

of foreign investments and the consequences of the activities of multinational corporations in East Africa.

The disintegrative trends in the East African Common Market are explained in terms of the forces on national demands. In view of the absence of an analysis of ideological differences among the Partner States, it appears that there is need for another level of analysis in explaining the forces working against integration in East Africa. The ideological dimension may not have been very obvious when most of the data for the book was collected but there were several manifestations of what has become a real problem in East African co-operation at the present time.

Despite the shortcomings in the book which have been pointed out, it can be interesting to scholars, politicians and above all, to prospective foreign investors in East Africa. It touches on an academically controversial area - foreign investments in a regional grouping where the partner states have different policies on the subject. The book does not answer all the relevant questions on foreign investments, but it may generate an interest and provoke a fresh consideration on issues related to the subject.

A. P. MAHIGA

Edited by Allan J. Gottneid, Church and Education in Tanzania, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1976, pages, XXI + 230.

This book is one of the six studies undertaken by the Institute of Social Studies (ISS) and the Federation of Institutes for Social and Socio-Religious Research (Feres) which are Protestant and Catholic Organisations.

The book is divided into two major sections. The first part consists of a historical perspective beginning with the precolonial time and continuing up to the post independence period up to 1967. In this section demographic social economic characteristics are described together with an investigation into various statements of policy, intentions; and an assessment of missionary contribution to education.

In the second section, data gathered in a field study is analysed and interpreted. The purpose of the field study was to determine the attitudes and opinions of people in Tanzania concerning the role of the church in education. The section attempts to test some of the assumptions that policies and practices of the church in education have often been taken from the top without the involvement of the laity.

The two sections were expected to provide a basis upon which insights into possible new initiatives might be got and also orientation or re-orientation of the church's role in education for the future.

In the historical section, a description of missionary settlement on

Tanzania mainland from the time of the Portuguese on the East Coast is made. It is revealed that the first school was set up by Ludwig Krapf in 1843. But scholars were irregular in their attendance and their parents demanded payment for allowing their children to attend school. Then came the setting up of the freed slave centres at places like Zanzibar, Bagamoyo and Masasi. The book emphasises that the early missionaries whether Catholic or Protestant placed education in the forefront of their activities. The education provided was not at this stage of the narrowly catechetical and literary type which has been attributed to mission schools. Education was clearly intended to bestow both spiritual and material blessings.

What is grossly lacking in the discussion of early missionary activities is the exclusion of missionary settlement on the Island of Zanzibar. Most of the missionaries who settled on the mainland of Tanzania and Kenya first established their bases on the island, but generally failed to have an impact in Zanzibar. This is a subject of interest needing some serious treatment.

To understand Christian missionary reaction to African traditions and customs which largely led to the setting up of boarding schools whose major purpose was to keep the native children from their savage surroundings. Perhaps the author should have attempted to discuss general missionary ideas regarding their civilising mission.

The book plainly states that all the Christian groups put education in the forefront of their activities, but does not explain why this was so. It is no exaggeration to state that the school was viewed as the most powerful instrument of Christian propaganda. Missionary attempt at evangelisation without schooling was rejected by Africans not only in Tanzania but elsewhere in Africa. His contention that early missionary schools were not narrowly catechetical is very much doubted. In many African countries as late as the forties government officials were still critical about the strong religious tone in missionary schools and moreover, this factor led to the opening of more government and independent schools.

This rudimentary schools system, the book shows, consisted of a main mission station with a principal school and there would be a number of out-schools largely staffed by the African teachers and visited from time to time by missionaries.

To spread education among all the communities, the German government opened a number of schools among the Muslim Communities along the Coast. This led to missions to attack the government for encouraging Islam. This is one of the points that needed detailed discussion and goes along to prove that Christian missionaries purely used the school to attract adherents. Communities that did not accept evangelisation were doomed to lag behind in

western education as is clearly the case with coastal communities in Kenya.

By the end of the German rule the bulk of the school system remained in the hands of the Christian missionaries. In 1911, for example, the government owned 78 elementary schools, the Catholic and the Protestant elementary schools were 363 and 512 respectively. The government had two high schools, the Catholics 11 and the Protestants 18.

The first world war greatly affected the development of education in Tanzania since the territory was fought over. Many schools were closed though a few survived through the determination of African teachers.

The British administration which assumed the administration of Tanzania after the war was out to establish a new working relationship with the missionaries. From the outset it was critical of missionaries for concentrating on religious instruction at the expense of education. For this reason the government was to have direct control and supervision of mission education. This idea was strongly reflected in the Phelps-Stokes Commission Report and in the document Education Policy in British Tropical Africa of 1925. The document stressed the need for grants-in-aid and government supervision on the basis of a common education code. A joint missionary-government conference held in Dar es Salaam in 1925 endorsed the recommendation.

But this was to prove a challenge to the missionaries. Having operated for so long without an external control in their activities, co-operation with the government precipitated many problems. Missionaries interpreted government control of the schools as an attempt to direct their avangelic role to a secular one. They did not particularly like government support for Muslim and pagan communities. The government responded to these charges accusing missionaries of concentrating on religion instead of education. This was somewhat justified since missionaries were drawing funds from the government to run their schools.

A crucial issue in missionary-government co-operation was in the thirties when the Director of Education proposed that the African communities undertake greater financial responsibilities in education through Native Authorities. This was strongly opposed by Christian missionaries on the grounds that these bodies would tend to finance their own secular schools better since they were responsible for the collection of the taxes. Further, such schools would be hotbeds of sedition and seed-beds of the evil elements of paganism. It was suggested that the government refuse to recognise any school not directly under European control. The idea was therefore shelved.

One can draw a similar parallel in Kenya where government missionary co-operation in education was generally bad until the late 1930s and where

missionaries were generally intolerant of any schools operating outside their own umbrella.

Despite the strained relations in co-operation, missionaries, like the government, continued to contribute to the development of education in Tanzania. By 1931 government expenditure was £43,000 for 7,651 African children while missionary contribution was £100,000 for 160,000 African children.

Lacking in the analysis of education in the inter-war period is a discussion of education for adaptation which was an important feature in Tanzania during this period.

After the second world war missionaries attempted to co-operate in opening secondary and teacher colleges, though not much was achieved in co-ordinating their activities. The creation of General Secretaries for both Catholics and Protestants promoted a better working atmosphere with the government. Missionary expenditure rose to £75,000 after having dropped during the Great Depression and the Second World War. This rose to £636,320 of the annual expenditure by 1961, being 27.2 per cent of the total expenditure on education. Although the book centres on Christian Missionaries, this figure included expenditure by the Muslim Welfare Association which, however, had few schools.

In an apparent attempt to discuss African reaction to missionary education the author in a couple of paragraphs focuses on the views of the Native Authorities. These resented missionary domination of educational activities and their interference with the opening of Native Authority Schools. They criticised missionaries for requiring pupils to accept the Christian faith as a prerequisite for getting education. Missionary denominations were said to be divisive and hindering national unity. Missionary schools were generally poorly equipped as compared to government schools. This is an area that should have been explored in detail by referring to early records of missionaries as regards African response.

General African feeling about missionary domination of education became more vocal at independence. It was felt that mission schools be nationalised. In a debate on the Education Ordinance of 1961 missionaries were accused of spending much of their time trying to get converts instead of providing education. Contributing on the same debate the then Prime Minister Mwalimu J.K. Nyerere defended voluntary agencies for educating 66 per cent of the pupils at half the cost and stressed that missionaries should be given gratitude and encouragement.

The Ordinance, however, integrated the school system and created an Advisory Council on Education and Boards of Governors on which mission-

aries were represented. The Ordinance opened schools to children of all faiths.

In a number of missionary circles there was general concern about the implications of the Ordinance. In the ranks of the Christian Council of Tanzania (Protestant) anxiety was expressed about children from different faiths upsetting the religious atmosphere of the schools. The Ministry of Education made it plain to the council that admitting children on the basis of faith would amount to discrimination and would be contrary to the National Spirit and laws of the country.

Generally during the early years of nationalisation the school system in Tanzania was marked with isolated stresses and strains. By the time the book went to the press the debate was still on. One who is familiar with government nationalisation of the school system elsewhere would not hesitate to conclude that Tanzania is one of the few countries where the government and missionaries have established a smooth working relationship in many areas of development. In Kenya and Uganda nationalisation of the school system assumed very dangerous dimensions. In Uganda the government was literally taken to court for taking over schools while in Kenya the Catholic groups conspired to make the Education Act of 1967 very ineffective. In the two countries missionaries still had a big say in the running of the schools.

In concluding this section, the author assesses missionary contribution to education. He cites achievements such as missionaries spearheading rural development through their teachers, establishing schools in remote areas, making considerable expenditure on education, promoting women education, training highly educated people who now participate in the development of the country. The book erroneously quotes a Leipzig missionary who contended that the church formed an important link between the continuity of tribal life from the pre-colonial days to independence. There is hardly any missionary group that undertook such an exercise.

The book criticises the church for failing to make known the extent and the nature of their work and also for failing to keep records, being inconsistent in some of the policies and remaining isolated from the government and Native-Authorities. He refers to challenges facing the church today such as the church's commitment to development and Unity and presenting Christianity as an effective binding force in the new national society. Churches have a challenge of involving themselves and development in a country where Christians are in a minority (25 per cent) and they have to cope with the provision of Christian education in a purely secular system.

The second section which tests people's attitudes to the church and their involvements in education in 1967 is very well presented. Data was collected through interviews. Intensive preparations were made to establish the reliability

and validity of the instruments used. The sample was quite representative and countrywide. It embraced all the major denominations including Moslems, and traditionalists. Data is very well tabulated using simple statistics easy to be understood by readers without a deep knowledge of statistics.

Since the study was undertaken it appears as if many of the respondents did not understand the role of the church in education. Few young men in particular who mentioned the work of the church in education did not think the church had much to do with education. Among the rural population it was felt the church should participate in education to increase the number of school opportunities. The church too should involve itself in a wide range of developmental activities.

Church and Education in Tanzania is a thoroughly executed study providing useful information on one of the most important agencies engaged in the development of the people.

D.N. SIFUNA

Comments on B.D. BOWLES', Review of the Politics of State Formation: The Nature and Effects of Colonialism in Uganda

This comment on Bowles' review in Utafiti Volume No. 1, January 1976 is not intended to defend the book. For a book which was in complete manuscript form by August 1971 and went to publishers in early 1972, it must be talking about things which are now fairly well known in 1976. Bowles, however, seems to think that since the book came out in 1974, May of that year to be exact, it must cover a research interest like his, judging from the article which appears in the same volume of Utafiti. One is not even apologising for spelling mistakes like "welfare" instead of "warfare" which are many and obvious. The context leaves the reader in no doubt as to what is intended.

The fact that a publication says things that are already known is not necessarily a weakness. What matters is whether the old wisdom is being used to say something new. The reference to Ankole, Busoga, Acholi etc., was not so much intended to introduce novel ideas but to show how colonialism created local identities. In this way it was possible to prove that "tribes" were colonial creations, a point Bowles finds 'valuable'! If I were studying Ankole certainly I would not achieve much by reappearing Karugire nor do I in fact do that.

'Tribalism' does not result from the fact of people belonging to the same culture and living together in one polity. That Kakwa and the Alur were divided by international boundaries is a historical fact. The concern with this division was in reference to culture and how people were inconvenienced by the boundaries especially in the case of the Kakwa in their religious affairs. One would not like to debate here what is meant by tribalism and again, the