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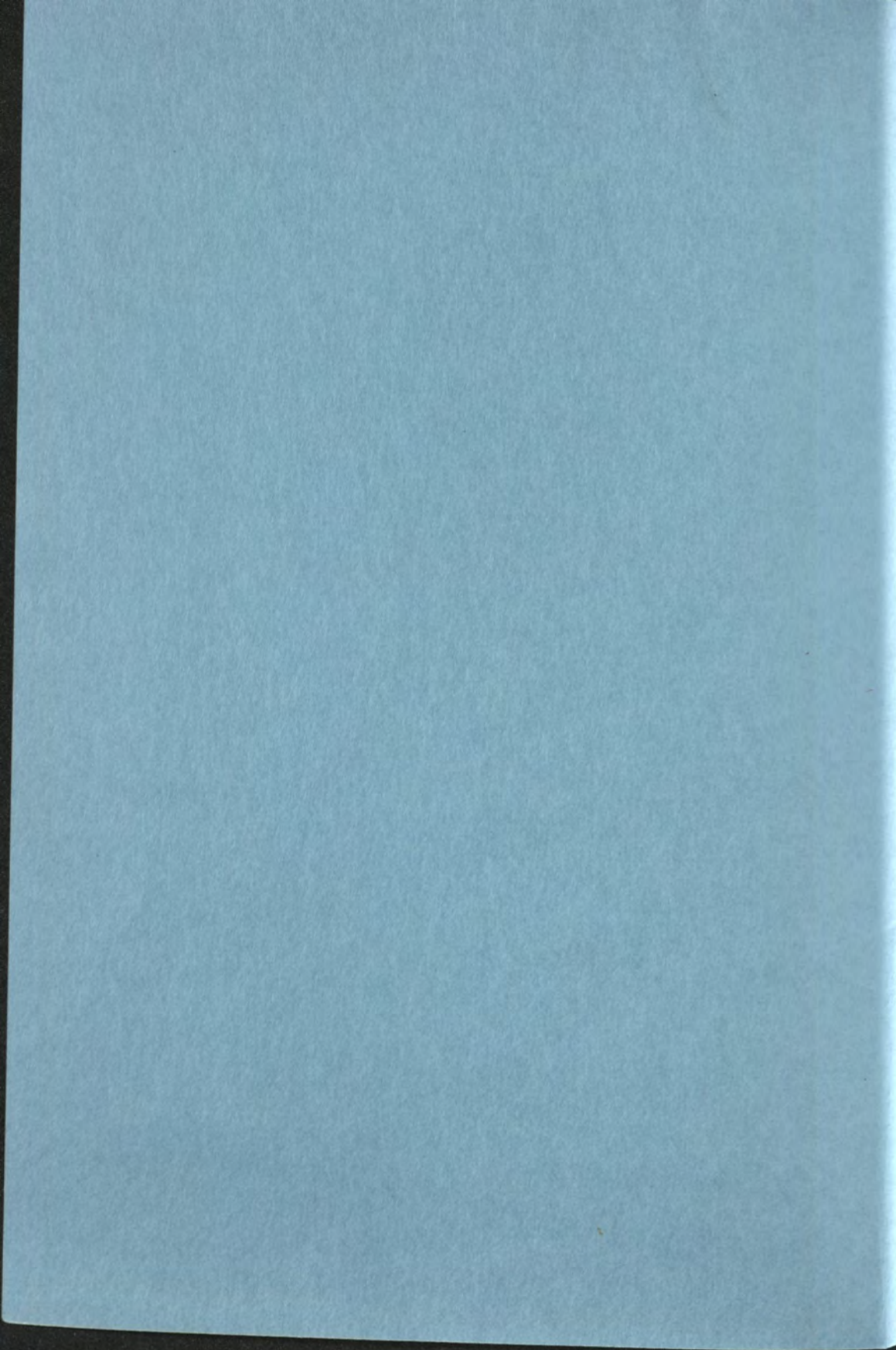
An Academic Year in East Africa

by

MARJORIE DILLEY

IV

THE HENRY WELLS LAWRENCE MEMORIAL LECTURE FOR 1959



AN ACADEMIC YEAR IN EAST AFRICA

by

MARJORIE DILLEY

Professor of Government

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Connecticut College, New London, Connecticut

1960

INTRODUCTION

by F. EDWARD CRANZ, *Department of History, Connecticut College*

I am happy to welcome you, on behalf of the College, to the sixteenth Henry Wells Lawrence Memorial Lecture.

As most of you know, Dr. Lawrence was for over twenty years, from 1920 to 1942, Chairman of the Department of History and Government at Connecticut College; and he played an extremely important part in the College's formative years. The Lawrence Lectures were established in his memory to foster and to continue the spirit which he represented on campus. The foundation charter of the Lectures provides for presenting annually on campus "a scholar in the broad field of history who will present his subject in the spirit of the liberal tradition to which Dr. Lawrence was devoted."

I am sure that there is no one who could better fulfill the purpose for which the Lawrence Lectures were intended than our speaker this evening. Miss Dilley was a close associate of Dr. Lawrence; she was one of the leaders in establishing the Lawrence Lectures; and, most important of all, she superbly represents, to quote the charter again, "the spirit of the liberal tradition to which Dr. Lawrence was devoted."

Miss Dilley comes to us after a year as Visiting Professor of Government at Makerere College, the University College of East Africa. And East Africa is far from being simply a new and passing interest to Miss Dilley, for in 1937 she published a book, *British Policy in Kenya Colony*, which remains the definitive treatment of the subject.

Miss Dilley's topic this evening is An Academic Year in East Africa. It is a pleasure and an honour for me to present a most distinguished colleague and an old friend, Miss Dilley.

AN ACADEMIC YEAR IN EAST AFRICA

When I received Mr. Cranz's letter last April in Kampala, I thought it was a friendly greeting from a colleague—it was, but the letter also contained an invitation to give this lecture. This was much more than a friendly gesture; this invitation spoke across the miles that lay between me and Connecticut College and the members of its Department of History of strong personal bonds, born of long association going back in some cases to the time when we worked with Dr. Lawrence. It is a privilege to give one of the Lawrence Lectures.

It had never entered my mind that I might be asked to give a Lawrence Lecture. With the other members of the Committee which planned this Lectureship, I worked to honor a man we all loved. Our common devotion led to the establishment of a lectureship to commemorate the quality of Dr. Lawrence, to commemorate a quality which had influenced Connecticut College for twenty years.

What we were trying to do was not easy. Because we were so aware of Dr. Lawrence ourselves, it was difficult for us to realize that a time would come when his actual presence would not be felt here, that a time would come soon when the mention of his name would mean something to a few members of the faculty with long terms of service behind them, but would mean nothing to the students. When we thought of the occasion of a Lawrence Lecture we could hardly believe that very soon students would not sit up a little straighter, look pleased and happy at the thought of Dr. Lawrence, chuckle over something he had said or done within their own experience, and feel better for having thought of him.

However, we knew that Dr. Lawrence would be remembered a *short* time in the history of the College and that it would be futile or worse, to attempt to make those who did not know him, appreciate his qualities of mind and spirit.

Therefore, we did not try to establish in the Lectureship a commemoration for the *man* for people who had not known him. The Lectureship is rather to commemorate his spirit as it represented and announced the best of the great liberal tradition—generosity of spirit, tolerance, intellectual honesty, loyalty, respect for learning, belief in human decency and accomplishment, optimism—and by this commemoration of a human spirit renew a consideration of the liberal tradition. We wished to tie the quality of his spirit into the institution he had served so long, in the hope that it might continue to inspire members of the college community to an interest in and concern for the things he believed in and represented in his life.

The members of the Committee appreciated the importance of individual contributions to institutions, and the necessity and wisdom of recognizing them, not for those who have contributed and gone, but for the sake of the individuals who constitute its present membership. It is important surely that we who share membership in Connecticut College today should have a sense of what those who preceded us contributed to it, what they tried to accomplish, what they were devoted to, worked at from day to day, believed in and sacrificed for, what they built into our corporate life here.

For a *short* time those who knew Dr. Lawrence can honor his memory at the same time they renew their loyalty to the tradition and declare it for whatever value it has for the *college* community and the larger communities of which we form a part. For the *long* time, we of the Committee hoped that the Lectureship would itself have a history and represent a renewed appraisal and dedication to the liberal tradition here at Connecticut College.

It must now be clear how much I feel responsible for making a contribution in this lecture which will sustain the tradition in this sense. I worked with Dr. Lawrence for six years, I have worked in the College myself for twenty-five years; I know the hopes of the Committee. I shall try to make my contribution to this piece of Connecticut College history with the hope that I can commemorate the man and the tradition, but with a lively sense of the impossibility of achieving all I wish and hope for. Dr. Lawrence would have counselled restraint to my ambitions, a sense of proportion to my hopes, a proper pessimism about anyone's ability to bring a conception to the minds and hearts of others.

To help you understand what I am going to say—and what I am *not* going to say—I shall explain the nature of my visit to Makerere College in Uganda, in East Africa. Let us have no doubt about where I have been. Uganda lies on the Equator east and north of the center of the continent. The Belgian Congo, Sudan, Kenya Colony, and the Trust Territory of Tanganyika are its neighbors to the west, north, east, and south respectively. The Nile River rises from Lake Victoria which forms part of its southern boundary.

Uganda is a British Protectorate administered by the traditional British organization supervised from the Colonial Office in London; it is united for certain purposes, such as customs, post, and transportation services, with Kenya, Tanganyika, and Zanzibar. These four territories constitute British East Africa.

Makerere College is the University College of East Africa and serves the four territories. It is the only university in the area; it is supported by the four governments, and it receives additional funds from the United Kingdom. Its students are supported by government grants. It draws more students from Uganda and Kenya at the present time than from the other two areas, but the numbers from Tanganyika are increasing. There are about 850 students in

attendance, and those succeeding academically receive University of London degrees because of the special relationship which exists between Makerere and the London institution. About fifty women students were in attendance last year; I had none of them in my classes, and I met only one of them during the year. That there are fifty women at Makerere is a considerable victory, and it is expected that the number will increase fairly rapidly. Most of them are said to be training to teach in the schools of their respective territories.

The University is multi-racial; there are African, Asian, and Arab students, and a few Europeans. The faculty is largely British, with a few African members. There are some South Africans on the staff; they are usually of British descent, but in many cases they were born and educated in South Africa. English is of course the language used in the University; it is a foreign language to most of the students.

I went to Makerere as a visiting professor of government on a grant from the Department of State from the Smith-Mundt funds voted by Congress to support the International Educational Exchange of Persons Program. The objective of this program is to create better understanding between people—in my case between the people of the United States and Uganda, or East Africa of which it is a part. I spent last year explaining the United States and Americans to the people of Uganda—to Europeans, largely college staff members, and to Africans, students and others I met in various ways. Now, thanks to the Department of History, here I am getting an early start at this end on the other part of my assignment under the grant, to try to create better understanding of Uganda and its people among Americans. I have overstated my task at both ends since admittedly I can reach relatively few people, and explain only a few things to a limited extent to them.

I wish to say that I did not wear an American flag sewed on my clothes or attached to my typewriter or to my car; neither did I talk about the United States and of how we do things here on all occasions. I tried to answer questions, not to offer unsolicited comment and advice. One never quite succeeds in such an attempt, but the resolve reduces the number of times one talks about the United States despite one's great interest in Uganda and in Africa generally. I found my British colleagues preoccupied with Africa, with East Africa, and I learned a great deal from their comments and discussions. I found the university faculty concerned about and often talking about the standard of student performance and of how to secure a better education for them.

Despite the great differences between Makerere and Connecticut College, I felt quite at home in this discussion; the same principles are examined and in many cases the same words used to advance, defend, attack, clarify, or confuse the issues. I found the students like students in any college, probably, although the opportunity they have for a university education is a more unusual one for most of them than for their American counterparts, and they

reflect this in various ways. Most of the young men in my classes look forward to careers in government service. I thought the faculty believed that the students are serious and hard working; there seemed to be little attention directed to stimulating them to greater efforts. A student interest was taken for granted.

I had little doubt when I went, and nothing altered my view, that it was *people* working at Makerere, either as staff members or as students, and that they would not be so unlike *people* here at Connecticut that they would be unrecognisable to me as members of an academic community. For example, freshmen arrived at the beginning of the year full of excitement about their college days, only to reduce their demonstration of it with the arrival of upper classmen who indicated a more "sophisticated" attitude as the correct collegiate approach. I learned to know which faculty members were the accepted malcontents, which the "old guard," which ones were considered good lecturers, which ones were particularly interested in meeting students, and for what reasons.

One of the interesting and perhaps revealing items I noticed immediately was the dress of the faculty and students. In more cases than not, the faculty wear what can best be described as casual campus clothes—cotton dresses and sandals for the women, khaki shirts, shorts, and sandals for the men; in this apparel we faced men students dressed for formal business occasions in dark suits, white shirts, neckties, and appropriate footwear. The women students wear cotton dresses or skirts and blouses and look much like American women students on their better days. With my experience on an American campus this was all a continuing surprise and delight to me. Students are required to wear bright red academic robes in the evening, and groups of them at evening occasions make a stunning sight. When the Queen Mother visited Makerere in February and an academic presentation was held, the faculty robes made a great splash of color, and the students in their red robes added magnificently to the total effect.

I was a member of the Faculty of Arts in the University, and had a regular schedule in the Department of Economics and Political Science. I inaugurated the study of American government at Makerere, and participated in other lectures and seminars in the department. My classes were small; I met them for a lecture once a week. In addition, I met one class in alternate weeks in a seminar, and I attended and upon occasion participated in a seminar on African administration.

By invitation I talked to student and faculty groups. The preferred topics were our racial problem, our federal system, and our foreign policy. I held regular office hours and made myself available at other times to talk with students as they might come to see me. These talks were very useful to me; from them I learned much about the University and student life and their views on African affairs. I never learned much about the abilities and attitudes of my

students from classes. Since the accepted procedure was a lecture, I had little opportunity to hear the students talk, discuss, develop subject matter, or argue with one another.

In addition to my work at the College, I went out several times to talk to groups organised in different parts of Uganda by what is called the Extra-Mural Department. With some differences, this is essentially what we call extension work. Anyone with sufficient command of English to understand the lectures and discussion may join these groups; the intention is that groups shall organise themselves and decide with a member of the College staff the courses of lectures they would like to have. The University staff is the chief source of lecturers.

The groups I met were almost entirely composed of young men, usually secondary school graduates at least, engaged in government employ in some form, as teachers, clerks, education, agriculture, or community development officers, doctors, medical assistants, and occasionally business men and farmers. Twice I spent weekends on such trips; I went on Friday and returned to Kampala on Sunday evening or Monday morning, having made five or six lectures meantime, responded to as many question periods, and met with members at social hours. I found this work rewarding; I met and talked with many Africans under circumstances which gave me opportunities I would not have had otherwise. I found these groups alert, curious, and uninhibited about asking questions. I never met a British official in this connection, but African chiefs did sometimes attend to lend their approval in a direct way, at times even though they did not understand English themselves.

I spoke to some local groups in Kampala, and participated in a conference held at the East African Institute of Social Research, whose name indicates its function, an affiliate of the College located on the campus. There I read a paper to introduce a discussion of federalism. I spoke to a local multi-racial group about the problem of integration in our public schools, and to the University Women's organization about statehood for Alaska and Hawaii. I also appeared as a witness before the Uganda Constitutional Committee to discuss federalism with them. I was fortunate in that I was in Kampala when the first direct elections for members of Uganda's legislative body were held, and I was able to follow press reports, listen in on conversations among some of the officials conducting them, and visit polling places on one election day. During my time in Kampala, the local political situation boiled over, and I was able to observe one African attempt to move toward self-government.

As I have indicated, mine was not a research assignment. I did not think it possible to meet the requirements of my assignment and at the same time conduct serious research, interested as I am in the problems of Kenya. Consequently, my remarks are based upon observations, conversations, questions, interviews, conferences, and general reading. I was assisted in this by the

research I did twenty years ago on British policy in Kenya, Uganda's next-door neighbor, with which it is often compared. I had not been to Kenya before this visit, and it was a source of interest to me that I quickly came to feel a very special connection with its affairs despite the gap which has occurred in my intensive study of them. I found it much easier to pick up knowledgeable conversation with Kenya students than with those from Tanganyika, for example. I am more certain than I have ever been that reading basic documents is essential to the understanding of a contemporary situation; if one has to choose between the reading and a short visit, I am certain that the choice should lie with the less dramatic library work.

I regularly read a Kampala daily newspaper, a Kenya weekly paper, and the East African edition of *Drum*. I also read with some regularity the International Edition of the *New York Times*. It was interesting to compare African press reports of American news with the *Times'* report of it; and similarly to compare the *Times'* report of African news with African press reports of it. Press reports in Africa reflect the special interest of all residents in American affairs; the reports are selective and racial conflict takes precedence; even this is inadequately reported. I am not encouraged by my experience to believe that I can follow to any extent or with much understanding the events in Kampala this year by reading the *New York Times* faithfully, although I shall certainly try to do so. I am sure that American reports on Africa are much better than they have ever been; they reflect, at the same time that they in part account for, the increased American interest in Africa; but there is no occasion for complacency among us because we have now discovered Africa. We need to avoid seeming to say that we have done Africa a favor by becoming aware of it.

I think it will be useful to discuss at this point some of the terms I have used. I have said that Makerere is a *multi-racial* institution; that I taught *Africans* and *Asians*; that I spoke to a *multi-racial* club. I have spoken of *Europeans*. All last year I was a European; I am so entered on many immigration blanks.

One of the difficulties of communicating with other people is the variation in the use of such terms as I have listed, and in Africa today some of these terms are highly controversial. For example, one takes a position on a political question by his selection of names for racial groups. It seems obvious that if a club or college is multi-racial it is open to all races, and one might not need to mention it except for the fact that the society is racially separated in other aspects, and the multi-racial parts are new or unique. Thus Makerere was originally established for Africans and has now been opened to other racial groups. I have no doubt that in time this will be so ordinary as not to require mention.

The term *African* requires definition; I shall use it as it is used in East

Africa to refer to the indigenous people, who according to the dictionary are "not exotic, immigrant, or imported."

Twenty years ago when I was studying Kenya, there was no question about what one called the indigenous people; they were *natives*. Official documents referred to them in this way; many people referred to them as "Blacks," but on the other hand there was a tendency to capitalise *native* as a gesture of good will and recognition that the term was inadequate. Once during the year I was asked by an unsympathetic person how I liked teaching "Blacks," but this was an exception. Our term *Negro* is not used; people refer to the *American Negro*, but do not speak of the *African Negro*. Today the term for the indigenous people of East Africa is African and this in spite of the fact that there are Europeans and Asians born in East Africa for whom it is home. On the other hand immigrants from Europe and India and their descendants are called European and Asian, indicating in usage a status different from anything we have in America. I heard young people born in Kenya, for example, and apparently expecting to spend their lives there, speak of a trip to Britain as "going Home."

The term *native* is in use in South Africa where there is a studied refusal to give the indigenous people the name African since South Africans of European descent think themselves African as we of European or other descent think ourselves American and native. There is no settler population in Uganda so the problem of nomenclature does not arise there in the same way as in Kenya or South Africa, for example.

There are three racial groups in Uganda: Africans, Europeans, and Asians. The presence of Europeans creates no political problem since they are largely officials, teachers, missionaries, or business men temporarily there; but the Asians are permanently settled and are African in fact if not in name. They engage in trade and have controlled most of the retail trade and much of the wholesale business; they are in many clerical and administrative positions in government offices. I bought my groceries from Asian shops, paid my electricity bill to and bought my stamps from Asian clerks. Asians are resented by the Africans who consider them outsiders robbing the helpless Africans; political movements include slogans attacking Asians and demanding their departure from Uganda. These charges and demands reminded me of some political movements in the United States which from time to time have used attacks on immigrants for political effect and have demanded their return "to the land from which they came."

There is recognition by some Africans that Asians are permanently located there and that Uganda is their home; those few who indicate some willingness to accept the fact and try to do some justice to the Asians find themselves in great difficulty linguistically, as well as politically. They do not wish to give Asians the name African; this they wish to reserve for themselves. This past spring an African member of the Legislative Council of Uganda, referring to

Africans and Asians, stumbled over a proper term to distinguish them, one giving Asians their due, and finally referred to them as "Africans of non-African descent." Put yourself into this context, all you "Americans of non-American descent," or perhaps with us it should be "Americans of un-American descent"!

The term African when used by the indigenous people to refer to themselves does not mean that there is any real unity among them. It refers to the place of birth, but any unity arises from agreement to oppose non-African rule, usually European rule. In other connections, the people of Uganda refer to themselves by their tribal names; they are not *Ugandan* any more than they are African.

Uganda as a territorial unit was created by the British, its external boundaries largely established by agreement with other European powers, and its internal divisions determined by administration convenience. Some of these divisions follow old tribal lines; others divide tribes. Different parts of Uganda have been administered in different ways; there is little uniformity. There is much tribal jealousy; and the Baganda, the largest, wealthiest, and at least formerly, the powerful tribe in Uganda, are quite generally feared and mistrusted by the other tribes.

I found no one with any sense of loyalty to Uganda. The divisions among the people constitute a serious problem for the development of institutions looking toward self-government. Objection to British creations figures in the lack of loyalty to Uganda, but the chief reason for its lack is tribal loyalty. For example, students at Makerere have tribal associations and are known to one another and to members of the staff as Baganda, Kikuyu, Jalu, Chagga. I was told that in some cases where sections of a course permit it, the Baganda students attend one section; other students would then avoid that one. I gathered that tribal exclusiveness creates problems of various kinds in the student hostels.

Uganda is like other parts of Africa in that its people look forward to self-government and independence in the immediate future. The phrase "colonialism and imperialism" is tossed about as the slogan for uniting people of whatever group, and however basically disunited, to end British rule. Uganda has its share of political parties, investigating commissions, visiting parliamentarians, conferences, court actions, and committees on constitutional development. While I was in Kampala, it was declared a "disturbed area" because of the activities of a party which staged mass meetings and declared a boycott on Asian shops, European beer, and municipal buses. Members of the group undertook to enforce the boycott by threats, intimidation, and in some cases violence against persons who did not cooperate. Students were not involved to any extent in these disturbances, and I believe that they are not generally active in politics.

I hope I have given sufficient explanation of some fundamentals, and I shall now proceed to some comments about my specific task teaching regular academic subjects, and interpreting the United States in and out of class and academic appointments.

There were three topics everyone—European, African, Asian—was interested in: our race relations, especially school integration; federalism; and foreign policy. Of these three, school integration took first place. Wherever I began, at some point on almost every occasion, I found myself talking about these topics, and often all of them at once. Certainly any question about race relations led to discussion of federalism and foreign policy.

An important part of increasing understanding between individuals is the removal of misconceptions, since their existence prevents any true communication. If I do not know what misconceptions of America exist in people's minds, and they do not know they have misconceptions, I can speak for some time without saying anything to them. If I seem to say in my choice of illustrations that only Africans had misconceptions which made it difficult for me to explain American practices and ideas to them, I hope you will remember that I do not mean this, but that I draw illustrations from their misconceptions of America because I believe they will be more interesting to you than my misconceptions of their views would be.

I want to make it clear that I realized that my own misconceptions of what anyone would know about America were a problem for me; becoming aware of this was one of the most valuable things I learned while I was in Africa. Frequently the misconceptions, theirs and mine, became apparent in question periods which always followed my talks. I gradually learned some points to clarify and some things to avoid saying, but the difficulty remained with me throughout my stay, and I continued to discover after a talk that much of what I had said must have been meaningless to various members of the group.

One of the amazing misconceptions I found was that held by many Africans with whom I spoke, that American Negroes are transplanted Africans who live in the United States in their own tribal society in areas apart from other Americans, eat different food, wear different clothes, have their own language, institutions, and government services. For some at least, there was no objection to this separation; their belief that these "Africans in the United States" were unjustly treated rested on the conviction that they had less from society than Americans have.

The first time I met this misconception I had spoken to a large student audience about the Little Rock crisis, and the general problem of integration in our public schools. I assumed that all of them objected to separation until I realised from questions that some assumed that separation existed, accepted it, and did not object to it in principle as in itself an injustice. I had spoken of

the development of integration and had tried to explain some of the reasons why complete integration of our schools had not taken place immediately after the Supreme Court's decision in 1954. It was perfectly clear to me that all the students objected to the status of American Negroes, but I completely misconceived the objection of those who accepted separation, and I talked at cross purposes with their assumptions for most of the hour before questions began.

Once having had this experience I revised my approach and afterward attempted to make some explanation of the status of American Negroes and of the objection of many Americans to segregation before I discussed "Little Rock." I suspect that I was most successful in making it clear that American Negroes do not, and have not lived apart in segregated reserves, and that all schools have not always been segregated when I said that I had myself gone to school with Negroes.

It became apparent to me that Africans who thought of American Negroes as "Africans in America" also thought immigrant groups in America live like Asians in Uganda or like African tribes. English, Irish, French, Danish, German, and Chinese people, for example, would live in separate provinces or districts; use their own languages; have their own schools, churches, and local governments. This was not a specific conception for them; to carry it out in detail and to make it ridiculous is easy, and it gives a false impression of their notion. They were in fact assuming that our nationality groups correspond with their tribes, and therefore they assumed their separation with an individual's loyalty in America tied to his nationality and its institutions. I thought some of them assumed that probably the British nationality group ruled all the others. I discovered that they thought the nationality groups were directly represented in our legislatures.

I tried to explain that no nationality group in America retains its affection for its ancestral nationality as a primary interest; an attachment to the United States comes first for all. For Africans to understand this may require them to conceive of themselves as having a primary loyalty to Uganda, and a secondary loyalty to their tribes, in other words, to think of themselves as Ugandans.

Perhaps I can illustrate for you the difficulty such a conception must encounter. Individual students told me that tribal membership is the most important tie an individual has; his status within the tribe is the most important single item in his life. It is more important, said one young man, than his membership in the human race. I raised this point of membership in the human race; it would not have occurred to him to raise it. One young man explained to me that in the West—he meant specifically the United Kingdom and the United States—individuals "feel lost," and are cut off from any sense of membership in a group which is valuable to them. This is not true for him, he said, because he is a member of a tribe. He could have read this point of view in many Western publications, and I suppose he had. I suspect that this

idea annexed by him gives him a false view of the West; it is grasped by him entirely out of context. He said: "But it does not mean anything like the same thing to you to be an American that it means to me to be a Muganda." How am I to know? How can I tell him how much it means to be an American? How do I know how much it means to him to be a Muganda? Does my willingness to admit that everything is not as it should be in the United States; to criticise my country for some of its policies and practices; to try to consider the rights of other peoples and problems of other countries—does all this add to this young man's belief that I am a person, an American, without a meaningful membership? I eventually began speaking of "my tribe" and of "our American tribal customs" to try to prove my sense of membership.

As a result of these differences between us, their assumptions about separate provinces or districts on racial or nationality lines and representation accordingly, much of what I said about majority rule, political parties, territorial representation in legislative bodies, universal suffrage, and individual rights either had no meaning for them or was warped beyond recognition. They are familiar with the terms from their British experience, but since they believe in special *political* protections for racial or tribal groups, they did not understand why I thought such protections unnecessary, if not positively bad, nor did they understand my belief that judicial protection of individual rights without regard to race or national origin offers another possibility.

I came to understand that our idea of *individual* rights, not tribal or group rights, is truly fundamental to our political institutions, and that unless this individualism is appreciated, our political institutions may appear to deny justice or to have little or no relation to the fact that individuals are members of groups.

I found that "Little Rock" is used by all groups to refer to the racial problem in the United States; the term is regularly expanded beyond a reference even to the integration problem as a whole. "Little Rock" was the first and the last subject I was invited to discuss with my British colleagues and with African students, privately and in public. This did not surprise me, but if I had been in any doubt about how important the status of the Negro minority is in our international relations, that doubt would have been removed completely.

The press in Uganda reports racial incidents from the United States more than any other news about us. This is also true of the local radio, and it is excessively true of radio programs beamed to East Africa from Moscow, Cairo, and Peking. I heard these programs from time to time, but if I had not, I would have been aware of their general character and content from the questions my students brought me about them. I had many opportunities to attempt to reply to Communist explanations of United States affairs.

The simplicity and the extreme quality of the views about America ex-

pressed by many Africans is to be expected, but such views are difficult to deal with without seeming to excuse and "whitewash." Let me illustrate what I mean in connection with the school integration question. I found that some students thought that there have been no integrated schools in the United States until very recently; "Little Rock" connotes an objection on the part of all Americans, not Negro, to grant equal status to Negroes in all areas of human relations. I had no desire to deny the existence of inequality or the seriousness of the problems involved; on the other hand, it was obvious that many had a false conception of the extent of the inequality, and of the attitudes of many Americans about the inequality which exists.

For others the questions about school integration arose from misunderstanding or lack of knowledge about how our governments operate. I tried to explain the constitutional and governmental problems involved. I think I can best illustrate my difficulties by reporting specific questions. I was often asked: "Why doesn't Congress or the President do something to secure integration in your schools?" To answer this question adequately, one has to explain many things about American politics and government, as a start. It has to be a long discussion, and include some very complicated matters. The length of the explanation is not reduced by my personal sympathy with the question. I found it difficult to hold the attention of an audience through what seemed to me an adequate explanation of our federal institutions, for example. I constantly asked myself: At what point do I stop talking and provide a neat generalization, which, though quite inadequate, may sound adequate. I was of course contending with a problem not confined to Africa—either in the nature of the question about why government does not do something, or in the nature of the reply and its necessary complexity.

Aside from the admittedly complex constitutional and political questions involved in the discussion of public school integration, the very variety of situations in our school systems is difficult for people to comprehend. It is difficult for them to believe that schools are locally managed, and that Congress does not have the power to pass a law requiring integration of all schools at a given time, according to a national plan to be administered by the President.

The second question and one involving an equally complicated explanation was asked in a group of African professional men: "Why does the Supreme Court deny rights to Negroes?" My first reaction was that I had not heard correctly. It is enough to explain how the Supreme Court does in fact protect individual rights, including those of individual Negroes, or why it seems to be doing more about them in recent years than either the President or Congress, but to explain that it does not deny rights, or is not the leader in denying them, is far more difficult. I could not discover the source of this view or its basis. I have never been more impressed by the need to discover what is in a mind as a first requirement for teaching. In this instance I thought I made little

progress; these young men were excessively polite, but I thought their attitude indicated their disappointment in me; they had expected better things of me.

There was a tendency in discussions to assume that Negroes should have Negro rights, rights different from other Americans; at the same time there was objection to their lack of equal status. Once I had the experience of having a member of the group point out to his fellow Africans that this demand for Negro rights and for equality was inconsistent. A lively discussion followed: I was permitted to speak as a member of the group, but I did not lead it.

Some students who thought of Negroes as Americans or who were willing to be persuaded by me that they are Americans, not Africans, asked: "Why, if they are Americans, are they denied equality?" "Why are there these denials of equal participation in American life?" "How can Negroes think they are Americans?" I tried to reply to the last question by asking them a question about privileged and unprivileged people within their tribes: "Do unprivileged people think of themselves as having no membership in a tribe?" I always tried to make it clear that I was not excusing the American situation, but trying to suggest that it is not uniquely American. I was asked why Americans have race prejudice. I tried to get discussion of racialism and tribalism in Uganda, and I asked: "Is it really any different for Africans to deny status to Asians than for Americans to deny status to Negroes?" "Is American racial antipathy much different from tribal antipathy in Uganda?" I tried to make it clear that I was not satisfied with the racial situation in America, but it seemed to me that it was not good for Africans to criticise the United States or any other state in this respect without some consideration of their own situation. For example, I heard some criticism of migrant labor conditions in South Africa, but none of migrant labor conditions in Uganda where the Baganda employ other Africans on their *shambas*.

I think there was a difference between the questions and comments of Makerere students and other African groups I met with. The students were less lively and they seemed to me inhibited about asking questions and discussing them. I thought them unwilling to admit their ignorance or open themselves to criticism if they gave the "wrong answers," although their silence could have meant a greater thoughtfulness. But they did not present a solid front of opinion; there were variations in their points of view; they recognised small differences, and there was some recognition of the views of others, even if they did not agree with them. There was more opportunity for following up discussions with them than with the extra-mural groups, and hence more opportunity to see some shift in opinion.

It troubled me that I found Africans so little interested in the rest of the world. They do have some curiosity about the Soviet Union and this is touched with fear. They are also curious about us. I was asked several different times why the United States is interested in Africa and willing to spend money there.

They exaggerate the amount we spend, and they mistrust our reasons. They told me that they did not want to gain their independence from the British and then fall under "American economic imperialism." They recognise the competition between the United States and the Soviet Union, and they say they wish to stay out of it. I found no evidence of any recognition that they have any interest in this competition.

Their curiosity about the Soviet Union and the United States does not mean that they are interested in and feel themselves to be part of the world. In only one group was any interest shown in the United Nations. Too often I heard political science students say that when Uganda, for example, is independent, they will do as they please, and I was sorry that they fail to see that independent states have obligations, and cannot always do as they please.

I can testify that there is some of our "store of good will" left. My house girl liked my personal possessions; she especially liked my raincoat and plastic galoshes; she summed it up in her limited English—which was not as limited as my Kiswahili—by saying: "America—nice things." For her the nice things in America included more than the material things. She admired my maps of Africa and the United States which I put on my living room walls. One day during the political disturbances in Kampala she stood in the center of the room, looked at both maps, pointed to the map of the United States and said: "All free. Free-dom and in'pe'nce."

I also met this belief in American freedom among the students. When they came to tell me goodbye, they said that they had liked to talk to me because they felt free while they did it, because "as an American" I accepted them as persons. Some said that I was outside their power structure and the pressures of their society and therefore they felt free to speak frankly, and this was a great privilege. These students obviously do not believe the generalization that all Americans deny equality on racial grounds.

Many young people in East Africa are interested in attending American universities. Several students talked with me about American schools, procedures for gaining entrance, and financial assistance. There are many reasons for this interest, and one of them I am certain is that they want "to feel free." I warned them that, because of their color, they will meet some unpleasant situations here. They always shrugged this off as much as to say they knew something about that already; and even so they would feel freer in the United States.

I heard a good deal of talk about official objection to African students' attending our universities, and instances were cited where pressure has been brought to keep students from leaving East Africa, and to discourage individuals from assisting them. In this connection, I was shocked to hear it said that only a few American universities grant degrees worth recognition by East African governments. This was given as a reason for discouraging students from

coming here; such discouragement by a government official is very effective because most of the students, as I have said, look forward to government positions.

Our institutions of higher learning are attacked or disparaged quite generally by members of the University faculty. The line, if I may so designate it, is that we have no standards. There is some tendency to say that students whose academic records are not high enough to gain them entrance into Makerere or United Kingdom institutions come to American institutions. I am certain that no one would assert that this is the *only* reason for East African students' coming here to study; nor would anyone deny that official opposition is based on other considerations in large part.

I was interested to find some small glimmer of approval of my academic standards despite the fact that I have had long association with American institutions, as student and teacher. And I was delighted to be told by an undergraduate student of exceptionally high academic standing that the best work, and the hardest, was done in his part of the university, and that his faculty was using the 'American method' of instruction. Needless to say, I inquired about this, and I discovered that assignments are specific, that students are expected to make regular preparation as well as to attend lectures, and that they are frequently checked to determine their progress. He had nothing but praise for this "more rigorous method," as he called it. I did not discover that there is much discussion in his classes, but I look forward to hearing that this part of the "American method" has also been added.

I thought I was generally separated from "you Americans" when attacks were levelled at us or generalizations made about us and our ways. As I have said, I thought my British colleagues excluded me from their attack on American higher education. Once an African said that I did not act like an American. He showed more understanding of what I was trying to convey in my objection to his statement when I said in some desperation after several yards of words: "Well, you don't act like an African." To this he said: "What is an African? How does an African act?" Of course I gave him our American equivalent for *the* African of *the* American I assume he knew from the movies. This was one of my most successful encounters in my capacity as interpreter of the United States and remover of misconceptions!

My students were all in their last two years at the University. I had some students who did excellent work; it would be considered excellent in any university. In general the students wrote much better than they spoke; I am sure this results in part from the fact that English is a foreign language to them, but it also reflects their training which emphasizes writing rather than speaking. I wondered if students had been pushed as hard about *what* they wrote in English as they had been to write well. Students took full responsibility for their work and did it quite independently. Their attitudes and accom-

plishments persuade me that they could be trained to greater achievement in some respects where I thought them less successful than they should be.

Like students everywhere they need to learn to cite and evaluate sources; to argue to a specific point with relevance and with evidence; to learn that repetition of a statement is not an argument for it; to accept criticism from instructors or fellow students gracefully and with ease; to admit ignorance, to say, "I don't know;" to acknowledge difference of opinion and practice tolerance of the views of others; to recognize and appreciate an objective approach to knowledge. For example, political science is not a study of student opinions about current events. I think the independence of Makerere's students is remarkable, but I had a sense that many of them had been forced into independence too soon, before they were ready for it. Independence as such regardless of quality of work done independently is surely not something to be encouraged.

I thought there was some "leaning over backward" to avoid any imputation that students are criticised because they are African. I wondered if some of the failure to meet standards I expected in the areas I refer to was the result of a reluctance to criticise students. I think this results in a general practice of reducing criticism—because the students are African. This puts African students in a special category; it denies them equality. Students told me they wanted recognition as people, and I am sure they do, but I wondered if they resent occasions when they are *not* criticised because they are Africans. Some students must feel sometimes that they are not dealt with as severely in academic matters as they would be if they were Europeans in a European university.

I am concerned about student accomplishment and possible limits on it from reluctance to criticise, but I am also concerned because it seems that Africans may very well come to accept it as their due that they shall not be criticised, certainly not by Europeans and possibly not by other Africans not of their own tribe. To the extent that they accept this, they are accepting, in fact demanding, a status less than a completely equal one. They will not be asking to be accepted as people, but as Africans or Baganda.

For when we accept another as an individual, we include in our acceptance a sense that since he is human, he will have faults. We may not like his faults, but we will not deny him his individuality because he has them. Neither will he think that he has been denied individuality if he is criticised, much as he may dislike the criticism and the person making it. We also put individuals into categories, and these categories do not all carry indignity. It is not an affront to personal dignity to be classified as a student or to have it noticed by various individuals, including professors. Professors may draw certain conclusions from the student status and act upon them without lessening the individual student's dignity or his sense of personal value. It may be that the professor is denying the individual student some of his dignity if he denies him the recognition of

his human condition by refusing to criticise him in relation to his status as a student.

I speak of this problem of human relations with some hesitation because of my short experience at Makerere, and because I overstate it by mentioning it at all. The problem does not exist for many of the faculty and students in their relations with each other. I think it does exist for others and it seems to me that the problem demonstrated in the university is much easier to state and to recognize, since it concerns teachers and students, than it is in the general political scene, for example, where this same difficulty exists. Somehow "Europeans," and this includes us, must so completely accept Africans as individual persons that we can quite simply and without embarrassment criticise them as we would other "Europeans." I would suppose that when this occurs, the Africans will be willing to accept criticism as their due from "Europeans" to the same extent and with the same dislike of it that we display toward each other's criticism here at Connecticut College, and at the same time accept it as a valuable part of human relations. We learn from criticism, and none of the human race should be denied it, or deny it to themselves.

I cannot end this lecture without saying that I wish my comments about Makerere to be taken as evidence of my complete acceptance of it as an academic community, worthy of my serious criticism. Few of my criticisms are original with me; I heard most of them there, and I realize that they are criticisms a professor is likely to make of any institution of higher learning. It is part of our profession that we are never satisfied with our own or with our students' performance.

I was at Makerere a very short time, but I formed a genuine attachment for it and for members of its staff and its student body. I have a great admiration for Makerere. It is pioneering in higher education in Africa, and its staff offers no diluted program to its students. I owe a debt of gratitude to it for providing me this opportunity; I know that I learned more during my academic year in East Africa than anyone there learned as a result of my efforts.

Delivered Oct. 1, 1959

LAWRENCE LECTURES

- 1945 Charles Seymour, "The Problem of International Security: Historical Backgrounds"
- 1946 Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr., "The Pattern of Democratic Change in the United States: Andrew Jackson and Franklin Delano Roosevelt"
- 1946 Carl J. Friedrich, "The Problem of the Democratization of Germany"
- 1947 Alpheus Thomas Mason, "Variations on the Liberal Theme"
- 1948 Perry Miller, "Illiberal Liberals of the Great Awakening"
- 1949 Conyers Read, "Problems of Present-Day Britain"
- 1950 Hajo Holborn, "The Reasons for the Failure of the Paris Peace Settlement"
- 1951 Paul Wallace Gates, "From Individualism to Collectivism in American Land Policy"
- 1952 Helen Maud Cam, "Representative Institutions in England and Europe in the Fifteenth Century in Relation to Later Developments"
- 1953 Bernhard Knollenberg, "Causes and Growth of the American Revolution"
- 1954 John K. Fairbank, "Rebuilding an American Policy Toward China"
- 1955 Franklin L. Baumer, "Religion and the Sceptical Tradition"
- 1956 Eric Goldman, "The Third American Revolution: An Interpretation of Recent Decades"
- 1957 Myron P. Gilmore, "Erasmus: The Scholar and the World"
- 1958 Henry Steele Commager, "The Search for a Usable Past"
- 1959 Marjorie Dilley, "An Academic Year in East Africa"

