronement?

This probing question is answered by a number of discourses that created a framework that constrained succession and caused Kyabazinga leadership conflicts between 2008 and 2014. A remote ‘invisible iron hand’ ran the NRM’s political intervention in Busoga’s Kyabazingaship under Kadaga. Proponents of this view argue that Rebecca Alitwala Kadaga, then Deputy Speaker of Parliament of Uganda (2001-2011) and later Speaker of the tenth Parliament of Uganda (2011-2021), orchestrated Gabula's election on August 23, 2014, his presentation to the Busoga Lukiiko on August 25, 2014, and his eventual gazetting as Isebantu Kyabazinga on September 13, 2014.<sup>377</sup> In certain segments of the Busoga Community, Kadaga has faced accusations of intentionally or inadvertently interfering with the course of events surrounding the appointment and election of the Isebantu Kyabazinga of Busoga during the years when the NRM leadership and its

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<sup>376</sup> Interview, Buluma Nabwiso, 19/11/2015.

<sup>377</sup> Interview, Buluma Nabwiso, 19/11/2015.

political elites held sway in the Busoga subregion. At the core of this analysis was the indirect influence, often referred to as “the invisible iron hand”, exerted on the institution until 2014.<sup>378</sup>

A clear example of the Kadaga factor in the Gabula-Wambuzi Kyabazingaship succession and leadership conflicts (2008-2014) can be seen in her remarks during a requiem service held at Bugembe Cathedral on September 1, 2008. The Deputy Speaker, at that time, stated, “As soon as HRH Henry Wako Muloki had passed away, some royals (Abalangira) began vying for his position. I received a call on Monday, September 1, 2008, indicating that some elders on Spire Road in Jinja wanted to install their own “Isebantu.”<sup>379</sup>

The other example of the Kadaga factor was noticeable in the controversial elections that culminated in the election of two “parallel kings” in Busoga. The controversial elections of October 31, 2008, which installed Prince Edward Columbus as Isebantu Kyabazinga of Busoga, and the controversial elections of October 5, 2009, which installed Prince William Nadiope

Gabula. Prince Wambuzi was appointed with the NRM’s shadowy support. Prince William Gabula IV was installed with the help of important princes and Rt. Hon. Kadaga, who worked behind the scenes in the NRM.<sup>380</sup> It is alleged that the Basoga Princes who supported Wako and had President Museveni’s patronage were given financial resources, military escorts, and police protection during the controversial Wambuzi Kyabazingaship elections.<sup>381</sup> While politicians like Daudi Migereko remained neutral, his installation was complicated by regional supremacy politics between the then-powerful Third Prime Minister Kirunda-Kivejinja and Rt. Hon. Alitwala

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<sup>378</sup> Ibid

<sup>379</sup> (Kayaga G.R. et al., 2016, 239)

<sup>380</sup> Interview, Wangoola-Wangoola Ndawula, 18/11/2020.

<sup>381</sup> Patrick Kagenda, Politics Behind Kyabazinga, The Independent Magazine September 22, 2014.

Kadaga.<sup>382</sup> This showed that the NRM government was involved in the Wambuzi-Gabula Kyabazingaship succession conflicts after Muloki's death.

In an unexpected turn of events, Bugweri Menhya Chief Fred Kakaire contested Wambuzi's election in court, citing the lack of a quorum. Prince Wambuzi won various legal cases, but the State and courts did not fully rule on his position. According to Kagenda, "Neither the courts nor the government pronounced themselves on Wambuzi's status. This Kyabazingaship deadlock also highlighted the NRM government's role, particularly Kadaga's clandestine influence, in Busoga's cultural conflicts.

However, in a twist of events, Wambuzi's election was immediately challenged in courts by Chief Fred Kakaire, the Menhya of Bugweri, citing that the process was conducted without a quorum. Whereas in some circles, Prince Wambuzi proved victorious in courts, his victory was neither clearly pronounced by the State nor by the courts of law of the time. This view tandems, with Kagenda who argues "Neither the courts nor the government pronounced themselves on

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Wambuzi's status"<sup>383</sup> Beyond the inevitable Kyabazingaship stalemate, this scenario further highlights the significance of the NRM government's involvement under the discreet influence of Kadaga in the Kyabazingaship conflict that engulfed Busoga between 2008 and 2014.

In the subsequent petition filed by Gabula against the controversial elections of Prince Wambuzi, he claimed, "The government of Uganda was involved in the electoral process in a partisan manner and provided military and police guards to one of the candidates, Edward Wambuzi, while intimidating other candidates, the electorate, and the people of Busoga to vote for its preferred

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<sup>382</sup> Ibid

<sup>383</sup> Patrick Kagenda, Politics Behind Kyabazinga, The Independent Magazine September 22, 2014.

candidate.”<sup>384</sup>The ex-Chief Justice, Wako Wambuzi, asserted that the government's rejection of the Kyabazinga election results on October 31, 2008, which purportedly favoured Prince Wambuzi Muloki, lacked legal justification. He further argued that a re-run of the election was unwarranted since you cannot perform a legal duty twice unless the first attempt is legally nullified. He also questioned why, after a Jinja High Court ruling had upheld Muloki’s election, the government proceeded to block the Kyabazinga from accessing the institutional headquarters at Bugembe.<sup>385</sup>

This perspective is well supported by Patrick Kagenda, who argues that during this period, Prince Gabula, who was a twenty-year-old when the previous Kyabazinga passed away, had demonstrated that, in addition to his royal lineage, he had also inherited the political acumen and street smarts of his ancestors. He successfully shifted the balance of power to the extent that Uganda’s political class, from President Museveni down to Speaker Rt. Hon. Kadaga, Cabinet Minister Daudi Migereko, the then Chief Whip Justine Kasule Lumumba, and most area Members of Parliament from the Busoga region, were vying to endorse Gabula.<sup>386</sup> In addition to reaffirming the influence of the invisible hand within the NRM Executives and its insular politicians from the Busoga subregion, this underscores the power politics, which oscillated based on the evolving needs of politicians over time. Indeed, as subsequent events revealed, Wambuzi’s support from the President eventually degenerated as the President shifted his support in favour of Gabula’s bid for the Kyabazingaship.

The question remains: Why did President Museveni, who initially supported Edward Columbus, later shift his position in favour of Gabula? The likely answer can be found in subsequent discussions. Recognising the prevailing political climate, President Museveni opted to align himself

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<sup>384</sup> Ibid

<sup>385</sup> Ibid

<sup>386</sup> Patrick Kagenda, “Busoga: Thorn in Museveni’s Flesh”, *The Independent Magazine*, September 15, 2014.

with Kadaga's candidate, Gabula IV, to secure his own popularity in Busoga.<sup>387</sup> It is evident that, following the exit of Dr. Wandira Kazibwe from the political arena in 2003, Kadaga's influence in Busoga's politics, in comparison to Uganda's political landscape, had grown significantly. In 2011, Speaker Kadaga garnered over eighty thousand votes in party primaries, while her competitor, Deborah Mwesigwa, received less than fifteen thousand votes.<sup>388</sup> This, to a significant extent, explains the influence of the Kadaga factor in Busoga's cultural and political landscape, and more broadly, in Ugandan politics. This influence was particularly prominent during her tenure as Deputy Speaker and Speaker of the Ugandan Parliament. It comes as no surprise that President Museveni eventually altered his earlier stance and supported the candidate favoured by Kadaga, as doing so was crucial for maintaining his popularity as a presidential candidate within the sub-region.

On October 18, 2009, President Museveni tasked Hon. Adolf Mwesigye, the Minister of Local Government, to serve as the government observer in the Kyabazinga election. Government approval for this appointment was granted on November 16, 2009. This allowed NRM political intrigues to continue in Busoga's cultural concerns. It is not surprising that on January 10, 2010, Kadaga told mourners at the burial of Prince Gabula IV's driver, Bernard Henry Dhizaale, at Butembe Village, Kitayundwa County, Kamuli District that the chiefs must pick the rightful Kyabazinga by February 2010. The Speaker directed thus: "If you fail to show us the rightful Kyabazinga by February, do not then blame anybody for the next move. This will definitely call for plan B."<sup>451</sup> This, in addition to raising debates over what Kadaga's plan "B" meant, highlights how the NRM administration and Kadaga, a 'musoga' and senior politician from Busoga subregion, shaped the Kyabazingaship succession discourse between 2008 and 2014.

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<sup>387</sup> Patrick Kagenda, "Politics Behind Kyabazinga", *The Independent Magazine*, September 22, 2014.

<sup>388</sup> Edrisa Kiggundu, "Museveni woos Busoga with Roads, Billions to End Poverty", *The Independent Observer*, December 30, 2015.

As the quest for Kyabazingaship of Busoga intensified in the years that followed, President Museveni was forced to change his position in favour of Kadaga's already preferred position. This led President Museveni to exclaim, "Busoga has no king" at his campaign rally in Butende, Kamuli District.<sup>389</sup> This indicates that the NRM administration continued to push other key politicians like Kadaga and others to change the institution's leadership framework between 2008 and 2014. A further indicator of the influence peddling of the NRM government and its invisible internal forces within Busoga sub region continued to show itself on December 20, 2011, when Prince Wambuzi went to Bugembe and attempted to enter Kyabazinga's office but was blocked by security organs based on "orders from above."<sup>390</sup> When the Inspector General of Police was tasked to explain the incident, he responded, "As far as we are concerned, Busoga has no Kyabazinga and our presence at Bugembe was to maintain law and order."<sup>391</sup>

It is, therefore, not surprising that on May 26, 2012, President Museveni wrote a letter to the Minister of Gender, Labour and Social Development, addressing the turmoil within the Busoga kingdom. In the same letter, the President directed Isaabalangira Kaunhe Wakooli to serve as the Acting Kyabazinga until the matter was resolved, pledging to provide the institution with a monthly disbursement of Five Million Uganda Shillings and the arrears that had been halted by the Ministry.<sup>392</sup> Against this backdrop, in August 2012, Prince David Bogere Gabula, one of the princes from Bugabula, accused President Museveni of engaging in influence peddling following his decision to recognise Wakooli as the Acting Kyabazinga of Busoga. President Museveni was not the sole player in this political maneuvering; other influential political figures from the Busoga sub-

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<sup>389</sup> Daily Monitor, "Busoga has no King", February 8, 2010

<sup>390</sup> (Richard Kayaga G. R et al...,2016, 252)

<sup>391</sup> (Richard Kayaga G. R et al...,2016, 252)

<sup>392</sup> Moses Okeya, MPs blame Kyabazingaship Conflicts on Museveni, Daily Monitor, April 18, 2014,27

region were involved. On November 14, 2012, a total of twenty-two Saaza chiefs of Bulamogi chiefdom convened to petition President Museveni, requesting government intervention in resolving the Kyabazinga stalemate. In their petition, they accused the government of contributing to the confusion within Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga, particularly by interfering in the Kyabazinga election.<sup>393</sup>

On September 8, 2014, Maureen Kyalya, stated that the rightful chiefs were already known to the President, illustrating the NRM's "invisible hand" in Busoga subregion. She further attributed the Kyabazingaship conflicts to Busoga's "political heavy weights" who desired to be seen as pillars or heroines of Busoga. She particularly singled out the Right Honorable Rebecca Kadaga as one of the people who were rolling the name of Prince Wambuzi of Bulamogi in the 'mud'.<sup>394</sup> This, in tandem with Prince Wambuzi of Bulamogi chiefdom, who also attributed the infighting in Kyabazingaship to what he described as certain "political giants" in the Busoga sub-region. He went on to argue, "Some of them should have treated us all as their sons, but it is a pity that instead of being "our mother," they worked hard to divide us. He adds, "Before their interference, Gabula and I were good friends, but the moment they came in, we lost our very vital and good relationship."<sup>395</sup> This provides a dual-edged analysis: First, it shows how the invisible influence of the NRM government and its leading politicians fueled the Kyabazingaship conflicts in the Busoga sub-region in the aftermath of Muloki. Secondly, and most significantly, it offers insight into the impact of the interference by the NRM government and its Basoga political agents in the Kyabazingaship crisis, which not only undermined the unity between Princes Gabula and

Wambuzi but, more importantly, polarized the masses of Busoga, as examined in the next chapters.

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<sup>393</sup> The New Vision, December 29, 2017

<sup>394</sup> (Richard Kayaga G. R et al., 2016, 252)

<sup>395</sup> Edward Columbus in Kayaga G. R et al, *Evolution of Busoga's Eleven Hereditary Chiefdoms and Kyabazingaship in Uganda* (Jinja: Cultural Research Centre, 2016), 268.

On her part, on April 15, 2014, Maureen Faith Kyalya was accused of attempting to install nine parallel rulers in almost all chiefdoms, except Bulamogi and Luuka. This move was perceived as political, given that Maureen possessed no such authority. Given her proximity to the President, one could reasonably argue that Maureen was acting at the behest of the NRM government. Such an assumption gains credibility when considering that on May 29, 2014, the President himself took the initiative to officially inaugurate the new Busoga Lukiiko at Bugembe. President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni affirmed, "Although some people tried to discourage me from attending the ceremony, I decided to attend because I was invited by the royal chiefs." The mixed opinions on whether the President should have attended the ceremony or not confirm the narrative that some individuals perceived NRM's maneuvers as having exacerbated the succession and leadership conflicts in Kyabazingaship in Busoga between September 1, 2008, and September 13, 2014. At the height of the Wambuzi-Gabula Kyabazingaship conflict in Busoga, on July 27, 2014, Rebecca Kadaga gave the eleven hereditary Royal chiefs one month to elect the Kyabazinga or risk losing her support.<sup>396</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, that, following a compromised NRM government position and, most significantly, the Kadaga factor, the hereditary chiefs elected Prince William Gabula IV as Kyabazinga of Busoga on August 23, 2014. Later, on August 25, they presented him to the Busoga Lukiiko before being gazetted by the government of Uganda on September 13, 2014.

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<sup>396</sup> (Richard Kayaga G. R et al., 2016, 252)

### **4.3 Conclusion**

In conclusion, this chapter has analysed the causes of the succession conflicts within the Kyabazingaship of Busoga from 1906 to 2014. The analysis has underscored the intricate interplay of historical, political and external factors that shaped these conflicts. I have clearly indicated that, from the inception of the Kyabazingaship institution, the British implementation of the system of indirect rule inadvertently set a precedent of conflicting roles between the royal chiefs and the central government, perpetuating a legacy of power struggles. The aftermath of World War II also introduced a new cadre of leaders who accelerated the politicization of what would otherwise be a cultural institution, ushering in an era of state-centered leadership. I have also laboured to show that even during the period when monarchy and cultural institutions were abolished, conflicts persisted underground, with the breakdown of rule of law across Uganda exacerbating the situation. The lack of clarity in the national constitutions and the 2000 Busoga Kingdom Constitution also created loopholes which were exploited by various entities, including the NRM Government, further unsettling the institution. Ultimately, the critical factor perpetuating these conflicts was the deep-seated legitimacy crisis afflicting the Kyabazingaship and its institutions, both internally and externally. Amidst these crises, governments and challengers wielded power and influence to manipulate the institution's fragile foundations, exacerbating succession and leadership conflicts. Despite the varying roles played by different Ugandan governments, their overall impact was overshadowed by the misuse of power to fuel tensions within the vulnerable cultural and traditional institution. This crisis, therefore, reverberated throughout Busoga, impacting its people and the broader cultural landscape. The ramifications of these conflicts are expounded in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### EFFECTS OF THE KYABAZINGASHIP SUCCESSION CONFLICTS IN BUSOGA,

1906-2014

#### 5.0 Introduction

The previous chapter examined the causes of the succession conflicts in the Kyabazingaship of Busoga. It highlighted how internal and external factors influenced these conflicts. This chapter looks at the effects of these conflicts, illustrating how they had far-reaching impacts on the Basoga and the Busoga region. It argues that the British desire to “gandanize” and institutionalise Busoga into a single political unit not only subordinated the Kyabazingaship in Busoga to colonial and post-colonial governments and their political elites but also created a problematic institutional framework that was open to internal and external forces. The chapter begins by looking at the societal breakdown experienced in Busoga and how this had far-reaching implications on the institution of Kyabazingaship and the broader Busoga region. Subsequently, it explains how these conflicts and disputes transformed the Kyabazingaship into a theater of perpetual leadership dilemmas.

#### 5.1 The Erosion of Social Cohesion in Busoga

Busoga’s historical journey began over four centuries ago when it was established by the Baise Ngobi ruling clan, led by Prince Mukama Namutukula.<sup>397</sup> However, approximately 130 years ago, it underwent a significant transformation as it fell under the jurisdiction of the British under the leadership of Capt. William Grant, and later came under the influence of Ganda sub-imperialists, particularly Semei Kakungulu.<sup>398</sup> Throughout this period, it was evident that Busoga differed from

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<sup>397</sup> Isaac Mufumba. “Basoga Struggle to Right a Wrong made 400 years ago” *Independent Observer*, September 24, 2008, 12.

<sup>398</sup> Mufumba. “Basoga Struggle to Right a Wrong made 400 years ago”, 2008, 12. <sup>462</sup>  
Interview, Keith Mthengu, 65 years, 21/01/2015.

traditional kingdoms like Bunyoro, Ankole, Toro and Buganda, as it operated more as a loose confederation of autonomous principalities rather than a centralised monarchy.

Scholars, including Keith Mthengu, have argued that the breakdown of Busoga's social fabric, which was more pronounced than the previous unity in diversity before the colonial era, cannot be attributed solely to the conflicts within the Kyabazingaship. Instead, he asserts that it must be viewed within the context of the British colonial legacy. Rather than serve as a catalyst for integrating Busoga into one political polity, the British colonial legacy left behind a deeply problematic confederation in Busoga, one that, over many generations, proved to be more divisive than unifying among the various cultural groups within the region.<sup>462</sup> This legacy not only spotlighted institutional failures but also contributed to the politically driven disputes within the Kyabazingaship.

From the beginning, it was evident that British control in Busoga would exacerbate cultural divisions rather than promote togetherness. This legacy laid the groundwork for post-colonial regimes and their political elites to continue fostering cultural divisiveness through the institution, leading to succession and leadership problems within the Kyabazingaship of Busoga. Mufumba blames this on a larger problem that stemmed from the initial leadership of the Baise Ngobi under Prince Mukama Namutukula.<sup>399</sup> Instead of addressing the mistakes left by the Baise Ngobi, the British colonial leaders and their successors placed Busoga's social fabric under severe political stress, resulting in a potentially divided and loosely unified society.<sup>400</sup> This cultural trauma, rooted in British colonialism, persisted throughout independence and into post-independence politics, as traditional cultures and customs were often overlooked.<sup>401</sup>

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<sup>399</sup> Mufumba. "Basoga Struggle to Right a Wrong made 400 years ago", 2008, 12.

<sup>400</sup> Ibid.

<sup>401</sup> (Nobuhiro Nakabayashi, 2008, 7)

The challenges faced by Kyabazingaship continued into the post-colonial era. The Uganda People's Congress (UPC) -dominated Lukiiko declared the Kyabazingaship hereditary between 1962 and 1967; a decision that strained the political landscape of Busoga. In 1967, President Obote banned monarchs and kingdoms including the Kyabazingaship due in part to the succession and leadership crisis in Busoga.<sup>402</sup>

External forces from the National Resistance Movement(NRM) government, along with Busoga political cadres, took control of the Kyabazingaship from afar between 1986 and 2014 further exacerbating the turmoil.<sup>403</sup> The restoration of traditional leadership in 1993 including the Kyabazingaship had both cultural and political implications.<sup>404</sup> According to Mamdani, it was seen by the NRM government as a way to build mass unity and loyalty to help the state consolidate power in the Busoga region<sup>405</sup> However, it also began to intertwine cultural affairs with political machinations, leading to confusion, division and chaos.<sup>470</sup> Balidawa argued that Busoga's societal collapse was rooted in scars left by all these governments.<sup>406</sup> According to him, the 2000 Busoga constitution replaced the unwritten constitutions that were widely understood and followed by the Basoga.<sup>407</sup> This shift led to a disconnect between the law and the values, conventions and aspirations of the people, creating potential divisiveness. These internal weaknesses within Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga's 2000 Constitution contributed to the compromise of the Basoga

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<sup>402</sup> Daniel Mudoola. "The Concept of Authority among the Basoga (With particular reference to Abaise Ngobi/Abalangira Clan, Institutions, Conflict and Change (1900-1962), Katigondo Major Seminary Masaka, April, 17, 1993, 45.

<sup>403</sup> Interview, Kazungu, 80 years, Bugabula, Kamuli District, 20/01/2015.

<sup>404</sup> Interview, Igaga Mutekanga, 65 years, Retired teacher, Kabukye, Bugabula, Kamuli, 21/01/2015.

<sup>405</sup> Muhamood Mamdani, "Critical Reflections on the NRM", *The Monitor Publications*, 1995, 123-126. <sup>470</sup> Interview, Mutekanga, 65 years, 21/01/2015.

<sup>406</sup> Interview, Moses Baliddawa Ngobi, 50 years, Lawyer, Butembe, Jinja, 16/01/2015.

<sup>407</sup> Ibid

and Kyabazingaship by the NRM factionalism and Busoga political elites from 1996, when Muloki ascended to the throne, to 2008 when he passed away.<sup>408</sup> This ultimately resulted into a leadership dilemma that engulfed Busoga between 2008 and 2014.

## **5.2 The Kyabazingaship and Leadership Dilemma in Busoga**

To properly understand the leadership conflicts that Busoga found itself in, there is need to look at the interplay of factors that shaped the region's history from 1906 to 2014. Within this timeframe, a trio of pivotal questions emerges, each shedding light on Busoga's historical narrative between 1906 and 2014. The first question revolves around the essence of leadership within the Busoga context. What precisely constituted leadership in this region, and how did it evolve over the years? The second question centres around the transformation of the Kyabazingaship into a "crisis institution". What events and circumstances led to Kyabazingaship conflicts? The third and perhaps most crucial question centers on the far-reaching impact of these leadership issues on the Basoga people, the institution of Kyabazingaship, and the broader Busoga community. How did these challenges shape the collective destiny and well-being of Busoga as a whole?

There may be no definitive answers to these probing queries. However, in Busoga's context, leadership may not be limited to the highest title of Isebantu but to Kyabazingaship's huge pool of main clans and outstanding intellectual class. From the start, Busoga leadership has been about conflicting positions between chiefs, the Kyabazinga, and the central government. These leadership challenges characterised Busoga's politics from the colonial to the post-colonial period but leaders, at different levels kept influencing their character, pace and direction. Kirunda-

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<sup>408</sup> (Nobuhiro Nakabayashi, 2008, 7)

Kivejinja claims that the colonialists forcefully merged Busoga's eleven independent principalities of Bugabula, Bulamogi, Luuka, Bukono, Busiki, Bugweri, Bukooli, Bunya, Bunyole and Butembe to make it easier for them to rule over them, sowing the seeds of division.<sup>474</sup> This, in turn led in 1894, to the birth of the Busoga Lukiiko (Parliament) under Captain William Grant as its first governor and later Semei Kakungulu as its first President. Later the eleven hereditary chiefs became permanent members of the Lukiiko. This view is backed by Musasizi who claims that Busoga's leadership confusion began in 1906 when the British Protectorate government merged the fragmented clans and chiefdoms of Busoga into one political entity and later appointed Kakungulu as President of Busoga's "Lukiiko" or Parliament.<sup>409</sup> British 'Bugandanisation' of Busoga destroyed the entire socio-economic and political layers of Busoga while spreading their dominion.<sup>476</sup> However, in the post-independence period, these Busoga principalities, each under a distinct leader, found themselves facing persistent leadership dilemmas that subsequently swallowed in the institution of Kyabazingaship.

This study argues that the Kyabazingaship malaise that plagued Busoga for a long time was caused by the two dominant royal lineages (Gabula of Bugabula and Zibondo of Bulamogi Chiefdoms), the Basoga, the different central governments, and the political elites in Busoga sub-region failing to address the inherent leadership and succession challenges in Busoga. Despite having some of the country's top human resources, including figures like Specioza Wandira Kazibwe, Rebecca Alitwala Kadaga, and Kirunda Kivejinja, what factors contributed to the inability of these leaders to address the conflicts surrounding Kyabazingaship?

<sup>474</sup> See...*The Daily Monitor*, "The Tall Order Kyabazinga has to face" August 30, 2014.

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<sup>409</sup> Simon Musasizi, "Media Stereotypes and Sub National Representation of the Busoga in Uganda, Press, (MA diss., The American University of Paris, July 12, 2019, 6). <sup>476</sup>Ibid.

After the death of Wako Muloki on September 1, 2008, the Basoga found themselves in leadership dilemmas with intertwined effects that had a profound impact on Busoga's socio-economic and political framework. Vices such as strong internal fighting owing to greed for power and fortune, corruption and mismanagement claims, and contempt of court exacerbated confusion, upheaval, and instability. This steadily and methodically harmed the Basoga socio-economic well-being. Politics overtook the governance and administration of Obwakyazinga bwa Busoga, polarizing and politicising Basoga masses, the institution, and the entire Busoga society. This has been characterised as the "turbulent era" in Busoga.

### **5.2.1. The 'Turbulent Era' in Busoga, (2008-2014)**

This era was marked by a series of conflicts that ensued in the aftermath of the leadership of Henry Wako Muloki. These conflicts precipitated a significant leadership vacuum in the Kyabazingaship of Busoga, which endured for a six-year period, spanning from 2008 to 2014, during which a substantive and universally accepted leader remained elusive. Consequently, this vacuum not only engendered power struggles between the two traditionally dominant royal families, namely the Gabula of Bugabula and the Zibondo of Bulamogi, but also engendered competing claims to the Kyabazingaship, including figures such as Prince Christopher Mutyaba from Bukono and Prince William Nabwana of Luuka. Most notably, it served as a catalyst for internal divisions within the Kyabazingaship and its governance structure, fostering a climate of confusion, protracted legal disputes, and counteractions. These developments, in turn, provided a pretext for external interventions by the central government and its political elites from the Busoga sub-region, thereby significantly undermining the autonomy and decision-making capacity of the institution and its stakeholders.

The disruptions in leadership and governance had dire consequences for the Basoga populace and their Kyabazingaship, plunging them into a downward spiral of escalating poverty, as the prospects

for development and investment in the region became increasingly tenuous. This confluence of factors collectively contributed to the persistence of protracted leadership dilemmas, the ramifications of which continue to reverberate through the socio-economic fabric of the Basoga community to the present day. It is, therefore, unsurprising that this epoch has earned the moniker a “turbulent era in Busoga”. In the subsequent exploration, I delve into the enduring implications left by the aforementioned Kyabazingaship vacuum, spanning from 2008 to 2014, on the socioeconomic well-being of the Basoga.

### **5.1.2 The Kyabazingaship Vacuum in Busoga and its Implications, 2004-2014**

After Muloki died on September 1, 2008, Busoga’s political scene was marked by a leadership vacuum. First, it removed Busoga’s potential leader, who had united the masses for twelve years. Second, it left a void in Busoga’s Kyabazingaship, reigniting the old conflict between Gabula of Bugabula and Zibondo of Bulamogi. Thirdly, Gabula under Nadiope and Zibondo under Wambuzi fought for the Kyabazingaship seat, leaving Busoga without Kyabazinga for six years (2008–2014). Thus, to understand how Busoga was thrown into leadership dilemmas during this period, it is crucial to examine some of the leading actors’ actions and how they affected the stability and progress of the Basoga, their Kyabazingaship, and Busoga Community. The supposed Busoga ‘kingdom’ thus began its most dangerous period after Muloki. Many wondered who would succeed Muloki as Kyabazinga. How would culture, state, and law coexist throughout the transition? In the years after their resolutions, how would the Kyabazingaship electoral procedure affect the institution’s stability and development? Busoga had lost one of its best leaders and a father who had at least partially brought the Basoga and their institution together in peace and stability. However, Muloki’s death raised important issues about Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga succession.

### 5.1.3 The Kyabazingaship Succession Disputes

One direct consequence of Muloki's death was succession and leadership disputes. Busoga, unlike other monarchies in Uganda, experienced disputes over who should be the rightful leader - Isebantu Kyabazinga. These succession disputes revolved around competing claims from different clans and factions that constituted Busoga. The causes of these disputes are fundamentally unclear.

According to some scholars, the "problem" of principalities of Busoga and the succession conundrum in Busoga may have led to these leadership succession disputes.<sup>410</sup> Clearly, the problems of Kyabazingaship institution owe much to its shaky foundation. Described in some scholarship as "a weak foundation built on quicksand," this scenario aligns with Kirunda-Kivejinja's acknowledgment that "You cannot construct a firm house when the foundation is weak; in the end, it will crumble"<sup>411</sup> This, therefore, opened the Basoga and their Kyabazingaship to intense disagreements and rivalry among different princes and factions allied to either camp, and most importantly, complicated the electoral process as several claimants to the throne emerged, each with their own supporters.

Isaac Mufumba correctly states that "the battle to succeed the late Muloki as Isebantu of Busoga took a giant step and was mainly a two-horse race between traditional enemies for the throne Bugabula and Bulamogi chiefdoms."<sup>412</sup> Since its founding, the two chiefdoms have dominated

Busoga's Kyabazingaship, thanks to colonial rule. However, given the challenges in the succession question of Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga and the politics surrounding the institution, this no doubt complicated the process and led to intense disagreements, rivalries, and disunity as the central

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<sup>410</sup> (Nobuhiro Nakabayashi, 2008, 14)

<sup>411</sup> Ibid

<sup>412</sup> Isaac Mufumba. "Filling the Power Vacuum as Kyabazingaship marks two years" *The Daily Monitor*, September 17, 2016

government and its political elites continued to interfere in Basoga's supposedly cultural matters in the years that followed. Mufumba adds, "Though the Kyabazingaship electoral process is hailed because of democracy, it has always ended in acrimony and disunity on account of interference and manipulations in what should ordinarily be a cultural affair."<sup>413</sup>

This chapter exposes how the central government and its political elites in Busoga subregion interfered and manipulated the Kyabazingaship standoff and its effects on the Basoga masses. One of the hereditary traditional chiefs of the then Busoga Cabinet, the Royal Chiefs Council, Prince Christopher Mutyaba, the Nkono of Bukono Chiefdom, the then Chief Prince (Isaabalangira), by law became the head of the institution (the Kyabazinga of Busoga). Additionally, he was tasked with leading the Kyabazingaship electoral process to replace Muloki. The Basoga, the chiefs and Busoga electoral body, the Chiefs' Royal Council under Prince Christopher Mutyaba should take sole responsibility for all cultural matters related to Busoga Kyabazingaship in accordance with the law and the people's values, norms, and aspirations. This proved difficult due to the institution's problems and the NRM's political maneuvers that caused the Kyabazingaship malaise after Muloki. The "kingdom" was in a volatile period. The chiefs and the then Isaabalangira (Chief Prince) and Acting Kyabazinga Prince Christopher Mutyaba failed to organise the election of the new Kyabazinga within sixty days and no later than ninety days from the date when the throne fell vacant, as required by law.

During Muloki's requiem mass at Christ the King Cathedral, Bugembe, he stated that the chiefs and Lukiiko (Parliament) would not be pressured to name the next Kyabazinga.<sup>414</sup> He further

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<sup>413</sup> Isaac Mufumba. "Filling the Power Vacuum as Kyabazingaship marks two years" *The Daily Monitor*, September 17, 2016

<sup>414</sup> Isaac Mufumba. "Basoga Struggle to Right A wrong Made 400 Years Ago", *The Daily Monitor*, September 24, 2008.

emphasised that the Constitution gave the cabinet ninety days, but the electoral process for the next Kyabazinga required widespread consultation. This undermined the credibility of Mutyaba as the acting Kyabazinga of Busoga, and the constitution, but his remarks most importantly highlighted the ongoing debates over Busoga's Kyabazingaship malaise. It also created fundamental problems about who the chiefs should consult and, most importantly, why should they consult extensively over a cultural matter that the Basoga should have resolved constitutionally and traditionally? It was probable that the consultations were to be with the central government and the leading political elites in the region. These must have been President Yoweri

Museveni, Rt. Hon. Rebecca Alitwala Kadaga, Dr. Joseph Muvawala, Anglican Bishop Cyprian Bamwoze, Prince Daudi Muluya Kaunhe, the Wakooli of Bukhooli. These individuals were essential influences on the Kyabazingaship impasse and its far-reaching ramifications on Busoga masses. In the next part, I examine the role of these external forces on the succession and leadership dilemmas in Busoga, which increased rivalries, disunity, confusion and court battles.

#### **5.1.4 Museveni's Government and the Kyabazingaship Conflicts in Busoga**

The influence of the National Resistance Movement (NRM) government under President Yoweri Museveni in Busoga's cultural matters typifies the complex relations between the State and Kyabazingaship, and most importantly, shows how Museveni has been part and parcel of the prolonged leadership dilemmas that embroiled Busoga's cultural leadership between 1986 to 2014. Museveni's influence on Uganda's cultural and traditional institutions, including the

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Kyabazingaship of Busoga, has never been uniform as it kept changing depending on the political agenda.<sup>415</sup>In Busoga, particularly, Museveni's relationship with the Kyabazingaship has also been a tale of mixed fortunes. Martin Musumba confirms this in this waring: "State House, its occupants and operatives must disengage from the Kyabazinga electoral process if it is to be successful."<sup>416</sup>This may explain the impact of the central government in Busoga's cultural leadership, but most importantly it illuminates the prospective consequences of State involvement in Basoga cultural affairs.

As soon as Muloki's health deteriorated and news reached State House, President Museveni began influencing Busoga's cultural matters by positioning himself to have a "say" in the succession question.<sup>417</sup> This launched the central government under Museveni and their political elites in controlling the Kyabazingaship succession question following Muloki's death, but most importantly, it reaffirmed the complex relationship between the Basoga and politics of the day. The findings of this study, suggest that the prolonged succession and leadership dilemmas experienced in Busoga between 2008 and 2014 cannot be solely attributed to the central government and its political elites. Instead, it appears that the Kyabazinga succession question in Busoga was potentially utilized as part of President Museveni's political strategy. This strategy involved harnessing the cultural and traditional institutions in Uganda to garner political support and exert influence.<sup>485</sup>

According to Patrick Kagenda, Museveni used women's votes to garner support in Busoga subregion.<sup>418</sup>Based on this technique, he (Museveni) promoted several Busoga sub-region women

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<sup>415</sup> Interview, Ngobi, 16/01/2015.

<sup>416</sup> Quoted in an interview with Daily Monitor, November 23, 2009

<sup>417</sup> Isaac Mufumba. "The Battle of Kyabazinga still Rages on" *The Independent Magazine*, August 5, 2009. <sup>485</sup> Interview, Ngobi, 16/01/2015.

<sup>418</sup> Patrick Kagenda. "Busoga: Thorn in Museveni Flesh" *The Independent Observer*, September 15, 2014.

to high-profile government positions between 1986 and 2008. From Victoria Ssekitoleko 1989-1993 to Specioza Wandira Kazibwe 1993-2002 to Rebecca Alitwala Kadaga 2002-2022. For this reason, some have called Museveni Busoga's "king maker".<sup>419</sup> This may indicate a complex relationship between the Basoga and central government under Museveni, and most crucially, how Busoga culture has been tied to politics. In addition to being a broader goal of the central government under President Museveni of using the cultural institution and their chiefs to consolidate their political power in Busoga subregion, this opened the Basoga and their institution to future leadership conflicts, polarised them, and politicised the Kyabazingaship. This opinion is supported by Musaazi, who analysed the events that influenced the electoral process that surrounded the election and installation of William Wilberforce Gabula IV of (Bugabula Chiefdom) as Kyabazinga on August 23, 2014.<sup>420</sup> The search for the next Kyabazinga succeeding Muloki began on September 4, 2008, and Gabula became the Kyabazinga on August 25, 2014.

On August 11, 2008, Museveni hosted eleven hereditary chiefs and other officials in Entebbe State House, bringing to the fore the NRM government's influence on the Kyabazingaship electoral process. In addition to awarding chiefs "golden handshakes," the President reportedly promised them financial support to develop their chiefdoms in exchange for government backing. *The Independent Observer* reported that Museveni wanted the chiefs to approve his choice for Muloki's replacement.<sup>421</sup> This points to the NRM government's calculated approach to Busoga's Kyabazingaship 'problem-prone' succession procedure, which led to a 2008–2014 leadership impasse.

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<sup>419</sup> Patrick Kagenda. "Politics Behind Kyabazingaship". *The Independent Observer*, September 22, 2014

<sup>420</sup> Simon Musasizi, "Media Stereotypes and Subnational Identities." 2019.

<sup>421</sup> Isaac Mufumba, "Battle for Kyabazinga still Rages on" *The Independent Observer*, August 5, 2009.

On September 8, 2008, during Muloki's burial, President Museveni's influence on the Kyabazingaship succession agenda became more pronounced. He committed himself to support the Kyabazinga family and the heir-to-be. Unfortunately, he did not clearly state the nature of support to be given to the late Kyabazinga's family.<sup>422</sup> Critics have blamed him for failing to clarify whether the support meant administering the estate or helping the heir-in-waiting.<sup>423</sup> Instead of exposing the controversies within the NRM government over cultural issues in Uganda, particularly in Busoga Kyabazingaship, this sheds light on State-inspired conflict that may have intensified Basoga divisions, confusion, and chaos. This kept the Basoga Kyabazingaship institution in a state of polarisation and politicisation.

Another clear example of the NRM government influence on Busoga's Kyabazingaship was the controversial elections of Prince Edward Columbus Wako Wambuzi, the son and heir of Muloki, and the Zibondo of Bulamogi Chiefdom on October 31, 2008. It should be noted that after Muloki's death, Museveni supported the unpopular candidate Wako Wambuzi to replace his late father Henry Wako Muloki, despite the majority's preference for William Gabula Nadiope IV as their cultural leader.<sup>424</sup> Some sources claim State House agents addressed the traditional chiefs who composed the electoral college, and some withdrew their support for Nadiope<sup>425</sup> Others fault Museveni and the presence of state machinery and soldiers backed by the then Jinja DISO Andrew Nuwabaine for the controversial Wambuzi elections of October 31, 2008, and his support from six of the eleven chiefs.<sup>426</sup> This should also explain why Jinja Deputy RDC Apollo Bwebare stated that

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<sup>422</sup> Isaac Mufumba, "Battle for Kyabazinga still Rages on" *The Independent Observer*, August 5, 2009.

<sup>423</sup> Ibid

<sup>424</sup> Simon Musasizi, "Media Stereotypes and Subnational Identities." 2019.

<sup>425</sup> Ibid

<sup>426</sup> Isaac Mufumba. "The Battle of Kyabazinga still Rages on", *The Independent Magazine*, August 5, 2009.

“government recognizes Prince Wambuzi as the rightful Kyabazinga and no one else should go around calling himself the Kyabazinga.”<sup>427</sup>

However, two days after Wambuzi’s government-backed installation, his main rival, Prince William Nadipe Gabula IV, the grandson of the late Kadhumbula Nadiope and the Gabula of Bugabula Chiefdom, and six other “rebel chiefs”—James Christopher Mutyaba Nkono (Bukhono), Patrick Izimba (Kigulu), Juma Munuulo (Bunha), Daudi Kaunhe Wakooli (Bukholi), and Fred Kakaire Menhya (Bugweri) organised a gathering at Jinja Square.<sup>428</sup> This dramatic event, which resembled more of a “coup” on Wambuzi’s Kyabazingaship, not only ignited widespread public excitement in Busoga but also led to a significant shift in support from Wambuzi to Gabula.<sup>429</sup> Consequently, this conflict between the pro-Gabula and pro-Wambuzi groups polarised the Basoga masses and their cultural institution.

In a twist of events, on October 5, 2009, the “rebel chiefs”—Prince Daudi Muluya Kaunhe of Bukooli (the then Acting Kyabazinga and *Isaabalangira* of Busoga), who presided over the earlier controversial elections of Prince Edward Columbus Wambuzi as Kyabazinga (October 31, 2008)—under the invisible hand again of some NRM fellows, organised a parallel Kyabazinga election that elected William Nadipe Gabula IV as Isebantu Kyabazinga.<sup>430</sup> Prince Gabula’s enthronement as Kyabazinga on Mpumwire Hill faced challenges when government security agencies intervened, hindering the installation rituals.<sup>499</sup> This episode further highlights the influence of the NRM government in the Kyabazingaship of Busoga, reviving the old wounds of the traditional Kyabazingaship rivalries between two dominant royal houses (Gabula under Gabula

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<sup>427</sup> Ibid

<sup>428</sup> Isaac Mufumba. “The Battle of Kyabazinga still Rages on”, *The Independent Magazine*, August 5, 2009.

<sup>429</sup> Ibid

<sup>430</sup> (Richard Kayaga Gonza et al., 2016, 242) <sup>499</sup>

Ibid

IV of Bugabula and Zibondo under Edward Columbus of Bulamogi). From 1949 to 2014, these two royal houses have competed in Busoga's cultural leadership.<sup>431</sup> This overshadowing influence of NRM politics on Busoga's Kyabazingaship led to a deep division among the Basoga masses. The resulting extended void had significant repercussions for both the Basoga masses and the cultural institution itself. This situation can be blamed on the political maneuvers of the NRM government and its political elites in the Busoga subregion. The High Courts in Jinja too contributed to the problem by failing to render a conclusive verdict on the two parallel Kyabazingaship elections.

Mediations and dialogues also served as a means through which the NRM administration exerted its influence on Kyabazingaship cultural matters. In an attempt to facilitate reconciliation between the conflicting factions, the NRM administration endorsed discussions. President Museveni held meetings with Busoga's political and traditional leaders on three occasions between October 31, 2008, and 2014.<sup>432</sup> During one of these meetings, an agreement was reached that Wambuza was not the rightful Kyabazinga, and all the legal cases he had filed in court should be withdrawn to make way for fresh elections.<sup>433</sup> Regrettably, the execution of this agreed-upon action point faltered. This underscores the failure of the NRM government, as well as its political associates in Busoga, to strike a balance between the interests of Busoga and those of the State. It further underscores the State's continued control over the courts of law for its political advantage.

Following a five-year period of cultural turmoil within the Kyabazingaship of Busoga, the central government took action through the state minister for Gender and Social Development, Rukia Nakadama. She convened and coordinated a meeting with clan leaders from Busoga in an effort

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<sup>431</sup> Interview, Buluma Nabwiso, 19/11/2015

<sup>432</sup> Isaac Mufumba. "The Battle of Kyabazinga still Rages on" *The Independent Magazine*, August 5, 2009.

<sup>433</sup> Ibid

to seek a lasting solution to the Kyabazingaship conflicts. This event serves as a clear indication of how the central government, along with its state officials, deviated from the expected cultural procedures that should have been followed to determine the Kyabazingaship question.

As the 2011 general elections drew near, President Museveni and his regional leaders in Busoga, namely Rebecca Alitwala Kadaga, Kirunda Kivejinja, Daudi Migereko, and Justine Kasule Lumumba, played a role in dividing the Basoga community and influencing the Kyabazingaship.

It is suggested that one reason for this division was the government's concern, that having a Kyabazinga sympathetic to the opposition could be problematic.<sup>434</sup> It is against this background that on May 26, 2012, Museveni issued a directive stating that "Isaabalangira Kaunhe Wakooli should remain the Acting Kyabazinga until the issue was resolved and Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga returned to normalcy."<sup>504</sup> This directive not only highlights the intricate relationship between politics, culture, and law but also underscores the direct interference of the central government in the Kyabazingaship succession and leadership crisis in Busoga. Then, after two years, on August 23, 2014, the Chiefs Royal Council officially elected Prince William Nadiope Gabula as the new Kyabazinga of Busoga. His confirmation came on August 25, 2014, from the Busoga Lukiiko, and he was subsequently sworn in on September 9, 2014.<sup>435</sup>

Despite Prince Gabula's enthronement, doubts still arose about the legitimacy of his Kyabazingaship. There were concerns regarding whether he would gain acceptance among the majority of the Basoga and in public discourse. These uncertainties stemmed from the immediate legal action taken by his former rival, Prince Wambuzi, and his supporters, who sought a court order to block Gabula's enthronement but were denied by Justice Godfrey

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<sup>434</sup> Isaac Mufumba., "The Battle of Kyabazinga still Rages on", *The Independent Magazine*, August 5, 2009.

<sup>504</sup> (Richard Kayaga Gonza et al., 2016,248)

<sup>435</sup> Isaac Mufumba, "Filling the power vacuum as Kyabazinga marks two years", September 17, 2016.

Namundi.<sup>436</sup> Consequently, Prince Gabula's election failed to resolve the long-standing Kyabazingaship impasse in Busoga as initially hoped. With both royal contenders still embroiled in legal battles, the potential victory of either prince raises numerous unanswered questions. It highlighted a compromised central government resolution that led to Gabula's installation, seemingly against the wishes of other factions, as indicated by Wambuzi's legal actions. Rather than reaffirm the central government's enduring role in shaping cultural affairs in Busoga, this situation exposed controversies within Uganda's legal and political framework under President Museveni, along with the Kyabazingaship's involvement in a complex web of conflicts, including community rivalries, clan disputes, and political polarization, which eroded the credibility of both the institution and the newly elected Kyabazinga.

### **5.3 Daudi Muluya Kaunhe: *Isaabalangira* and Acting Kyabazinga, 2008 – 2016**

For one to understand the leadership crisis that plagued Busoga after Muloki's, one must dig into the enigmatic life and actions of Daudi Muluya Kaunhe, the Wakhooli (chief) of Bukhooli, Isaabalangira (Chief Prince) and Acting Kyabazinga of Busoga from 2008 to 2014. Prince Kaunhe's ascent to power was not without controversy, as he replaced Prince Christopher Mutyaba, the Luba (chief) of Bunha, as Isaabalangira and Acting Kyabazinga after Mutyaba declared his intentions to contest for the position of Kyabazinga following Muloki's demise. During his tenure, Kaunhe was frequently accused of fanning the flames of the Kyabazingaship crisis through his actions. His influence loomed large, ultimately leading to a compromised resolution brokered by the NRM government, which saw the controversial installation of William Nadipe Gabula IV as Kyabazinga on September 13, 2014.

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<sup>436</sup> Isaac Mufumba, "Filling the power vacuum as Kyabazinga marks two years", September 17, 2016.

At the peak of the Kyabazingaship conflict between Wambuzi and Gabula, Kaunhe was widely accused of overseeing two controversial elections. The first occurred on October 31, 2008, resulting in the contested election of Edward Columbus Wambuzi as Kyabazinga of Busoga. The second took place on October 5, 2009, culminating in the controversial election of Gabula Nadiope IV as Kyabazinga.<sup>437</sup> These events led to the emergence of two parallel ‘kings’ in Busoga, a situation that underscored Kaunhe’s double standards and further exacerbated the crisis.

Between these two contentious episodes, Kaunhe organised and presided over yet another election, a clear reflection of his wavering positions. This continuous back-and-forth shifts over the Kyabazingaship crown earned the institution the derogatory nickname as “Kaunhe’s Comedy Show.”<sup>508</sup> Rather than merely illuminate Kaunhe’s dishonesty, these events shed light on the hidden external forces at play behind the scenes of the Kyabazingaship conflicts. It is, therefore, evident that, due to Kaunhe’s actions and life, Busoga became divided into two factions: the proWambuzi and the pro-Gabula camps.<sup>438</sup> This polarisation allowed politics to take center stage in directing the cultural affairs of the Kyabazingaship, triggering internal conflicts, legal battles and leadership struggles within chiefdoms and the Kyabazingaship itself. The resulting instability undermined the independence of the institution and hampered the socio-economic progress of the Basoga masses. This raises the question of what motivated Kaunhe’s controversial actions. Part of the answer lies in the contestation of his position as the rightful Wakooli of Bukooli, a title disputed within the chiefdom by members of the Wakooli Royal lineage. Even his tenure as Acting Kyabazinga during the Kyabazingaship turmoil was subject to debate.<sup>439</sup> The significance of

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<sup>437</sup> “Gabula is new Busoga Kyabazinga”, *The New Vision*, Kampala, October 5, 2009. Also, see..., Daily Monitor announces Edward Columbus as Kyabazinga of Busoga, October 31, 2008 <sup>508</sup> Gabula is new Busoga Kyabazinga, *The New Vision*, Kampala, October 5, 2009.

<sup>438</sup> Kyabazinga Elections Divide Busoga MPs, *The Daily Monitor*, October 13, 2009

<sup>439</sup> Maureen Kyalya, “Cry My beloved Busoga- A Case for a Busoga Development Authority”.

Kaunhe's actions during this period was that they not only depicted him as a critical factor but also as a consequence of the protracted Kyabazingaship succession crisis and its intricate effects on the Basoga masses, the institution, and Busoga as a whole. His double standards led to the emergence of multiple rival Kyabazingas, a situation that garnered significant media attention and further compounded the turmoil within Busoga.

### **5.3.1 Five 'Kings' in Busoga**

Besides two government-supported 'kings' (Columbus Wako Wambuzi endorsed by President Museveni and Nadiope Gabula IV backed by Rt. Hon. Kadaga), Busoga was at a crossroads when two additional "self-proclaimed kings" appeared. Prince Eriakesi Kiregeya of Kigulu Chiefdom claimed to be the "genuine" Kyabazinga and Crown Prince in-waiting since 1996.<sup>440</sup> Next was Daudi Muluya Kaunhe the Wakhooli of Bukhooli, who presided over two simultaneous elections that produced two parallel Kyabazingas and who was the Acting Kyabazinga. Prince David Bogere Gabulare, who once declared "he is the care taker of the Kyabazingaship," was also on the list.<sup>512</sup> Amidst this leadership confusion, there were growing voices for the appointment of a regent to oversee the affairs of the cultural institution.<sup>441</sup> This demand could have been linked to the uncertainty that had surrounded the Kyabazingaship, exacerbated by the legal disputes following Muloki's death. These persistent challenges have created an intricate web of leadership dilemmas that tarnished Busoga's reputation in the public domain. Musasizi explains this, "Busoga was at a crossroads where it appeared to have five kings, all attracting press visibility."<sup>514</sup> The situation of having five 'kings' has also been attributed to Kaunhe and the then-Prime Minister Wilson

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<sup>440</sup> Patrick Kagenda, "Busoga: Thorn in Museveni Flesh", *The Independent Observer*, September 15, 2014.

<sup>512</sup> Isaac Mufumba, "Five years on, Busoga Kingdom still lost", *Daily Monitor*, September 2, 2013

<sup>441</sup> Interview, Paul Carlos Kuluse, 50 years, Educationist, Consultant, Balawoli, Kamuli, 15/12/2015 <sup>514</sup> Simon Musasizi, "Media Stereotypes and Subnational Identities, 49.

Muwereza. The two engaged in a series of contentious exchanges through letters, each claiming ownership of kingdoms' property and assets. This disabled the Basoga to reach a consensus on a single Kyabazinga and establish a stable Kyabazingaship which not only fractured the Basoga community but also allowed politics to infiltrate cultural matters. Osman Ahmed Noor concurs, pointing out that the situation at the headquarters had become increasingly unsustainable, eroding the sense of unity among the people.<sup>442</sup> This led to a decline in public trust in the Kyabazinga's cabinet's capacity to address their concerns and serve as a means of rallying the Basoga towards economic prosperity.

Prince William Nadiope Gabula IV was elected as the Kyabazinga of Busoga on August 23, 2014, in a decision made by the ten members of the Royal Chiefs' Council. This event initially brought hope that the long-standing Kyabazingaship dispute had finally come to an end. However, such optimism turned out to be premature, as the problem persisted. On the very next day, August 24, 2014, a surprising turn of events occurred. Daudi Kaunhe, the Isaabalangira and Acting Kyabazinga, distanced himself from Nadiope's election, revealing elements of hypocrisy and intrigue within the situation. Thus wrote Kaunhe: "I wish to bring to your knowledge that the attached letter of acceptance addressed to me was erroneous and misguided."<sup>443</sup>

Kaunhe and Wambuzi did not attend the August 25, 2014 Busoga Lukiiko meeting, chaired by the new Speaker, George Mutyabule at Bugembe, where nine out of ten chiefs endorsed and approved the election of Nadiope Gabula V as Isebantu Kyabazinga of Busoga.<sup>517</sup> This implies that instead of using his position and influence as the Isaabalangira and Acting Kyabazinga to offer direction and guidance, Kaunhe promoted discord and instigated a prolonged Kyabazingaship

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<sup>442</sup> Simon Musasizi, "Media Stereotypes and Subnational Identities, 49.

<sup>443</sup> (Richard Kayaga Gonza et al., 2016,261) <sup>517</sup>Ibid

conflict in Busoga. Kaunhe's double standards became glaringly evident on August 29, 2014, during an event at Nakabango, Jinja. Here, he handed over what he referred to as the "instrument of power" to Prince Wambuzi, declaring, "*Today, I affirm that His Royal Highness Edward Columbus Wambuzi is the Kyabazinga of Busoga.*"<sup>444</sup> In this symbolic gesture, he presented Wambuzi with a spear, shield, and a drum. Kaunhe also publicly apologized to the Basoga and Prince Wambuzi for the delay in transferring power, attributing it to being misled by unnamed politicians. He went on to declare the purported election of Nadiope as Kyabazinga as illegal. This act sheds light on the true nature of Kaunhe's character. It reveals him as a critical factor and consequence of the Wambuzi-Gabula Kyabazingaship succession conflicts.

### **5.3.2. The Office of the *Katuukiro* (Prime Minister) as a Cause and Product of the Conflicts**

Busoga's *Katuukiro* symbolizes unity. Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga's executive head, the *Katuukiro* has political and social power. According to the Busoga Constitution, he leads the Busoga government business; he plans and creates strategies for Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga's socio-economic growth. Joseph Muvawala's tenure as the *Katuukiro* (Prime Minister) of Busoga has been a subject of discussion within both Busoga and public spheres. But how could Muvawala, a highly educated man, known for his exceptional wisdom with a PhD in Economics, find himself entangled in the Kyabazingaship complexities? Several factors can be assessed to understand this matter. These factors encompass Muvawala's personal attributes, his capacity to foster alliances and mediate disputes among conflicting factions, all aimed at aiding Busoga in achieving stability and progress following a prolonged period of uncertainty in the Kyabazingaship succession.

Muvawala's extended period as the 7th *Katuukiro* (Prime Minister) of Busoga encountered criticism from day one due to his perceived inability to provide effective leadership marked by a

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<sup>444</sup> (Richard Kayaga Gonza et al., 2016,260-262)

clear vision, effective communication, adaptability to changing circumstances, and most importantly, the capacity to inspire and mobilize the Basoga populace, chiefs, and the broader community towards a universally accepted leadership and a sustainable Kyabazingaship institution.<sup>445</sup> He also faced allegations of displaying arrogance and a lack of respect towards the Basoga community. Chiefs from Bulamogi and Luuka distanced themselves from Nadiope's Kyabazingaship and his administration as a result of these issues.<sup>446</sup> Rather than promote stability and unity in Busoga, Muvawala's leadership was blamed for causing friction, leading to division, an extended leadership dispute, and a decline in the cultural inclusivity and socio-economic advancement of Busoga.<sup>447</sup> These challenges exposed Muvawala to criticism, including allegations of corruption and mismanagement, which further fueled internal discord and prolonged the Kyabazingaship conflict, leaving Busoga and the Kyabazingaship institution vulnerable.<sup>448</sup>

Considering the above, it is imperative to examine Muvawala's vision, and strategic development plans for Busoga during his extensive tenure as Katuukiro and Executive Director of the National Planning Authority (NPA). Despite his background and expertise, Muvawala did not present a comprehensive strategic development plan for Busoga or oversee a straightforward annual budget during his leadership, which raised questions about his ability to balance cultural and political leadership roles and his economic policies.<sup>449</sup> This failure to stimulate economic development and job creation contributed to internal disputes, discord, and the Kyabazingaship crisis, ultimately leading to impoverishment in Busoga.<sup>450</sup>

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<sup>445</sup> Interview, Ngobi, 16/01/2015.

<sup>446</sup> Interview, Buluma Nabwiso, 19/11/2015

<sup>447</sup> Interview, Paul Carlos Kuluse, Kamuli District, 15/12/2015.

<sup>448</sup> The Red Pepper, Chief Prince Faulted for sale of Kingdom Property, Jinja, 2015

<sup>449</sup> Interview, Keith Mthengu, 65 years, Mwise Mudhope clan, former Katukiuro, Jinja, 21/01/2015.

<sup>450</sup> Interview, Buluma Nabwiso, 19/11/2015

It is also essential to explore how Muvawala managed the Kyabazingaship of Busoga during his time as chairman of the interim Executive Committee, tasked with running the institution during the crisis. Crisis management skills are crucial, and Muvawala's role in shaping the complex network of conflicts surrounding the Kyabazingaship and the consequences of these events should be scrutinized. The vote of no confidence from the Busoga Royal Chiefs' Council on Muvawala's administration, along with disputes over authority and property involving Prince Juma Munuulo, underscores the Kyabazingaship leadership issues in Busoga during the period.<sup>451</sup> In short, Muvawala's impact on Busoga's leadership landscape has been seen by many as a continuation of historical wrongs and a perpetuation of leadership dilemmas that have affected the Busoga region. By the time of this research Muvawala was still the Katuukiro (Prime Minister) of Busoga.

#### **5.4 Rebecca Kadaga and the Kyabazingaship Conflicts in Busoga**

Rebecca Alitwala Kadaga, a distinguished lawyer and a prominent figure in Uganda's modern politics, made history as the first female Speaker of the Ugandan Parliament. Born in Kamuli District of Busoga, Kadaga's journey to becoming a renowned political figure was marked by a series of significant milestones that showcased her dedication, leadership, and commitment to her constituents. Kadaga's entry into politics began in 1989 when she was elected Member of Parliament representing women in Kamuli District, a position that laid the foundation for her remarkable career. This position provided her with valuable experience and insights into the intricacies of parliamentary procedure and administration.

In 2001, Kadaga's political trajectory took a turn when she was elected as the Deputy Speaker of Parliament. This appointment became a watershed moment, not only for her but for Uganda

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<sup>451</sup> Nelly Otto, "Chiefs Allegedly Fighting Interim Executive Committee, Fresh Crisis Looms at Busoga Kingdom", *The Red pepper*, March 27, 2015.

politics as a whole. It marked the first step towards her historic election as Uganda's first female Speaker in 2011, a milestone that shattered gender barriers and exemplified the progress towards gender equality in the country.<sup>452</sup> Kadaga's ascension to the role of Speaker was not just symbolic; it conferred upon her significant political influence. Her position and authority became instrumental in shaping the political landscape of Busoga, particularly during the period between 2008 and 2014, marked by conflicts surrounding the Kyabazingaship succession and leadership in the region. This, however, came with a mix of accomplishments, challenges and controversies.

The conflicts surrounding the Kyabazingaship of Busoga during this period frequently placed Kadaga at the center of intricate negotiations and power dynamics. Throughout the period in question, Kadaga found herself repeatedly tasked with delicately balancing her national duties alongside the demands of her fellow Basoga. This delicate juggling act was often necessitated by the ongoing conflicts surrounding the Kyabazingaship of Busoga, a role that frequently positioned her as a pivotal figure in negotiations and power dynamics. Kadaga's leadership style was defined by her adept ability to navigate this intricate terrain. She constantly strived to harmonise the demands of parliamentary politics with the cultural heritage of Busoga, a challenge that she approached with determination.

However, it is essential to note that Kadaga's influence in these affairs was met with mixed reactions, with allegations of overbearing and self-serving actions.<sup>527</sup> It is also alleged that the speaker influenced the choice of the reigning Isebantu Kyabazinga to the extent that the Kyabazinga had no authority whatsoever.<sup>453</sup> This interference further extended into the legal arena,

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<sup>452</sup> Daily Monitor, Uganda@50, "Rebecca Kadaga: A Woman of all Political Seasons", August 23, 2012.

<sup>527</sup> Interview, Mutekanga, 21/01/2015.

<sup>453</sup> Interview, Buluma Nabwiso, 19/11/2015

exacerbating the conflict between the House of Gabula and the House of Wambuzi. This view was reinforced by Mufumba, who pointed out that despite the High Court's ruling in favour of Wambuzi as the lawful Kyabazinga, Kadaga's support for Prince William Gabula persisted.<sup>454</sup> This not only exposed Kadaga's involvement in Busoga's cultural affairs but also raised questions about the traditional succession process and the role of cultural institutions in modern Uganda. Consequently, this tumultuous period left Busoga in a state of confusion, division, and, most significantly, raised questions about the legitimacy of its cultural institutions.

Kadaga's influence extended beyond mere political maneuvering. She was noted for influencing the deployment of state machinery, including the Uganda Police and the Uganda People's Defence Forces, to protect her favoured candidate, Prince Nadiope Gabula IV.<sup>530</sup> Her actions in directing security forces and her perceived self-imposed executive powers further exacerbated divisions within Busoga, entangling the region in regional political rivalries and a protracted Kyabazingaship conflict. The conflicts also spilled over into clashes with other prominent individuals from Busoga, such as Hon. Persis Namuganza and Hon. Justine Kasule Lumumba, both influential figures in Ugandan politics by 2014.<sup>455</sup> These conflicts resulted into battles and polarisation of the Basoga masses, which in turn, hindered socio-economic progress in Busoga, contributing to elevated poverty levels in the region. In the wake of Kadaga's loss of the position of Speaker of Parliament, the resurgence of conflicts surrounding the Kyabazingaship stands as a testament to the enduring impact of her influence. It is plausible that her waning political authority may have emboldened her opponents, leading them to reignite their struggle for control over the

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<sup>454</sup> Isaac Mufumba, "Five Years on Busoga Kingdom still lost", *The Daily Monitor* September 2, 2012. <sup>530</sup>Amon Katungulu, Dr. Nabwiso: "The origin of Kadaga, Namuganza row" *Nile Post*, November 26, 2018.

<sup>455</sup> Ibid

Kyabazingaship.<sup>456</sup> Therefore, the Kyabazingaship succession and leadership disputes in Busoga have deep historical roots, but the influence of leaders like Kadaga played a pivotal role in shaping their character and outcomes. These conflicts have had far-reaching consequences for the region, affecting its stability, socio-economic progress, and Kyabazingaship itself. The legacy of individuals such as Kadaga serves as a testament to the intricate interplay between politics, culture, and leadership in Uganda's complex political landscape.

### **5.5 Persistent Legal Challenges to Busoga's Kyabazingaship Legitimacy**

Since 1963, legal fights over Busoga's Kyabazingaship have overshadowed the Basoga and their Kyabazingaship. In this part, this study discusses these legal battles, which are not only a cause but also a result of the Kyabazingaship conflicts. This underscores the nexus existing between the government and Judiciary, alongside the disputes concerning the Kyabazingaship of Busoga within the nation of Uganda. This has challenged the validity of the ruling Kyabazinga and, most importantly, Busoga's Kyabazingaship up to the 21st century.

This provokes a fundamental question: Does the legitimacy of the Kyabazinga of Busoga rest upon cultural traditions or legal statutes? If one subscribes to the former perspective, it follows that the designation of the Kyabazinga, the cultural leader of the Basoga, is contingent upon the consensus of the eleven chiefs of Busoga. In contrast, the latter viewpoint posits that the adjudication of the Kyabazingaship, in accordance with established legal norms, necessitates judicial interpretation of the governing documentation dictating the protocol for ascension to the position of Kyabazinga.

This is according to the Busoga Constitution as amended. This mismatch between cultural leaders' limits and the courts' judicial authority was one of the causes of the long-running legal battles

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<sup>456</sup> <http://www.Monitor.co.u/Uganda/news/woes3685172>.

national/Kadaga-speakership-loss-cited-in-renewed-Kyabazinga-

between 2008 and 2014. In addition, these legal concerns extend the Kyabazingaship and succession standoff in Busoga. After the death of Henry Wako Muloki, princes Wambuzi and Gabula were involved in protracted legal battles that produced two parallel “kings.”<sup>457</sup> These eroded the legitimacy of Kyabazingaship, polarising and politicising the Basoga, the institution, and Busoga as a region resulting into lengthy internal instability and socio-economic stagnation.

To one respondent it was “blasphemous” to drag the cultural problems to courts whose officers know little about kingdom traditions.<sup>458</sup> If this reasoning is accepted, the courts have judicial jurisdiction to follow the law and customs of the people. According to him, when courts decide who the legitimate traditional ruler of the people is, the interpretation is that men of traditional title have abdicated their traditional authority to “external foreign forces”.<sup>535</sup> He further added that Judges of other ethnicities can only rely on legal but not traditional knowledge of Busoga’s past to preside over such a matter (Kyabazingaship) of great cultural significance. Therefore, such legal tussles and counter tussles from different factions within Busoga intensified internal bickering, making it impossible for the Basoga to agree on one Kyabazinga and establish a sustainable cultural institution.

## **5.6 Escalation of Poverty Levels in Busoga**

The issue of poverty in the Busoga region has been a subject of extensive scholarly attention, both within the region itself and beyond its borders. Irrespective of the motivations that have fueled these discussions, it is irrefutable that poverty in Busoga and Uganda at large has been exacerbated by a complex interplay of several socio-economic and environmental factors. To understand the

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<sup>457</sup> <http://www.Monitor.co.ug/uganda/news/national/Jinja-high-court-maintains-nadiope-as-Nadiope-Kyabazingaof-Busoga-3721496>.

<sup>458</sup> Interview, Ngobi, 16/01/2015. <sup>535</sup>

Ibid

escalating poverty levels in Busoga, it is imperative to first look into the region's historical potential, as perceived through the lens of early European explorers and administrators. John Hannington Speke, Gerald Portal, Fredrick Lugard, Harry Johnston, and later Winston Churchill consistently lauded Busoga as the "Garden of Uganda" and the primary contributor to the nation's food supply.<sup>459</sup> Winston Churchill, in particular, famously coined the term "pearl of Uganda" to encapsulate Busoga's economic promise.<sup>460</sup> This region, blessed with abundant greenery and surrounded by water bodies, held the potential to be a thriving source of food and economic prosperity.<sup>461</sup> Nayenga and Cohen extensively documented Busoga's status as a regional economic hub, with the region being one of Uganda's most prosperous areas at the time of independence in 1962.<sup>462</sup> Jinja, a major city in Busoga, was home to 70% of Uganda's industry and a substantial portion of its population made of Asians. Ugandan Asians had established Jinja as a prominent business center in East Africa.<sup>463</sup> According to Nabwiso, Jinja was the industrial and employment nucleus upon which both Busoga and Uganda heavily relied.<sup>541</sup> It is, therefore, perplexing to note that by the 21st century, Busoga had become one of the poorest regions in Uganda, ranking behind even Karamoja in terms of poverty and food insecurity.<sup>464</sup> The decline of many companies in the region and the shift from cash crops like cotton and coffee to extensive sugarcane cultivation resulted in poverty among Basoga. This study agrees with Afunadula who blamed the high poverty level within Busoga to the constrained cultural leadership framework. "*Kyabazingaship is really*

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<sup>459</sup> Gerald Portal, *The British Mission to Uganda*, London, Ravenstein, Royal Geographical Society, Vol. 13 (1891), 204-205.

<sup>460</sup> This view was expressed by Sir Winston Churchill, the British Prime Minister, 1940-1945 in his book "My African Journey" 1908.

<sup>461</sup> Ibid

<sup>462</sup> Peter F. B. Nayenga, "The History of Busoga", *Womunafu's Bunafu: A Study of Authority in a Nineteenth-Century African Community*. See also David William Cohen; *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Boston University African Studies Center.

<sup>463</sup> Waswa Balunywa, "Portfolio Entrepreneurs and Economic Growth" (Th. M. diss., University of Stirling, 2009, 226

<sup>541</sup> Interview, Buluma Nabwiso, 80 years, 19/11/2015

<sup>464</sup> Uganda Bureau of Statistics Report, June 2, 2021, Kampala.

*more confined to Bugembe than dispersed throughout Busoga. Focus is more on royalty than building effectiveness in organizing Basoga to benefit maximally from their mineral wealth.”*<sup>465</sup>

Afunaduula’s argument highlights the role of kingship in social mobilization. Throughout human history, social stability has been an essential prerequisite for progress and prosperity.<sup>466</sup> In monarchical systems, the king, serves as a primary mobiliser and guide, thus ensuring the guarantee of social stability. Pre-colonial African experience suggests that his word was directory and his instruction required mandatory compliance. While by 2014, the mandatory and authoritarian aspects had diminished, social cohesion continued to revolve around the king, with respect for his pronouncements representing an unwritten social code. There is a perspective that asserts effective leadership can address society’s challenges and harness production capacity for the benefit of the populace.<sup>467</sup> It is crucial to emphasize that this argument does not seek to quantify the exact contribution of the Kyabazingaship succession and leadership crises in Busoga to the escalation of poverty. Instead, it strives to position the issue within the broader context of scholarly research on social stability and development.<sup>468</sup> The relationship between leadership, cultural dynamics, and poverty in Busoga underscores the multifaceted nature of the challenges facing the region. However, one must contemplate the potentially transformative impact that could be realized if Busoga was to reconcile its differences and effectively mobilize its vast human resources to unlock its latent productive capacity. This study does not venture into the intricacies of production economics but instead focuses on presenting pertinent statistics and interpreting evidence to underscore the potential benefits that could be realized when addressing the

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<sup>465</sup> <http://www.watchdouganda.com/op-ed/20220713/139915/oweyegha-afunadula-extremely-rich-busoga-extremelypoor-busoga.html>

<sup>466</sup> Ibid

<sup>467</sup> Interview, Buluma Nabwiso, 80 years, 19/11/2015

<sup>468</sup> <http://www.sciencedirect.com/topics/social-sciences/social-stability>

Kyabazinga succession and leadership crisis. Busoga, with a population of 3.92 million people, stands as the third-largest tribe in Uganda, following the Baganda and Banyankore. Remarkably, approximately 40 percent of the Eastern region's population resides within Busoga. The urban population constitutes 12 percent of the total, and the region boasts an average household size of 6.6 persons.<sup>469</sup> In terms of land size, Busoga encompasses 3,443 square miles (8,920 square kilometers) with a length of approximately 100 miles (160 kilometers) and a width slightly exceeding 50 miles (80 kilometers).<sup>470</sup> These demographic and geographical attributes underscore the immense potential of Busoga as a critical player in Uganda's socio-economic landscape.

The preceding discussions bring forth crucial questions regarding what might have gone wrong in a region endowed with abundant natural resources, once heralded as the 'food store of Uganda' by early European observers. It is perplexing to contemplate how this region has transformed into one plagued by poverty and marked by high levels of starvation, despite interventions by previous governments over time. This puzzle was articulated by Sam Nathan Nkenga, the Minister of Agriculture in Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga, who was quoted exclaiming:

“Woooo, our beloved Busoga where are we going! Isn't this a coffin being prepared for the Basoga to go the economical grave yard? Busoga now is: food insecure, with high malnutrition, poor house hold incomes, and with ill health and with poor education. This has rendered the Basoga who used to hire people to work on their farms are now the laborers in their own land for the investors who have taken up the mantle of production in the region. What price can we pay for this miscalculation of the quiz ”.<sup>549</sup>

The point here is that the rise in poverty levels within the Busoga sub-region has been partly driven by persistent conflicts involving politics, primarily emanating from central government authorities, and the cultural leadership of Busoga, represented by the Kyabazingaship. Instead of leading to a

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<sup>469</sup> Rhiannon Stephens, *Wealth, Poverty, and the Colonial Economy: Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries in Poverty and Wealth in East Africa*.

<sup>470</sup> <http://www.encyclopedia.com/humanities/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/basoga>

<sup>549</sup> John Kairu et al., “Royalty, 3<sup>rd</sup> Coronation Anniversary of His Majesty William Nadiope IV, Isebantu Kyabazinga wa Busoga”, September 2017, 37.

resolution of the issues related to Kyabazingaship succession and leadership, these conflicts have not only brought about the politicization and division of the Basoga populace and their Kyabazingaship institution, but, more importantly, they have had enduring adverse effects on the socio-economic development of Busoga and the region as a whole.

The proponents of this viewpoint go further to attribute the increasing poverty levels in Busoga to a lack of unity and a shared ideology within the Bugembe establishment over time. Their argument centers on the notion that the absence of a unifying figure in Busoga or the continued disputes over the legitimacy of the reigning monarch has hindered social progress and stability, with this stagnation persisting for years to the detriment of the entire society. Amidst the internal discord among cultural leaders of Busoga, as they contend for power and institutional resources, inexperienced leaders have assumed control, leading Busoga to lose its direction in terms of equitable resource allocation. Whenever the core leadership of Busoga failed to maintain cohesion within society, the NRM government, led by President Museveni, intervened in the cultural affairs of the Kyabazingaship of Busoga. Regrettably, this intervention exacerbated leadership challenges, resulting in disunity, turmoil, and the escalation of poverty levels.

The above viewpoint is substantiated by opinions among most Basoga elders, which linked the economic deprivation and lack of socio-economic development in Busoga to a historical absence of unity.<sup>471</sup> Busoga thus experienced a period of prosperity until 1962, but its economic prominence took a downturn between 1962 and 1979, particularly during the tenures of Obote I and Idi Amin. One of the contributing factors to this decline was the absence of effective leadership, notably the Kyabazinga, during this period. The vacuum in Kyabazingaship created by

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<sup>471</sup> Isaac Mufumba, "Divided, Poor he found Busoga, so he has left it", Daily Monitor, September 3, 2008.

the 1966 Kabaka Crisis and the reign of Amin from 1971 to 1979 further aggravated the economic challenges faced by both Uganda at large and Busoga in particular. These events had profound and lasting effects on the well-being of the Basoga, resulting in severe poverty within Busoga. Patrick Batugumbya, an eyewitness to the upheaval during the 1960s and 1970s under Milton Obote and Idi Amin, emphasised that Busoga's lack of a king was a significant contributing factor. The economic consequences were evident as businesses like Nyanza-Nytil, Kakira Sugar, and Masese's Kilembe copper smelting factory closed, and the performance of schools like Mwiri Girls and Iganga Girls declined, causing financial losses to Busoga.<sup>472</sup>

## **5.7 Conclusion**

In conclusion, the Kyabazingaship succession conflicts in Busoga have left an indelible mark on the region's history and development. They have generated political polarization, cultural division, and economic stagnation among the Basoga. The absence of effective leadership and the protracted disputes over monarchical legitimacy have contributed to poverty and a lack of clear direction in resource allocation. As we have explored the historical and contemporary dimensions of these issues, it becomes increasingly evident that the Kyabazingaship conflicts have cast a shadow over the region's progress. Busoga, once celebrated as the food store of Uganda, by 2014 served as a touching illustration of how leadership dilemmas and political discord can hinder social cohesion and economic advancement. The voices of scholars, leaders, and eyewitnesses all emphasise the need for constructive dialogue and reconciliation to address these challenges.

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<sup>472</sup> John Kairu, Royalty, His Majesty William Gabula Nadiope IV, Isebantu Kyabazinga wa Busoga.

## CHAPTER SIX

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This dissertation investigated the evolution, causes, and effects of succession and leadership conflicts in the Kyabazingaship of Busoga between 1906 and 2014. The motivation for this study stemmed from the observation that despite the existence of various cultural institutions in Uganda—such as *Obwakabaka bwa Buganda*, *Obukama bwa Toro*, *Obukama bwa Bunyoro*, *Obusinga bwa Rwenzururu*, among others—none has experienced enduring succession conflicts on a scale comparable to those of “*Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga*” in eastern Uganda. This research sought to understand the unique historical factors and dynamics that gave rise to these conflicts, how they evolved and their impact on Busoga by 2014. Employing a historical research design, the study engaged in the identification, synthesis, and analysis of historical information.

The data was gathered through in-depth interviews, archival and document analysis, conducted across the eleven chiefdoms situated in the nine (9) civil districts of Busoga, including Kamuli, Iganga, Bugiri, Jinja, Luuka, Buyende, Kaliro, Mayuge, and Namutumba. The central argument of this study was that the status of “Busoga” as a kingdom remains contestable, with its institutional framework built on problematic succession and leadership. The British colonial legacy perpetuated cracks within the institution, inviting internal forces that continuously fueled the conflicts. On this basis, this chapter summarises the discussion of the findings in the preceding chapters of this dissertation, highlighting key issues surrounding the Kyabazingaship conflicts in Busoga between 1939 and 2014.

The dissertation begins by illuminating the fact that the Basoga are a prominent social group inhabiting the Busoga region in the Eastern part of Uganda. They constitute one of the largest social groups in the country. Among the Basoga, there exists a widely accepted belief that the evolution

of their group can be attributed to two significant figures: Kintu and Mukama, often regarded as “Adamic figures”. However, upon reviewing the scholarly works of David Cohen and Batala-Nayenga, it became evident that the Basoga have resided in their present locations for over 500 years. This historical analysis indicates that the Basoga, similar to other sub-ethnic groups in the Lacustrine region, are the outcome of earlier migrations and expansions by two major ethnic groups: the Luo-Nilotic-speaking communities and the Bantu-speaking people in Eastern Uganda, predating the era of colonialism. These findings, therefore, challenge earlier explanations put forth in historical accounts regarding the origins of Busoga and its people, which often emphasised theories such as conquest and the Mukama-Kintu mythologies, among others.

From a geographical perspective, the research revealed that Busoga has always been a region blessed with abundant natural resources. Its favourable climate and fertile lands have contributed to its prosperity. The presence of ample water sources, with all eleven chiefdoms in contact with water bodies, further enhanced the region's potential. These favourable conditions fostered a serene environment characterised by abundant vegetation and a suitable climate for agricultural pursuits. The study established that these appealing features played a significant role in shaping the movements of early Bantu migrations and ultimately led to the establishment of pre-colonial Busoga in the area. The research also identified a correlation between these geographical characteristics and the arrival of early European travellers, such as John Speke, in the region. These encounters paved the way for British colonial rule in Busoga, marking a significant chapter in the region's history. The British administration took root in Busoga, influencing its governance and development.

The study further revealed that before the onset of British rule, Busoga consisted of several principalities, each governed by a hereditary chief. Some of these chiefs held more established and influential positions compared to others, although all operated under a non-centralised system of

governance. However, it has been established that with the arrival of British colonialists, the concept of consolidating the fragmented Chiefdoms of Busoga into a unified political entity was introduced in 1894, implemented in 1906, and eventually led to the establishment of the traditional and cultural institution known as “Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga”. Unfortunately, this institution has been entangled in a continuous struggle with succession and leadership conflicts since its inception in 1939 up until the present day.

The study has also laboured to analyse the evolution of the succession and leadership conflicts within the “Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga”. Two primary factors were identified as significant contributors to these conflicts. First, the disunity and rivalries among the local chiefs who governed the various principalities of Busoga at the onset of British colonial rule in Busoga. These chiefs, representing powerful and less influential chiefdoms, operated under a decentralised governance system and historically coexisted harmoniously.

Another significant factor was the arrival of British rule in Busoga, which aimed to consolidate the previously semi-autonomous chiefdoms into a unified political entity through a Kiganda hybrid-indirect policy. This amalgamation primarily served British interests, enabling them to consolidate power, streamline governance, and exert greater control over local leadership structures. Consequently, Busoga became more susceptible to external influences, particularly the ambitions of Ganda sub-imperialists and the manipulations of the British colonialists. As a part of this political restructuring, the British introduced a “loose” Busoga Lukiiko (Parliament) and appointed Semei Lwakirenzi Kakungulu, a former Muganda Military General, as the inaugural “President” of the Busoga Lukiiko. This deliberate British intervention and imposition of governance structures and leadership undoubtedly contributed to the emergence of the conflicts surrounding succession and leadership within Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga.

The study's examination of the origins and evolution of the succession and leadership conflicts in "Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga" reveals an extended history, spanning from 1906 to 2014. A key turning point was between 1906 and 1913 when tensions emerged between the British colonial authorities and Kakungulu, originating from a lack of clear definitions and distinctions in leadership titles and status. This specific episode serves as the genesis of the persistent succession and leadership conflicts within Busoga. Notably, the conflicts exhibit a complex and fluctuating nature, involving the elevation of one chiefdom over others. The findings of the study emphasise that the controversy surrounding the succession and leadership in Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga was significantly influenced by two rival chiefdoms, namely Bugabula and Bulamogi, with the families of Gabula and Zibondo at the forefront of these power struggles. These intricate dynamics and competing claims among these factions played a central role in shaping these conflicts.

In analysing the causes of the succession and leadership conflicts in "Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga", the study found an interplay of factors rather than a singular root cause. The initial establishment of the institution of the Kyabazingaship without a well-defined hereditary succession structure, unlike other cultural institutions, laid the groundwork for fragmentation and vulnerability. The British colonial decision to federate Busoga chiefdoms, imposing an indirect rule system, further exacerbated conflicts by compromising chiefs and creating conflicting responsibilities. These conflicts were rooted in a blend of political, social, and economic factors. Socially, there were contradictions in the Busoga succession frameworks and the dominance of the principalities of Bugabula and Bulamogi. The Kyabazingaship dominance by Gabula and Zibondo royal houses had profound implications, leading to protests from marginalised chiefdoms. Economically, there was the pursuit of wealth, power, and status associated with the Kyabazinga position. Politics also emerged as a predominant force that fueled these conflicts. Politics, evident in events like the growth of African nationalism, Nadiopé's strategic "Upcification" of the Kyabazingaship, the 1962

palace coup, constitutional gaps, and government interference, played a pivotal role in exacerbating conflicts. Thus, the absence of a robust succession system allowed politics to exert undue influence and jeopardise the institution's survival.

The study established that the effects of these conflicts within 'Obwakyabazinga bwa Busoga' were not merely a repetition of history but stemmed from the collective failure of dominant royal lineages (Gabula and Zibondo), the people of Basoga, the various central governments of Uganda, and political elites in the Busoga sub-region to address the inherent challenges in the succession and leadership framework of Busoga. These destabilisations and uncertainties extended beyond threatening the legitimacy of the institution of Kyabazingaship to generating a sense of social and political unrest and disarray in Busoga. Legal battles and periods of having no Kyabazinga were also noted to be part of the consequences of these conflicts. Beyond the Kyabazinga institution, these conflicts permeated the social, cultural, and political fabric of Busoga, giving rise to divisions, exacerbation of poverty, animosities, and a pervasive sense of disillusionment among the Busoga populace.

This study represents a modest effort to contribute to the limited body of scholarship concerning the succession and leadership conflicts within the Kyabanzingaship in Busoga. However, in order to further enhance our understanding, future research should focus on exploring several uncharted areas not fully addressed in this study. Firstly, an inquiry into the cultural and historical factors that have influenced the domination of the Kyabazingaship by the Gabula and Zibondo chiefdoms, to the exclusion of other chiefdoms like Bunha, Bugweri, Bunhole, Butembe, Busiiki, and Bukooli, could provide valuable insights into the dynamics of power and legitimacy within the institution. Secondly, an examination of the impact of political interference on the traditional and cultural aspects of the Kyabanzingaship could offer a deeper understanding of how external factors affect this institution's traditional and cultural dimensions.

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[watchdouganda.com/op-ed/20220713/139915/oweyegha-afunadula-extremely-richbusoga-extremely-poor-busoga.html](http://www.watchdouganda.com/op-ed/20220713/139915/oweyegha-afunadula-extremely-richbusoga-extremely-poor-busoga.html)

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[http://www.Monitor.co.ug/uganda/news/national/Jinja-high-court-maintains-nadiope-asNadiope-Kyabazinga-of-Busoga-3721496.](http://www.Monitor.co.ug/uganda/news/national/Jinja-high-court-maintains-nadiope-asNadiope-Kyabazinga-of-Busoga-3721496)

#### Archives

1. Uganda National Archives, Wandegeya, Uganda.
2. Makerere University Library, Africa Section, Kampala, Uganda.
3. Cultural Research Centre, Jinja, Uganda.

## Appendices

### Appendix I: Interviews

Princes(Abalangira) of Busoga	No.	Name	Chiefdom / Designation	Date
	1	Eriakesi Kiregeya Nkoobe Ngobi	Kigulu	19-01-2015
	2	Badru Waguma Ntembe	Butembe	16-01-2015
	3	Patrick Izimba Gologolo	Kigulu	19-01-2015
	4	Samuel Kamaga Nkono	Bukhono	21-01-2015
	5	Edward Columbus Wambuzi	Bulamogi	17-01-2015
	6	Fred Kakaire	Bugweri	17-01-2015
	7	John Ntale	Bunaanumba	18-01-2015
	8	Daudi Muluya Kaunhe	Bukhooli	15-01-2015
	9	Juma Munuulo	Bunha	15-01-2015
	10	Charles Mutyaba Nkono	Bukhono	12-02-2015
	11	Kayaga John Mary	Luuka	11-02-2015

	12	George Inhensiko Kyobe	Luuka	12-02-2015
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<b>Clan Leaders</b>		<b>Name</b>	<b>Clan</b>	
	10	Keith Diphas Mutengu	Mudope	21-01-2015
	11	Henry Kitimbo Woirra	Custodian of cultural records of Bugabula Chiefdom	21-01-2015
	12	Mzee Yoweri Kafuuko	Butembe	10-02-2015
	13	Dr. Kataweera Steven	Bugabula	10-02-2015
	14	Wilson Mutebe Muweereza	Museeta	15-01-2015
	15	Juma Waiswa Balunhwa	Ngiya	17-01-2015
	16	Owek. Moses Baliddawa Ngobi	Muyomba	16-01-2015
	17	C		
<b>Opinion leaders</b>				
	17	Dhikusooka Munaaba	Bugabula	10-05-2015

	18	Andrew Kirya	Educationist	11-05-2015
	19	Owek. Moses Ngobi Baliddawa	Former Attorney General / Legal advisor to the Institution of Obwakyabazinga of Kigulu.	16-01-2015
	20	Omwami Patrick Mwonda	Senior Clerk to The Institution of Kyabanzingaship in Busoga	21-01-2015
	21	Abubaker Kulazikulabe Lubaale	Rtd. Capt. (Amin's Regime). Bugabula Chiefdom	18-02-2015
	22	Dr. Kataweera Steven	Assistant Commissioner Entebbe Veterinary	10-02-2015
	23	Dr. Kazungu David Kantale	Educationist. Bugabula Chiefdom	20-01-2015

	24	Henry Kyemba	Former Private Principal Secretary in Obote's government. Butembe Chiefdom	10-02-2015
	25	Eriabu Katawera	Educationist	18-01-2015
	26	Buluwa Baliwano	Administrative expert (Mgt, training advisory institute, Nakawa)	18-01-2015
	27	Bishop Cyprian Bamwoze	Rtd. Bishop of Busoga Diocese. Bugabula	16-01-2015

	29	Mathius Mbalule Ngobi	Former Minister in Obote's 1st government. Butembe Chiefdom	17-02-2015
	30	Swaibu Kitezaala	Educationist. Bugabula chiefdom	17-02-2015
	31	Lufafa Lauben	Educationist. Butembe	17-02-2015

	32	Buluke Fredrick	Educationist. Butembe	17-02-2015
	33	Buluke Fredrick	Educationist Butembe	16-02-15
	34	Yassin Kabugo	Educationist. Butembe	16-02-2015
	35	Fredrick Bamulumbye	Educationist. Butembe	17-02-2015
	36	Grace Waiswa	Educationist. Butembe	17-02-2015
	37	Peter Musagala	Educationist. Butembe	17-02-2015
	38	Zaina tondo	Educationist. Butembe	17-02-2015
	39	Cissy Kyesubire	Educationist. Butembe	17-02-2015
	40	Paul Carlos Kuluse	Educationist. Bugabula	17-02-2015
		<b>Political Leaders</b>		
	41	Hon. Ali Kirunda Kivejinja	Bugweri	11-01-2015
	42	Frank Bulima Nabwiso	Senior Researcher on Busoga History	20-01-2015

	43	Richard Kayaga Gonzaga	In charge of Research Centre Diocese of Jinja	10-03-2015
	44	Muzaale Dias	Researcher at the cultural research Centre, Butembe Jinja	10-03-2015
	45	Fred Oloka	Researcher at the cultural research Centre, Butembe Jinja	10-03-2015
<b>S/N</b>	<b>Key Informant/ Academicians</b>			
1	Frank Bulima Nabwiso		Senior Researcher on Busoga History	20/1/2015
2	Richard Kayaga Gonzaga		Chief Executive Officer, Research Center Diocese of Jinja	10/3/2015
3	Dias Muzaale		Researcher at the cultural research center, Jinja	10/3/2015
4	Fred Oloka		Researcher at the cultural center Jinja	10/3/2015
5	Charles Mutyaba Nkono		Bukono	12/2/2015
6	George Inhensiko Kyobe		Luuka	12/2/2015

## Appendix II: University Covering Letter

**KYAMBOGO**



**UNIVERSITY**

FACULTY OF ARTS & SOCIAL SCIENCES  
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY & POLITICAL SCIENCE  
P.O. Box 1, Kyambogo; Tel: 0414 286237/8/285001; Fax: 041-220464  
Web: [www.Kyambogo.ac.ug](http://www.Kyambogo.ac.ug)

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14th January 2015

Dear Sir/Madam,

**COVERING LETTER FOR CONDUCTING RESEARCH FOR MASTERS IN HISTORY  
OF KYAMBOGO UNIVERSITY**

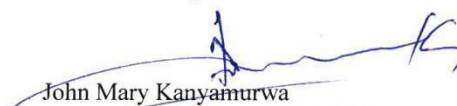
I wish to introduce to you **Mr. Lubaale Jamadah**, Registration No. 13/U/2094, a student of Kyambogo University department of History and Political Science. He is conducting academic research on: *Kyabazingaship in Busoga: An Institution in Succession Dilema, 1939-2008* (1939-2014)

You are kindly requested to assist him collect the necessary information which he requires to complete his Masters studies' dissertation based on the above topic.

I wish to add that the information collected is simply for the purpose of completing the dissertation as identified. The student is expected to further introduce himself and shed more light on the study he is conducting for you to further familiarize yourself with his study.

Thank you in advance.

Yours faithfully,

  
John Mary Kanyamurwa  
Ag. HOD, History and Political Science

c.c. Dean, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences  
Coordinator, MA History Programme

### Appendix III: Interview Guide

1. Name of the respondent:.....
2. Place or Village:.....
3. Clan:.....
4. Occupation:.....
5. Age:.....
6. Place or town:.....
7. Chiefdom:.....
8. Gender:.....
9. Date:.....

#### 1.1 'BASOGA' AND 'BUSOGA': THE HISTORIES OF THE EVOLUTION AND DEVELOPMENT

1. How did the 'Basoga' as people and 'Busoga' as an entity evolve?
2. In your opinion, what do you know about Kyabanzingaship in Busoga?
3. Yet again, how did it evolve into the cultural and traditional institution we know today?
4. When did this turning point in Busoga's histories come to the fore?
5. What do you know about the tenure and leadership of:
  - a) Semei Lwakirenzi Kakungulu
  - b) Yosia Nadiope
  - c) Owek. Ezekyeri Tenywa Wako
  - d) William Wilberforce Kadhumbula Nadiope
  - e) Henry Wako Muloki

6. In your opinion, how does Kyabazingaship in Busoga differ from other cultural and traditions in the region such as Obwakabaka bwa Buganda, Obukama bwa Tooro and Bunyoro?
7. Is it a fair judgement to treat Obwakyabazinga as an authentic tradition and cultural institution in Uganda? To be specific, does the institution deserve the notion of being ‘a kingdom’ as treated by its adherents? If yes, prove. If no, why?
8. How does the 2000 Kyabazingaship in Busoga Constitution:
  - i) Position and status of the institution of Kyabazingaship in Busoga?
  - ii) The tenureship of Isebantu Kyabazinga? iii) The age limit of Isebantu Kyabazinga iv) The mode of succession of the Kyabazingaship throne in Busoga?
  - v) The role and responsibilities of the office bearers of the institution.
9. In your view, are there areas that need to be addressed in the 2000 Constitution of Kyabazingaship in Busoga?

## **1.2 THE GENESIS, EVOLUTION AND DEVELOPMENTS OF THE SUCCESSION AND LEADERSHIP CONFLICTS IN KYABANZINGASHIP IN BUSOGA.**



18. In your opinion, how do you rate the level of stability and civility of Kyabazingaship in Busoga today?
19. Are there some areas of discord within the institution? If yes, what could be some of the significant challenges surrounding the institution of Kyabazingaship in Busoga?
20. If no, where has the institution lived to its societal expectations similar to other organic traditional and cultural institution in the region?



21. How can one trace the real beginning of the ‘challenges’ faced by this institution and how did these challenges spill over to unsettle the institution to this date?
22. Who is to blame for the escalating institutional challenges that have persisted to-date?
23. In other words, what have been the possible factors responsible for these conflicts? Could they be internally driven or externally driven? Political or socio-economic? Historical or culturally driven?
24. How have the different governments tried to handle the succession and leadership conflicts in Kyabanzingaship in Busoga since its inception?
- i) The colonial British protectorate Government
  - ii) Obote I Government
  - iii) NRM Government and its cadres

### **1.3 THE EFFECTS OF THE SUCCESSION AND LEADERSHIP CONFLICTS IN KYABANZINGASHIP IN BUSOGA.**

25. To what extent has these conflicts affected the Basoga, the institution and Busoga as a whole?
23. In what ways can the endless succession and leadership Conflicts be minimized in Busoga?

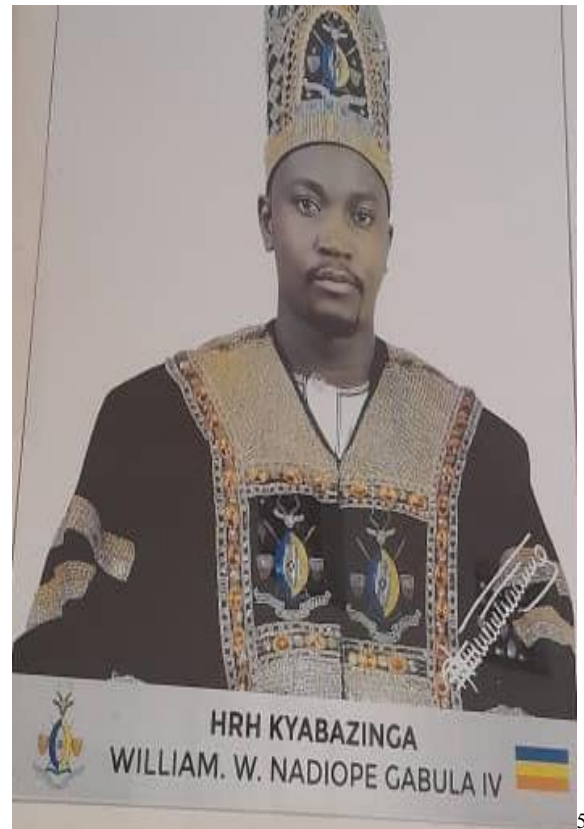
**Appendix IV: The past Presidents and Kyabazingas of the Busoga Lukiiko/ Obwakyabazinga between 1906 and 2014.**

Name	Position (Title)	Chiefdom / Area	Year (From )	Year (to)	Profile Photo
Semei Lwakire nze Kakungulu	‘President’ of Busoga Lukiiko	Buganda	1906	1913	
Ezekyeri Tenywa Wako	First Musoga President and Isebantu Kyabazinga of the Busoga.	Bulamogi	1918	1949	

<p>Sir. William Wilberforce Khahumbula Nadiope</p>	<p>Second Musoga Isebantu Kyabazinga during his first and second Kyabazingaship</p>	<p>Bugabula</p>	<p>1949</p>	<p>1955</p>	
<p>Henry Wako Muloki</p>	<p>Third Musoga Isebantu Kyabazinga during his first and second Kyabazingaship</p>	<p>Bulamogi</p>	<p>1955</p>	<p>1962</p>	

<p>Sir. William Wilberforce Nadiope</p>	<p>During the third Kyabazingaship</p>	<p>Bugabula</p>	<p>1962</p>	<p>1967</p>	
<p>H.R.H. Henry Wako Muloki</p>	<p>During the third Kyabazingaship</p>	<p>Bulamogi</p>	<p>1997</p>	<p>2008</p>	

William Wilberforce Nadiope Gabula IV	Fourth Isebantu Kyabazinga	Bugabula	2014	date
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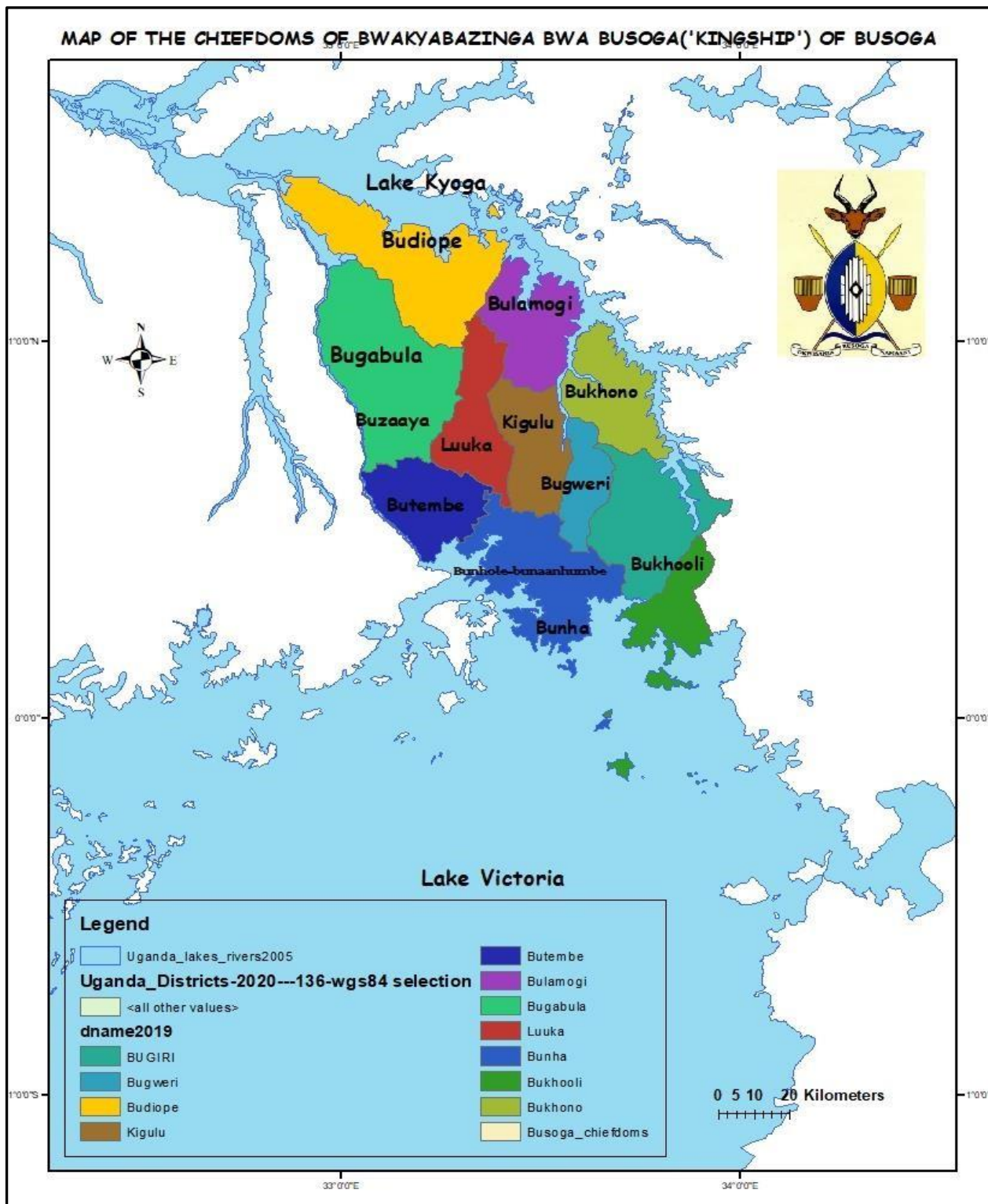
552

<sup>552</sup> The Cultural Research Centre, Diocese Of Jinja, Jinja.



**The Author at the Cultural Research Centre, Diocese of Jinja.**

## Appendix V: Map



Source: G.I.S generated by Bernard Lutalo Geography department Makerere University.

## Appendix VI : Other Field Photos Bukaleeba:

**Luba's strong hold** Bunha Ch,iefdom, the first Colonial Fort named as Thruston, the first Busoga Lukiiko

### Headquarters present-day Mayuge District in Southern Busoga



Source: H.B. Thomas, *The Mutiny Memorial at Bukaleeba Ug Journal*, 22, 1 (March 1958),

74

Below is of Kyabanzingaship in Busoga Head Offices and the magnificent Palace at Bugembe and later Igenge as it is today.



Source: Field photo

**The newly state-renovated Kyabazinga Royal Palace at Igenge, Bugembe, Butembe  
Chiefdom, Jinja District.**



**Source: Field Photo**



The Author with one of the Clan Elders of Busoga during the traditional and cultural enthronement of Owek. Moses Ngobi Moses Balidawa as ‘Omukungania wa Baise Muyomba Clan. (head of Buyomba clan), December, 27, 2022.

**Source: Field photo**

## Appendix VII: Busoga Traditional and Cultural ‘Sacred’ Symbols

### BUSOGA ANTHEM

**CHORUS:** Tulibankabi inho yenga twesimye inho  
Olwa inha iffe ono Busoga Kibumba yeyatuwa  
Olw'ekirabo ekyo ekikolowo tweyimbenga  
Busoga atebenkerenga ense nense

- 1 Abantu mwena mwena mu Busoga mwidhe twisanhienga  
Tukulemberwe Isebantu nga n'omutwe gwaiffe  
Tufune omwoyo omwamufu tugonzaganhienga  
Enhinha ya Uganda etebenkere.

**CHORUS:** Tulibankabi.....

2. Ansozi ni Kiira, nkani nemivule  
Nobukombe bwa Busoga obutaghawo  
Mwidhe tweekembe, tube oti nseete  
Tulwanhise nga endwaire obwavu n'obutamanha.

**CHORUS:** Tulibankabi.....

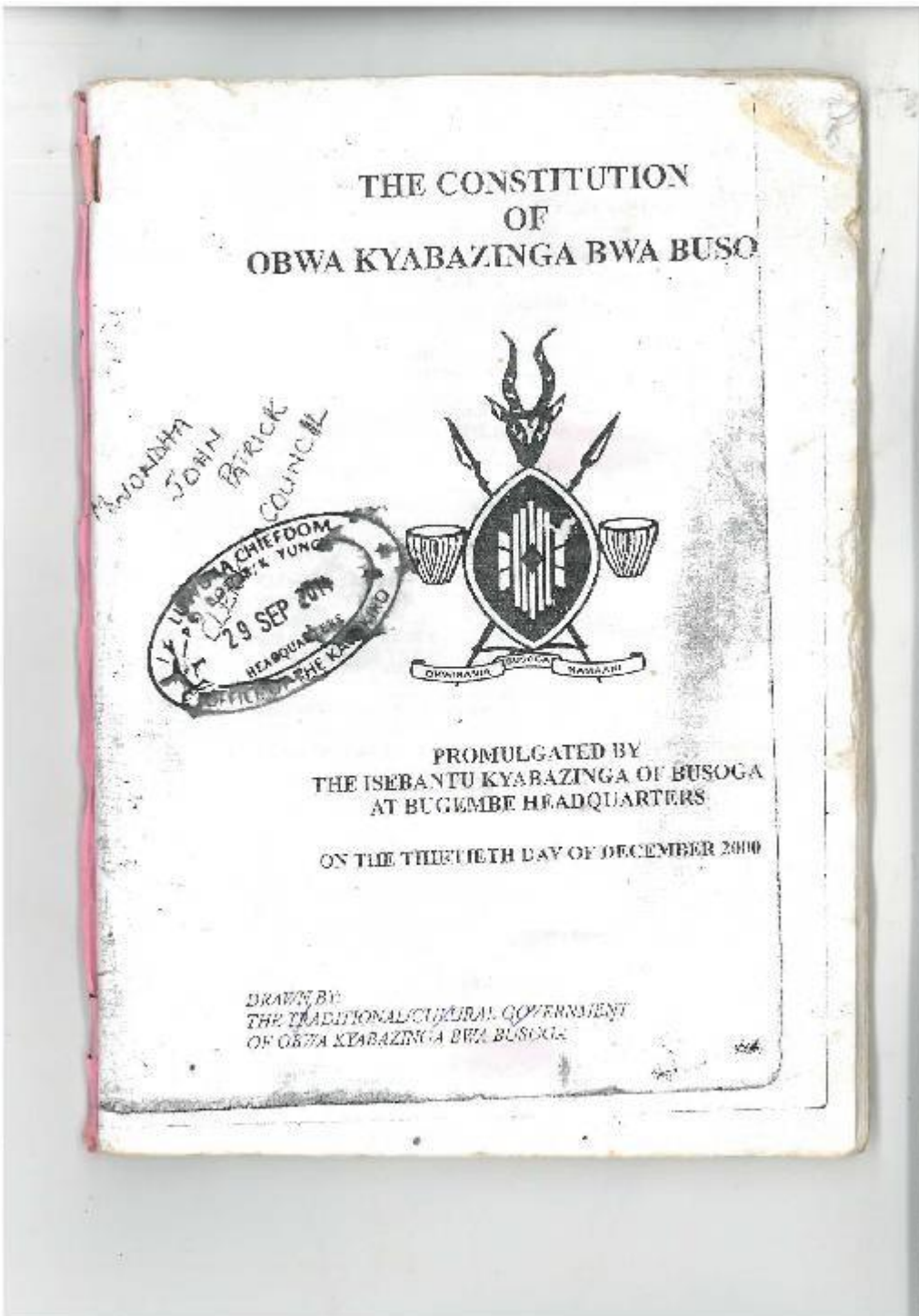
3. Yenga twesimye, ni inhaiffe Busoga  
Ne citaala lya Uganda, Era ensulo ya Uganda  
Bwoidha mu Uganda, n'otatakamu mu Idhindha  
Enkuni ya Uganda, oba ogisubibwa.

**CHORUS:** Tulibankabi.....



Busoga Emblem.

**Appendix VIII: The constitution of Obwa Kyabazinga bwa Busoga**





The 'Kyabazingaship Throne' and its 'legitimate' reigning Kyabazinga, highly contested by Edward Columbus Wambuzi and other chiefs from other chiefdoms to this date.

**Appendix IX:**

**A Final Legal Judgment: The Wambuzi Vs Nandiope Kyabazingaship Dispute, 2008 -  
2014**

*Cont copy*

**THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA  
IN THE HIGH COURT OF UGANDA  
HOLDEN AT JINJA  
CIVIL SUIT NO. 177 OF 2014**

**1. EDWARD COLUMBUS WAMBUZI  
2. OBWA KYABAZINGA BWA BUSOGA.....PLAINTIFFS**

**VERSUS**

**1. WILLIAM NADIOPE, ]  
THE GABULA OF BUGABULA]  
2. JUMA MUNOOLU, ]  
THE LUBA OF BUNYHA ]  
3. KISIKI OF BUSIKI ]  
4. NKONO OF BUKONO ]  
5. FRED MENYHA OF BUGWERI]  
6. NGOBI OF KIGULU ]  
7. NTEMBE OF BUTEMBE ]  
8. WELLINGTON NABWANA, ]  
THE TABINGWA OF LUUKA ]  
9. NANYUMBA OF BUNHYOLE ].....DEFENDANTS**

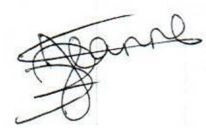
**BEFORE: HON. JUSTICE JEANNE RWAKAKOOKO**

**JUDGMENT**

Introduction

The Plaintiffs filed a suit against the Defendants for:

- a) A declaration that the Plaintiff is the duly elected Kyabazinga of Busoga Kingdom;
- b) A declaration that the purported election of the 1<sup>st</sup> Defendant as the Kyabazinga of Busoga Kingdom is null and void;
- c) A permanent injunction against the 1<sup>st</sup> Defendant restraining him from purporting to be the Kyabazinga of Busoga Kingdom;
- d) A permanent injunction against the Defendants from holding and/or purporting to hold another or other elections of the Kyabazinga of Busoga Kingdom;
- e) General damages, and



f) Costs of the suit.

### Background

The 1<sup>st</sup> Plaintiff's case is that following the death of HRH Henry Wako Muloki, Kyabazinga of the Obwa Kyabazinga bwa Busoga (Busoga Kingdom) in 2008 the office of the Kyabazinga fell vacant. It is then that the Plaintiff was elected unopposed as Kyabazinga of Busoga Kingdom on 31/10/2008 by the Chiefs Royal Council. The election was presided over by Daudi Kawunyhe, the then Isabalangira who declared the Plaintiff as the Kyabazinga. The 1<sup>st</sup> Plaintiff was thereafter introduced to the Lukiiko by the Isabalangira and the Lukiiko approved of his appointment.

The Defendants conducted another election of the Kyabazinga contrary to the provisions of the Constitution of Busoga Kingdom, in which the 1<sup>st</sup> Defendant was elected Kyabazinga of Busoga. It is the Plaintiff's case that this election was invalid and therefore null and void for a host of reasons. Firstly, because the office of the Kyabazinga had not fallen vacant within the meaning of the Busoga Constitution. Secondly, there was no valid meeting in line with the Busoga Constitution for election of the 1<sup>st</sup> Defendant as Kyabazinga. Therefore, the Defendants acted ultra vires the Constitution of Busoga in electing the 1<sup>st</sup> Defendant as the Kyabazinga. The 1<sup>st</sup> Plaintiff contends that the Defendants' actions have caused him mental anguish, torture and loss for which he claims damages.

The Defendants contend that the suit is frivolous, vexatious and an abuse of court process and raised a preliminary objection to this effect. They claim that the 1<sup>st</sup> Plaintiff's purported election as the Kyabazinga of the Obwa Kyabazinga bwa Busoga on 31/10/2008 did not comply with Article 6(v) of the Busoga Constitution. The invalid election was dishonoured by the electorate, the Chiefs Royal Council, who then went on to elect a Kyabazinga in line with the Busoga Constitution. On 23/8/2014, the Chiefs Royal Council duly elected the 1<sup>st</sup> Defendant as the Kyabazinga of the Obwa Kyabazinga bwa Busoga, and he was thereafter confirmed on 25/8/2014 by the Busoga Lukiiko and sworn in on 13/9/2014.

Efforts to mediate this dispute and reach an amicable conclusion proved futile.

The 1<sup>st</sup> Plaintiff presented four (4) witness to wit, Kawutta James as PW1, the 1<sup>st</sup> Plaintiff as PW2, Yonasani Kahalwa Zirabamuzaale as PW3, and Dyogo Samuel as PW4. The Defendants presented three (3) witnesses namely; Nagumba

Ntale John as DW1, Kafuko Robert Ntuyo as DW2, and Nkuutu Samuel Zirabamuzaale as DW3. In line with court's direction, the parties filed written submissions.

### Representation

Counsel for the Plaintiffs: Senior Counsel John Matovu appearing with Daniel Lubogo

Counsel for the 1<sup>st</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup> & 9<sup>th</sup> Defendants: Steven Muzuusa, Galisonga Julius holding brief for Alex Luganda

The 2<sup>nd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup> & 7<sup>th</sup> Defendants were self-represented.

### Issues for Determination

As agreed in the Joint Scheduling Memorandum, the issues are as follows:

1. Whether the meeting held on 23/8/2014 in which the 1<sup>st</sup> Defendant was elected Kyabazinga of Busoga by the Defendants was held and concluded in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of the Obwa Kyabazinga bwa Busoga, 2000;
2. Whether by the time the 1<sup>st</sup> Defendant was allegedly elected as Isebantu Kyabazinga of Busoga, the 1<sup>st</sup> Plaintiff had already been duly elected as Isebantu Kyabazinga of Busoga;
3. Whether the Plaintiffs are entitled to the remedies sought for in the Plaintiff.

### Position of the Law

Article 126(1) of the 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda states:

Judicial power is derived from the people and shall be exercised by the courts established under this Constitution in the name of the people and in conformity with law and with the values, norms and aspirations of the people.

Article 2 of the Constitution of Obwa Kyabazinga bwa Busoga provides:

The cultural and traditional rights of each of the eleven traditional hereditary chiefs in Busoga to rule over or to lead his Chiefdom in traditional and cultural matters/affairs is hereby recognized, confirmed and guaranteed by this Constitution subject to the provisions in this Constitution.

Article 24(a) to (c) of the Constitution of the Obwa Kyabazinga bwa Busoga reads:



- (a) Without prejudice to the corporation sole status of any of the eleven Traditional Hereditary County Chiefs of Busoga, the Kyabazingaship Institution, headed by His Royal Highness the Isebantu Kyabazinga of Busoga shall be a corporation sole in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of Uganda 1995 and accordingly enjoy perpetual succession.
- (b) As a corporation Obwa Kyabazinga bwa Busoga shall have a right to sue and to be sued in Courts of Law, to own any type or kind of property and if ownership/proprietorship of such property is registrable under the laws of Uganda, the same shall be registered in the names of the Institution viz Obwa Kyabazinga bwa Busoga.
- (c) For avoidance of doubt the chiefdom properties of each of the eleven Traditional Hereditary Chiefdoms of Busoga are not properties of the Obwa Kyabazinga bwa Busoga as each of the said chiefs is a corporation sole in his capacity as a traditional/cultural ruler in line with the Constitution of Uganda 1995.

Article 6: Election of the Isebantu Kyabazinga of Busoga

- (i) If and when the throne of the Isebantu Kyabazinga falls vacant, the Issabalangira shall automatically become acting Kyabazinga, pending election of the new Isebantu Kyabazinga.
- (ii) Whenever the throne of the Isebantu Kyabazinga falls vacant, the new Isebantu Kyabazinga shall be elected within a period of 60 (sixty) days and in any case not later than 90 (ninety) days from the date when such throne fell vacant, provided that if the Chiefs Royal Council fails to act within the time limits herein due to circumstances or conditions beyond their control, the period shall automatically be extended further 60 (sixty) days.
- (iii) Upon the throne of the Isebantu Kyabazinga becoming vacant the Chairman of the Chiefs Royal Council shall, upon serving a 21 (twenty one) days written notice to all members of the Chiefs Royal Council convene a meeting of the Chiefs Royal Council at Bugembe Lukiiko or any other specified venue in case for some good reasons it is impossibke to hold the meeting at Bugembe and at a specified time for purposes of electing the new Isebantu Kyabazinga.
- (iv) ....
- (v) The quorum of the Chiefs Royal Council for purposes of electing the Isebantu Kyabazinga or the Issabalangira shall be 8 (eight) members of the Chiefs Royal Council physically present at the meeting convened

for such purposes provided that where there is a draw in votes at such meeting, the chairman shall have one additional casting vote.

- (vi) Upon his election the new Isebantu Kyabazinga shall formally notify his acceptance in writing to the Isabalangira within 30 (thirty) days after the election.
- (vii) After his election, the new Isebantu Kyabazinga shall be introduced by the Issabalangira to the Busoga Lukiiko for approval in the presence of not less than 7 (seven) members of the Chiefs Royal Council within 21 days following his election to that throne...

The resolution of this case shall be guided by the 1995 Constitution, the Institution of Traditional & Cultural Leaders Act, 2011, the Constitution of the Obwa Kyabazinga bwa Busoga, and the norms, practices, culture and customs of the Basoga people. See Article 126(1) of Uganda Constitution). I have also taken the time to read up on, research and get some understanding on the history of Busoga and the Kyabazingaship to enable me to understand the context of this case.

#### Preliminary Objections

At the hearing, counsel Luganda for the Defendants raised a preliminary objection which was reserved for ruling together with the judgment.

The Defendants raised a preliminary objection that there is no legal entity known as Obwa Kyabazinga bwa Busoga and as such no suit can be sustained in that capacity. In their submissions, they argued this is a nullity which overrides all questions of pleadings including any admission. See **Makula International Limited -v- Cardinal Emmanuel Nsubuga (1981) HCB 77**. That under Article 246 of the 1995 Constitution of Uganda and Section 2 of the Institution of Traditional or Cultural Leaders Act, No. 6 of 2011 suits against or for the institution of the Obwa Kyabazinga bwa Busoga/Busoga Kingdom can only be in the name of the legal persona of the Kyabazinga of Busoga and nothing else.

Counsel for the Defendants also relied on **The Kyabazinga of Busoga -v- Ligwewo Richard & Others, Misc. Application No. 215 of 2017** wherein Justice Eva Luswata held;

*"It is an error to sue the kingdom of Busoga. That institution is not registered and only exists in the minds of the Basoga people as a manifestation of their core culture but with no corporate personality. The institution was not capable of being sued and once the pleadings were filed, there would be no*



*room to make a substitution for the Kyabazinga of Busoga because as I have held before, it was an error that at the outset went to the root of the claim. The legal person and thus the right party to be sued vests in the Kyabazinga as the successive holder of that monarchical position within the institution of the Busoga Kingdom. He is the one to sue or be sued in his office/name or by Attorney.”*

Counsel for the Defendants even juxtaposed the above position to the case of the Anglican church which can only transact or sue or be sued as the Registered Trustees of Church of Uganda. That the Kyabazinga of Busoga is akin to the Registered Trustees of Church of Uganda. Counsel relied greatly on the case and holding in **Private Sector Development & Consultancy Centre Limited –v- The Omukama of Tooro, Civil Appeal No. 002 of 2015** that the king is the legal persona for the kingdom and not the kingdom itself. See also **Buganda Land Board –v- John Wampamba, Misc. Cause No. 622 of 2013**.

The Plaintiffs’ counsel contended that the institution of traditional leader of Busoga is Obwa Kyabazinga bwa Busoga and the traditional leader of Busoga is the Kyabazinga of Busoga, and that both have capacity to sue and be sued under Article 246(3)(a) & (6) of the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda. They also relied on Article 24 of the Constitution of the Obwa Kyabazinga bwa Busoga.

I shall at this point reproduce the relevant law. Article 246 of the 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda provides:

- (1) Subject to the provisions of this Constitution, the institution of traditional leader or cultural leader may exist in any area of Uganda in accordance with the culture, customs and traditions or wishes and aspirations of the people to whom it applies.
- (2) In any community, where the issue of traditional or cultural leader has not been resolved, the issue shall be resolved by the community concerned using a method prescribed by Parliament.
- (3) The following provisions shall apply in relation to traditional or cultural leaders –
  - (a) The institution of traditional leader or cultural leader shall be a corporation sole with perpetual succession and with capacity to sue and be sued and to hold assets or properties in trust for itself and the people concerned;
- (5) For the avoidance of doubt, the institution of traditional leader or cultural leader existing before the coming into force of the Constitution

shall be taken to exist in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution.

(6) For the purposes of this article, “traditional leader or cultural leader” means a king or similar traditional leader or cultural leader by whatever name called, who derives allegiance from the fact of birth or descent in accordance with the customs, traditions, usage or consent of the people led by that traditional or cultural leader.

Section 7(1) of the Institution of Traditional or Cultural Leaders Act, No. 6 of 2011 clearly provides:

“(1) The institution of a traditional or cultural leader is a corporation sole with perpetual succession and with capacity to sue and be sued and to hold assets or properties in trust for itself and the people concerned.”

The above provisions leave no doubt that the institution with capacity legal personality under the law is the institution of the traditional or cultural leader. Put another way, the Kyabazinga of Busoga is the legal person under the law capable of suing and being sued, and not the Obwa Kyabazinga bwa Busoga/Busoga Kingdom.

The holding in **Private Sector Development & Consultancy Centre Limited – v- The Omukama of Tooro, Civil Appeal No. 002 of 2015** which counsel for the Defendants relied upon, further fortifies this position.

I recognize that the Constitution of Obwa Kyabazinga bwa Busoga provides that the Obwa Kyabazinga bwa Busoga is a corporation sole capable of suing and being sued. This position in the Busoga Constitution is however misconceived. The Constitution of the Obwa Kyabazinga bwa Busoga was made under Article 246 of the 1995 Constitution of Uganda, and should be construed as such. It should be read in line with the Uganda Constitution. This also means that in the face of a conflict between the two Constitutions, the Uganda Constitution, 1995 stands supreme.

The first leg of the preliminary objection stands. The 2<sup>nd</sup> Plaintiff is a non-existent party, and its case against the Defendants is dismissed with no award as to costs.

Counsel for the Defendants argued a second limb of this preliminary objection that the 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> Defendants are not legal entities with capacity to sue or be sued. That these are merely office titles not clothed with legal

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personality. That they are smaller constituent units that are collectively described as Obwa Kyabazinga bwa Busoga and which give rise to the corporation sole of the Kyabazinga of Busoga under the Constitution of Uganda and the Traditional Leaders Act. Further, that since the said Defendants do not exist, the plaint ought to have been rejected from the onset under Order 7 Rules 11 & 9 of the Civil Procedure Rules, SI 71-1 (CPR). See **Trustees of Rubaga Miracle Centre -v- Mulangira Ssimbwa, Misc. Application No. 576 of 2006**. On these grounds, counsel prayed that the suit be dismissed.

In response, the Plaintiffs submitted that the institution of the cultural leader under Article 246(6)(a) of the 1995 Constitution in this context means the Obwa Kyabazinga bwa Busoga or alternatively Obwa Ntembe bwa Butembe or Obwa Kisiki bwa Busiki in Busoga. As such the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plaintiff has capacity to sue and be sued. The same is echoed in Article 24 of the Constitution of the Obwa Kyabazinga bwa Busoga. Similarly, each of the chiefs are a corporation sole under both the Ugandan and Busoga Constitutions. Therefore, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plaintiff has capacity to sue, and the 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> Defendants have capacity to be sued.

Without prejudice, counsel for the Plaintiffs submitted that the plaint would still stand even if the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plaintiff was not party to the suit since the question is whether or not the 1<sup>st</sup> Defendant's election was a contravention of the Constitution of the Obwa Kyabazinga bwa Busoga.

I agree with the position that a plaint filed against a non-existent Defendant in law cannot be amended, because at the very heart of it, the suit is non-existent. This is the position in **Trustees of Rubaga Miracle Centre -v- Mulangira Ssimbwa (supra)** and **Buganda Land Board -v- John Wampamba, Misc. Cause No. 622 of 2013**.

However, in this case, I find that the 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup> & 9<sup>th</sup> Defendants are persons vested with legal personality. This is owing to Busoga's unique decentralized structure and history. Article 246 of the 1995 Constitution of Uganda recognizes that traditional and cultural leaders may exist in line with the customs, traditions, and wishes of the people to whom it applies. This may be a King or leader by whatever style called, including offices existent before the 1995 Constitution.

From my understanding, Pre-colonial Busoga was composed of eleven independent chiefdoms which were governed independently by chiefs who were

kings in their own right. Among these are the chiefs listed as the 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup>, & 9<sup>th</sup> Defendants.

The framers of the 1995 Constitution were mindful of both the centralized and decentralized systems of traditional governance. The Constitution of the Obwa Kyabazinga bwa Busoga echoes this in Article 24. Therefore, both the Kyabazinga and the Kisiki of Busiki and other such hereditary chiefs are recognized cultural leaders under Article 246 of the Constitution of Uganda as corporations sole.

Therefore, this argument of the preliminary objection fails.

The third limb of the preliminary objection is that the 5<sup>th</sup> Defendant, Fred Menyha of Bugweri died in 2016 and no suit can be sustained against a deceased person. The Defendants prayed that the 5<sup>th</sup> Defendant be struck off the record of pleadings.

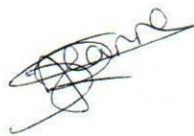
I observe that the case against the 5<sup>th</sup> Defendant is against Fred Menyha of Bugweri, and not against the office of the Menyha of Bugweri (the cultural leader's office.) It was brought against Fred Menyha in his personal capacity and not his capacity as cultural leader of Bugweri. In the circumstances the suit did not survive the 5<sup>th</sup> Defendant. DW3 testified that he succeeded his father as the Menha of Bugweri in 2016. This however is of no relevance since the Plaintiffs decided to sue Fred Menyha in his personal capacity. Further, DW3 did not present any Letters of Administration or Grant of Probate to justify his continuing to represent his late father's interests in this suit. Therefore, the suit as against the 5<sup>th</sup> Defendant is dismissed.

Further, counsel for the Defendant argued that no action can be sustained against the three would-be remaining Defendants because the actions complained of were collectively carried out by the Royal Council members. In the premises, counsel prayed that the suit be struck out with costs.

Having dismissed the second leg of the Defendants' objection, I find that the case against the remaining Defendants stands. For avoidance of doubt, the 1<sup>st</sup> Plaintiff's case against the 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup>, and 9<sup>th</sup> Defendants stands.

#### Resolution

**Issue 1: Whether the meeting held on 23/8/2014 in which the 1<sup>st</sup> Defendant was elected Kyabazinga of Busoga by the Defendants**



**was held and concluded in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of the Obwa Kyabazinga bwa Busoga, 2000.**

**Issue 2: Whether by the time the 1st Defendant was allegedly elected as Isebantu Kyabazinga of Busoga, the 1st Plaintiff had already been duly elected as Isebantu Kyabazinga of Busoga**

The above two issues were in submissions redrafted by counsel on both sides as *Whether the election of the 1st Defendant as Kyabazinga of Busoga was valid*. In answering the above issues, this issue too will be answered.

These issues first investigate the circumstances surrounding the 1st Defendant's election and subsequent enthronement as Kyabazinga of Busoga. The events as relayed in evidence are as follows. In relation to issue 1, counsel for the Plaintiff submitted relying on the testimonies of PW1, PW2, PW3, and PW4 that the 1st Plaintiff was elected Kyabazinga on 31/10/2008 and presented to the Lukiiko on the same day. It is the Plaintiff's case that the 1st Plaintiff is the duly elected Kyabazinga of Busoga and he has never vacated the throne.

Counsel for the Defendants submitted that the 1st Defendant's election was valid. Counsel refuted claims that at the time of the 1st Defendant's election the 1st Plaintiff was the sitting Kyabazinga. This, according to counsel, is because the 1st Plaintiff's election was carried out contrary to Article 8 of the Busoga Constitution, that is, without the requisite quorum of at least 8 members of the Chiefs Royal Council.

Subsequently, the 1st Defendant was elected on 23/8/2014 and the Government of Uganda gazetted the 1st Defendant as the duly recognized Busoga cultural leader vide Gazette General Notice No. 649 of 2019 dated 29th April 2019. Counsel for the Defendants also relied on DE3 which is a resolution by the Chiefs wherein they agreed that all elections prior to 2014 were null and void for lack of quorum. Therefore, that the argument that the 1st Plaintiff was the valid Kyabazinga of Busoga at the time of the 1st Defendant's election is untenable.

In rejoinder, Counsel for the Plaintiff contended that the question before this court relates to the validity of the 1st Defendant's election and not the validity of the 1st Plaintiff's election. Counsel argued that questions relating to the 1st Plaintiff's election are not matters that this court can look into without a counterclaim filed by the Defendants. As such, the Defendants' submissions as to illegality and lack of quorum in the 31/10/2008 election are irrelevant.



Going by the issues submitted in the Joint Scheduling Memorandum, the question before this court relates to both the 1<sup>st</sup> Plaintiff and 1<sup>st</sup> Defendant's election. The justice of this case also requires that the validity of both elections be investigated.

First I will iron out preliminary issues arising from the main issues. Counsel for the Plaintiffs also rejoined that the issue of validity of the 1<sup>st</sup> Plaintiff's election was resolved when the court dismissed Election Petition No. 1 of 2009 for lack of prosecution. As such the question is now res judicata under Section 7 of the Civil Procedure Act. Section 7 provides:

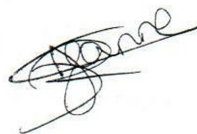
"No court shall try any suit or issue in which the matter directly and substantially in issue has been directly and substantially in issue in a former suit between the same parties, or between parties under whom they or any of them claim, litigating under the same title, in a court competent to try the subsequent suit or the suit in which the issue has been subsequently raised, and has been heard and finally decided by that court."

I disagree with counsel for the Applicant. PE7 which is Election Petition No. 1 of 2009 was dismissed for want of prosecution. It was without determining the issues raised, part of which were the question of the validity of the election of 31/10/2008. As such the issue is not res judicata.

The Plaintiffs presented a video recording marked PEV which captured the election of the 1<sup>st</sup> Plaintiff as Kyabazinga and his subsequent presentation for approval before the Lukiiko on 31/10/2008. However, this court rejects the video recording and shall not rely on it because it offends the rules of evidence.

Justice Wangutusi in **Elizabeth Nakayiwa & 2 Others -v- Attorney General, HCCS No. 549 of 2013** explained that "For electronic evidence to be admitted in evidence there must be a degree of certainty that the evidence being presented is authentic and was handled in such a way that it has not compromised the integrity of its content."

Firstly, PEV is a video production- in essence a film produced by TJT Video Coverage. It is not an unadulterated and authentic representation of the events of the day in question. There is also no sworn affidavit by TJT Video Coverage verifying the video's authenticity. The video skips over and jumps on more than one occasion, showing that it has been tampered with. It skips in the sense of fast forwarding to what are deemed by the producer to be the more relevant parts.

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The video is also recorded in Lusoga which is not the language of court. The correct course of action in this case would have been to provide court with a translation of the video into the language of court, with the attendant Certificate of Translation. See **Serunjogi Charles Musoke -v- Amooti Nyakana Godfrey & Electoral Commission, Electoral Petition No. 29 of 2006**. For the above reasons, court is not confident of the authenticity of the video, and therefore rejects it. I shall instead rely on the minutes supplied of the meeting of 31/10/2008 (PE4).

#### Election of 31/10/2008

I agree with counsel for the Defendant's submissions that this election was conducted contrary to Article 8 of the Busoga Constitution. The Constitution of the Obwa Kyabazinga bwa Busoga provides for 8 of the 11 chiefs as the required quorum for electing the Kyabazinga. See Article 8(v) of the Constitution of the Obwa Kyabazinga bwa Busoga. PW1, PW2, DW2 testified to this requirement of quorum. The question here is one of quorum. Whether there was sufficient quorum in line with Article 8(v) of the Busoga Constitution at the time of electing the Kyabazinga.

The minutes of the meeting of 31/10/2008 show 7 hereditary chiefs in attendance. The minutes also show that there were three hereditary persons who ran away from the meeting, namely the 1<sup>st</sup> Defendant, Lukalu Ceaser, the Isabalangira of Gabula, and Munoolo Juma from Bunya.

The 1<sup>st</sup> Plaintiff testified that at the time of voting, the above named three had left the election hall. Now I wish to emphasize as captured in Minute 77/10/2008 that Juma Munolo was not a hereditary chief, but caretaker of Mukajanga Byansi, the Luba of Bunhya who remained all through the meeting. Lukalu Ceaser was also merely a caretaker of the 1<sup>st</sup> Defendant, the Gabula of Bugabula. So in essence only one of the hereditary chiefs left the meeting before voting. Three other hereditary chiefs are captured as absent in PE4, that is the Menhya of Bugweri, the Nkono of Bukono, and the Ngobi of Kigulu.

From that, it is concluded that there were 7 out of 11 hereditary chiefs present at the meeting of 31/10/2008. The minutes marked PE4, and PW2's testimony in cross examination leave this court with the conclusion that 7 hereditary chiefs attended the meeting, including the 1<sup>st</sup> Plaintiff, and all 7 chiefs voted for the 1<sup>st</sup> Plaintiff.



That however, contravenes Article 8(v) of the Constitution of the Obwa Kyabazinga bwa Busoga, 2000 which requires a quorum of 8 hereditary chiefs at the voting of the Kyabazinga. For that reason, the election of 31/10/2008 was invalid.

Had it been argued that the chief who walked out of the election hall still counted as part of the quorum, this argument still would not stand. The argument in essence questions whether a party who leaves a meeting before the business of the meeting is conducted can still be counted as part of the quorum. What are the legal consequences of conducting business after losing quorum in the meeting?

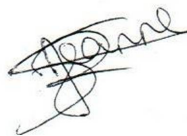
**Black's Law Dictionary, 9<sup>th</sup> Edition** defines "quorum" as the minimum number of members (usually a majority of all the members) who must be present for a deliberative assembly to legally transact business. **Stroud's Judicial Dictionary on Words and Phrases, Vol 4: P-R, Fourth Edition, Sweet & Maxwell** at page 2233 illustrates on this issue using the example of quorum at a company board meeting thus;

"Where a quorum of directors or shareholders is prescribed, that means, imperatively, that no business shall be transacted unless the prescribed number, at least, be present."

The essence of quorum is to have a majority voice present while making certain decisions. Particular to this case, the requirement of the quorum in Article 8 of the Constitution of the Obwa Kyabazinga bwa Busoga, is to have a distinct majority of the hereditary chiefs elect the Kyabazinga. The required 8 hereditary chiefs must be present all through the transaction of the business of the meeting. This requirement was not met.

At the time of voting, there was a quorum of 7 and not the required 8 hereditary chiefs. The Isabalangira at that point should have rescheduled the voting day to another time when the quorum necessary to transact the business of the day could be procured.

Counsel for the Plaintiff pointed out that there was judgment on admission by the 1<sup>st</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, and 9<sup>th</sup> Defendants wherein they stated that the election of the 1<sup>st</sup> Defendant as Kyabazinga was regrettable and done contrary to the Constitution of the Obwa Kyabazinga bwa Busoga since the 1<sup>st</sup> Plaintiff was the sitting Kyabazinga. Be that as it may, these admissions are of no consequence to the resolution of this case. The question for resolution is whether the 1<sup>st</sup>

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Plaintiff's election on 31/10/2008 was valid. As already stated, it was for lack of quorum at the meeting. This submission does not change the resolution.

In conclusion, the 1<sup>st</sup> Plaintiff's election as Kyabazinga on 31/10/2008 was null and void for lack of quorum.

#### Election of 5/10/2009

Following contestations regarding the earlier election, the Chiefs Royal Council again sat on 5/10/2009 to elect the Kyabazinga of Busoga. DW1 testified that this election was null and void for lack of quorum. He averred in paragraph 17 of his witness statement that only 7 of the 11 hereditary chiefs attended the meeting.

No minutes of this meeting were presented, and DW1 held up in cross examination. DW2, Kafuko Robert Ntuyo also testified to the lack of quorum at this meeting. See paragraph 15 of DW2's witness statement.

Therefore, the election of 5/10/2009 was null and void for lack of quorum as required under Article 8(v) of the Constitution of the Obwa Kyabazinga bwa Busoga.

#### Election of 23/8/2014

Counsel for the Plaintiffs also argued that there was government interference in the cultural affairs of Busoga. This is not a main issue for resolution before this court. There is no evidence to suggest that there was intermeddling by the Central Government into the affairs of Busoga. There is no merit to this argument. The events leading to the election of 2014 as presented before this court are as follows.

Following the two earlier elections, Busoga was thrown into uncertainty as to the Kyabazingaship. The Central Government decided to intervene as mediator between warring faction of Busoga and facilitate a conclusive election of the Kyabazinga by the Chiefs Royal Council.

The result was a meeting with the government representative Hon. Adolf Mwesigye, Minister for Local Government on 18/10/2008. The resolutions out of this are marked Exhibit D3. In there the 11 hereditary chiefs resolved to hold another election where Hon. Mwesigye would act as the neutral government observer.



Subsequently, on 23/8/2014 the 10 chiefs of Kigulu, Luuka, Bukooli, Bunha, Bunhole Bunanhumba, Bugweri, Busiki, Bukono, Butembe and Bugabula met. Only the 1<sup>st</sup> Plaintiff, hereditary chief of Bulamogi was absent. They voted the 1<sup>st</sup> Defendant as the Kyabazinga of Busoga. The 1<sup>st</sup> Defendant per D5 accepted his election as Isebantu Kyabazinga and was presented to the Busoga Lukiiko on 25/8/2014. See Exhibit D6.

This election was held in line with Article 8 of the Constitution of the Obwa Kyabazinga bwa Busoga. It was not in contravention of Article 6 of the Constitution of Obwa Kyabazinga bwa Busoga because at the time there was no validly elected Kyabazinga of Busoga.

I therefore find, in resolving the two issues, that the election of the 1<sup>st</sup> Defendant as Isebantu Kyabazinga of Busoga on 23/8/2014 was valid. At the time of the 1<sup>st</sup> Defendant's election on 23/8/2014, the 1<sup>st</sup> Plaintiff was not the duly elected Isebantu Kyabazinga of Busoga. This is because his purported election was without the required quorum.

**Issue 3: Whether the Plaintiff is entitled to the remedies sought.**

The Plaintiff sought a number of remedies. However, his case having failed, the same are rejected.

The defendants sought costs to be awarded at the Court's discretion. See Section 27(1) of the Civil Procedure Act and **Mungecha -v- Attorney General [1981] HCB 55** and that costs be against the 1<sup>st</sup> Plaintiff.

**Conclusion and Orders:**

Following resolution of this case in favour of the 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup> & 9<sup>th</sup> Defendants, this suit is hereby accordingly dismissed with costs to the above Defendants.

I so order.

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
**Jeanne Rwakakooko**  
**JUDGE**

17/12/2021

This Judgment was delivered this 18<sup>th</sup> day of Feb, 2022

18/2/2022

C81 Kabuko Ntango for 1st bet  
together C81 Alex Luganda.

C81 Daniel Lubongo together  
C81 Joel O Sekeny.  
Mr Wanzwa of club.

Ct: Rufus dehen  
in  
chess